

तमसो मा ज्योतिर्गमय

SANTINIKETAN
VISWA BHARATI
LIBRARY

959.5

W 65

ARTICLES ON MALAY SUBJECTS.

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

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

MALAY LITERATURE.

PART II

LITERATURE OF MALAY FOLK-LORE,
BEGINNINGS. FABLE.
FARCICAL TALES. ROMANCE.

BY

R O WINSTEDT, *F.M.S. Civil Service*

PRICE · ONE DOLLAR.

KUALA LUMPUR:

PRINTED BY J. E. WALLACE AT THE F.M.S. GOVERNMENT PRESS

1923.

100-1-22

PREFACE.

It is hoped that this pamphlet may serve as a *přmimpin* to the study of Malay folk-lore in a fashion not only more systematic but also more interesting than has been hitherto attempted in the Peninsula, though space and method has made it necessary to sacrifice many a delightful fable and fairy tale, "breaking the butterfly upon a wheel" and serving up its skeleton bereft of colour and life. The outlines of tales and fables may seem copious and tiresome, but they are intended for the benefit of students who may not have time or opportunity to acquire the Malay language: moreover, most of the subject-matter has only been collected recently, is as yet unprinted and exists by tradition or in manuscript. Thanks to the present research scheme, *Awana Sulong Merah Muda* (to which reference is made in the article on Romance) is already in the printer's hands, and other romances and a volume of farcical tales will follow. I am indebted to Mr. A. J. Sturrock for romanizing several of these tales.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

TAPAH, PERAK.

THE LITERATURE OF MALAY FOLK-LORE.

THE literature of Malay folk-lore has many branches. There is mythological story where the origin and nature of plants and places, birds and beasts, kings and magicians, saints and spirits, is related and explained. There are proverbial sayings, pantuns¹ and magic incantations. There are tales of Daddy Long-legs, Father Folly and other heroes of humorous adventure, the Malay *Eulenspiegel* series as Dr. Snouck Hurgronje has dubbed them. There is a repertory of short tales, Malay only in the telling, the flotsam and jetsam of Asiatic folk story, imported from India, Arabia, Persia, Egypt, which to-day form the plots of pieces played in *bangsawan* from Batavia to Penang, and of which the Biblical stories of Joseph and his brethren, or of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, are characteristic examples. There is the province of romance (which to Malays is literal history), partly Indonesian, partly Indian, and partly, like mythological tale and fable, touched with a cosmopolitanism that carries its origin beyond the scope of literary enquiry, though anthropologists may profitably follow further.

For though in the following essays it is the literary aspect of folk-lore which is considered, this is not its only nor its most important side. "Folk tales," as Frazer has observed in *The Golden Bough*, "are a faithful reflection of the world as it appeared to the

¹ Pantuns have been already dealt with by Mr. Wilkinson in Part I of these papers: Proverbs also are to be the subject of a separate article. So I only allude to them here.

primitive mind, and we may be sure that any idea which commonly occurs in them, however absurd it may seem to us, must once have been an ordinary article of belief." Analyze them and define their elements and you reach the superstitions which have gone to mould the soul of a people. Lore handed down by tradition is never final: it develops and accepts incrustations as the soul of a people develops: and the arrangement of these papers is mainly for convenience and not meant to determine, by hard and fast division, the chronological order of branches of lore that are mostly synchronous and all infected with the spirit of several civilisations.

I

BEGINNINGS OF LITERATURE.

Indonesian mythology has hardly become literature in the strict sense of the term, but it contains the essential quality of literature in the keen appreciation it exhibits of natural features and in the imagination with which its impressions are clothed. The sheeted goblin, "which is so tied up by funeral wrappings that it can only make its way along the ground by rolling over and over on its side;" *Penanggalan*, the Birth-spirit, "that horrible wraith of a woman who has died in child-birth and comes to torment little children in the guise of a fearful face and bust with many feet of bloody trailing entrails in her wake:" belief in such spirits as these was of course "in the air," but whether medicine-man, poet, or old wife, whoever

Turned them to shapes and gave to airy nothing

A local habitation and a name,

possessed, if unwittingly, the literary sense. They are terribly earnest ghost-stories.

Again, though Islam has done its best to disguise their real character by enlisting Solomon as *deus ex machina*, there are abundant traces that an age of animism inspired stories to account for the origin of the crocodile, the tiger, the mouse-deer, snakes, birds, trees and vegetables. "A Vegetarian Dispute," in Mr. Skeat's *Fables and Folk Tales*, explains why the yam has narcotic properties and the maize perforated cobs, why the sedge grows in the water, and maize and bean stand tall and straight while yam and liane creep along the ground. In the zoological world, the tiger was once a cruel boy whose back was scored by stripes from his school-master's cane. Or take the venomless python: he once infected a raja's son (who robbed him of fish) by spitting on his footsteps, but when the mouse-deer told him the noise in the palace was not the sound of mourning but of revelry at a fish festival, he spat out his venom for disgust. Then the crocodile was compounded, his stomach-skin of palm-spathe, his backbone of sugar-cane, his ribs of its peelings, his head of a stone, his eyes of saffron, his teeth of iron nails—that Fatimah made him for a plaything is obviously apocryphal. There are other tales, like Sir William Maxwell's *Two Malay Myths: the Princess of the Foam and the Raja of the Bamboo* (of which Mr. Skeat's "Legend of Patani" and "Princess Sadong of the Caves" are variations) turning on totemism. It does not interest us here if Sir William Maxwell is correct in his surmise that "the former is of Aryan origin current only in the more civilised Malay States, which have undoubtedly been largely influenced by Brahmanism," and the latter "far more widely extended and found among wild tribes who have been wholly unaffected by Hindu

influences; originating from an ancient (Turanian) belief as to the mode of the creation of mankind." What is important is that the tales are attempts at historical narrative. Precisely similar tales occur in the elaborate romances of folk-lore, which are only historical narrative pushed a step further to the Malay mind: and the above myths are folk-lore in Perak and Patani and recorded history in the Kedah Annals and *Sĕjarah Malayu*. "In the rude traditional beliefs common to the races of the Eastern Archipelago, a geographical expression including twenty-five degrees of latitude," as Sir William Maxwell sums up, "we have the conception from which sprang the legends preserved to us by the Muhammadan histories of Malay States: in the latter, metaphysical ideas have altogether disappeared and the main incident survives, incorporated in the history of human adventures. No longer accepted as a superstitious belief, it has been unconsciously retained as historical episode." The Perak version of these *Two Myths* is a good instance of unwritten embryo history and village romance full of picturesque local colour.¹ The continuity and common sentiment underlying Malay literature is illustrated by the fact that it might be taken for a bijou folk romance or, as in part it almost is, a page out of the *Sĕjarah Malayu*. Such is history in Malay folk-lore and such it is recorded by Muhammadan scribes even in legends of Muhammadan saints; witness Skeat's tale of "The Saints whose Grave-stones moved." It is romance to us, history to Malays, and, in its essential quality, imaginative literature. Even the simplest tales, the tale of the origin of the stick-

¹ Vide appendix I (1): another instance of embryo history is given on page 563-566, *Malay Magic*

insect and its peculiar noise, the tale of the Spectre Huntsman, are cases in point. Interesting as a legend woven at once about mythological spirits and natural features, and in its conclusion turning into a "guile" story, is Mr. Skeat's story, "The Outwitting of the Gedembai:"

There was formerly a race of gigantic spirits named Gedembai who could turn people whom they addressed by name into wood or stone. Many years ago they were very numerous and were a great danger to the forest-dwelling Malays. In many places there are still to be seen the clearest traces of their former presence and power. Near the head waters of the Tembelling, close to the left bank of the river, stands a rock on which are still shown the claw marks of a tiger, which escaped from the Gedembai by leaping the river (where it was ten fathoms across), when a wild boat which it was pursuing was turned into stone. There to this day you may see the petrified bear and the place is known by the name of the Tiger's Leap. Further down the river stands a high and solitary crag, the summit of which is the shelter where the Gedembai used to dry by day the fish they had caught during the previous night. There, too, you may see the big river pool into which they threw their casting-net and the rocks which they dropped into the river (in place of the stones thrown in to attract the fish before the cast is made with the net).

Such was the havoc wrought by the Gedembai that the older inhabitants at length conspired together to frighten them out of the land. For the Gedembai were incredible fools and could be cheated with great facility. And as they only went abroad at night, the Malays used certain stratagems to frighten the Gedembai out of the country. Pulling down the long weeping sprays of bamboo that overhung the streams, they cut them off short and then let them spring back again to an upright position, so that the Gedembai might think only giants could have reached up to cut them. Next, they put an old man upward of sixty years of age in a child's swinging cot, so that the Gedembai seeing his toothless gums supposed him to be a new-born infant. And when the Gedembai had thus been thoroughly cheated, they were easily made to believe that the harrows lying beside the rice fields

were Malay hair-combs, and that the very tortoises were insects that infested their persons; but that nevertheless they could make themselves small enough to creep inside the sheath of a dagger in order to hollow it out. At length, therefore, the Gedembai lost heart and fled to the country at the Foot of the Sky, but as they fled they called upon everybody they met to follow after them, turning all who refused to obey into trees. Hence you will see in Malayan forests many lofty trees leaning over rivers. These were once men and women who refused to follow the Gedembai in their flight and were so severely kicked by them in consequence that they have never since been able to stand upright. Here and there you will see trees whose silvery outer bark peels off in strips. These, too, which are now *pahlawan* trees, were once human beings, but were transformed into trees for refusing to follow the Gedembai, who caused their bark to fall off in patches by stroking the skin of their own breasts.

The age of animism had its poetry too, a kind of rugged ballad, the metre of medicine-men's incantations; a ballad we find adapted to purely literary purposes in folk romance like *Sri Rama* and *Awang Sulong*; and, with a few pantuns, it is the only genuine imaginative poetry as distinct from facile versifying that Malay literature possesses. The metre often limps, sometimes fails altogether, but the sentiment and imagery is sincere and not mere verbiage:

*Ha, sir shaker of earth,
Roar thou and rumble
Needles of brass, needles of iron,
Be the hair on the limbs of me,
Beard a forked venomous serpent;
Crocodile deadly my tongue;
Be my voice like an elephant's trumpet,
Like the rattle and crack of the thunder;
Clenched be the teeth and locked the lips of thee:
Not until earth rise up against heaven
Shall thy heart be stirred
To anger or to destruction of me.*

That is an invocation to encourage the heart against a tiger; and here is the "magnificent boast" in a *pawang's* charm for courage :

*Of iron am I, my bones of brass,
And my name the Tiger of God :*

or take the address of a tapper to the souls of the coconut palm :

*Queens of shorn and dripping locks,
Dwellers in wave and dip of the palm-sheath,
Palm-sheath the fire of tresses,
Seven queens of a virgin sheath,
Greetings be unto you:
Hither, my little ones,
Hither, my dainty ones,
Hither, soft birdlings,
I bend back the necks of you,
Roll up the folds of the locks of you:
Behold an ivory blade for your cleansing,
An ivory blade to shorten your tresses,
An ivory cup to hold up unto you,
Ivory bath awaiting beneath you,
Clap hands and laugh in ivory bath,
Bath of princesses changing their raiment.*

Finally, take the charm so often referred to in the description of the head-kerchief of princes of romance, *Doa Si Awang L'beh*, the charm for pre-eminence, as written down in the charm-book of an old Perak court *pawang* :

*Sheltered am I'neath Allah's foot-stool,
Allah's prophet my protector,
On my right the angel Gabriel,
On my left the angel Michael,
All the angels ranged behind me,
Me vice-regent of the Highest,
By the providence of Allah,
By th' evidence of the Faith,
By the words of the Koran,*

*Hearts of all adversaries
Be locked at the sight of me;
Hearts of believers
Be opened unto me.
For God hath established me,
Nor shall He be wroth with me
Till He's wroth with his Prophet;
Till He's wroth with Muhammad.
Serpents my loin-cloth,
My throne a wild elephant!
Swift lightnings before me!
Fierce tigers to shadow me!
Yea, by this charm of mine,
God hath exalted me
In seated assembly
Pre-eminent I
Erect or in walking or talking
Pre-eminent I
I, the master of mortals,
Precious stone of the Prophet,
Pearl of the Highest.
Yea, none can withstand me,
My charm and confession of Faith*

On the analogy of other ancient literatures and inferring from the rude ballad form of the Menangkabau romance, *Chëndur Mata*, which, as edited by Van der Toorn,¹ is metrical throughout, it may be concluded with certainty that this rugged metrical form was the vehicle of all Malay rhapsodist literature, that it has survived only in a few legal sayings, in stock "purple patches," common to folk romances and especially and for utilitarian reasons in the incantations of medicine-men.

¹ Batavia, 1896.

II.

FABLES.

The type which of all types of Malay story pure and simple is probably the earliest and has the widest geographical range is the fable. "The savage, we must remember, believes that animals are endowed with feelings and intelligence like those of men. An unusually intelligent Bushman questioned by a missionary could not state any difference between a man and a brute—he did not know but a buffalo might shoot with bows and arrows as well as a man if it had them." That is the state of civilisation which produced the fable in its elementary form; it is the product of a brain which believed in its possibility, not of an enlightened savage who should sit down and in a fine frenzy evolve a "Jungle Book" to exercise the imaginative faculty: one might as well picture Professor Huxley amusing himself by composing a "Book of Genesis." For the very reason that the Malay has ceased to be a savage and has not yet become a dilettante, the fable has only lately become a medium of his literature, and tales surviving in nursery and village have had to wait for the prompting of Europeans to find a literary setting.

The origin of the later types of Malay literature can be traced to India, to Persia, to Arabia: these fables, as well as circulating all over the Malay Archipelago (even among the Dyaks) and finding kindred tales in India and Tibet, have eventually a range that only conjecture can deal with, and Brer Rabbit, Reynard the Fox and Friend Mouse-deer are discovered to be blood brothers, a cosmopolitan trinity. The story "The Hare and the Tortoise" is the European version of the negro story of "How Brer Tarrypin outran

Snail." "In an Amazon Indian version, a jaguar catches a tortoise by the hind-leg as he is disappearing into his hole, but the tortoise convinces him he is holding a root and so escapes. Uncle Remus tells how the fox endeavoured to drown the terrapin, but let him loose because the terrapin persuaded him that his tail was only a stump root."¹ The Malay equivalent I will endeavour to give in verse, because such a translation can at once be practically literal and emphasise by rhyme what in the vivid verbal narrative is accentuated by gesture and accent, but is lost in prose and cannot indeed be captured in any written form :

*Friend Mouse-deer danced upon his way
 And shunned the river many a day,
 Still fearing he despite his guile
 The cruel eye of Crocodile
 Till after many weeks had fled,
 The season being hot, 't is said,
 And water most inviting cool,
 He ventured down beside a pool
 To quench his thirst, and drinking deep
 Heard not a long slow rustling creep
 That brought Friend Crocodile so near
 You'd hear the trickle of his tear
 He only had to gawn and crunch
 And presto Mouse deer for his lunch
 Friend Mouse deer turn'd; by half an inch
 Too late his leap and sharp the pinch
 Of cruel fangs upon his leg;
 He could not move nor stir a peg;
 Struggle and he must be a cripple,
 All for the sake of that long cool tipple.
 "Friend Crocodile," he then began—
 For animals could talk like man—
 "Are rotten twigs such dainty ration,
 That one of your exalted station*

¹ Introduction to *Uncle Remus*, J. H. Harris.

Deign to devour them?" "What," growled Croc,
 Feeling it now his chance to mock:
 "Your leg a twig! Ah, well, I never;
 Friend Mouse-deer, you are wondrous clever."
 "Just taste," said Mouse-deer: "do not bite
 Or you'll not get the flavour right."
 Friend Croc straight licks, lets go his grip
 And Mouse-deer free with flying skip
 Gains the high-bank and laughing cries,
 "It was my leg, you cockatrice."¹

The Mouse-deer cycle also contains a version of Uncle Remus' "Tar-baby story." Mr. Skeat points out how his tale of "Father Lime-stick and the Flower-pecker" appears in the *Gesta Romanorum*, how the "Tiger and the Shadow" is a Malay version of our "Dog and the Shadow" and how his tale of the "Pelican's Punishment" is one of the best known of Æsop's Fables.

Definitively, we can only say that the fables of the Peninsula fall into two classes: there are those of avowedly foreign origin like the translation of the collection called *Panchatanderan* or *Gilila dan Džmina* (of which, according to Van der Tunk, there are adaptations from the Persian as well as the Tamil) and the recent translation of Æsop's Fables; and there are those that are apparently Indonesian. The unity of zoology is no test: it is not observed in the *Hikayat Pelandok Djinaka*, where the Lion plays a part. Narrow your range and select only those tales that have not the touch of cosmopolitanism which accompanies literary polish, those tales that are taken down simply from the lips of villagers, but the ancestry of your story-teller is no safeguard: collect a tale from a man of "pure Perak extraction," and you will find it a version of a tale occurring in Acheen and Java and

¹ With apologies to Hudibras!

among the Batak and Sundanese tribes. Tales in point are those of "The Otter's Babies" and of "How Mouse-deer cheated Tiger": the former, with some variations, occurs in Acheen as well as in the Peninsula; the latter in a professedly Perak tale, in a Malacca tale of probable Javanese origin, in a Javanese tale and in a Sundanese tale. Even the same literary devices occur in tales independently collected. In Mr. Skeat's story "The Tiger gets his Deserts," heard in Ulu Kedah, but occurring long before, as Mr. R. J. Wilkinson has pointed out in the Malay version of the Indian story "Gul Bakuwali," the man asks, "O Road, Road, is it lawful to requite evil for good or good for good only?" and the Road replied, "I do good to mankind but they requite me with evil, defiling my surface as they go." Then they came to a Tree of which the man asked the same question. The Tree replied, "I do good to mankind but they requite me with evil, lopping off my branches and cutting me down." In the series of tales collected by myself from a Malacca man, who said he got them from a Javanese (I give a synopsis of them later, though from comparison with a Malay version of indubitable Javanese tales I am confident they are Javanese), in the story one might call "The Crocodile gets his Deserts," the same question is put to an old Sleeping-mat and a worn Dish-cover floating down-stream and they answer it in the same way. "More *data* than we possess," observes Dr. Snouck Hurgronje, "would be required to enable us in each case of striking agreement between one of the Achinese, Malay, Sundanese, or Javanese versions to decide whether it is the common inheritance of the race or has been imported from elsewhere through some foreign channel of literature."

Malay beast fable, though it admits the tiger and birds and fishes, centres in the cycle of Mouse-deer tales, so that for purposes of comparative study it is this cycle which is pre-eminently important. Friend Mouse-deer is not unfit to stand beside Brer Rabbit. He is "a small chevrotain, to be found in almost every part of the jungles of Malaya." He is commonly called the mouse-deer; but, in spite of the name, belongs rather to the antelope tribe, the heel bone of the hinder leg projecting in a fashion never seen in the true deer. The eye-teeth, too, are curiously long and projecting, and the hooves are cloven to an extent which in so small a creature is really remarkable. At the same time, he is a most beautiful little animal, with big dark pleading eyes and all the grace and elegance of a gazelle. In the cycle of Mouse-deer tales there may, I think, be detected several stages of evolution.¹ Firstly, there is the simple "guile" story, like the tales of "How Snail outran Mouse-deer," "How Mouse-deer escaped Crocodile," and so on: a type, as we have seen, of very wide geographical range and certainly very primitive, belonging to the age of animism, though a later age has often introduced anachronisms like the mention of Solomon. In this stage Mouse-deer is a delightfully pagan knave, pitting guile against strength in the struggle for existence: even if he conjures with the name of Solomon, he uses it for his own purposes to worst his enemies. The tale of "How Mouse-deer cheated Tiger" is a good instance.

Mouse-deer took counsel with himself "What shift is there for me to save myself alive?" And he came to a wild wasp's

¹ Mr G Maxwell, whose *In Malay Forests* did not appear till after I had written this paper, gives a very similar classification in the article called "A Tale by the Wayside." He also gives a picturesque version of the story of "Mouse-deer and the Otter's Babies" and a story of Mouse-deer as judge that is new to me; I quote it in Appendix II.

nest. "Good," said he, "I will bide by this nest." Presently, Tiger found him and asked him his business. "I guard *Nabi Sleyman's* gong," said Mouse-deer, pointing to the nest. "May I strike it?" asked Tiger: "of all things, I should like to strike it; and, if you let me do so, I will not eat you." "You may," answered Mouse-deer, "but, with your leave, I will go a long way off first or *Nabi Sleyman* will be angry." "All right," replied Tiger. Mouse-deer went a long way off till he came to a clump of bamboos, and there he waited. Then, Tiger smote *Nabi Sleyman's* gong and all the wasps came swarming out and stung him till his face was swollen. So he bounded away in a rage and went to where Mouse-deer stood. "Knave, villain!" said he, "see my face all swollen. Now I will kill you. But what is this bamboo you are watching?" "It is *Nabi Sleyman's* viol," said Mouse-deer, pointing to a slit stem, in which the wind sounded. "How do you play it?" asked Tiger. "Lick it here with your tongue," said Mouse-deer, pointing to the slit. "May I?" asked Tiger. "Yes," said Mouse-deer, "but with your leave, I will go a long way off first or *Nabi Sleyman* will be angry." "All right," said Tiger. Mouse-deer went a long way off and stood by some filth. Then Tiger heked the bamboo, and a gust blew and closed the fissure, so that the end of Tiger's tongue was pinched off, and that is why tigers are short-tongued to this day. So, he bounded away in a rage and went to where Mouse-deer watched over the filth. "See the hurt you have done me, accursed one," said Tiger, showing his tongue. "Now, of a truth, I will slay and eat you. But, first, what is this filth that you guard it?" "It is *Nabi Sleyman's* *nani Kungel*," said Mouse-deer. "May I eat it?" said Tiger. "of all things I should like to eat it; and if you let me do so, I will not kill you." "You may," said Mouse-deer, "and perhaps it will cure your tongue; but, first, let me go a long way off or *Nabi Sleyman* may be angry with me." "All right," said Tiger. And Mouse-deer went a long way off and stood by a coiled snake. Then Tiger tasted the filth. "Why is it so bitter?" said he. "beast, this is not rice but filth only." And he rushed in a rage to where Mouse-deer waited. "Now, indeed your hour has come," said Tiger. "make ready to die. But, first, what is this you are guarding?" and he looked at the coiled snake. "This is *Nabi Sleyman's* turban," said Mouse-

deer. "May I wear it?" asked Tiger: "of all things I should like to put it on; and if you let me do so, perhaps I may spare your life." "You may put it on," said Mouse-deer "but, first, let me go a long way off or *Nabi Sleyman* may be angry with me." "All right," said Tiger. Then Mouse-deer went a long way off and looked on gleefully. So, Tiger began to unwind the coils but the snake awoke, his tongue darting like flame, and fought with Tiger and overcame him and killed him. "Ha! ha!" laughed Mouse-deer and went on his way, up hill and down dale, by jungle and plain.

I have called these simple guile stories, but, as we have them now, they are arranged with considerable literary skill, a plot running through the Mouse-deer and Crocodile stories and the Mouse-deer and Tiger stories and connecting them into consecutive series: every different version, however, gives a different arrangement, so that we may infer it is comparatively modern and dependent on the skill and imagination of the individual teller.

In the next stage, Mouse-deer has become possessed of an ideal of justice and exercises his wit for unselfish purposes: and, here, Islam has entirely corrected the unorthodox animistic outlook by ousting him from his pride of place and admitting him only as a servant or assessor to Solomon the Prophet, under whose charge is the jungle world. They are stories of far narrower geographical range and are more subtle in plot. Often one may infer, in this class of tale, Mouse-deer plays the part of vizier in story directly adapted from a foreign source in historical times. Mr. Laidlaw has printed several specimens. One of them bears a close resemblance to a tale in the *Gilila dan D'mina*. All of them remind one of the Biblical story of the "Judgment of Solomon," or of the Arabic tales of the wisdom and justice of Haroun. One specimen, which Mr. Laidlaw

has not yet printed, tells how the case of a rich man claiming one hundred gold pieces from orphans for the privilege of the smell of his larder on which they had grown fat is brought before the stock oriental just potentate and settled by Mouse-deer,* who gets the orphans to count over one hundred pieces behind a curtain and says the sound of the money is as valuable as the smell of the larder.

Under this second class will fall the tale of Mouse-deer and the Otter's Babies, if it is to be reckoned in the Mouse-deer cycle at all and not rather to be treated as a Beast tale in general. Anyhow, with its acute sense of animal characteristics and its picturesque similes, it is a fine example of Indonesian fancy and Indonesian *natur-sinn*. Mr Skeat's version is so well known, that I content myself with giving a Malay version, independently collected, in an appendix. Finally, there is the fable worked up in an elaborate setting as in the *Hikayat Pelandok Djinaka*, a compilation which is almost a parody of the court romance. Mouse-deer declares himself the Sheikh of the jungle world, rubs his head whiskers and hair with the sap of a wild fig till he looks white and venerable, pretends to have done penance and got magic power from Amir Hamzah. The off-spring of animism becomes a convert to the Muhammadan faith, and abandons pagan roguery and wanderings for the ceremony and pomps which Malay courts have imitated from Indian sources. He sits (like a Buddha) on a white stone under a tree all in blossom like a yellow umbrella. Friend Bull or Friend Rhino take the place of the conventional litter when he goes abroad; Raja Hedgehog and Raja Jackal are his heralds; Friend Goat is styled Maharaja Laksana Dewa, Friend

Buffalo Maharaja Rama Peswata and so on, so that Elephant laughs with wonder; Rhino plays the part of the boaster (like the steersman in *Awang Sulong*) who affords comic relief in conventional romance. The stories turn on the old primitive plots, but Mouse-deer's cunning is exercised now for benevolent purpose, and in the last tale, "How the Ants stang Elephant to Death," he even ventures to moralise on torture. The best of the tales tells of the Beasts' fishing party at the river Tenom, of what befell there and of how Mouse-deer helped them out of their plight: it is so good that its excellence must be my excuse for quoting it, long as it is; I abbreviate as far as possible, without altering its character or omitting its points.

Rhino, Buffalo, Bull, Deer and Ape would go a-fishing in the sandy fish-stocked pool of the river Tenom, which was guarded by a terrible tall Ogre. Barking-deer had once come upon the river when he was in quest of prey, had seen its deep pools and their abundance of fish and returned home to tell his comrades..... "It was across you mountain towards the sunrise I found it," said he, "a stream with a white sandy shore: and I fancy it is the Tenom where our fathers have told us King Solomon and his court go fishing"..... Then all the Beasts of the Forest set out to the river Tenom and went up-stream to make a shelter, because down-stream was sacred to King Solomon. Said Rhino, "Let us all go and fish while it is yet morning." They fished till mid-day and got a large catch, and Rhino said, "We are hungry, let us to our shelter;" so they went to their shelter, heaped all the fish together and, after the meal, Bear offered to stay on guard. Quoth Barking-deer, "I've heard there is a terrible tall Ogre guards this river: can you combat him, Friend Bear?" And Bear replied, "Go you and leave me to fight him; I'll trample him and crush the very eyes out of his head." But, when all the Beasts had gone, Ogre, seeing a fire, crept up quietly and cried, "Bear, I want your fish, I'm hungry." Bear looked down, saw Ogre tall, red-eyed, light-haired, and ran helter-skelter swaying his head from said to side; his ears were pricked with thorns and he

thought Ogre had got him, till looking round he saw no Ogre there: then he returned and watched Ogre finish the fish. Quoth Ogre, "Be not afraid, come and bring me more fish another day." "To-morrow, your slave hopes to meet your lordship again," answered Bear, but seeing the fish all gone he cursed Ogre inwardly. In the evening the Beasts of the Forest returned bringing the afternoon's catch and found their fish gone. "Why," cried Rhino, "how could you, Bear, let Ogre devour them all?"

(Next day Bull, and the day after that, Tiger, stayed on guard: each day the same thing happened.) At last said Rhino, "I will stay and fight that accursed robber Ogre,".....and he bellowed and leaped and charged, striking his horn against a tree trunk with the speed and sound of a thunderbolt.....So the Beasts of the Forest went fishing and Rhino stayed on guard. He squatted down blowing up the fire, but Ogre saw the smoke, crept up behind quietly and cried, "Rhino, I want your fish." Rhino glanced back, saw the stature of Ogre and jumped, knocking down the shelter; then he fancied it was Ogre had scratched him, and ran helter-skelter falling on stones torn and bleeding but insensible of his wounds. He stopped, saw no Ogre in pursuit, and ejaculated, "A fearsome monster. I just escaped. No wonder my comrades gave up their fish." Then he added, "Ha, Ogre, you boast your prowess before me. Let me get you in my clutches," and he stamped and trampled the ground and returned and saw Ogre devouring the fish. "Come here," he snorted, "and I'll crush you to bits." Ogre looked up and Rhino, thinking he was going to give chase, fled, knocking over trees, his face torn, his ears scratched by thorns, till he met Monkey. "Help, Friend Monkey, help, Ogre chases me," he yelled. "Are you mad?" cried Monkey. "rushing about with no one in pursuit? Why is your body all wounds and mud and blood?" "I did battle just now with a tall huge Orge," said Rhino; "two of his friends came up to help, and right bravely and stoutly I felled them right and left, but ran because a crowd were attacking me.".....Now the Beasts of the Forest came back to their shelter and found fish and Rhino gone.....So Tiger started to look for Rhino and Bird told him, "I saw Rhino running blindly, his flanks torn, his nose bloody, his ears scratched with thorns." Presently, Tiger discovered Rhino

rolling on the ground. "My body has been scratched all over by that Ogre," he moaned. "Yes," retorted Tiger, "and I heard the Ogre say how sore his legs were from the wounds you dealt him." Then Rhino hung his head ashamed. But Tiger and Rhino returned together. And Bull and all the Beasts asked, "Whence these wounds, Rhino?" Quoth Rhino, "I refused to give up the fish to Ogre, and fought him and would never have budged had not a crowd of his friends come up and compelled me to flee. Thorns stuck in my wounds and delayed my return." But all the Beasts thought his wounds had been got in thorn brakes only. Said Bull, "Friends all, is there anyone bold enough to stay on guard again? If not, let us go home." So all the Beasts of the Forest turned homewards. On the way, they took counsel together: said Bull, "I have heard Mouse-deer the Wily possesses power from Ali, let us consult him, the Sheikh of the Forest, in our plight," and they set out for his haunts. Now the Lord Sheikh of the Forest saw them coming so he stared from sky to earth like a diviner and observed to his followers, "This day, nay, now, the Beasts of the Forest will come and lay plaint before us." Then the Beasts came and told him of their plight and of Ogre's work at Tenom. And all the while the Sheikh of the Forest stared at Rhino. "Why is my friend's body wounded and muddied?" he asked. "It was the work of Ogre," replied Rhino, doing obeisance. "What a shame," quoth the Sheikh, "a fine body, too, wounded with thorns and rotans. Accursed Ogre." The Rhino was sore ashamed. And Monkey came up and asked him what was the matter. "Our Lord the Sheikh knows everything by his magic spells," said Rhino. ...Then the Sheikh of the Forest agreed to set out in seven days' time. And after seven days, he set out for Tenom, mounted on the back of a white Bull, and the Beasts fished and got a large catch. And Mouse-deer bade them get him rotan nooses and sat on guard alone. As soon as Mouse-deer made a fire to fry his fish, Ogre crept up and cried, "What dost thou, Mouse-deer?" Quoth Mouse-deer, "My body is tired and sick and I am medicining it with these simples, an heirloom from my forefathers." "Well, I have come for fish and I want the fish first, but I should like some of those simples, too," said Ogre. "You must have the simples first," quoth Mouse-deer, twining the rotan nooses about

Ogre's knees and elbows: "don't break them or the medicines will not work." Then he tied the nooses till Ogre could not move. "Are you feeling better?" asked Mouse-deer, "keep still and I will medicine your head." Ogre kept still and the Sheikh of the Forests scratched his face with his long dog-teeth and gouged out his eyes and raised his battle cry. And though all the Beasts run up only Lion and Tiger stood their ground when Ogre yelled his cries of agony. But the Beasts soon returned: some stamped, some prodded Ogre till he died. Then said Mouse-deer, "Has Ogre any comrades?" and Bull answered, "None, your highness." And Mouse-deer asked "Where are his comrades, Rhino?" but Rhino said never a word. So the Beasts of the Forest fished in the river Tenom seven days and afterwards all went home.

III

FARCIICAL TALES.

Just as savage wit observing and exaggerating with childish naivety the characteristics of the animal creation evolved the Beast Fable, so by similar observation and exaggeration of the characteristics of human nature it evolved the farcical tale. In Indonesian fable Mouse-deer is the type of cunning, and one may imagine how, ever since the type was first established, Indonesian imagination has set itself the task of inventing circumstances in which that cunning could find its scope and so of adding to its repertory of fables: and thus, too, with farcical tales, the type once established, one can fancy how every conceivable act of folly would be ascribed to *Pa Pandir*, and every conceivable spiteful circumstance be a setting for *Lēbai Malang*, just as we ascribe so many "bulls" and drolleries to the typical Irishman and so many blunders and absurdities to the City Alderman. It is on analogy not surprising to find a type of farcical character common like Mouse-deer to the whole of the

Malay Archipelago, in Java, among the various tribes of Sumatra, in the different States of the Malay peninsula; stretching, indeed, further and having traits in common with European and Arab types. Sometimes the relationship is apparently direct, the tale immediately borrowed from an alien source. If the tale called "The Adventures of Saw Kay," which Mrs. Chan Toon gives in one of her books, *The Triumph of Love*, is a fair rendering of a Burmese folk-tale, then I take it *Si Lunchai* is a type probably borrowed from Burma or derived from some common source. Elsewhere I give an epitome of the *Si Lunchai* tales, and here I will quote that part of the Burmese tale whose points of resemblance are patent and unmistakable.

The guards proceeded to fasten him in the death-basket. A guard was set to watch him, while all the party repaired to the tent where the breakfast was spread. The sentry first nodded at his post and then went off to enjoy himself—when a large flat-bottomed boat, laden with silk and jewellery and propelled by one man, drifted down stream.

"Hullo, you fellow in the basket, what are you doing there?" cried the steersman in astonishment. To which Saw Kay replied: "The King of Ava is dead and the Royal Astrologer has said that I must succeed him but I have refused the crown, and, as the wise men say that while I live no other can reign, it has been decided that I shall die."

"Fool," replied the boatman, "don't I wish I had your chance."

"What would you give me for it?" asked Saw Kay.

"All I have; my boat and its cargo."

"Agreed," said Saw Kay; "only, hurry and take my place before anyone comes."

Quickly the boatman cut away Saw Kay's bonds with his *dak* and, hastily changing turbans, stepped gladly into the basket and was firmly fastened in by Saw Kay, who then scrambled into the boat and shooting it out amid stream proceeded to light a cheroot

and make himself thoroughly comfortable to watch the execution. The prisoner cried in a lusty voice: "I have changed my mind—I will be King, I will be King."

"A fine King you will be," cried everyone in chorus, and the basket was quickly unloosed and kicked into the river, a wild cry of vain agony alone reaching the watching crowd above. Saw Kay was dead. Meanwhile, Saw Kay slept calmly on a pile of his new goods. In the evening the merchants repaired to a pagoda to render prayers of thanksgiving, and thither Saw Kay, having hung himself with many jewels, followed them. Half an hour passed and then the worshippers prepared to return, whereupon Saw Kay arose, a majestic awful figure, barring their exit.

"I have returned," cried Saw Kay. "It has befallen that you, seeking to do me the greatest evil, succeeded only in accomplishing my greatest good, for the road to the abodes of the blest leads straight from the pool of the river into which you rolled me; there I met many of your relatives who sorrowed greatly at the thought they would never see you again, murder being the one crime that for ever denies to a man eternal bliss."

"Is there no repentance possible?" asked his hearers.

"Yes," answered Saw Kay, solemnly. "But only through my clemency, my mercy. Knowing all, I forgive all. And to prove this to you, I yielded to your relatives' prayers and consented to return here and speak to you, and thereby purchase your entry among us."

"And this state of which you tell us, how and in what way can we reach it?"

"By following me," Saw Kay replied, slowly; "so and in no other way. Let eight baskets be made, seven for you and the eighth for me. I even I with my own immortal hands will put you in those baskets and roll you into the heavenly pool."

"We will follow," they cried.

On the river bank were eight cylindrical-shaped baskets lying ready.

"An offering from your relatives," said Saw Kay, in answer to their surprised glances. Then, solemnly with no undue haste, he fastened each merchant securely in—and with a sudden wild mocking laugh rolled each of his victims into eternity.¹

¹ For the Malay version, see Appendix III (1).

The Burmese tale differs a little from the Malay tale, but that is only to be expected in tales handed down by tradition. There are different versions even of the Malay story. In one *Si Lunchai* kills the king by decoying him down a pit. In another, collected by Mr. Laidlaw, he tells him the road to heaven is the sea, and when the King dives in *Si Lunchai* plunges after and fastens the king to a rock where he had a chain prepared, so drowning him. The "basket" execution occurs earlier in the Malay tale. *Si Lunchai's* death in the Malay tale is the work of a raja scribe bolstering up the prestige of his class.

Between other types there is no such clearly traceable bond, if bond it be, and the tales did not spring up independently of one another. For instance, *Pa Pandir* putting the bamboo filled with salt into the river to keep it safe is first cousin to Lever's Handy Andy putting the butter under his hat to keep it cool, or, as Hurgronje has pointed out, to Eulenspiegel, who ordered to grease the axles of his master's carriage greases the whole wheel. "Just as popular in Indonesian fable as crafty Mouse-deer," observes Dr. Snouck Hurgronje in his book *The Achinese*, "is a certain character which, even on the most superficial acquaintance, exhibits unmistakable traces of relationship with the German Eulenspiegel, the Arabo-Turkish Juha or Khojah Nasr ad-din. In Sundanese dress he is pretty generally known as *Si Kabayan*; but in some places and in some of the tales he appeared as *Si Buta-Tuli* (the blind and deaf), while in certain localities sayings and doings, which are elsewhere put down to *Si Kabayan's* account, are related under another name. Some of the tales are at least as pretty as the best of those of Eulenspiegel; others owe their interest more

to the rough specimens of popular pleasantry which they contain, while many are, according to European ideas, unfit for translation. Like Eulenspiegel, who as coachman greases the whole of his master's carriage in place of the axle, *Kabayan* is always taking the wrong meaning out of the words of his educators and advisers, and constantly alarming, astonishing, or injuring them by his method of putting their advice into execution. He himself, too, often gets into great difficulties through his endless misconceptions. From these straits, however, he always manages to escape and, though he never has a cent to his name, and shows a constant disinclination to settle down to any fixed occupation or to fulfilling his duties as husband or father, he comes out with flying colours day after day from all his pranks, and moves to side-shaking laughter all who have not suffered personal damage from his rogueries and cunning stupidity. Having once for all become the central point around which all popular humour and irony revolve, he undoubtedly plays a part occasionally in stories which originally belonged to a different cycle or even in those imported from foreign countries. It is just in this way that legend is wont to ascribe to a great hero deeds which are really performed by some of his less celebrated colleagues. The encyclopaedia of *Kabayan* stories even now comprises some tales differing entirely from one another in type: in some, the hero is nothing but a foolish dullard, in other characterised by the utmost cunning. Both of these are at variance with the Eulenspiegel character. The same remarks apply, though in a less degree, to the *Jaku Bodo* (silly young man) of the Javanese, and to *Si Pandir* among the Menangkabau Malays, to the *Si Meuseukin* or *Pa*

Pande of the Achinese." They apply also, to some extent, to the farcical tales of the Peninsular Malays. The nearest approach to the Eulenspiegel type is perhaps *Pa Pandir*, Father Folly, whom a kind fate is always saving from the consequences of his own foolishness." In *Pa Pea's-cod*, on the contrary, "the hero is nothing but a foolish dullard." In *Lébai Malang* and *Mat Jamin* we have versions of the wide-spread stories of folk who count their chickens before they are hatched; the heroes are hardly so much born-fools as the fools of fate. In *Pa Bêlalang* (Daddy Long-legs), and still more in *Si Lanchai*, the heroes are "characterised by the utmost cunning." But, as none of the Peninsular tales have been hitherto published, I give them all in outline, and, that the reader can judge for himself their literary quality more particularly, I give two "Daddy Long-legs" tales in full.

The season was so dry that the rice crop failed; and the Long-leg family were sore put to it to get food, picking up occasionally a little rice, occasionally potatoes, sugar-cane, bananas, aroids and so on. At last came the wet weather, and all folk went down to their rice fields to clean ditches, repair broken dykes, plough up with buffaloes their patches of rice-field till the soil was soft and good for planting, and the crop healthy and free from the danger of such pests as worms, rats and pig. Everybody worked except Daddy Long-legs, who did nothing but doze day and night in the house, very wretched at his poverty and unable to see his way to buy food on credit.

One day said Daddy Long-legs to his son: "Alas, in what a plight we are, without any food!" Said Long-legs, "Well, what can you think of, Daddy?" Quoth Daddy Long-legs, "You go and hide a pair of buffaloes that belong to those folk ploughing; hide them in the scrub. If the people clamour at their loss, say I have the gift of divination and can show them the place where their buffaloes are." They had finished their plotting. It was midday and all the rice-planting folk were tired, ceased work,

and went into their shelters, at Frank, and some his wife. Their buffaloes were tethered near the dykes in the shade of groves, and half of them were wallowing in pools. So Long-legs went alone, peeping and spying at the sleeping owners, untied the buffaloes by their cords, took them about a mile away and tied them up to a big tree. Then he went home and told his father, who was glad when he heard how his son had followed his teaching. When it was evening, all the rice-planters went back to their fields to fetch their buffaloes, and found two missing. In vain they searched: and said, 'We wonder if there is anyone who has the gift of divination. We want to get him to tell us where our lost buffaloes are.' Just then, Long-legs was playing near them and cried, 'My father knows a little magic for finding lost goods.' 'Is it true?' asked the folk. 'Yes,' said Long-legs. Then said one of them, 'Come, my friend, let us all go to Daddy Long-legs and ask him to help us.' So all the rice-planters went to see Daddy Long-legs. Daddy Long-legs was at home, his betel-crusher in his hand, and gave them greeting. 'What purpose have ye, my sons?' They answered, 'We've come to ask you to tell us where are the buffaloes we've lost and sought in vain.' Quoth Daddy Long-legs, 'I have little skill, but will try if you like,' and he fetched a piece of shabby paper and wrote on it haphazard at a venture like the scratching of a fowl, and he counted his fingers and closed his eyes and exclaimed 'Ah, my sons, that pair of buffaloes is tied up to a big tree of this shape towards the west, and ye must be quick or they'll die.' As soon as they heard this, those folk were glad at heart: half went home and half went in search of the buffaloes and came in due time to the spot where Long-legs had tethered them. The buffaloes were nearly dead of thirst. So they took them and brought them home; sure and confident of Daddy Long-legs' skill: and they went to his house, with a number of presents, husked and unhusked, tobacco, gambier and so on worth about fifty pieces of money. Daddy Long-legs was delighted at the presents, and he and his family had food in plenty and at ease. And the rice-planters all went off to their several homes.

Astrologer Long-legs was one day summoned by the King, and invited to go up-country on an elephant to a durian orchard and

the King's feet of the trees his subjects had planted. And the King ordered him to mount the royal elephant to balance the howdah. But the Astrologer said, "Pardon, your highness; if I sit balanced on the same seat as your highness, surely I shall suffer something," said the King, "Never mind. My heart feels nothing but affection for thee. Come hither." So Astrologer Long-legs mounted the royal elephant and sat on the King's left hand; and the elephants of the visitors and captains followed then towards the orchard, whither they went glad at heart to pluck the fruits.

When it was evening, and the King had come half way home, it happened a tiny Daddy Long-legs flew right into his hand. And he grasped it and cried, "Ho, Astrologer, if you really have the gift of divination, what is this I hold in my hand?" But the Astrologer answered, "I have not enquired your highness. I cannot say." And the King pretended to be wroth and said, "Verily, I will slay thee, if thou canst not say, for having cheated me with thy pretensions all this while," and he drew his dagger and directed its point towards the Astrologer's breast, demanding what it was he held in his hand. But his Astrologer was silent thinking his last hour had come, and wept thinking on his son Long-legs and he moaned and muttered, "Goodbye, Long-legs. Alas! Long-legs, Long-legs." And the King laughed; "Yes, it is a Daddy Long-legs we hold," and he opened his hand and showed the insect. Said the Astrologer, "Your highness would show us the way now. We are old. But we have hundreds of charm books about that insect at home." Quoth the King, "And so we show thee the way to increase of reputation, Astrologer." Then the elephants arrived at the hall; the King ascended his palace and his Astrologer craved leave to depart home, thinking in his heart it were well he burnt his house that he could live safe from royal problems henceforth. So, at night, he took counsel with his wife. In a moment his house was ablaze, and Master Fire playing the Maharaja Lela. Astrologer Long-legs pretended to call for help, but he had put all his goods in another place. The King heard voices shouting for help and went down in haste to the scene of his Astrologer's misfortune and asked, "What is this, Astrologer." Said Long-legs, "A great misfortune, your highness. All my chests of books on astrology have perished. From this day I beg to be removed from my office of Astrologer."

Said the King, "Very well. Do no more work. Remove from hence, and we will provide for thee and thy family, for great have been thy services to us to preserve our honour. We will cherish thee till thy death." And on that very night the Astrologer removed to a house near the palace, and the King gave him food and money in plenty. For a lucky man is never confounded.

I regret I have been unable to examine Von De Wall's Menangkabau versions (*Bunga Rampai, IV*) of *Pa Pandir* and *Lébai Malang* for comparison.

In addition to tales already mentioned, there are two others that deserve notice. Mr. Skeat's Patani story "Father Follow-my-nose and the Four Priests" looks as if it may be a fragmentary part of a series of stories circling round a character slightly different from any of those we have already met, and it shows distinctly Siamese influence in the introduction of the Buddhist priests. The story of *Musang Bérjunggut*, the Bearded Polecat, is pure farce, a tale turning not on a type of character but on plot and incident. And, certainly, it is foreign and not Malay. It is hardly likely that the Malay whose light till recently has been only a torch or a flickering tin lamp could imagine a man playing the part of a pedestal lamp, a thing he had never seen.

The unconscious human note in these tales stands a welcome and signal relief beside the stilted style of romances, whose interest depends not so much on the slightest characterisation as on a tiresome endless recital of fine clothes, fine feasts and fine manners; for our next subject, Romance, brings us to the beginning of the end of folk-lore, out of the atmosphere of the village into that of the palace, where a people really compact of good manners forget manners and even life itself to gloat like new-made

upstarts over the glitter and parade of pretty (foreign) ceremonial.

NOTE.—All but one of the stories I give in outline have been collected and written down by Raja Haji Yahya bin Raja Muhammad Ali, Penghulu of Chendriang, Perak: and my thanks are due to Mr. G. M. Laidlaw for allowing me to examine versions of most of them collected by himself independently; it is perhaps remarkable that the versions of tales handed down merely by tradition so often nearly resemble one another. I cannot find that the story of *Pa Muang*, frequently the subject of casual allusion, is anything but a fable of the *Æsop* type.

IV.

THE ROMANCES OF FOLK-LORE.

The printed examples of folk-lore romance may be counted on one's fingers: the stories of Sri Rama, Raja Donan, Raja Ambong, Raja Budiman: in addition, there have lately been collected in Perak the stories of Awang Sulong Merah Muda, Maalim Dewa, Maalim Deman, Anggun Che Tunggal and Raja Muda. They are the cream of Malay literature. And they stand a half-way house between the fragmentary literature of Indonesian mythology and folk-tale and the Malay literary romance of modern times, tedious and a slavish copy of Indian models. Structurally, they have the outline and machinery of all Malay romance: the miraculous birth; the superhuman hero compelled by dreams or ill-fortune or lying astrology to wanderings wherein monsters and wicked princes are vanquished by the help of *dewas* and heaven-sent birds; the visit to Keyangan the Hindu Olympus; the settling down after this Oriental *wanderjahr* to royal state with a royal complement of brides. They are saturated with

Hindu mythology. Whenever any of the heroes, Awang Sulong or Maalim Deman or Raja Donan, is born—

*Seven lengths of floor are riven ;
Seven roof-trees split and shivered ;
Sun shines and rain-storm patters,
Forks of lightning flash and flicker ;
Thunder shoots its leven bolts
'Gin to blare the royal trumpets,
'Gin to thud the royal drums.*

When Raja Muda is born, there simultaneously come into existence himself, a buffalo and a leviathan incarnate from three pieces of magic coconut, which his father won from a serpent to appease his mother's longings; and his strange brothers stand by him in every crisis. Similar miracles attend the birth of Raja Donan. The mothers and often the fathers of these heroes die after the birth of their supernatural offspring. When the heroes sing,

*The flowing water stops to listen,
The flying bird turns back to hear
The sound of the voice of the sweet singer
As the sound of the voice of David the Prophet.*

Seeing the gleam of Awang Sulong's teeth,

*Lizards bow and do obeisance
On the ceiling in the thatching ;
Hawks do battle to the northward ;
Dart and dive the sharks in ocean ;
Swoops the whale upon his prey.*

It is fruitful and suggestive to quote the account of Buddhah's birth in this context :

The future Buddha had become a superb white elephant. Three times he walked round his mother's couch, and striking

her on her right side, he seemed to enter her womb. Thus the conception took place.....All the ten thousand worlds shook and quivered.....All musical instruments gave forth their notes without being played upon; rain fell out of season; the birds ceased flying; the rivers checked their flow.....Whereas a womb that has been occupied by a future Buddha is like the shrine of a temple and can never be used again, therefore it was that the mother of the future Buddha died when he was seven days old..... At the very time of the birth there also came into existence the mother of Rahula, Channa the courtier, Kaludayi the courtier, Kanthaka the king of horses, the Great Bo-tree and the four urns full of treasure.¹

Or again,

The Buddha seized hold of his top-knot and diadem and threw them into the air, saying, "If I am to become a Buddha, let them stay in the sky." They mounted for the distance of a league into the air and then came to a stop: and Sakka, the king of the gods, received them in a golden casket.

So, too, Raja Ambong burnt incense, and, taking a metal tray made at the time of a dead princess' birth, passed it through the smoke, placed on it a letter and his own turban and directed it to fly through the air. Thus far, these tales are copies of Indian romance, but the heroes, though they have supernatural powers, are historical characters to the reciter and his Malay audience; living in real countries, Maalim Deman in Muar, the "Dandy Prince" (Anggul Che Tunggal) ruling over Tiku-periaman; Raja Muda over Benua Tua, which is said to be a hamlet in Perak near Sungkai, where, according to gossips, one post of *Ninek Kebayan's* house, a portal to Keyangan, is still to be seen up-river. Infidel "villains" (whom Dutch scholars may be able to identify), called variously Raja

¹ H. C. Warren's "Buddhism in Translations" (Harvard, 1900).

Pertokal,¹ Raja Berdurai Puteh, Commander Tehling and so forth, come on the stage to be ingloriously vanquished and sketched in terribly caustic characters. Raja Berdurai Puteh is a Dutchman who will not wake up: pummel him, wrestle with him, cut off his head even, he takes it sleeping:

Seven cubits broad his breast;

Seven spans around his arm

Malays four from out one root,

Pounds of meat at once he'd rave,

Half would cling about his gunders

Occasionally, when convenient for the plot, even the Dutch "villain" and his party are credited with knowledge of the black art, for to the story-teller the black art is not romance but the real attribute of all great folk some ages ago. The daughter of "Sleepy Head" transforms her Malay lover, Prince Dandy, back from monkey to man by brushing him with magic coconut frond. Love converts the same damsel to Islam. In conversation, the Dutch commanders use innuendo and the common tactics of Malay diplomacy. Essentially the stories are the product of home-keeping wits and their distinctive note naive realism. They are infected with the crude but genuine humour to be found in the jokes of the clown of the modern *bangsawan* or in the tales of *The Bearded Polecat* and *Daddy Long-legs*. There are the incidents of the helmsman's bragging and discomfiture in *Awang Sulong* or the passage in *Raja Donan* describing the old astrologer. "At every three paces he halted to straighten his back and draw seven long breaths: he entered the place in a rage. 'Old enough for a grave and yet summoned. Accursed king, may spirits run

¹ Perhaps "Portugal" and not Dutch.

off with him.' The maids of honour heard him grumbling and pretended they would tell the king. But the old fellow clutched their skirts and cried: 'Don't, or I'll be killed and my old wife left alone. When she is dead, I'll marry you, if you will not tell the king about me.' Local colour takes the place of conventional description. The inheritors of magic splendour are ushered into the world like *kampong* children by a present of betel-nut to an old midwife who comes running with dishevelled hair, slipping clothes and bleeding feet. Awang Sulong's mother dies after the festival of the rice harvest, after a Malay bean-feast. A prince suffers transformation, but it is into the familiar spectacle of a Semang full of sores and scurvy. The golden dragon blocking the river in *Raja Budiman* perturbs the *pawang*s of the nets and fishing stakes. The disguised hero lies inside a mat covered with husks and chaff and fetched from a shed where pestle and mortar for pounding rice are kept. The complaisant talking bird in *Raja Donan* is a kite and is bribed by its mistress' leave to devour one of the hens feeding in her father's court-yard. The hero must have his teeth filed, learn fencing, study the Koran, be circumcised. The latest religion of Malaya claims recognition. For ghostly visitant of the hero's dream in *Chëndur Mata*:

*Comes a saint of God from Mecca,
Keeper of keys of God's Kaabah;
Robed in white, with snowy turban,
Wearing spectacles from China.*

What a pity Malay literature foreswore these vivid impressionist sketches!

The cream of realism, so light that at times it almost mounts into idealism, is contained in the metrical passages of these tales like that just quoted. There is the description of dawn in the *Sri Rama*; the picture of a palace with its pigeons and decoy birds and meadows full of kine in *Maalin Deman*; in *Awang Sulong*, the graphic sketch of a house, of up-land jungle, the elaborately touched study of a raja's costume, which would be finely imaginative, if it were not so closely drawn from actual superstitions. Elsewhere I have translated the description of Awang Sulong's costume; so, here, I will give a rendering of the metrical passage in which the raiment of Sri Rama is set out: Sir William Maxwell's is inadequate and disappointing.

Troucers first of ancient fabric;
Not a gore to gull their wearer,
Moving each before his limbs move,
Round the waist a hundred spangles,
Round the feet a thousand spangles,
All about the body spangles,
Larger spangles down the seams
Such the raiment of Sri Rama.
Round his waist he wrapped a waist-band,
Broad and long the flowered linen,
With the fringe some thirty cubits
Thrice a day it changed its colour
In the morning dew-like tissue,
Noon day saw it turn to purple
And at eve 'twas shining yellow
Such the raiment of Sri Rama.
Velvet coat of glowing crimson,
Thrice nay seven times the dyes
Might erase its splendid colour
Then a stranger touch it, soiled he

For three years, 't would stain his fingers :
 Such the raiment of Sri Rama.
 Seven-waved the kris he carried,
 Blade and cross-piece one unjointed ;
 Into haft the cross-piece fitted
 Screwed without the help of craftsman ;
 Magic grooves at base of blade
 Twin in length, of deadly import ;
 'Mid the blade was damask fateful
 Setting foes' allotted span ;
 And at point the sacred letters,
 Symbol of the name of Allah,
 Alif Lam that greet the dying
 Next the damask silver veining
 Of no common steel 't was fashioned
 Forged of fragments of the metal
 Used for bolt of God's Kaabah ;
 Work of Adam, God's own prophet
 In his hand did Adam smelt it
 With his finger tip he shaped it,
 Burnished it with scented water
 In a furnace brought from China
 Came its deadliness from heaven,
 Would you clean the blade with acid
 At the river's upper reaches,
 Dead the fish at mouth of river
 Such the raiment of Sri Rama.
 Round his brow he wrapped a kerchief
 Blazoned with the creed of Islam ;
 Space in centre left unpatterned,
 Craftsman's purpose unaccomplished,
 Left one corner uncompleted ;
 Were it finished world would end
 For it was no common weaving ;
 Work from girlhood of his mother,

Full of love-charms and enchantments:
Charm to win each heart at outset;
Charm to drive a village crazy;
Charm of Solomon the Prophet
Bringing sundered hearts together;
Charm of unison for lovers,
As when salt is mixed with acid
Each more pungent for the mixing;
Charms make drunk the heart with longing;
Charm the white crow gave his name to
(This so lucky, none that have it
Need fear violence in dying);
Charm that opens every barrier
E'en as Jonah oped the whale's mouth;
All were woven in the pattern
Such the raiment of Sri Rama
Scarf he donned of royal tissue,
Shoulder-scarf of many colours,
Muslin of no common weaving,
Wove by craftsmen gilled like fishes
In a jar in midst of ocean;
Craftsmen beaked like birds assisted
Task accomplished, alarm the weavers
Lest the pattern be repeated
Scarf the dress of old-world rajah,
Not to-day the dress of rajah
Hung to dry it gathers moisture,
Dryer grows, if soaked in water,
In it rent? The thread for darning
Purchased at a hundred dollars,
Makes it but the costlier fabric
Let one drop of dew but damp it
Cubits of it straight will tangle,
Till unravelled by the zephyrs:
Such the raiment of Sri Rama.

These metrical passages are an interesting problem. Sir William Maxwell compared them with Dyak blank verse. In metre, tone and style, they are like the magic invocations of which Mr. Skeat has collected so many examples. One invocation¹ gives phrases descriptive of house-building that are identical with those in the metrical picture of a house in *Awang Sulong*; in another the *Hantu Sungkai* is invested with the regalia of a Menangkabau raja, regalia enumerated in identical terms in a rhapsodist version now in my possession of the Sumatran story *Chëndur Mata*. They also resemble the sayings in which is embodied the Negri Sembilan constitution: there are the same metaphors, the same metre and even identical passages; the description of upland jungle is word for word alike in both contexts.

It has been debated if the admixture of elements in these romances took place among the Muhammadan peoples of Southern India, but to solve the problem it would require a knowledge of several languages and literatures. There is little doubt that most of them came into the Peninsula by way of Menangkabau. There is the evidence of the metrical passages. The bulk of the stories, those collected by Sir William Maxwell and those recently gleaned, came from the same source, a Sumatran source. Mir Hassan, Sir William Maxwell's rhapsodist, was a son-in-law of Pawang Ana the old Termusai man who recited *Awang Sulong*, *Maalim Deman*, *Maalim Dewa*, *Anggun Che Tunggal*, *Raja Muda*. The version of *Awang Sulong*, obtained by Mr. Abraham Hale in Negri Sembilan, had identical Sumatran words (*Pa Bongsu* for *tuanku*: *gadis* for *permaisuri*), identical

¹ Malay Magic, p. 632 (CLXX); Malay Magic, p. 593 (XXIII).

metrical passages. The house described in *Awang Sulong* is of a Sumatran style, foreign to the Peninsula. There is a Menangkabau version of *Maalim Deman* in the library of the Batavian Association which, from the allusion in Dr. Snouck Hurgronje's *Achinese*, would tally without story: there is also an Achinese version which would seem to be a mixture of *Maulim Dewa* and *Maalim Deman* together; and a Batak version which, according to Hurgronje, has "only isolated points of resemblance." All these romances must have had an Odyssey of adventure up and down the Malay Archipelago, and the prose parts have picked up much flotsam and jetsam in the wanderings of reciters; local pantuns, local words, local custom. The pantuns in *Awang Sulong* touch on islands and headlands from Malacca to Kedah Peak, and even the trite modern verse on Captain Light and the founding of Penang has crept in. The romances are not classic texts, a field for palaeographical criticism, but literature in solution handed down orally from father to son, and one version of the same story will differ from another if only in transcription. *Awang Sulong*, for instance, was put into literary form by a Perak raja, and some of the ceremonial of the Kuala Kangsar court has been interpolated in place of the reciter's brief allusions or in explanation of his metrical summary of, say, a wedding feast. Often scribes mar the older metrical passages from failure to understand obsolete words and foreign allusions or from failure to appreciate the vigorous unpolished style.

For primitive folk-lore appeals little to the taste of the modern Malay, proud as he is of the new learning, the smooth emasculate verse, the Arabic phrase. If

only he would write of the speed of railway and motor car as the rhapsodist sang of the speed of the wind-swift barks of romance; if only he would give us the same vivid word-pictures of priest and policeman, towkay or tamby, European official or native celebrity, which *Anggun Che Tunggal* gives us of the Dutch captain or *Chëndur Matu* of "The Keeper of Keys of God's Kaabah," if he would write of the real wonders of modern life as rhapsodists sang of the marvels of mythical rajas, their charms and their weapons; if he could adapt instead of copy, with his eye on the teeming varied life around him whom fate has thrown into contact with so many civilisations, then, at last, we might hope for a speedy renaissance, and an independent literature. For the Malay has humour, taste, imagination, a rich language, and (his best pantuns bear witness) a fund of genuine passion and emotion, but one foreign influence after another has borne down on him so rapidly that he cannot weigh the relative value of his materials nor see the wood for the trees.

[As Sir William Maxwell's collection and Mr Hugh Clifford's *Raja Budiman* have appeared with translations in the "Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society" (vols. 17, 18, 19) and *Raja Budiman* a separate publication, and as those more recently collected are appearing in a similar form, it has been thought unnecessary to append analyses of particular romances. It is a pity that the Committee of the Asiatic Society does not republish Sir William Maxwell's tales with his translations, romanised, and in one volume.]

APPENDICES.

I.

(1)

"TWO MALAY MYTHS: THE PRINCESS OF THE FOAM AND THE RAJA OF THE BAMBOO." By W. E. MAXWELL, Esq. A Translation of the Perak Legend, p. 501-507, Vol. XIII, Part IV, "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (October, 1881)....."

Baginda Daie reigned in Johor Lama. He despatched a trusted counsellor, one Nakhodah Kasim, to sail forth and look for a suitable place for a settlement, for there were plenty of willing emigrants. Nakhodah Kasim got ready a fleet of prahus and sailed up the Straits of Malacca, hugging the coast, till he reached Bruns (a district and river in Perak). While there he saw that a brisk trade was being carried on between the coast and the interior. His curiosity was aroused, and he penetrated on foot into the interior and discovered the Perak river. Here he traded, like the natives of the country, making trips up and down river, and selling salt and tobacco at river-side villages. On one of these trips he reached Tunang, in the north of Perak, and made fast his boat to the bank. After a few days the Semangs (for Perak was not yet populated by Malays) came down from their hills to buy salt. They came loaded with the produce of their gardens—sugar-canes, plantains, and edible roots—and brought their wives and families with them. A Semang girl, while her father was bargaining at the boat, took up a sugar-cane and began to strip off the rind with a knife; she accidentally cut her hand. Blood issued from the wound and its colour was not red but pure white. Nakhodah Kasim landed to see it with his own eyes. It occurred to him that this was a family not to be lost sight of; he loaded the father with presents, and in a month's time had so far won the confidence of the shy Semangs that he was able to ask for the girl in marriage. The father agreed and Nakhodah Kasim and his wife settled at Kuala Tunang, where they built a house and planted fruit trees.

Soon after their marriage an unprecedented flood occurred and quantities of foam came down the Perak river round the piles of their bathing-house; floating volumes of foam collected in a mass the size of an elephant. Nakhodah Kasim's wife going to bathe tried to move it away with a stick; she removed the upper portion of it and disclosed a girl child sitting enveloped in cloud-like foam. The child showed no fear, and the white Semang carried her up to the house; heralding her discovery by loud shouts to her husband. The couple adopted the child willingly, for they were childless. . . . The child was called Tan Puteh, but her father gave her the name of Tan Purba. As she grew up the wealth of her foster-parents increased; the village grew in extent and population and gradually became an important place.

One day some Semangs were hunting at a hill near the river Plus, called Bukit Pasir Puteh or Bukit Pelandok. They heard their dogs barking furiously, but on following them up found no quarry only a large bamboo (*buloh betong*), small at the top and bottom and having one large thick joint. They split open the thick part of the stem and found in it a male child, whom they forthwith took to Nakhodah Kasim. The latter adopted him as his son, and when the two children were grown up they were betrothed and in due time married. The marriage, however, was merely nominal, for Tan Puteh Purba preserved her virginity and returned to Changkat Pelandok; her husband returned to his native district, Plus. Nakhodah Kasim at last died, leaving Tan Puteh mistress of the whole of Perak. As he lay dying, he told her how he had come from Johor and how he had been despatched by its Raja, Sultan Mahmud, to find a suitable place for a settlement; and, with his dying breath, directed that a Raja for Perak should be asked for from that country. Tan Puteh called one of her ministers, Tan Saban, who came of a noble family and belonged to the district called *Tanah Merah*, Red Earth; he had two children, both girls. Tan Saban was commanded by his mistress to open negotiations with Johor, and this having been done, a prince of the royal house of that kingdom who traced descent from the old line of Menangkabau, sailed for Perak to assume the sovereignty. He brought with him the (usual) insignia. . . . in a box called *Basinan*. On his way up the Perak river the new Raja stopped at Selat Lembajayan, and, in leaning

over the boat's side to look at some fish, lost his crown, which fell from his head and immediately sank. His people dived in vain for it, and from that day to this no Sultan of Perak has had a crown. Near Kota Stia, the Raja was received by Tan Puteh, Tan Saban and all the chief men of the country, who escorted him to Kota Lumut, where he was formally installed Sultan of Perak under the title of Ahamad Taj Uddin Shah, and one of the daughters of Tan Saban was given to him in marriage. (It is he to whom Perak Malays popularly ascribe the political organisation of the country under the control of chiefs of various ranks). After a short reign he died leaving one son, about two years old. As soon as the Sultan's death was known in Johor a nephew of his (who was afterwards known as Sultan Malik Shah) started for Perak. Having reached his late uncle's palace at Tanah Abang, to which place the capital had been removed from Kota Lumut, he called for the nurses and attendants of the infant Raja and demanded permission to visit his young cousin. He was accordingly introduced into the prince's apartment, and seizing the child by violence broke his neck and killed him. He then seized the royal sword and other insignia and established himself as Raja. By degrees all the chiefs and people came in and accepted the usurper as sovereign with the single exception of Tan Saban, grandfather of the murdered boy. His obstinate refusal led to a war which lasted three years. Tan Saban was gradually driven further and further up the Perak river. His most determined stand was made at Kota Lattu, where he fortified a strong position. This was closely invested by the Sultan's forces and a long siege ensued. During the siege an unknown warrior joined the Sultan's army. He came from Pagaruyong, in Menangkabau, and was the illegitimate son of the great Sultan of that country by a concubine. In consequence of his illegitimate birth he was driven forth, having for his sole fortune a matchlock (*istinggal*) and four bullets on each of which was inscribed: "This is the son of the concubine of the Raja of Pagaruyong, his name is Megat Terawis; wherever this bullet falls he will become a chief." Megat Terawis did not declare his name or origin to the Perak men, but, having selected an auspicious day, he asked one of the Sultan's followers to point out Tan Saban to him. Tan Saban was frequently to be seen on the outworks of his fort across the

[REDACTED]

river dressed in garments of conspicuous colours: in the morning he wore red, at mid-day yellow, and in the evening his clothes were green. When he was pointed out to Megat Terawis it was morning and he was dressed in red. Megat Terawis levelled his matchlock and fired, and his bullet struck Tan Saban's leg. The skin was hardly broken and the bullet fell to the ground at the chief's feet; but on taking it up and reading the inscription he knew that he had received his death-wound. He retired to his house, and, after ordering his flag to be hauled down, despatched a messenger to the opposite camp to call the warrior whose name he had read on the bullet. Enquiries for Megat Terawis were fruitless at first, for no one knew the name. At length he declared himself and went across the river to the presence of the dying man. The latter said to him: Megat Terawis, thou art my son in this world and the next and my property is thine. I likewise give thee my daughter in marriage and do thou serve the Raja faithfully and not be rebellious as I have been. Tan Saban then sued for the Sultan's pardon, which was granted to him, and the marriage of his daughter with Megat Terawis was permitted to take place. Tan Saban died and was buried with all the honours due to a Malay chief. Megat Terawis was raised to the rank of a chief, and one account says he became Bendahara. Not long after this, the Sultan ascended the Perak river to its source, in order to fix the boundary between Perak and Patani. At the foot of the mountain Titi Wangsa they found a great rock in the middle of the stream from beneath which the water issued; and there was a wild cotton tree upon the mountain which bore both red and white flowers, the white flowers being on the side facing Perak and the red ones on the side turned towards Patani. Then the Sultan climbed up upon the big rock in the middle of the river and drawing his sword *Pirbuang* smote the rock and clave it in two, so that the water ran down in one direction to Perak and in the other to Patani. This was declared to be the boundary between the two countries. On their return downstream the Raja and his followers halted at Chegar Galah, where a small stream runs into the river Perak. They were struck with astonishment at finding the water of this stream as white as the grated pulp of coconut (*santan*). Megat Terawis, who was despatched to the source of the stream to discover the cause,

found there a large *haruan* fish suckling her young one: she had large white breasts from which milk issued. He told the Raja, who called the river Perak (silver) from its exceeding whiteness and returned to Kota Lama.

(2)

Ha, si gempar alam
Gegak gempita.
Jarum besi akan ruma-ku,
Jarum tembaga akan ruma-ku.
Ular bisa akan janggut-ku;
Buaya akan tongkat mulut-ku,
Harimau mēndēram di-pēngri-ku,
Gajah mēndēring bungi suara-ku,
Suara-ku sēperti bungi halilantar
Bibir tērkatup, gigi tērkunchi
Jikalau bērgērak bumi dēngan langit
Bērgērak-lah hati ūngkau
Hēndak marah atau hēndak mēmbinasakan ka pada
aku (p. 604).

Aku bisa, tulang aku tembaga
Aku bērnama harimau Allah (p. 653).

Al-kalam alaikum puteri sa-tokong besar,
Yang bēralun bērhilir si mayang,
Si gēdabah mayang,
Puteri tujoh dara dang mayang
Mari kēchil ka-mari,
Mari sēnik ka-mari,
Mari burong ka-mari,
Mari halus ka-mari,
Aku mēmaut leher-mu,
Aku mēnyanggul rambut-mu,
Aku mēmbawa sadap gading

Akan mēmbasoh muka-mu,
 Sadap gading mēranchong kamu,
 Kacha gading mēnadahkan-mu,
 Kolam gading mēnanti di-bacah-mu,
 Bērtēpok bērkechar di-dalam kolam gading,
 Kolam bērna maharaja bēraalin (p. 612-3).—
 "Skeat's Malay Magic."

Dudok aku di-bawah arash Allah,
 Payong ku Muhammad sērtu-ku,
 Jibrail di-kanan-ku,
 Mika'il di-kiri-ku,
 Sēdang mēlailikat mēngiringkan aku
 Khalifat Allah.
 Ya hanan, ya manan
 Ya din, ya būrhan,
 Yasin ul-koran,
 Tērtutup tērkunchi
 Hati sakalian sētru lawan-ku,
 Mēmandang-ku:
 Tērbuka tērkēmbang
 Hati sēdang mūmin
 Mēmandang-ku:
 Bērkat aku sērtu Allah bērdiri-ku
 Sērtu Muhammad bērmarah Allah,
 Maka bērmarah aku bērmarah Muhammad,
 Maka aku bērmarah-lah
 Ular tēdong akan chawat-ku,
 Gajah mēta akan kēindēraan-ku,
 Kilat pantas akan tēntang-ku,
 Harimau buas akan bayang-ku,
 Bērkat aku mēmakai doa Si Arwang Lēbeh;
 Dudok pun aku lēbeh,
 Bērdiri pun aku lēbeh,
 Bērjalan pun aku lēbeh,

Berkata-kata pun aku lèbeh;
Berkat doa Si Awang Lèbeh
Aku-lah di-lèbeh-kan Allah di-dalam dunia;
Aku bërnama mutia Allah
Aku bërnama g'liqa Muhammad
Aku-lah tuhan segala manusia di-dalam dunia
Berkat aku mèmakai doa Si Awang Lèbeh.
Kubul bërkat la-ilaha-ila'-llah...
Muhammad rasul Allah.—(From a MS. Charm Book).

II.

(1)

A SYNOPSIS OF PENINSULAR MOUSE-DEER
STORIES.

Some Mouse-deer Tales (R. O. Winstedt *Journal, Royal Asiatic Society, Straits Branch, No. 45, 1905*)—Buffaloes release Crocodile whose tail has been pinned by the fall of a tree: Crocodile repays this kindness by seizing one of them by the hind-leg till Mouse-deer coming up pretends to disbelieve the story of the release and so nettles Crocodile that he gets the Buffaloes to raise the trunk again and creeping too close is pinned down once more. (Skeat, page 20, gives a version, where man takes the part of buffalo, tiger of crocodile and a trap of the fallen tree.) Dying Crocodile swears eternal enmity between his tribe and Mouse-deer. Mouse-deer is caught by a Crocodile, but escapes by saying it is not his leg but a withered branch which has been gripped. To cross a river without danger, Mouse-deer bids all the Crocodiles in the name of Solomon rise and be counted: he then crosses on a bridge of their backs. Sambur-doe, meeting Mouse-deer, sees his mouth red with slaver, Mouse-deer declares it is from the juice of betel-nut which he got in a kampong where all comers are welcome: Sambur-doe goes thither and is trapped by the gardener. A Sambur-fawn attacks Mouse-deer for killing her mother. Mouse-deer leaps into a deep pit to escape and later climbs out on the backs of beasts he has decoyed down by pointing at the drifting clouds and saying the sky is falling.

(This device is also used in one of the tales of the *Hikayat Pelandoek Djinaka*.) Mouse-deer persuades Tiger, who wants to devour him, to open his mouth wide and jumping right into his maw kills him. Mouse-deer cheats Tiger by pretending a wasp's nest is Solomon's gong, when a blow from inquisitive Tiger sets the wasps stinging him; by pretending a slit bamboo stem in which the wind sounds is Solomon's viol, when Tiger's tongue is pinched off in the closing fissure; by pretending cow-dung is Solomon's rice; by pretending a coiled snake is Solomon's turban, when Tiger is killed by Snake. Mouse-deer is caught fast in a "Tar-baby," but, getting a bird to cover him with bird-lime, is taken for dead and stinking and thrown on a rubbish heap whence he leaps away. Mouse-deer, caught in a trap, tells the Watch-dog he is shut there for refusing to marry the gardener's daughter: the Dog, being anxious to marry, takes his place and gets a beating. Mouse-deer is worsted in a race with King-snail, who ranging his subjects along the shore bids each in station pop up in front of Mouse-deer, who sees King-snail apparently always ahead of him. (Skeat, page 33, gives this story of the King-crow and the Water-snail.)

A Mouse-deer Tale (G. M. Laidlaw, J. R. A. S., S. B., No. 46, 1906. Taken down in Perak from a Perak Man) — Mouse-deer is *Penghulu* and Tiger *Hulubalang* to King Solomon, who in appearance is a Sakai. Mouse-deer wanting to eat a sleek Sambur doe he has met, gets Tiger to pretend to be dead. Friend Elephant, Friend Pig, Friend Doe are carrying the corpse for burial, when Tiger jumps up and captures Friend Doe. Tiger and Mouse-deer take the carcase to cook in a clearing; at night Mouse-deer asks permission to sleep, but warns Tiger not to touch his eye-teeth. Tiger neglects this warning and is detected by Mouse-deer, who, when it is Tiger's turn to sleep, watches and eats Tiger's share of the meat, putting bark of the same shape in its place: next day Tiger complains of the bitterness of his portion and Mouse-deer says it comes from touching the eye-teeth. They arrive at a river, and, after getting Tiger to push him across on a raft, Mouse-deer leaps ashore leaving Tiger to drift and shouting out the truth about the bitter meat. Tiger gets to land and would devour Mouse-deer, who cheats him with hornets' nest and snake (as in the above series, but the encounter with

the snake is not fatal). Mouse-deer crosses a river on a bridge of Crocodiles (as above). Crocodile makes a grab at Mouse-deer's leg, but catches a twig; Mouse-deer pretends it really is his leg and so puts Crocodile off his guard while he scrambles away. (This is a variant version.) Crocodile and Tiger consult how to avenge themselves on Mouse-deer: caught in water he is to be Crocodile's portion, caught ashore, Tiger's. Mouse-deer dancing on the edge of the bank provokes Tiger to spring at him and so into the water, where Crocodile devours him. (Skeat, page 22, gives a version in which Mouse-deer plays no part, and, page 24, a Tiger story turning on the same compact). The borrower of an axe declares he cannot return it because it has been eaten by weevils, and the case comes before Solomon: Mouse-deer comes in, black with ashes, and says he has been singed putting out the sea which was on fire. "A most unlikely story," says King Solomon. "But not more so than weevils eating steel," retorts Mouse-deer. And King Solomon gives the case against the borrower. Tiger tells Mouse-deer he has dreamt of eating a black goat. Mouse-deer bids him go before King Solomon and hurries away and fetches Goat, torch in his hand, to the palace. King Solomon decrees whatever one dreams should be done; whereupon Mouse-deer seizing the torch declares he will burn the palace because he has dreamt of its being gutted by fire. King Solomon then alters his decision.

Fables and Folk-tales from an Eastern Parent (W. Skeat, Cambridge, 1901. Most of the Mouse-deer stories were collected from a Kelantan Malay in Patani, the rest in Ulu Kedah).—King Tiger is sick. The Crown-prince suggests that to eat of every beast of the field will cure him and all come and are eaten except Mouse-deer. At last Mouse-deer is brought, too, and ascribes his reluctance to a dream of his that "to devour that which is nearest" would cure His Highness: King Tiger devours the Tiger Crown-prince and appoints Mouse-deer prince in his stead. Mouse-deer and Heron sailing to Java quarrel because Mouse-deer sleeps at the tiller: Heron pecks a hole in the boat and Mouse-deer only escapes a passing Shark by promising if carried ashore to teach him magic: Shark takes him ashore and Mouse-deer ties up his benefactor with magic rattan and kills him. Tiger coming up, Mouse-deer consents to share Shark's carcass

with him, but, after cheating Tiger into making a fire, cooking the meat and fetching water, runs off up a tree with all the meat. (The tales of "The Otter's Babies" and of "The Man, the Tiger and the Trap and Mouse-deer" are noted elsewhere.) Mouse-deer informing Tiger that he has met a bigger Tiger with a Flying Squirrel astride his muzzle deludes Tiger into seeking for this rival; when, putting a Flying Squirrel on Tiger's own muzzle, he shows him his shadow in the river, whereat he leaps to attack and is drowned (*cf.*, the story in *Gélila dan Dēmina* of "Lion and the Shadow"). Mouse-deer incites the Bull of the Clearing and the Bull of the Bush to fight, and the latter is killed. Mouse-deer sitting on a hillock to watch is attacked by ants but gets Bull of the Clearing to scatter the ant-hill: Bull rushes off to escape the ants and Mouse-deer gets the carcase of the slain Bull. This carcase Tiger tries to steal, but Mouse-deer, bidding him fetch thorny fire-wood from across the river, stands over him quivering as he struggles bleeding up the high bank on his return, and Tiger thinking Mouse-deer is quivering from designs on himself plunges back. Elephant and Tiger wager to make Monkey fall from a tree; whoever succeeds is to be eaten by the other. Tiger succeeds, but when he wants to claim the penalty, Mouse-deer pairs mudasses down Elephant's back, instructs him to trumpet as with pain and standing on his back makes believe to gnaw him. This spectacle sends Tiger fleeing in terror till Ape tells him it is Mouse-deer: then they return together: but Mouse-deer makes Tiger flee once more and take Ape for a traitor by crying, "Why did not you bring two Tiger for my meal, Ape, instead of one?"

Hikayat Pelandok Djinaka (Ed. H. C. Klinkert, Leiden, 1885... Written in *Kampong Gelam, Singapore*).—Mouse-deer tells the Goats it is owing to his prayers that Tiger never troubles them, and then visits Tiger and says the end of the world is at hand and Goats shall devour the Tigers: the Tigers seeing the Goats' mouths blood-red (with berries which Mouse-deer has bidden them eat) are terrified and swear amity with the Goats. The beasts harassed by an Ogre asks Mouse-deer's aid: Mouse-deer digs a hole in front of the Ogre's den and cries that the sky is falling, which leads the Ogre to leap into the hole, where, under pretence of medicining his aches, Mouse-deer binds him with cords and buries him. Monkey disallows Mouse-deer's claim to

sovereignty and reviles him. Mouse-deer despatches Raja Bear and Raja Jackal to deal with the offender, who flees to Raja Lion. Mouse-deer defeats Raja Lion by engaging him in a contest as to which can leap a blow-pipe laid across the forked branches of a tree, and at the same time eat *jela* fruit placed in the fork: tiny Mouse-deer easily performs this feat, but Lion is stuck in the branches and the fruit he eats has been filled by Mouse-deer with ants. In this plight he is stamped and thrust by Mouse-deer till he craves pardon. Monkey next flees to Elephant, whom Mouse-deer defeats in a wrestling bout by tricking him into mistaking a tree stump for his leg (which Elephant cannot break or move), and then, when his turn comes to try a fall, thrusts his sharp hooves into the quack of Elephant's toes and leaping on his neck digs his antlers into the root of Elephant's ears till he cries for mercy. Mouse-deer rids the Beasts of the pest of alligators in river Damasana by means of *tuba* root. Mouse-deer challenges the Beasts to drink dry a river: he drinks when the tide is running out, they when it is flowing in. Deer finds the river Tenom sacred to Solomon and the Beasts fish there, but every day their fish is stolen by an Ogre, who puts to flight such champions as Bear, Bull, Tiger and Rhino. Mouse-deer sits on guard, banding himself up with cords; these he tells the Ogre who comes up are magic simples. The Ogre asks for simples and is tied up and killed. Raja Ant challenges Elephant to battle for killing his subjects and, digging a hole in mid plain, causes Elephant to trip and fall, whereupon Ants swarm out and sting him to death. Mouse-deer approves his defeat, but orders the hole-ful of swarming Ants to be burnt out in retaliation for torturing Elephant wantonly.

Shaer Pelandok Jenaka. (Lith. Singapore). In substance and arrangement a later, shorter and inferior version of the last work.

(2)

A SYNOPSIS OF THE HIKAYAT GELILA DAN DEMINA.

There was a King of Padali Parum, named Sugaderma, who had four foolish sons. A Brahman, named Sumasanma, offered to teach them and did so by telling them fables.

Lion, the King of Beasts, was once terrified at the lowing of a domestic Bull. His captains, the Jackals Gelila and Demina (who are transformed *dearas*), bid him not be afraid like the jackals frightened from their feed on corpses on a stricken field by the sound of a drum beaten only by a wind-awayed branch. They find the Bull, and Lion makes him Grand Vizier. Gelila is jealous. Demina tells the tale of the Crow, who steals a princess' necklace while she is bathing and in sight of her maids takes it to the lair of a Cobra who has stolen her eggs, so that the maids follow up the trail and kill the Cobra. Also of the Lion, who harried the beasts till, on Mouse-deer's advice, they provided him with one victim a day, and, the lot at last falling on Mouse-deer, he tells Lion how he has been delayed on the road by a larger Lion who reviles his highness and how he has left him devouring a deer hard by a well, whereupon King Lion sets out to attack this rival, and being shown his own shadow mistakes it for his foe, leaps in and is drowned. Also of the Stork, who told the Fish their pool would dry up, got leave to carry them one by one to deeper water and devoured them on the way, till when Crab was being carried along he saw the bones of his friends and nipped the neck of Stork till he died. Accordingly, Gelila suggests they two use guile to set Lion against Bull, and goes and tells Lion that Bull claims to be greater than his master, pointing out the consequence of bad friends by the parable of the Flea and the Bug: Flea consented to be Bug's friend, if Bug would bite folk only when they were asleep; but, the friendship formed, Bug forgot his promise and bit folk, who were awake and caught Flea in mistake for Bug. Gelila then runs off and pretends to Bull that Lion would kill him for a feast, telling the tale of the Lion whose three viziers, the Jackal, the Tiger and the Crow, being jealous of Camel, the fourth vizier, pretend at a time of famine that there is no other food to be found and get Camel devoured. He also relates the story of the Sand-piper. The Sand-piper's wife told him how in a drought two birds had their friend Tortoise grip a stick in the middle and let them fly off with him to a deeper pond, and how Tortoise hearing yokels cry out opened his mouth and fell to the ground and was killed. Yet Sand-piper still insisted on her laying her eggs near the sea, and the tide carried them off. But they called upon Hawk, the King of the Birds,

who got the Angel of the Sea to order the return of the eggs and so recovered them. "This came of good counsel," said Gelila, "and I would advise you to anticipate Lion and on a wet day lower your head, lift your tail and attack Lion when his eyes are red and his mane bristling; that is a safe time." But Demina upbraids Gelila for his plotting and tells several stories to illustrate the fate of evil counsellors. The sons of two merchants, one good and one prodigal, travelled to a far country, and the good son profited a thousand dollars, but the bad nothing; and the good son divided his fortune with the prodigal; on their way back, the prodigal suggested they should bury their money under a tree and then came alone by night and stole it. He was haled before a judge and offered to call the tree as a witness, which being allowed he went home and asked his father to creep into the trunk and speak for the tree. The father demurred and told how Crab put a string of fish from Mongoose's hole to the hole of Snake who stole his eggs, so that Mongoose followed up the trail and killed Snake. But the son compelled the father, and when the judge heard the tree speak he ordered straw to be lit inside the trunk; the father fell suffocated; the son was fined one thousand gold pieces, and sentenced to be executed for causing his father's death. So perish evil counsellors. Again, there was a merchant whose friend sold his iron held on trust and averred it had been eaten by rats; but the merchant kidnapped his friend's child and said a hawk had carried it off; the judge declared it an unlikely story, but the merchant replied it was likelier than for rats to eat steel, and so won his case (*cf.* Mr. Laillaw's tale of Mouse-deer and the axe-head eaten by weevils). Gelila hearing these tales reports and runs off to make peace between Lion and Bull, but finds Bull already killed.

Second Tale.—In a country called Megilaroni there lived a clever Crow, named Flagupedena, who, watching a fowler spread his snare and catch doves, saw the King Dove bid his subjects fly off bodily with the snare and take it to Mouse who gnawed them free. So Crow makes friends with Mouse, after some demur from Mouse because Crow is a bird of prey. In time of famine Crow carries off Mouse to Tortoise's pond. Mouse tells Tortoise how he fed on a hermit's crumbs till another hermit came and told how to catch him, relating the story of the Brahman

who told his wife a tale against covetousness (a hunter killed a deer and turned after a pig that killed him; a jackal rushed up to eat the hunter when the hunter's last arrow went off and slew him), for the second Brahman dug out his hole and found a gold jar, and after there was no more gold to be found the first Brahman drove Mouse away. The three friends are joined by Deer. Mouse gnaws Deer out of a snare. Tortoise is caught by the hunter but released by Deer lying in the hunter's path and pretending to be dead, whereat, the hunter forgets Tortoise and lets him escape. These are the fruits of friendship.

Third Tale.—The Owls worst the Crows. King Crow debates with his ministers, shall they make peace, or fight, or remove from their haunts, or come to terms? "We cannot be friends: our voices differ," said his minister, "like the Ass's bray differed from the Tiger's roar and betrayed him when his master the washerman wrapped him in a Tiger's skin and turned him into the rice-fields to get a cheap meal, so that he was killed." And when the birds wanted to make Owl their king, an old Crow told how Mouse-deer's story that the pool he drank in was the Moon's bathing-place saved it from incursions by the Elephants; and he said their king should have a great and awful name like Moon. The Crow also told how the Mouse-deer and the Mina-bird, quarrelling over living in the same tree, went before the Cat as arbitrator and the Cat ate them both. "Ever since the time Old Crow spoke out, Crows and Owls have been foes," said the minister. The minister Crow then went to the Owls pretending he had been hurt and expelled by his kind for friendship with the Owls. Owls debate how to treat him. One of them tells how fear of a burglar sent a young wife to an old husband's arms, and how in gratitude the old husband offered the burglar all his goods; so if an enemy comes to do us a good turn, we should treat him well. A thief and a devil met as they were about one to steal a Brahman's cow and the other to take his life, and the Brahman hearing them dispute as to which should act first requited their evil intentions by making friends between them. Again, a king gave a piece of his own flesh to a hunter rather than give up a bird which had sought refuge with him. So King Owl made minister Crow one of his ministers, and Crow asked out of pretence of good-will that he might be transformed into an Owl and go to destroy the Crows.

Whereupon King Owl related a story—A Hawk dropped a Mouse into the hands of a hermit: the Mouse turned into a girl; and when she came of age, the hermit sought the most powerful champion he could find to be her husband: he tried the sun, the sun was confined by clouds; he tried the clouds which were ruled by the wind, and the wind was stayed by a mountain, and the mountain could be burrowed by Mouse. So he tried the Mouse, who consented to wed her if she became a Mouse, which she did, resuming her former shape. Each beast must stick by his own shape. So minister Crow is made guardian of the Owls' cave, but in that capacity he lets the Crows pile up rubbish and suffocate the Owls. He tells King Crow, how King Frog made Snake act as his horse by a present of a frog a day till all the Frogs eaten Snake went away. One cannot humour enemies.

Fourth Tale.—Give not one's goods to other folk. Crocodile and Ape were friends. Crocodile's wife was ill and ordered to eat Ape's heart. Crocodile taking Ape across the river to see his wife told him this, whereupon Ape got him to return by declaring he had left his heart at home. Ape leapt ashore and related a tale. Lion bade Jackal fetch him an Ass to devour. Jackal did so, but Lion terrified Ass by his roar, Jackal coaxed him back. Lion killed him and went away. Jackal ate his eyes and ears, and when Lion enquired about them, asked if an Ass with eyes and ears would have returned after hearing Lion's roar.

Fifth Tale.—Moral—do not act rashly. A Brahman foretold his wife that her unborn child would be a boy and a great chief. The wife related how a beggar was given a jar of flour and dreamt he would sell it and buy goats, and then cattle, and then have a wife and child, and beat his wife for neglecting the child, and so, dreaming beat and broke the jar of flour and got nothing. But the Brahman's wife bore a male child. One day the Brahman left a Mongoose to guard the child; Mongoose killed a snake that would attack it; Brahman seeing Mongoose's mouth all bloody thought Mongoose had eaten the child, and killed him. His wife tells another tale. A father dissatisfied at his son's horoscope casts him away, whereat his wife dies and he kills himself. But the son grows up and dreams he is to beat three strangers who shall come to his house-door and ask for alms. He does so and they give him great riches. A barber, seeing the incident, also

beats the strangers, but is haled before the king and executed. The wife tells another tale. A merchant left his wife and boy and went to a far country, bidding the boy buy anything wonderful or of value. The boy buys a letter hawked for a thousand pieces and hangs it over his bed. His father returns and sees his wife sleeping in the same place as a man, draws his sword to kill them both but sees the letter and reads its legend "Do nothing without foresight." He sheathes his sword and finds the man is his own grown son.

By these fables the king's four sons were taught wisdom.

Note. - From a synopsis given on page 163, vol. II of Snouck Hurgronje's *Achinese* (O'Sullivan's Tr.), it would appear that Gonggrip's *Gelida dan Demina* (Leiden, Koff., 1876) differs considerably from Abdullah Munshi's edition (Singapore Government Press, 1887. Romanised, Leiden, 1904), which has been used for this article - perhaps it follows the Persian and not the Tamil version of the Sanskrit original, the version referred to by Van den Tuuk (*Essays Relating to Indo-China*, vol. II, page 29, note.)

(3)

Two men (men, be it noticed) quarrelled about a loan which one had made to the other. The debtor had promised to repay the loan in two months. (In Malay, moon and month are the same word.) When, upon the expiry of the stipulated time, the creditor demanded repayment, the debtor replied laconically, pointing to the sky, "There is only one moon."

"It is two months since I lent you the money," replied the creditor, "and you promised to pay in two months."

"But there is only one moon" was all that he could get out of the debtor. . . Then to settle the dispute they went to Sir Peace of the Forest (*Salam di Rimba*). Sir Peace heard both men state their cases and then, when the sun had set, took them both down to the river-bank. It was a cloudless night, and upon the bosom of the river the full moon shone reflected. "What is that?" said Sir Peace of the Forest to the debtor, pointing to the golden circle that lay upon the water.

"The moon," replied the debtor.

"And what is that?" said Sir Peace, pointing to the sky.

"The moon, also," replied the debtor.

"That makes two," cried Sir Peace. "Two moons: and the time has come for you to pay your debts."

In Malay Forests (W. G. Maxwell), p. 234.

(4)

DARI HAL PELANDOK MEMIJAK ANAK MEMERANG.

Maka ada-lah kunun masa zaman nabi Allah Suleiman alaihi salam dengan takdir Allah taala ka-pada masa itu semua binatang berchakap seperti manusia juga. Maka ada pun nabi Allah Suleiman itu lima perdana menteri-nya, suatu menteri-nya daripada manusia, suatu menteri-nya daripada jin bernama Rafarit, suatu menteri-nya daripada unggas, dua menteri-nya daripada binatang landak dan pelandok : didalam lima perdana menteri itu yang arif bijaksana pertama manusia, yang kedua landak, yang ketiga Salam-di-rimba ia itu pelandok ; tetapi Salam-di-rimba itu-lah yang termashhur arif bijaksana-nya.

Sa-bermula, maka ada-lah suatu hari Salam-di-rimba pergi berjalan menatapi sekalian anak buah didalam perentahan-nya. Maka berjumpa-lah ia suatu lobang tempat memerang, ada anak-nya tujuh ekor. Maka anak memerang itu pun keluar-lah daripada lobang-nya bermain-main di-situ. Maka Salam-di-rimba pun datang menghampiri seraya bertanya : "Hui kanak-kanak, ku-mana pergi mak bapa kamu?" Maka sahut anak memerang itu : "Mak bapa hamba sudah pergi menchari ikan akan makanan hamba sekalian ini." Maka pikir Salam-di-rimba ; "Itu-lah akal memerang ini : selalu sahaja ia membuat aniaya di-atas ikan-ikan itu, terlalu rusing hati-ku menengar pengaduan-nya kapada nabi Allah Suleiman ; jikalau bagitu, baik-lah aku perbuat pakatan pula dengan dia."

Sa-telah sudah ia pikir itu, dengan takdir Allah Subhana melakukan kuderat nya hendak memanjangkan cherita ini, maka bunyi-lah burung hubut-bubut terlalu banyak bunyi-nya bersahut-sahatan sahaja. Maka Salam-di-rimba pun mengingatakan-lah langkah pertikaman zaman dahulu kala chékak perkelahian. Maka ia pun memenchak silat langkah gelombang dua-belas mengerinjang sahaja kaki-nya ka-sana ka-mari. Maka habis-lah di pijak-pijak anak memerang itu, ada patah kaki tangan-nya dan pchah kepala-nya bersamburan otak-nya, habis mali semua-nya. Sa-telah di-lihat Salam-di-rimba mati anak memerang itu, maka ia pun kembali-lah ka-tempat berdiam diri-nya. Hata sa-ketika lagi hari pun petang-lah. Maka memerang laki bini pulang ka-tempat lobang-nya itu. Maka apabila sampai ia hadapan

lobang-nya, maka di-lihat-nya tujuh ekor anak-nya berkaperan sahaja habis mati bersamburan otak-nya darah-nya pun berhamburan tumpah di-situ. Maka di-pereksa di-kenal bekas kaki Salam-di-rimba berkachichak sahaja. Maka memérang yang kedua lulu ménungis yang teramat sangat sayang akan anak-nya itu, putuslah asa-nya membawa ikan terlalu banyak hendak memèberi makanan akan anak-anak-nya itu. Maka ikan-ikan itu pun di-bawa-nya masuk ka-dalam lobang-nya. Hari pun malam-lah. Maka bermeshuarat-lah kedua-nya pagi esok hendak mengadap nabi Allah Suleiman permaalumkan hal kematian anak-nya oleh karna kelakuan Salam-di-rimba membuat aniaya ka-atas-nya. Maka sa-telah putus-lah meshuarat-nya itu lulu tidor kedua-nya. Sa-ketika lagi hari pun siang.

Maka memérang laki bini lepas makan ia pun pergi-lah mengadap nabi Allah Suleiman. Kapada masa itu nabi Suleiman pun bersenyum di-atas takhta singgasana kerajaan di-hadapan mentèri hulubalang rayat tantera tiada tepernenaï banyak-nya aneka jenis manusia dan jin dan binatang bertamparan dudok di-tanah mengadap baginda itu bermucham-mucham aduan teriak merika itu, semua-nya di-selèsa oleh nabi Allah. Maka memérang laki bini pun berdatangkan sembah dengan nyaring suara-nya: "Dolat Tuanku; ampun, Tuanku, beribu-ribu ampun, sembah patek harapkan di-ampun; yang sedia terjunjong di-atas otak batu kepala patek hamba yang hina, yang kedua permaalumkan sembah ka-bawah tapak chërpu Duli Yang Maha Mulia dari hal diri patek yang kedua ini sangat-lah di-aniaya oleh perdana mentèri Tuanku Salam-di-rimba sa-peninggal patek mènchari ayapun didek itu patek tinggalkan ketujuh ekor-nya ménunggu pondok. Hata patek-patek pun pulang daripada mènchari ayapun itu, maka patek lihat anak didek itu, Tuanku, berkaperan di-halaman pondok patek habis mati semua-nya, sa-kali sa-tengah pèchuh kèpala berpancharan otak sa-tengah patah kaki patah tangan-nya. Maka di-pereksa di-lihat baik nyata-lah bekas tapak kaki Salam-di-rimba, Tuanku, berkachichak sahaja mèrata-rata halaman patek itu dan mèrata-rata kèpala dan bunian-bunian anak didek itu. Maka pada pikiran patek sah dangan nyata-nya Salam-di-rimba membunch anak-anak didek itu."

Hata sa-télah di-déngar oleh nabi Allah Suleiman akan sémbahan mémérang kédua laki bini itu, témönung sa-kétika hairan akan kélakuan méntéri-nya Salam-di-rimba pérbuat aniaya ka-atas rayat tantéra, tiada bérpatutan sa-kali-kali itu. Maka baginda pun bértitah kapada unggas bélétok ményuroh mémanggil Salam-di-rimba. Maka bélétok pun mémyémbah lalu sэгэра térbang ka-témpat Salam-di-rimba kata-nya: "Hai Salam-di-rimba, nabi Allah mémanggil sэгэra ka-bulai péng-hadapan." Maka Salam-di-rimba, pun bérjalan-lah sэгэra méngadap nabi Allah Suleiman: sélang antara tiada béberapa lama-nya sampai-lah lalu dudok ményémbah baginda déngan hormat taathim-nya. Maka titah nabi Allah Suleiman: "Hai méntéri-ku, sébab pun aku panggil ini ada aduan mémérang di-atas éngkau pasal anak-nya mati tujoh ekor sa-kali éngkau bunoh, kunun: ya-kah éngkau mémbunoh-nya dan apa pasal éngkau bunoh itu, tiada kasehan akan rayat tantéra-ku?" Maka sa-télah di-déngar Salam-di-rimba akan titah baginda itu, maka ia pun sэгэra-lah bértélut bérdatangkan sémbah: "Ampun, Tuanku Shah Alam, yang émpunya-i takhta kébésaran dunia ahkirat yang méhukumkan émpat pénjuru alam itu ganti bayang bayang tuhan séru alam yang bérkat chap nabuat khataman Suleiman séra éhamti Suleiman itu. Sa-télah térjunjong-lah titah Duli Yang Maha Mulia itu di-atas otak batu képala patek hamba yang bodoh bébal ini: sa-bérmula harapkan di-ampun, Tuanku, béribu-ribu ampun, sémbah patek harapkan di-ampun. Maka *ula* pun kapada hari itu patek pérgi ménatapi sékahan hamba rayat Tuanku. Maka sampai-lah patek ka-témpat sang mémérang itu. Maka patek lihat anak-anak-nya ada bérmain-main. Maka patek pun datang-lah kapada kanak-kanak itu bértanyakan mak bapa-nya. Maka sahut anak-nya itu kata-nya: "Mak bapa hamba ménchari ikan akan makanan hamba sékahan ini." Ménjadi patek pun diam-lah térdiri juga: sa-kétika lagi patek déngar kukok sahaja bunyi-nya Sang Bubut mémalu géndang pérang, Tuanku, térlalu adzmat bunyi-nya bérsahut-sahutan. Maka kapada pikiran patek Duli Yang Maha Mulia surlah gérganan kédatangan musoh mélanggar kota astana, Maka patek pun méngingat-lah langkah bértikaman zaman dahulu kala mana-mana pétua isharat yang ajar oleh orang tua-tua sémua-nya patek ingat sémua-nya, tiada-lah patek ingatkan diri sa-kali-kali. Maka tiada-lah patek sédar mémi-

jakkan anak-anak Sang Mémérang itu, Tuanku, karna patek tengah kesusahan hati sangat naik gembira ménengar bunyi gëndang pérang Duli Yang Maha Mulia mélainkan terlébeh maalum-lah ka-bawah duli hal patek ini."

Sa-télah di-déngar baginda akan sémbah Salam-di-rimba itu, maka nabi Allah Suleiman pun bértitah kapada bélatok ményuroh mémanggil Sang Bubut-bubut. Maka bélatok pun ményémbah lulu pérgi méndapatkan Sang Bubut-bubut : sa-kétika lagi Sang Bubut pun datang-lah méngadap séraya ményémbah. Maka titah baginda : "Hai Sang Bubut! ya-kah éngkau mémalu gëndang pérang déngan tiada titah daripada aku? Éngkau pandai-pandai sahaja. Apa pasal?" Maka sémbah Sang Bubut : "Ampun, Tuanku, béribu-ribu ampun. Maka sébab pun patek mémalu gëndang pérang déngan tiada titah Tuanku, maka patek lihat Sang Biwak mém bawa pédang térchabut sahaja bérlari-lari : judi, kapada pikiran patek musoh datang dari-mana akan mélanggar Duli Yang Maha Mulia : itu-lah sébab patek palu déngan bérsungguh-sungguh hati patek supaya di-kétahu-i sékalian juak-juak hulubalang Tuanku akan hal Duli Yang Maha Mulia."

Maka baginda ményuroh mémanggil Sang Biwak. Maka bélatok pun ményémbah pérgi kapada Sang Biwak. Maka sa-kétika lagi Sang Biwak pun méngadap nabi Allah. Maka titah baginda : "Hai Sang Biwak, sébab aku mémanggil éngkau ini, karna aduan mémérang mati anak-nya di-pijak Salam-di-rimba. Maka Salam-di-rimba mémijakkan anak mémérang itu oleh karna Sang Bubut-bubut mémalu gëndang pérang. Maka sébab pun Sang Bubut-bubut mémalu gëndang pérang itu oleh karna éngkau mém bawa pédang bérchabut kumun : jikalau bagita éngkau pédang bérchabut itu, musoh mana akan datang mélanggar beta ini." Maka télah di-déngar Sang Biwak titah baginda itu, ia pun ségéra ményémbah mémulokkan képala-nya ka-tanah sémbah : "Ampun, Shah Alam, béribu-ribu ampun sémbah patek pachal yang hina harapkan di-ampun. Maka ada pun sébab patek mém bawa pédang bérchabut itu, patek lihat Sang Labi-labi mudék ményérendeng sahaja mém bawa périssai, patek pun datang-lah mém bawa pédang bérchabut ; kapada sangka patek téntu-lah musoh yang bésar mélanggar Tuanku."

Sa-télah di-déngar oleh baginda sémbah Sang Biawak itu, maka baginda pun bértitah kapada béléatok ményuroh mémanggil Sang Labi-labi. Béléatok pun bérmohon lalu terbang pérgi. Maka sa-kétika lagi, Sang Labi-labi pun datang-lah méngadap baginda. Maka titah nabi Allah: "Hai Sang Labi-labi sébab pun aku mémanggil éngkau ini karna aduan Sang Mémérang kapada aku anak-nya mati di-pajak Salam-di-rimba: sébab pun di-pajak Salam-di-rimba ia méngingat langkah zaman dahulu ménéngarkan Sang Bubut mémalu géndang pérang: maka sébab pun Sang Bubut mémalu géndang pérang karna ia mélihat Sang Biawak mém bawa pédang bérchabut, mélihat éngkau mém bawa périssai kunun. Maka éngkau mém bawa périssai itu, musoh mana yang akan datang mélanggar beta?" Télah di-déngar Sang Labi-labi titah baginda, ia pun bérdatangkan sémbah: "Ampun, Tuanku béribu-ribu ampun; sémbah patek harapkan di-ampun. Maka sébab patek mudék mém bawa périssai itu, patek lihat Sang Uduang pun bér sama mém bawa tombak bérchanggah mudék. Maka kapada pikiran patek tentu-lah Duli Yang Maha Mulia kédatangan musoh yang besar, patek pun bér sap-lah akan périssai patek."

Télah di-déngar nabi Allah, maka ia pun ségéra-lah ményuroh béléatok mémanggil Sang Uduang. Maka béléatok pun ményémbah lalu pérgi méndapatkan Sang Uduang. Maka Sang Uduang pun datang méngadap nabi Allah. Maka titah baginda: "Hui Sang Uduang, yakah éngkau mudék ia mém bawa tombak bérchanggah? Musoh yang mana akan datang?" Maka sémbah Sang Uduang: "Ampun, Tuanku, béribu-ribu ampun; sébab pun patek mudék mém bawa tombak bérchanggah, patek lihat Sang Sébarau pun mudék bér ikat pinggang méléngkong sahaja kesusahan laku-nya patek lihat. Maka patek pun bér sama-lah mudék héndak méngadap Duli Yang Maha Mulia, éntahkan apa susah gadoh-nya, musoh sétru dari mana akan mélanggar Tuanku."

Démi di-déngar nabi Allah Suleiman, maka ia pun bértitah kapada béléatok suroh mémanggil Sang Sébarau. Maka béléatok pun ményémbah lalu pérgi méndapatkan Sang Sébarau bértému téngah jalan kata béléatok: "Hai Sang Sébarau, nabi Allah, Suleiman mémanggil tuan hamba: ségéra kita méngadap." Maka jawab Sang Sébarau: "Hamba pun sahaja héndak méngadap juga." Maka Sang Sébarau dan béléatok sampai-lah

mengadap nabi Allah Suleiman. Maka titah baginda: "Hai Sang Sèbarau, sebab pun aku memanggil engkau ini oleh karna sebab pèngaduan Sang Mèmérang di-atas Salam-di-rimba, anaknya mati di-pijakkan Salam-di-rimba. Maka sebab Salam-di-rimba memijakkan anak mèmérang itu, karna Sang Bubut-bubut memalu gèndang pèrang. Maka sebab pun Sang Bubut-bubut memalu gèndang pèrang itu, ia melihat Sang Biawak membawa pedang bèrchabut dan sebab pun Sang Biawak membawa pedang bèrchabut itu karna ia melihat Sang Labi-labi membawa pèrisai dan sebab pun Sang Labi-labi membawa pèrisai itu ia melihat Sang Udang membawa tombak bèrchanggih dan sebab pun Sang Udang membawa tombak bèrchanggih itu ia melihat engkau bèrikat pinggang melèngkong sahaja mudek rupa orang didalam kesusahan: jikalau bagitu apa-kah kesusahan engkau? Musoh dari mana akan melanggar beta atau si-apa yang membuat aniaya akan engkau?" Sa-telah di-dengar Sang Sèbarau akan titah baginda itu, ia upn lalu sujud menyembah sembah-nya: "Dolat Duli Tuanku ampun, sembah patek harap-kan di-ampun: sèperti titah Duli Yang Maha Mulia itu, terjunglah di-atas jèmala ubun-ubun patek akan tetapi harap-kan di-ampun jikalau sa-kiranya tiada Tuanku memanggil patek ini, sahaja patek hèndak mengadap juga hèndak bèrmaalumkan hal diri patek-patek hamba rayat Tuanku ini sangat-lah di-aniaya oleh Sang Mèmérang ka-atas patek-patek sèkalian habis rayat tantèra Tuanku di-makan-nya dan sèperti hamba Tuanku dan anak-anak didek itu, habis-lah sudah di-makan Tuanku oleh Sang Mèmérang itu didalam suatu lobak tèmpat kèdamaian patek-patek tinggal patek sa-ekor sahaja. Maka ini-hal patek bèrupa kesusahan yang dilihat pahal Sang Udang itu, karna terlèbèh maalum Tuanku pasal mèlarikan nyawa ini tiada bèrkètahuan dukachita hati patek kèdudokkan tiada mèndapat aman sèntosa sa-kali-kali. Maka ini-lah patek mèmohon hukum titah Duli Yang Maha Mulia taalif timbangan yang kèndilan diatas antara patek-patek ini dèngan Sang Mèmérang ini yang sèlalu suka mengadakan aniaya ka-atas patek dèngan tiada mènaruh kasihan bèkas bèrinsaf-insaf sama-sama hamba Allah dan rayat tantèra Duli Yang Maha Mulia ini maka ini-lah patek pohonkan hukuman-nya."

Hata sa-telah baginda mènèngarkan sembah Sang Sèbarau itu, maka baginda pun bèrtitah kepada Sang Mèmérang dèngan

murka-nya, titah-nya: "Hai Sang Mêmérang sa-bênar-nya-kah sêperti kata Sang Sêbarau ini, sêlalu êngkau mêmbuat aniaya ka-atas dia sêkalian-nya? Boleh êngkau sêmbahkan dêngan sa-bênar-nya." Maka sêmbah Sang Mêmérang dêngan kêtakutan-nya: "Harapkan di-ampun Tuanku, bêribu-ribu ampun, têlah sa-bênar-nya-lah sêperti sêmbah Sang Sêbarau itu; mêngaku kêsalahan-lah patek-patek yang kédua ini titah Tuanku patek junjong." Maka titah baginda: "Hai Salam-di rumba mênang-lah êngkau: patut êngkau diatkan nyawa anak mêmérang itu ganti nyawa anak dan bini Sang Sêbarau ini yang têlah mati di-makan Sang Mêmérang itu: bukan salah êngkau mêlain-kan salah Sang Mêmérang sêndiri anak-nya mati di-pajak sêkalian-nya." Dêmikian-lah ada-nya —*Di-karangkan oleh Raja Haji Yahya bin Raja Muhammad Ali, Chêndêrang, Perak*

III.

(1)

A SYNOPSIS OF PENINSULAR FARCIICAL TALES.

Pa Kadok.—Pa Pea's-cool, after getting his wife to stitch him a fine paper suit, went to the royal cock pit with his best cock. The raja seeing what a fine bird Pa Pea's-cool had, easily persuaded him to exchange it for another cock which on royal word was superior. Pa Pea's-cool set the bird given him against his own cock and wagered his house and garden on the issue. His own cock which he had parted with won and so caused him to lose his property. He clapped his sides over the fight, and his paper clothes burst and left him to run home naked. However, another day he caught a fish which had swallowed a lot of jewellery, and so recovered his lost fortunes.

Pa Pandir.—Father Folly came of folk who had lived on dry rice clearings up in the hills for generations, their wits unsharpened by play and association with others. His wife was Mother Andeh. When his father died, she sent him to buy salt for the funeral feast, and he put it in a hollow bamboo joint and hid the bamboo in a stream of water for safety. His wife gave birth to a son and begged her husband to go a-fishing that she might get fish to eat with her rice: the deer-cricket (*bêlulang*)

rusa), she told him, was a fine bait; he took her to say deer-brisket (*bĕlakang rusa*), went into the forest, found a stag asleep and after a hard wrestle struck a hook into the poor animal's back and threw him into the water for bait. His wife set him to mind the baby, and he bathed the child in boiling water with fatal effect. Carrying the corpse away in a fishing-net for burial, he dropped it and unsuspectingly buried the net only: retracing his steps he saw the corpse on the path, failed to recognise it and was comforted by the apparent commonness of infant mortality. His wife sent him to buy a buffalo for the funeral, describing the animal for his information as a grass-eater: he gave the first harvester he met a handsome price for a sickle and tied it up to a tree in his garden because it had cut him—its horns were so sharp. His next errand was to call the guests, the Hajis and Lebyes, or, as his wife described them, the white-capped ones and the bearded ones: he brought home a reluctant white-cap sparrow and a recalcitrant bearded goat. After that feat, he was commissioned to invite a Sheikh (*kĕramat jin Islam*) and warned not to take the wrong turning or he would alight at an Ogres' den: of course, he mistook the road and brought the Ogres, man and wife, to the feast. The Ogres ate their fill and asked Father Folly to take home food to their children. Father Folly solicitously posted off and in excess of zeal choked the Ogres' children with buffalo bones. He and his wife then fled for their lives across the river. The Ogres gave chase, but Mother Andeh cried that the river was deep and warned them to cross over in jars, in which they were swamped and drowned. Father Folly and his wife were rich for ever after on the Ogres' treasures. Father Folly's next achievement was to buy husks for rice. He toppled into the river on his return, for noticing ants cross in hundreds on a log, he reflected how they were many and he was one and tried to follow. His wife entrusted him with no more commissions: so he went a-fishing, killed his catch by knocking them on the heads with a chopper, smoked them and hung them in bags on a tree in the forest whither he resorted for secret gluttony: but his wife discovering his haunt asked him of what he was afraid, whereupon he averred he was afraid of nothing, neither of tigers nor of ghosts, but only of a grunting pig and the fabulous *gĕrda*. Accordingly, by imitating the noises of these

creatures his wife, hiding in the jungle, startled him into terror and carrying off the fish concealed them at home. In the following days she doled him out two fish a meal, but squatting down with her at his meals he wanted more, and declared she was hiding fish under her leg: she retorted it was her own flesh she was eating, whereupon Father Folly cut a slice off his thigh to taste. On recovering from the effect of that foolishness, Father Folly went into the forest and having the luck to lime five hundred birds on a fig-tree tied them alive all over his body: the birds flew away with him to the roof of a king's palace, where he was mistaken for a fairy and wedded to the king's daughter, but got a sad beating as soon as the secret was out. His next adventure was to pretend he was about to make a journey and induce his wife to prepare him supplies enough for seven days: he took the supplies and secretly returning home climbed on a shelf and lay there seven days devouring his easily earned rations. Father Folly met his death where he had been born and died—in a hill clearing. For one day being very hungry (he had always been hungry), he did not notice that the bananas which his wife had fried had not been skinned and ate them whole, which brought on a colic whereof he died. He was buried by the rice-mortar.

Lihai Malang.—There was once a Luckless Priest living on the reach of a river. For one day, one man came and called him to bury a corpse, another to a feast to celebrate his pupil's completion of his religious studies, a third to a chanting of the Koran. So, the Luckless Priest told each of them he would come, and sat reflecting: "If I go to the funeral, I'll get a present of cloth; and if I go to the feast, I'll get a fine load of meat and rice; and if I go to the chanting, I'll get cakes and sweetmeats. But I'd better go to the funeral first, as the law of Prophet lays it down as a paramount duty." So he set out to find the funeral over, the chanting ended and the cakes all eaten, the folk tramping away from the feast and only a bit of buffalo meat left him. Sadly he carried home the buffalo meat, but reaching his garden and remembering he had not collected the juice from his sugar palms set down the meat at the foot of the palm to climb the tree, when a dog at once filched it. The Priest gave chase; the dog bolted into a hole in a tree, whereupon the Priest doffed all

his clothes and stuffed up the hole with them, but the dog escaped by an aperture on the other side of the tree. A pair of pigeons mistook the naked Priest for a tree stump and alighted on him, he catching one under each arm-pit; but he tried to extract the bird under his right arm with his right hand, and the bird under his left arm with his left hand, and so let them go. He returned to pick up his clothes, but thieves had filched them: he looked for his palm-juice, but thieves had carried it off. So he went home naked and miserable and got a beating from his incensed help-mate.

*Mat Jamin.*¹--Once upon a time a Malay yokel, Mat Jamin, was hired to climb coconut trees at so much a nut. So, having climbed to the top of a tree, he began to calculate how with the hire he would buy a hen, and the hen would have chickens which he would sell to buy goats, and the goats would have kids which he would sell and buy buffaloes, and the buffaloes have calves which he would sell to buy an elephant, and the elephant have young which he would sell to buy a ship and houses and lands, and finally he would marry a princess and she would hug him and he would wriggle. And so, in the ecstasy of imagination, he wriggled off the tree and was killed. *

Pa Bêlâlang—The Long-legs family were very poor folk, and when the rice crop failed they subsisted on potatoes, sugar-cane, bananas and so on. Accordingly, one day Daddy Long-legs said to young Long-legs, his son "Go and hide the buffaloes of you folk ploughing, and if they clamour at their loss, say your father has the gift of divination and can tell them where their buffaloes are." Young Long-legs did so and hurried home and told his father how he had tied up the buffaloes to a tree in the jungle, a mile away. And when the ploughers came along and consulted the diviner, he told them of the spot and got a number of presents --rice, tobacco and money. Another time, the raja of the country had seven chests of valuables stolen, and hearing of Daddy Long-legs' fame as a diviner sent for him and threatened him with death if he failed to find the thieves. Daddy Long-legs went home and bade his wife bake him some loaves: she did so, and as each loaf made a noise *char* falling into the hot oil, Daddy Long-legs counted them "One, two, three," up to seven: but just

¹ For this tale I am indebted to Mr. G. M. Laidlaw.

then up came the thieves (*pēnchuri*) one, two, three, up to seven and thought he was counting them, whereat they confessed their crime and told him where the chests were hidden. He found the chests and the king hooped him with presents and made him Diviner Royal. Another time strange ships came to port and the captain brought goslings newly hatched whose sex he challenged all folk to determine, gaging his three ships against the raja's kingdom. The raja accepted the challenge and summoned Diviner Long-legs to discover the sex of the goslings. Diviner Long-legs was in a sore plight, but paddled out at night in a canoe and overheard the captain tell his wife, "If you would discover the sex of the goslings, get a bowl of water: the females will dive in first and the males follow." With that information he paddled away and won the challenge and the three ships for the raja. Later on seven ships came to port, and their captain staked his ships against the kingdom that no one could tell which was top and which was bottom of certain smooth round logs he carried. Diviner Long-legs declared he had seven books of divination on the subject, and paddling out by night overheard the captain say: "Whoever would tell top from bottom of the logs must hold them in the centre and put them in water and the bottom will sink first." With that information, he won this challenge also for the raja. Again, the king of a foreign country sent and begged that Diviner Long-legs might be lent him to discover his son's bride who, after seven days of marriage, had been ravished away by jins. Diviner Long-legs was despatched thither and headed the quest for the lost princess into the forest where *Hidzir Kulub ul-alam*, a saint of Allah, rebuking him for his pretences (which, however, were not utterly distasteful to Allah in that they did harm to no man), showed him the cave where the princess lay concealed. Hence, further credit to Diviner Long-legs and many presents to take back to his own country. Another time, the raja making the Diviner Royal mount the royal elephant to balance the howdah caught a young "Long-legs" (grasshopper) in his hand and threatened death to his Diviner if he could not say what he had caught. The Diviner Royal, thinking of a son left fatherless, wept and blubbered, "Ah, young Long-legs, young Long-legs." "Right," quoth the raja, "a young Long-legs it is." But, after that, Daddy Long-legs set fire to his house (having secretly removed all his property) and

clared all his books on divination had been destroyed so that he might live safe from royal moods and royal problems.

Si Lunchai.—Si Lunchai got his name because he was pot-bellied and big-buttocked. He was a poor fire-wood seller, but he thought he would like audience with the king, and as the king refused him audience on account of his ugly face, he painted his posterior red, black and yellow and stuck it with flowers and so presented himself to the astonished king. But, noticing the king's newly shaven head, he burst out laughing and being pressed for an explanation said his highness' head reminded him of the bald pate of his old dad. In a rage, the king ordered he be taken in a canoe to the river-mouth and drowned with a stone round his neck. Si Lunchai started singing in the canoe and his arms were untied that he might beat time on a calabash. He told the boatmen to answer his refrain—

"He leapeth down with calabash"

with the words,

"Ah, let him go. Ah, let him go."

Then, being at the end of the boat where there was only the steersman and the paddlers' backs were turned, he leapt overboard and swam away. In vain the steersman yelled

"He leapeth down with calabash"

the paddlers only answered in chorus,

"Ah, let him go. Ah, let him go!"

However, he was chased and caught ashore and put in a sack to be drowned. But going down-stream the boatmen heard the bark of a deer from the bank. "Ah," sighed Si Lunchai from his sack: "God's gifts wasted." "How?" asked the boatmen. Quoth Si Lunchai: "There's a deer caught in the snare I set." So, the boatmen rushed ashore to catch the deer. Si Lunchai was left alone in his sack and, hearing someone pass by, cried, in a loud voice: "I won't, I won't." The passer-by, a Tamil merchant, asked, "What won't you?" "I won't marry the king's daughter, and so he is having me drowned." "You fool," said the merchant. "Well," said Si Lunchai, "if you'd like to marry step into the sack and take my place; cry out 'I will, I will,' and you will be released."

So the merchant took his place, but though he cried "I will, I will," as lustily as he could, the boatmen laughed, "Why, Si Lunchai has gone mad and is chattering Tamil," and threw him into the sea and returned and told the king how Si Lunchai had gone crazy when he came to die. But Si Lunchai travelled about hawking the dead merchant's goods and at last, having donned a pilgrim's robe, coat, turban and prayer-beads, went into the presence of the king who had ordered his execution. He presented musk and ambergris to the king and declared how an angel had saved him alive from the sack and taken him up to heaven where he had met the spirits of the king's dead parents dwelling in bliss, who had begged him return and entreat their son visit them. "And if from this world you would see their state in heaven," said Si Lunchai, "build a tall scaffolding, and I can teach you a charm by which you can gaze into heaven; but, a thousand pardons your royal highness, those that have the charm and yet cannot see into heaven are no true sons of their fathers but bastard only." So a scaffolding was built and Si Lunchai dilated on the heavenly palace he could descrie, and king and counsellors all declared they could see it too because they did not wish to appear bastards. Then Si Lunchai took the king to the mouth of a deep pit where a glass lift had been prepared, and told the king the road to heaven was down the pit. The king entered the glass lift, Si Lunchai hung on outside it and the counsellors let them down. Si Lunchai leapt aside on to a ledge, but the king was let down to the bottom into the mouth of a dragon, who devoured him. Si Lunchai climbed out and announced he had been sent back not ripe for heaven to rule in place of the king, and that he was to marry the king's daughter. But, on the marriage night, the king's daughter, hating Si Lunchai and suspecting him of her father's death, stabbed him to the heart and he died.

Musang Berjanggut.—A King, the Heir Apparent, the Vizier, the Temenggong, the Priest all fall in love with a beautiful newly wedded girl. The King bids the husband go into the forests and not return till he get a Bearded Polecat, a hopeless quest that will keep the husband out of the way. On the wife's advice, the husband pretends to set out but really hides at home. All the lovers send messages to the girl. She arranges for the Priest to

come at six o'clock, the Dato Temenggong at seven, the Vizier at eight, the Bendahara at nine, the Raja Muda at ten, and the King at eleven o'clock. As each comes, she puts him off saying she is busy cooking cakes for his repast. When the Dato Temenggong comes, she hides the Priest in a chest. When the Vizier comes, she puts the Temenggong on a shelf. When the Raja Bendahara arrives, she secretes the Vizier on another shelf. And when the Raja Muda's knock startles the Bendahara, she makes the Bendahara act the part of a scullion. Lastly, when the King taps the door, she makes the Raja Muda uphold a lamp in the middle of the room and pretend to be a pedestal. Finding the King exceedingly importunate, the girl promises to consent if he will play hobby-horse, and let her sit on his back and whip him up and down the room seven times. The King readily consents and struggles up and down the room with bleeding knees. Suddenly, the Vizier suffering from raging thirst and finding a coconut on his shelf mistakes the Raja Muda's shaven head just below him for marble and tries to crack the nut on it! There is a wild yell, a frantic rush: *excunt omnes* except the Priest who vainly pleads to be released. The husband issuing from his hiding-place pretends to have just returned from his quest and takes the Priest in the box up to the palace announcing that he has caught the Bearded Polecat. The Vizier, the Temenggong, the Bendahara all have to look into the box and report if it is the right species of polecat, and each hastily declares his ignorance of zoology as he recognises "To Ka," and the Priest growls out "Yes, and I know where you were last night." At last the King goes to inspect, too, and meets with the same reception. He orders the box to be removed from the palace. Husband and wife take it home and release a very penitent Priest. All the lovers eventually make handsome presents to the young couple.

(2)

Outline of "The Adventures of Saw Kay," in Mrs. Chan Toon's "Triumph of Love and other stories."—Saw Kay desiring to taste his mother's pigs tells her how his father, one of a press-gang felling timber in the forest for the king's ships, has been killed by the fall of tree and so gets her to kill a pig for the funeral feast. Then off to his father in the forest pretending his mother has died of cholera and wheedling money for her funeral.

Back again to his mother bearing a bucket of palm-juice which he declares the *Bok* (or headman) contributes to his father's funeral for a consideration of fifty rupees; this his mother gladly pays and he pockets the money himself. When the press-gang is about to return home in the wet season, Saw Kay is in a quandary: so he tells his father he has found a new bride for him, the image of his dead mother, and at the same time informs his mother that he has found a new husband for her, the image of his dead father. He then actually contrives a marriage between his own parents and flees the consequences with a loin of pork and sixty rupees. The pork he sells to a jungle woman for one hundred rupees pretending he has met her husband who agrees to the price, and also that the loin sold represents the whole carcass of a wild hog lying out in the jungle, which he will send along as soon as possible. Then, hearing that the royal merchants are passing, he carves a bamboo and, having buried his money in bundles of four, five and twenty rupees in various places, waves his bamboo as the merchants pass, crying, "Hey, for five rupees!" and striking the bamboo into the ground where a bundle is buried draws out five rupees. The merchants give him a thousand rupees for the magic bamboo. Later, after he has married and settled down, the merchants seek him to kill him for cheating them over the bamboo; but, having secretly told his wife and mother-in-law to kill fowl and prepare a curry, Saw Kay confronts the merchants and begs them to spare him till he has shot them enough jungle fowl to make a curry. He then goes into the jungle and fires at some fowl purposely failing to hit them and exclaiming, "Go home and curry yourselves." The merchants being then taken back to his house and seeing fowl being curried in the pot, think Saw Kay's is a magic bow and give him two thousand dollars for it. Cheated again, the merchants seek Saw Kay a second time but, pointing to his withered mother-in-law as his wife, he begs time to rejuvenate her and rolling her up in a mat (put in the doorway which leads into the interior of the hut) beats the mat with a rice pestle shouting, "Become a virgin." The old woman rolls into the hut and Saw Kay's blooming young wife presents herself at the doorway. The merchants spare his life in return for the pestle, and, using it to transform their own old wives into girls, beat the unhappy women to death. The

king decrees Saw Kay's execution. He is put in a wicker-basket to be pushed off a high bank into the river, but, the sentry dozing, a stranger comes up-river and asks him why he is there, to which he replies, "Because I refuse the crown of Ava, and as the astrologers say none other may reign while I live, it has been decreed that I shall die." The strange merchant willingly changes places and Saw Kay sits in his boat to watch his own execution. [And so on, as quoted in article on *Farcical Tales*.]

IV.

(1)

Tujuh blah lantai tērpatah.
 Tujuh gēlēgar tērpatah,
 Bērdēru-dēru hujan panas,
 Sabong-mēnyabong kilat,
 Panah-mēmanah halilintar,
 Bērbunyi sakalir bunyi-bunyian.

(2)

Ayer hilir tērhēnti-hēnti,
 Burong tērbang lagi bērbalek,
 Mēnēngar bunyi suara-nya itu,
 Bunyi suara Nabi Daud.

(3)

Sēmbak-mēnyēmbak chichak di-atas, chichak di-
 pēran,
 Bērbantah kēlang di-udara,
 Parang-mēmarang iyu bēngkong,
 Lular-mēlular ikan raya.

(4)

Tujuh hasta bidang dada-nya,
 Tujuh chap pokok lēngan-nya,
 Gērham-nya ūmpat sa-rumpun:
 Sa-gentang makan daging,
 Dua chupak ūkat di-gigi-nya.

(5)

Datang wali dari Mekkah.
 Yang mempunyai Kaabah-Allah.
 Jubbah putih, sorban putih.
 Taboh berkilat, chérmin China.

(6)

Bérseluar bérdurangga nama-nya.
 Pesak bérsesong séndiri-nya.
 Bérratus-ratus chérmin di-pinggang.
 Bérribu-ribu chérmin di-kaki.
 Ménahar mérata-rata badan.
 Chérmin bésar mérurut pesak.
 Itu-lah pakaian raja Séri Rama.
 Kain chindai jantan.
 Panjang téngah tiga-puluh.
 Tiga-puluh déngan rambu-rambu-nya.
 Tiga kali sa-hari bérrubah warna-nya.
 Pagi-pagi warna émbun.
 Téngah hari warna lémbayong.
 Pétang-pétang warna minyak.
 Itu-lah pakaian raja Séri Rama.
 Baju béldu kérsumba murup.
 Tiga kali mérolak séri.
 Tujuh kali mérolak pati.
 Tiga tahun dagang bérlayar.
 Pati lékat di-tapak tongon.
 Itu-lah pakaian raja Séri Rama.
 Kéris sémpana ganja irna.
 Ganja mérumpang puting pular séndiri-nya.
 Kékat mayat dua sa-janjir di-pangkál.
 Pamur janji di-téngah.
 Lam julalah di-tuntong.
 Pamur alif térdiri séndiri-nya.
 Bérsambut janjut putih.
 Bukan-nya béni sa-barang béni.
 Béni lébeh pénganching.
 Pintu Kaabah Allah.
 Di-timpa anak nabi Allah Adam dahulu.
 Di-hanchor di-tapak tangan.

Di-timpa di-ujung jari,
 Di-sepoh dengan ayer bunga,
 Di-sepoh di-kapur China:
 Tarun bisa-nya dari-atas langit,
 Di-asam di-ulu ayer,
 Ikan di-ekor mali berkupongan:
 Itu-lah pakaian raja Sèri Rama.
 Terambil tengkölok bulang ulu,
 Bulang plangi bésalu-alai,
 Kumbang têngah dëndam ta'sudah.
 Ada suatu puncha ta'sudah,
 Jika sudah dunia kiamat,
 Bukan ténun sa-barang ténun,
 Ténun bonda dari muda,
 Chukup pèrindu dengan pèrëndang.
 Chukup hikmat—"Si-pula jadi,"
 "Aheh sa-lampung," "Si putar Leman,"
 "Asam garam," "Edan mabok"
 "Sa-palit gula," "Sèri gagak,"
 "Don C'aus" pun ada tésurat di-situ
 Itu-lah pakaian raja Sèri Rama.
 Kain kindang kindu kindang kiani
 Kain khaan gèntapolam,
 Bukan-nya ténun sa-barang ténun,
 Ténun orang yang bèrulang.
 Ganti orang yang bèrparoh,
 Dalam tèmpyan têngah laut
 Sa-hari sudah tukang di-bunoh,
 Tiada siapa lurat teladan.
 Bukan-nya pakaian raja sèkarang,
 Pakaian raja zaman da-hulu,
 Di-jemor bértambah basah
 Di-rëndam bértambah kering,
 Ada koyak sèdikit bèrjèramat
 Usakkan kurung bértambah herye,
 Sa-ratus rial pèmbèli bènang.
 Di-titek zembun sa-titek
 Sa-hasta bènang panjang kuani
 Angin sèlatan datang mènyèlènkau.
 Itu-lah pakaian raja Sèri Rama.

PRINTED AT THE
FEDERATED MALAY STATES GOVERNMENT PRESS
KUALA LUMPUR .

PAPERS ON MALAY SUBJECTS

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

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

MALAY LITERATURE.

PART III.

MALAY PROVERBS ON MALAY CHARACTER.

LETTER-WRITING.

BY

B. J. WILKINSON, *F.M.S. Civil Service.*

KUALA LUMPUR.

PRINTED BY J. H. WALLACE AT THE F.M.S. GOVERNMENT PRESS.

1925.

500-1.25.

PREFACE.

IN this pamphlet I have endeavoured to deal with one aspect of Malay proverbs, and with the question of Malay letter-writing mainly from the point of view of official correspondence. It is hoped that the notes on this latter question will prove of special utility and interest to officials.

I am indebted to Messrs. C. W. Parr, B. O. Stoney, R. O. Winstedt and E. C. H. Wolf for suggestions and assistance in the preparation of the notes on letter-writing.

R. J. W.

MALAY PROVERBS ON MALAY CHARACTER.

THE native of the Peninsula—as anyone who has studied the conditions of life on a Malayan river can readily understand—finds that courage, patience and industry are mere subsidiary qualities and that intelligence is paramount. He sees that he cannot snare game or catch fish or rob the forest of its precious products by merely trusting to hard work. If he is to be successful as a back-woodsman he must have special knowledge, the power of observation, much manual dexterity and great readiness to adapt himself to local conditions. He is not an idler or he would not be a fisherman working, according to the state of the tide, in all weathers and at all hours of the day or night. He is not a coward or he would never face the perils of the jungle and the sea. When a crocodile has been taken on a line, a Malay must possess exceptional nerve to approach the savage struggling reptile, to fasten up its jaws and to pinion its limbs, and yet, when he does these things he impresses the spectator more by his wonderful deftness and coolness than by the daring of his acts. Courage, dexterity, patience, carefulness and knowledge are all accessories; their intelligent application to the needs of jungle life is the question which interests the native mind. The Malay avoids useless risks and the waste of strength or energy :

If you pole down stream, the very crocodiles laugh at you.

Need you sharpen thorns?

Who goes out of his way to dye the sea green?

Rocks need no protection from the rain.¹

He is often accused of idleness because he spares himself needless labour, yet he can be patient enough when patience is really necessary :

If you lose your way near the end of your journey,

Go straight back and start afresh from the beginning.²

He realises the need of precautions :

If you are ashamed to enquire the way you will lose it.

If you do not look closely into things, you will be imposed upon.

If you are lax, laxity means ruin.³

He knows that such precautions must be taken in time :

Repentance in time is profit, but of what use is repentance that comes after the event?⁴

If a man goes out fishing with only one line, and only one piece of bait a single accident will mean a wasted day.⁵

All this feeling is part of his proverbial philosophy. The one man who has secured an immortality of ridicule in Malay eyes is the local chief who laid siege to Palembang and ran out of provisions before he had taken the place.⁶ The true Malay hates wasting his money or his efforts; he admires the intelligence that can secure great results at little cost.

When you kill a snake do not break your stick

When you spear a fish, take care not to injure the spear.⁷

He loves labour-saving appliances of all sorts. He appreciates European machinery; above all else he admires the gins and traps and automatic appliances that do the work of their owner with unceasing vigilance night and day.

* The Mouse-deer may overlook the snare, but the snare never forgets the presence of its victim.*

The life of the forest has made monotonous unreasoning toil odious to the Malay. He likes his work to be interesting and to call for the exercise of his intelligence. He likes variety. He loves personal freedom. Under British rule he is usually an independent cultivator owning one or two small plots of land and supplementing his income by work as a poultry-rearer, cart-driver and fisherman. He is temperate in his pleasures, he is fond of excursions and picnics, he takes kindly to the games introduced by the English, and he loves his own home. He likes the simple, not the strenuous life.

The old aristocratic Government of the country has also influenced the character of the Malay. It has made him amazingly tolerant of the faults or vices of others. He has seen the training of a prince :

Is it likely that a dirty spring will give a flow of limpid water? ⁹

He thinks it natural enough that a prince should gratify his passions whenever he gets the chance; "after all," says he,

The python likes his chicken.

The crocodile is not averse to a corpse.

The fly loves to settle on an ulcer

The flea finds its way to the hair.

The buffalo plunges wherever the hue of the grass suggests the presence of water ¹⁰

Is the Malay *raja* to be the one exception to a rule so general? Money lent to a chief is

Like sugar-cane in an elephant's mouth. ¹¹

as good as gone. Granted; but was it not folly to let the chief know that the money was there!

A man with soft ears is sure to get them pulled. ¹²

The idea of seeking vengeance against the tyrant excites the Malay's bitterest ridicule. *

The sea wants to fight the eagle

The goat is trying to drink up the ocean

The sparrow has found the grain to be more than he can swallow

The cock thinks that, by refusing to crow, he will prevent the sun from rising ¹³

The peasant looks upon the chiefs as a race apart :

They are hornbills, we are sparrows, how can we possibly fly in the same flock. ¹⁴

As a local rhyme has it :

Let the great seek out the great.

While we, the poor, accept our fate. ¹⁵

The Malay does not rejoice over the sufferings of his neighbours—far from it :

When the lower frond falls, let not the upper frond be amused. ¹⁶

its turn too will come some day—but he knows that it is as much as a man can do to protect his own interests without attending to those of other people. He would simply laugh to scorn the idea that an English statesman should trouble himself about the affairs of Finland or Armenia :

Why put aside your own child so as to suckle some monkey from the jungle ?¹⁷

He knows by sad experience the utter barrenness of mere sentiments of sympathy :

The eye that looks on does not suffer; the shoulder that bears the burden gets to know its weight.¹⁸

The oppressor himself can afford to be prodigal of mere words of condolence.

What does rasping really matter to the rasp?—it is the poor coconut that gets scraped to pieces.¹⁹

As for bringing aid to the victim, one might as well invite disaster by interfering between a tiger and his prey. A Malay, who considered himself injured by a very powerful chief, once asked a local magnate to obtain redress for the injury. The answer was characteristic and has become proverbial :

*Men must stores of grain possess
If they hope to earn success;
Men, when caught without a gun,
From their enemies must run;
When insulted, men who lack
Cannon, never answer back.²⁰

Patient and submissive under his own wrongs, cynically indifferent to the wrongs and sufferings of others, the poor Malay peasant has learnt a rather mournful philosophy. He is never jealous of his neighbour's prosperity, fame, or success. There is a story in the Engadine of a certain chamois-hunter who is said to have bagged in the course of his life 4,000 chamois, 2 bears, 2 wolves, 3 wild goats, and 30 rival sportsmen. A Malay would consider the last item to have been made up of 30 deplorable accidents;

“live and let live” is his motto. He knows by sombre experience that the most promising undertakings often come to nothing, and that the very props of an enterprise are sometimes the causes of disaster. His popular songs provide him with reflections upon the vanity of human wishes—in the eighteenth-century story of Raja Haji of Riau (who set out to capture Malacca, little imagining that the enterprise would cost him his life), and in the fifteenth-century tale of Chaupandan who met a similar fate :

Chaupandan, the prince, and his Siamese powers,

Set out to lay siege to Malacca, and then—

When his hopes seemed as bright as his circlet of flowers—

The flowers were bedewed with the tears of his men!²¹

If the unreasoning tyranny of a prince be such as to exhaust even the long-suffering patience of a subject, the Malay peasant knows that it is useless to be half a rebel. Half measures are of no avail. “One may as well be hanged for a sheep as for a lamb” is an English proverb which has many counterparts in Malay :

If you bathe, get thoroughly wet

If you put your arm into the pickle-tub, put it in deep

If you pursue anything, pursue it till you catch it.²²

The peasant knows that opposition to the chiefs means certain death :

If I fail, I am burnt to ashes, if I succeed, I am burnt to charcoal.²³

He takes his measures accordingly—

If you must die, it is nobler to be taken by a big crocodile than to be nibbled to pieces by little fish.

If you are bound to be buried, seize the richest shroud that you can get.²⁴

In other words, if you are driven to slaughter, slay as many people as you can; the more you kill, the more you will be remembered. This is the spirit of the “amuck.” Caution and prudence are the very

breath of life to the normal Malay; when the strength of his endurance has been strained to snapping-point, the reaction of feeling is appalling in its consequences. The man who elects to "amuck" is beyond the canons of human reason; he is already a dead man. He even cares little if the oppressor himself is slain; the "fat" goes to others, the "bones and the feathers" fall to the share of the agent of retributive justice.²⁵ The frenzied murders that have given so painful a notoriety to the natives of the Archipelago have virtually disappeared wherever a better system of government has removed the intolerable wrongs that unhinged the murderers' minds.

The Malay peasant believes firmly in the aristocratic principle and has a very real reverence for constituted authorities. He would quite enter into the feelings of the ancient Scotch dame who, when her son expostulated violently against an unjust sentence, reproved him by saying, "Gang up and be hangit, Donald, but dinna anger the laird." The Malay views the excesses of a prince much as an extreme Tory treats the appearance of a peer in the Divorce Court; he does not see why the faults of individuals should be considered to discredit the utility of class-distinctions. It is quite an error to confuse the aristocratic constitutions of Indonesian States with the despotic polities of India and Persia; the respect for birth is so great in Malaya that the whole spirit of the people would be against an upstart king:

The plated-ware that shows its nature when scratched;

The horn in ivory mountings;

The worm that plays the serpent;

The snake that apes the dragon;

The bug that mimics the tortoise;

The tortoise that affects arboreal habits;

The blown-out parrot-fish that has only wind inside it;

The jewelled leg of a leper;²⁶

or any other of the numberless equivalents for the English "beggar on horseback." This feeling does not confine itself to the idea that princes are a caste apart; it credits every class of the community with an honourable part in the theoretical constitution of the country. It has saved the Malays from servility or adulation of rank or wealth and has made of them a singularly dignified and self-respecting race of men. Good-breeding is the highest ideal with them. Sir Frank Swettenham has thoughtlessly described the Malay as

The mildest-mannered man
That ever scuttled ship or cut a throat

Such a quotation rather suggests an unctuous hypocrite, which the Malay certainly is not. He hates shams of all sorts. His courtesy may be more justly described as some far-off Asiatic aspiration after the ideal of Tennyson's Knights—

That gentleness
Which, when it weds with manhood, makes a man

The essence of good-breeding, according to the Malays, lies in the word *bahasa*--true courtesy, sympathetic tact, gentleness of speech and manner--not in

The soft tongue that breaks bones,
The mouth of man that is sharper than swords or spears;
The flickering double-tongue of the snake or lizard,
The double-edged saw that cuts both ways;
The dagger pointed at both ends;
The skate known as the *yu kia-kia* (which looks like a shark at one end and like a ray at the other).²⁷

all of which types of treachery are emphatically condemned.

Let your spoken word be a fortress to those who trust in it.²⁸

Much of this, of course, only represents an ideal; Malay deceit (*sĕmu Mĕlayu*) is also proverbial, and other-verbs dismiss the men of the various States as follows :

Wheedlers are the men of Malacca.
 Exaggerators are the men of Menangkabau.
 Cheats are the men of Rembau.
 Liars are the men of Trengganu.
 Arrogant are the men of Pahang ²⁹

Still, the courtesy of well-bred Malays is a very striking quality and would put to shame the manners of many races of higher civilisation; it is not a mere accident in individuals, but represents the result of a national sentiment of which the following proverbial verse is only one of many expressions :

Observe through all your life on earth
 The courtly rules of olden days,
 You cannot overprize the worth
 Of kindly words and gentle ways. ³⁰

The Malay in his pride of race is superior to all considerations of fortune. He would have no sympathy with the needy aristocrat of Spain who lessens his expenditure on food but refuses to reduce the size of his table-cloth—on the contrary, the Malay admires the man who

Lives like a cat and leaps like a tiger ³¹

He likes quiet ways; he thinks much of secretiveness; he does not strive after effect. He believes in the soft answer that turneth away wrath; he is ready to be all things to all men; but, when it comes to matters of principle, he says :

Let your bones whiten rather than your eyes—³²

an idiom meaning that death is better than disgrace. Anyone who employs Malays knows that they prefer considerate treatment to high pay. Muhammadanism, however, is democratic; "the noblest of you in the

sight of God is he who most feareth God" (Kor., xlix, 13); "the believers are but brethren" (Kor., xlix, 10). The feeling against "beggars on horse-back," which is so strong a feature of Malay public opinion, is quite alien to Islam; it makes the path of religion the only road to distinction open to a man of humble birth who wishes to win power and influence without creating enemies. A native hereditary chief is very tenacious of the "courtly rules of olden days," and (speaking generally) he enjoys the support of his people on this point, but he had to contend against the religious element which includes all that is energetic, able and ambitious in the native population.

The natural wealth of the Peninsula and the sparsity of its population have always rendered it easy for a peasant to earn the bare necessities of life; the short sighted greed of his chiefs made it useless for him to earn more. Religion, though it combated the native princes on many points, agreed with them in considering that money was bad for the people:

Wealth is a harlot wisdom is faithful

Last not after the treasures of this world that cannot follow
you to the world to come ²²

Religion enjoined the simple life, the Government made no other kind of life possible. The Malay has consequently acquired no luxurious tastes such as he would be willing to work hard to gratify. He has had to divert his interest from his work to the few harmless and inexpensive hobbies that were permitted to him. If he is fond of his home, he gives it all his thoughts. If he is religiously minded, he devotes himself wholeheartedly to his inner life and does not permit the things of the world to distract his attention. A European has so much to do to earn his minimum of necessary comfort that he can only devote a few hours a week to the gratification of his special tastes. What, therefore, in a European is a mere hobby,

in an Asiatic becomes a ruling passion—that is why there is so much “fanaticism” in Asia. Fanaticism, at its worst, is only earnestness misplaced. The European, with his varied interests, finds it hard to understand the passionate earnestness of the man of one idea. He may, perhaps, appreciate the race-distinction conveyed in the following remark attributed to an Asiatic: “You drinkee for drinkee, but we drinkee for drunkee.” Yet, after all, the distinction is most clearly shown in the best-known of all fanatics, the religious fanatic. The Eastern theory of faith is rather objective; it usually lies in a man sacrificing himself in order to carry out the ideas of Providence by self-torture, or by slaying an infidel or two. The Western theory of faith is more subjective; it is the “fanatic” who gets the ideas and who calls upon Providence to act up to them.

The Malay is not usually considered fanatical, but that is only because his tastes are social and domestic rather than spiritual or intellectual. He loves his own home.

A man is a prince on his own sleeping platform ²¹

whatever he may be elsewhere. He is a kind and indulgent husband and father, in fact, he is apt to spoil his children and to be hen-pecked by his wife. He is devoted to his own kindred. Friends and acquaintances, he says, are as leaves that the wind of misfortune blows away; blood-relations are as the sap of the tree which always falls near the parent stem.²² He loves his village :

Though it rain silver and gold abroad, though it rain daggers
and spears at home—still, home is the better ²³

He hates wandering. He takes as symbols of misery the poor wandering traveller (*kélana hina papa*), the vagabond (*orang tandang desa*), the orphan stranger, even the alien student wandering in search of knowledge (*dagang sěntěri*). He thinks of his own

surroundings with an affection that is quite blind to the possibilities of the outer world and that leaves him no sense of proportion; in fact, in his enthusiasm about the skill of a village fencer or about the merits of a local blunderbuss, he will seriously discuss the bearing of these matters upon the fortunes of a rising against the British Empire. If his local chief is just to him, he will display the most passionate gratitude and devotion to that chief. He cares nothing about his neighbour—every man must shift for himself—but the Chief is, in a sense, the embodiment of the common interest :

When the tree falls the woodpeckers that live on it must also perish.²⁷

Indeed, the Malay is always grateful for a kindness; one of his popular verses runs—

Pray that your life may be prolonged until you can repay
Each kindness that another man has shown you in his day.²⁸

In all matters the personal equation enters very largely. Should there be a question of stationing a Resident at a native Court, the Sultan will enquire about the personality of the Resident, not about his powers. Should a tactful Resident be replaced by an unsympathetic successor, the Sultan will consider that the new man is not up to sample and that the British Government has been guilty of a breach of faith. It is difficult for men unacquainted with Malay ideas to realise how much the Federated States owe to the qualities of individual Residents.

The Malay is easy-going and detests worry. He likes to leave well alone and not to bring a hornet's nest about his ears :

If there are worms in the earth, need one dig them up?²⁹

When he has a good thing, he does not like to risk losing it for the sake of a better :

If you are hidden don't go creeping further back into your hiding place.³⁰

the movement may betray you. If you spend too much time in trying to pick out the best bit of anything, you may end by finding yourself left with the worst.⁴¹ The Malay believes in thoroughly thrashing out a question and then settling it once and for all; he likes a discussion followed by a decision. When he has said *sudah*, (it is settled), he does not like reopening the matter; he considers it

Like the noise of the carpenters after the house is completed.⁴²

His favourite question is *apa kēsudahan-nya*, what is all this to lead up to? His highest compliment to his beloved is that she represents "finality in affection;"⁴³ his idea of a lover's most painful plight is that there should be no end to his hopeless longing.⁴⁴ In domestic, as in political, matters the Malay is a lover of ordered peace.

The question of the relation of the sexes among the natives of the Peninsula raises some very complex issues. We have to consider the old Indonesian ideas as well as the more modern Moslem theories on the subject, and we have also to discriminate between the Prophet's own views and the views of the Arabs among whom he lived. We will take the last question first. The ancient Arabs had a very low opinion of woman. They treated her as a mere chatte! and divided the sexes into the owners—the males, who guarded their women-folk with savage jealousy—and the dependents, the females, whose bodies were caged but whose thoughts were ever intent on evil. These old Arabian ideas are everywhere visible in that portion of Malay literature which owes its inspiration to Islam. They crop up, for instance, in the tale of the osteological pundit who distinguished between the skulls of men and women by the crookedness of the latter "because women cannot be straight." They casually reveal themselves in remarks such as "although a woman, she was chaste," and they are uncompromisingly expressed

in occasional tit-bits (translated from Arabic sources) such as: "a widow is as frisky as a horse that has thrown its rider;" "when God shut up Satan in hell, He created woman to replace Satan on earth;" and, again, God gives every man his day of saint-hood, and every woman her day of devilry."

The influence of the Prophet was more humane than moral. He insisted that a wife should be treated with kindness; he limited a master's rights over a slave; he enforced by severe penalties a certain standard of chastity. He could do no more. He had to tolerate much evil that has since been embodied in Islam and preached by Moslem missionaries all over the world. In Malaya, however, the ideas of the old Indonesians were not the ideas of Mecca. The moral standard was not high but it rested upon the theory that marriage was a relation in which husband and wife were equals. The political system was matriarchal. In some districts, the women owned all the land; in others, succession to titles and dignities went by descent on the maternal side. A woman was, in legal theory, "queen in her own domain"⁴⁶—the home. The missionaries of Islam might preach the supremacy of man to these poor hen-pecked villagers, but they could hardly put their preaching into practice. Even to-day, after several centuries of Moslem influence, a Malay husband will always find public opinion against him if he takes a one-side view of his duty to his wife. A forward woman is objected to—

The mortar must not run after the pestle—⁴⁶

but an indifferent husband deserves no consideration—

A broken pestle means that the mortar will soon be lost.⁴⁷

A Malay has to earn his wife's fidelity; he cannot command it. Indeed, in spite of Islam and its sanction on polygamy, he can rarely obtain his wife's consent to her sharing his affections with a rival. The

English proverb that "it is well to be off with the old love before you are on with the new" has a Malay equivalent :

Sayangkan kain buangkan baju.
Sayangkan lain buangkan aku.

But the Malay version is a threat on the part of the old love—a threat that usually wins the day, for the wife is really "queen in her own domain." In spite of the facilities for divorce and the tolerance with which public opinion treats all forms of misconduct, the Malay is usually a good husband. His easy-going nature renders him indulgent to his wife and children, while his love of ease makes him very unwilling to give up the creature-comforts of his own home for the unsettled existence of a Malay bachelor.

The native of the Peninsula who is here depicted differs materially from the Malay of old travellers' tales, the stage-villain associated with piracy, poisoned daggers and running amuck; in fact, he even differs from the mild-mannered murderer described by Sir Frank Swettenham and from the interesting scoundrel of Mr. Clifford's tales. Sir Frank Swettenham and Mr. Clifford are romantic writers and, from the romantic point of view, a pirate is better worth depicting than a Methodist minister. The average Malay is a law-abiding individual who is far more devoted to curry and rice than to methods of barbarism. Whatever may be imagined about the coast-peoples, the inhabitants of Upper Perak and Ulu Pahang could no more have lived by piracy or robbery than the Bedouin could live by plundering each other or the inhabitants of the Scilly Islands by taking in each other's washing. The Malays no doubt suffered great wrongs at the hands of their chiefs but they must not be condemned by a line of argument which would infer from the atrocities in Armenia that the Armenians

are a peculiarly cruel race. The deeds of violence and wrong recorded in local annals were mere excesses of misrule which have left no approving echo whatever in the literature or proverbial philosophy of the people.

There is a homely Straits proverb : *səbab pijat mati tuma*, "the bug was the death of the louse." The story goes that these two insects struck up an acquaintance and that the louse used to find himself in continual trouble through being suspected of what his evasive friend had done. The pirates who infested the Archipelago were Illanuns, Sulus, Bajaus and other vagrants of the sea, but people in Europe, who put down Singapore as a town in India and Penang as a village in China, could hardly be expected to discriminate between the vicious Illanun bug and the comparatively harmless Malay louse. All the inhabitants of the Malay Archipelago were naturally called Malays and were described as a set of pirates.

The warrior of Peninsular romance is an unreal being who uses sorcery, asceticism and talismans to overcome his foes. Very different from this shadowy type is the warrior of a really savage race, "the stealthy tracker" of the Arabs "who sweats venom, tracking like the rustling viper spitting poison." Very different to the homely philosophy of the Malays are the utterances of a true soldier of fortune, like the Greek Archilochus, or the Bedouin cry of exultation over the enemy's dead :

The hyæna laughs over the slain of Hudhayt, and thou mayest see the wolf baring his gleaming teeth upon them.

And the birds of prey awake gorged in the morning, trampling upon them, unable to fly (*Browne, "Literary History of Persia," p. 199*).

Very different also are the historic words with which the Arab general, Hajjaj ibn Yusuf, began his speech to a hostile audience of the men of Kufa: "I see

glances fixed upon me, and necks stretched forward, and heads ripe for the reaping, ready to be cut off—and, by God, I am the man to do it" (*ib.*, p. 230). Malay literature gives us the picture of quite another race. Exultation is typified by a mouse in a rice barn; ⁴⁸ presumption by a leech that wants to become a snake; ⁴⁹ extreme ill-luck by the fish jumping out of the curry; ⁵⁰ misery by a man with only one suit of clothes; ⁵¹ utter disaster by a broken hook combined with a snapped fishing-line.⁵² A choice of evils is figured by the case of sparrows settling on a rice-field; to leave them alone means loss of rice, to disturb them means getting wet.⁵³ Contrasted with the savage energy of the literature of the true raider, the painfully commonplace sayings of the Malay cut a very poor piratical figure indeed.

LIST OF PROVERBS QUOTED.

1. Bergalah hi'ir tertawa buaya.
Ada-kah duri di-pertajam?
Ayer laut hijau siapa chelup?
Batu di-pulau tidak terkajang.
2. Sésat di-hujung jalan, balek ka-pangkal jalan
3. Malu bértanya sésat jalan.
Kalau tidak habis pikir,
Kérja sérémak kena tipu.
Jika di-lalai badan binasa
4. Sésal dahulu pendapatan, sésal kémudian apa guna-nya?
5. Kail sa-béntok, umpan-nya sa-ekor; sa-kali putus,
sa-hari bérhanyut.
6. Pelahur habis, Palembang ta'-alah.
7. Biar ular mati kayu jangan pokok.
8. Pelandok lupakan jérat tétapi jérat tiada lupakan
pélandok.
9. Ada-kah pernah télaga yang kéroh môngalir ayer-nya
jérneh?
10. Apa lagi sawa, ia bérkéhéndak ayam-lah.
Ada-kah buaya ménolakkan bangkai?
Lalat chari puru.
Di-mana kutu mahu makan kalau tidak di-képal?
Laksana kérébau, di-mana rumput hijau di-sana-lah ia
tèrkam.
11. Tébu di-mulut gajah.
12. Yang bértelinga lémbut ya-itu-lah orang héndak pulas.
13. Kutu bérpérang dèngan gérda.
Lautan kering di-hisap kuman.
Pipit héndak télan jagong.
Sa-ekor ayam ta'-bérkukok hari ta'-siang-kah?
14. Burong pipit sama énggang.
Mana boleh sama térbang.
15. Orang kaya sama kaya,
Orang miskin hawa untong.
16. Pélépah bawah luruh, pélépah atas jangan gélak.
17. Anak di-pangku di-létakkan, bérok di-hutan di-susukan.

18. Apa sakit mata memandang, bahu yang memikul timpa
rasa.
19. Kukur apa kepada kukur?—nyir juga yang binasa.
20. Jikalau tiada padi,
Sa-barang kerja ta'-jadi,
Jikalau tiada senapang,
Baik jalan lapang,
Kalau ta'-berlela,
Baik beredza-redza.
21. Chaupandan anak Bubanya
Pergi menyerang Melaka,
Ada chinehin berisi bunga
Bunga beladong Si-Ayer-Muta.
22. Mandi, biar basah,
Menyelok pekasam, biar ka-pangkal lengan.
Kalau turut, turut sa-kali; jangan turut sa-kelat jalan.
23. Alah jadi abu, menang jadi arang.
24. Biar di-telan buaya, jangan di-pagut ikan kecil-kecil.
Kalau mati biar mati berpakan chindai.
25. Isi lemak dapat ka-orang, tulang bulu pulang ka-kiti.
26. Hilang sepooh nampak senam,
Tandok bersendi gading,
Chaching menjadi ular,
Ular menjadi naga,
Pijat menjadi kura-kura,
Kura-kura nak kerabat kayu,
Buntal kembong,
Kaki untut di-pakaikan gelang.
27. Lidah manis mematahkan tulang
Keris lembing tiada tajam, lidah manusia terlebeh tajam,
Lidah berchabang, lidah biawak,
Gergaji dua mata,
Selingi tajam bertimbal.
28. Sudah kata biar-lah kota.
29. Keehek anak Melaka, bual anak Menangkabau, tipu anak
Rembau, bohong anak Terengganu, sombong anak
Pahang.
30. Hidup di-dunia biar beradat,
Bahasa tidak di-jual-beli.
31. Dudok seperti kucing, melompat seperti harimau.
32. Biar puteh tulang, jangan puteh mata.

33. Ada-pun harta dunia ini seperti perempuan jalang,
tétapi ilmu itu bukan-nya demikian, teramat tegoh
setia-nya; *Ht. Abl., 28.*
Harta dunia jangan tama'
Kalau mati tidak di-ikut.
34. Orang béraja di-péntas-nya.
35. Daun dapat mélayang, gétah jatuh ka-pérdu juga.
36. Hujan mas perak—négéri orang; hujan kéris lembing-
négéri kita.
37. Punggur rebah, belatok ménumpang mati.
38. Minta doa panjang umur
Héndak balas budi orang.
39. Jangan korek ulat.
40. Sudah sembunyi jangan di-sorok.
41. Pilih-pilih ruas, térpileh pada buku.
42. Rumah sudah, pahat berbunyi.
43. Pényudah kaseh.
44. Badan ta'sudah déngan bérchinta.
45. Pérémpuan itu raja pada témpat-nya.
46. Lésong ménehari alu.
47. Antan patah lésong hilang.
48. Tikus jatuh ka-dalam gédong béras.
49. Pachat héndak jadi ulur.
50. Ikan di-gulai habis mélompat.
51. Kain basah kéring di-pinggang.
52. Umpan habis, panching putus.
Puncha térlépas daripada tangan.
53. Pipit tuli makan bérhujan;
Di-halau, kain basah,
Ta'-di-halau, padi habis.

LETTER-WRITING.

IN the old days of Malay rule the conveyance of a letter from country to country was a matter of extreme difficulty. It meant weary travel over the jungle-tracks of the Peninsula or else a perilous journey through the pirate-haunted waters of the Straits. It also meant some sort of an escort to ensure that the letter should be able to reach its destination. In these days of resident ambassadors the presentation of an autograph communication from one ruler to another is a mere matter of complimentary form, but, in ancient times when all diplomacy was carried on by special missions, the letter borne by a diplomatic mission was a matter of the very greatest importance to the relations between the two interested States. A foolish letter might ruin all the chances of the envoys and might even doom them to a cruel death. Under such circumstances it is not surprising that the ancient Malays paid the very greatest attention to the expressions used in official despatches. They discussed the draft of every letter in their Councils and they weighed the relative value of every word. They turned letter-writing into a sort of fine art; they wanted to flatter the recipient without in any way compromising the dignity of the sender of the letter. A Sultan of Malacca was once forced to write a submissive letter to the Emperor of China. He began: *Sahaya raja Mēlaka*. The Chinese took this to mean: "Your humble servant, the King of Malacca (addresses Your Chinese Majesty)." But, when the Raja of Brunei taunted the Malay envoys with their master's cowardice they explained that the letter could be differently construed: "The humble servants of the King of Malacca (address Your Majesty)."

Besides being most carefully drafted, a Malay letter had to be made as handsome as possible. It was sometimes adorned with floral patterns such as we find

on the illuminated pages of ancient books. It was usually wrapped in royal yellow silk if addressed to a prince, and even in cloth of gold if the occasion seemed to demand it. It was accompanied by gifts of real intrinsic value. It had to be looked after by a special slave who passed with it into the possession of the prince to whom the letter was addressed. The Arabic expression *tuhfatu' l-ajnas* (varied gift) which regularly occurs in official correspondence at the present day is a survival of the time when every letter was incomplete unless some complimentary present was sent along with it. On reaching the city to which it was directed, the epistle of a Malay king was not unceremoniously handed over to the addressee. It had to be received in state with a dignity befitting the sender's rank. It was first borne in procession on an elephant to the accompaniment of the royal musical instruments; then the envoys who bore it would be received in audience; and finally the contents of the letter would then be read out by some clerk in the hearing of the assembled court.

Occasionally trouble might arise. The people of Pasai, for instance, were reported to be guilty of deliberately misreading the letters addressed to their king. A certain Maharaja Diraja, Prince of Aru, once sent an envoy named Raja Pahlawan to take a letter to the ruler of Pasai. When the letter was read out, the clerk altered the wording and read "I send you my homage" instead of "I send you my greeting." The Aru Ambassador immediately protested: "The letter says one thing, the clerk reads out another." The clerk repeated what he had said. "Have a care," said the angry envoy, "when the hour of death comes, what matters it whether I die here or in my own home?" The clerk kept to his version. Upon this the infuriated Raja Pahlawan ran amuck and killed a number of the Pasai courtiers before he

and his men were overpowered and slain. This incident led to war between Aru and Pasai, but it also had another and much less serious result. "These men of Pasai," said the King of Malacca, "alter the words that we write; how, then, are we to prevent their mutilating our letters?" "Let me be a letter," said a courtier, Tun Muhammad. Having committed to memory the words that the King wanted him to say, this man started on his mission. When he arrived at Pasai he was greeted by the usual procession. "Where is the letter?" said the men of Pasai. "I am the letter," said Tun Muhammad; "carry me in procession to your Court." He was accordingly borne along to the tune of the royal instruments and was taken into the presence of the King of Pasai to whom he recited the words that he had learnt by heart.

The aim of Malay correspondence is to be courteous to the man addressed without in any way compromising the dignity of the writer. Discourtesy was conveyed more by what was omitted than by what was actually said. Insulting language was left to foreigners, Siamese or Chinese, who knew no better. The Emperor of China is related to have written to Sultan Mansur Shah in the following insolent way: "This letter is from below the footgear of the Son of Heaven to above the crown of the Ruler of Malacca"—an expression signifying that the Sultan was humbler than the dust beneath the Emperor's feet. The Malay writers go on to tell us that the powers that protect the majesty of kings laid their curse upon the arrogant Celestial and afflicted him with a filthy skin-disease of which he could only be cured by bathing in the water in which Mansur Shah's feet had been washed. Similarly, Abdullah relates that the King of Siam sent to Sir Stamford Raffles a letter impeccable in tone but written on a torn sheet of paper as though the addressee was not a person of sufficient importance.

to justify the epistle being recopied; Abdullah praises Sir Stamford for seeing the veiled insult and for replying to the King of Siam on another torn sheet. The present writer has only once seen a thoroughly offensive letter written in Malay. It came from the Siamese Foreign Office, and, like the traditional letter to Mansur Shah, it purported to be from "beneath the dust" on Chulalongkorn's feet to "above the head" of the Malay ruling prince to whom it was addressed.¹ This spirit of wanton discourtesy is, of course, altogether opposed to Malay ideas. Again, as in all Oriental countries, a letter would sometimes be accompanied by a symbolic present. In the legends about the ancient kings of Singapore it is related that the ruler of Majapahit once sent them a polite letter accompanied by a wooden shaving, seven cubits long and rolled up into a single small disc. The King of Singapore asked if it was an ear-stud and whether the Javanese princes took the Malays for a mere pack of girls. "No, not so," said the Javanese, "my master wishes to show you the skill of our craftsmen and to enquire whether you can turn out craftsmen who work as well as they." The Malay prince sent for a hewer of wood and asked him to shave a boy with an axe. The boy struggled and screamed, but the unerring axe cut off all his hair after a series of successive blows. No one need believe the story of this Malay William Tell; it only serves as one more illustration of the fondness of primitive peoples for symbolic messages.

There are, however, two forms of letter-writing that do not necessarily imply conveyance over great distances. One is the drafting of memorials to those in authority; the other is the composition of love-letters. The Malays of old paid great attention to the form of the petitions that they laid at the feet of their

¹ The King of Siam does not speak Malay and need not be supposed to have personally assured this account true.

princes, for it was absolutely essential that the person addressed should forgive the trouble to which he was being put and should be induced to look favourably on the man who troubled him. The petition was usually headed by an invocation of the Almighty by some attribute suggestive of His kindness to those who approach Him in prayer; the words of the memorial itself began by begging a thousand pardons for the impertinence of troubling a great man with the affairs of the poor and humble. The art of Malay petition-writing is now entirely altered by the fact that letters to Europeans have taken the place of memorials to Malay rajahs. We need not, therefore, dwell on it.

Love-letters are more interesting because they contain so much of what the Malays consider to be poetic expression. It must be remembered that a Malay epistle of this sort was generally a surreptitious communication to be smuggled past the watchful eyes of parents and guardians. Moreover, as girls were usually illiterate, a symbol was less compromising and more easily understood than a written document. A message might be conveyed in a jewel or by a flower. In Malay romance talking-birds play a great part. A mynah or a parroquet, carefully coached by a wily lover, might obtain admission to the most guarded apartments and there convey the message that it had been taught to utter. All this is, of course, pure romance: the birds in the story are usually supposed to reason and remember as well as speak. In the legend of Sang Darmadewa, for instance, the tale of the hero's fate is related to the heroine by the parroquets that witnessed it. The idea of using talking-birds as a fanciful way of transmitting messages appealed to the Malay mind; and though it is extremely improbable that any messages were actually so conveyed at any time, this theory of transmission is one that constantly crops up in the

composition of love-letters. Some years ago a Malay poetess accused a well-known chief of breach of promise of marriage and sent one of his old letters to a high British official as evidence of her lover's perfidy. The chief, in the letter in question, spoke of her last epistle to him as "a jasmine-bud of exquisite fragrance that had been brought to him by a discreet parroquet," and also as "a pearl of purest water that was dated the 13th ultimo." The verses at the end of the letter—for every Malay love-letter should end in verse—began as follows.

*A bird of speech has borne anew,
Through favoured skies, by God's decree,
A jasmine-bud of brilliant hue,
A message from my love to me
True hearted bird of pium proud
Love a chosen envoy through the air,
My happiness declare aloud,
Proclaim the message that you bear!*

Such passages illustrate very clearly the Malay fictions about love-letter-writing. Nowadays, it is sometimes argued that expressions such as *layangkan* (flown away with) are mere figures of speech suggesting that a loose sheet of paper is borne along by the breeze from one correspondent to another. Such a theory is inspired entirely by modern postal methods. The old Malays—when they wanted to be discourteous—may possibly have sent scrappy bits of paper to one another, but no self-respecting correspondent would have despatched his epistles in loose sheets; he would have wrapped them in silk or cloth of gold and would have liked to see an elephant sent out to meet them. The language of love-letters appeals on its poetic side to many Malay writers who use it to adorn their own official correspondence, but it is, of course, quite out of place in such documents.

In these days of cheap paper and of a three-cent post the old canons of letter-writing are being lost

sight of. Most Malays have some general notions of what should be written in a letter but they are rarely consistent or accurate. Even the published Malay "polite-letter-writers" (*töbrasul*) show no true logical arrangement in their specimen of correspondence; they only approximate to the correct forms. Although we can see from them that there must have been principles underlying Malay letter-writing in the past, we cannot deduce what those principles were. The rules given in the following notes are mainly based on a curious manuscript treatise that is now in the University Library at Cambridge. This treatise is clearly of some antiquity since it provides forms of address for writing to captains of East Indiamen and other persons whose special importance has long passed away; it must, therefore, have been written at a time when letter-writing was in the hands of a trained professional class. As the treatise appears to be correct and is certainly consistent, it may be said to give us the rules on which the confused practice of the present time seems to be based. But every modern Malay allows himself a certain amount of latitude so as to permit of the play of his fancy, and it would be a mistake to expect him to act up to the rules here given. He tries to improve on them. The result is inconsistency and confusion; but the intention is excellent.

NOTES ON MALAY LETTER-WRITING.

I.—THE HEADING (*Képa* Surat).

Somewhere near the middle of the blank space at the top of the sheet on which a Malay letter is written we almost invariably find a short Arabic formula such as *kaulu'l-hakk* (the saying is the truth) or *shamsu wa'l-kamar* (the sun and the moon). It is usually impossible to learn from Malays why this formula is used or what it really signifies; they can only say that it is the custom to write such things at the top of a letter. But there is really a good deal of significance both in the expression used and in its position on the page.

If the formula is written exactly in the centre of the paper it signifies that the writer and the addressee are of equal rank and correspond as equals. If it is written slightly to the right, it implies that the writer of the letter claims a higher position than the person he is addressing. If the formula is slightly to the left it signifies that the writer is an inferior addressing a superior.

The formula itself also varies; the words used as a heading to a letter to a great prince would not be the same as those used in the heading of a letter to a *pénghulu*.

The principal headings are

يا امير المؤمنين .

O Commander of the Faithful.

This expression, in former times, was the correct heading to a letter addressed to a powerful ruling prince by a subject. It is out of date at present.

قوله الحق .

The Saying is the Truth.

This expression is appropriate when two rulers correspond. It is common on letters from native rulers to the Governor and vice-versa.

وقلم الصديق .

And the Writing is most Sincere;

This is a variant or continuation of the preceding heading. It is used under similar circumstances. Another variant is *al-mustahakk* "the truth."

يا الله يا محمد .

O God! O Muhammad!

This heading is sometimes used when native princes correspond, but is, of course, inapplicable to correspondence between a Christian governor and a Moslem prince.

يا نور الشمس القمر.

O light of the Sun and of the Moon.

This expression is a quasi-compliment meaning "shining brilliantly—but not with the true light of religion." It is often used by a Malay raja when addressing an "infidel" potentate.

يا عفو الرحيم.

O Merciful Pardoner

This formula is very common on letters or petitions addressed to District Officers by penghulus, and to Heads of Departments generally by their subordinates. The "Merciful Pardoner" is, of course, God (described by one of his attributes), but the Head of Department is reminded of this divine attribute in the hope that he will be indulgent to the petitioner.

يا فتاح القلوب.

O Unlocker of Hearts

This (rare) formula is appropriate to petitions asking for enquiry into some matter. Here, again, the ruler or administrator is reminded of his duty as the representative of a Divine Power "from whom no secrets are hid."

يا قاضي الحاجات

O Judge of Wishes

This (rare) formula is appropriate to petitions containing a request of some sort. Here, again, we have an appeal to a divine attribute.

يا محيط السالمين.

O Ocean (of information) to Enquirers

This (rare) formula is appropriate to letters asking a superior authority for information on some point.

يا ولي الصفة.

O Lord of Loveliness

This is a purely complimentary formula based on a divine attribute and used as a suggestion that the virtues of the official addressed have made a deep impression on the mind of his correspondent.

يا عزيز.

O Precious One

This is an expression used as a heading to letters to a teacher, or to a Syed or Kathi, or any religious dignitary of high rank.

يا كريم.

O Honoured One.

This formula is used in a letter to a father or mother.

يا عالي الصيّد.

O Belauded Power.

The heading to a letter to an elder brother.

يا ثمرة الثوّاد.

O Blossom of my Heart.

This expression is the proper heading of a letter to a sister of about one's own age or to a wife.

يا فرة العين.

O Comfort of my Eyes.

This formula is really a term of endearment used as a heading to letters addressed to a younger sister, to a favourite daughter, or to a beloved girl of any sort. The heading *ya nūru'l-'ūshikin* may also be used over a love-letter. *Ya nūru'l-'ain* (light of my eyes) is another formula of the same sort.

حق اليقين.

Absolute Truth.

This formula is used when addressing anyone in whom one has perfect confidence.

بحر الله العلم.

God's Ocean of Knowledge.

This heading is placed above letters to very learned men.

الحكم واحد القهار.

The Decree is from the All-Powerful.

A heading to a letter announcing a death.

إن الله الصّابرين.

God is with the Submissive.

A heading to a letter of condolence.

توكل على الله.

God's Will be Done.

A heading to letters expressive of the writer's resignation to misfortune. The meaning is "surrendered into God's hands."

II.—THE "COMPLIMENTS" (*Puji-pujian*).

A Malay letter invariably begins with what are known as the *puji-pujian* or "compliments," but these compliments are really only a formula indicating the names and relative positions of the writer and the person addressed. We may divide the formula into nine essential parts and discuss each part separately:

THIS LETTER
FROM ME
MAY IT BE CONVEYED
BY GOD (OR MAN)
TO
YOU
WHO LIVE
AT X
AMEN.

1. THIS LETTER.—This expression is usually very much expanded. The following is an extreme case of expansion:

*Warkatu'ikhlas wa tahtutu 'l-afnas yang terbit daripada
janda'z-zakwah yaitu hati yang putih lagi tenang dan jernih
yang tiada menaruh shak dan waham di-dalam-nya serta tiada
menaruh lupa dan lalai sa-ketika jua pun sa-lagi ada peredaran
chakrawala matahari dan bulan;*

ing :

"This sincere letter, this varied gift; issues from a pure heart, from feelings of a limpid and transparent candour that can harbour no suspicion or mistrust and that knows no neglect or forgetfulness—not even for one instant—so long as the firmament revolves and the sun and the moon pursue their courses."

The full formula would only be used when a prince of the very highest rank addresses another prince of the very highest rank. In extreme cases, when a great ruler addresses a very minor official a mere *bahwa ini surat* would suffice. A Sultan addressing a Governor should use very nearly the full formula; addressing a District Officer he should use a short formula such as *bahwa ini-lah surat tulus dan ikhlas serta kasih sayang*. A Malay chief (other than a ruling prince) would in such a case use a longer formula.

2. FROM ME.—The writer of the letter should describe himself very shortly. If he emphasises his title in any way it is an assertion of superiority over the person addressed. If he depreciates himself by adding some such expression as *yang hina* it is an admission of extreme inferiority. The use of *kita* (we) for *beta* (I) is a strong assertion of superiority except in the East Coast States where *beta* is not used.

The address is usually given; the exact terms to be used in such cases will be found further on in section (7) "who live."

The following is a typical lengthy specimen of this part of the *puji-pujian* :

Ya-itu datang daripada beta, Raja Muda X., wakil's Sultan, Negeri Perak, daru'r-ridzwan, bérsemayam di-Bukit Chandan, Seri Andalan.

The following is a humble variant :

Ya-itu datang daripada beta, Dato' P., yang ada pada masa ini di-dalam daerah Negeri Rëmbau.

3. MAY IT BE CONVEYED.—If the letter is a letter to a ruler or man of royal blood the expression for "convey" is *wasalkan*. In other ordinary cases, *sampaikan* should be used. Love letters (see next paragraph) are separately treated; except for these amatory effusions, this part of the *puji-pujian* should be either *barang di-wasalkan* or *barang di-sampaikan*. *Barang di-taslimkan* may, however, be used as a polite equivalent of *barang di-sampaikan*.

4. BY GOD (OR MAN).—The importance and character of a letter is suggested by the means of conveyance. A letter to a very great dignitary is accompanied by a pious expression of hope that the Almighty will cause it to reach its destination safely. But, if the letter is addressed to a person of no importance, it is sufficient to express the hope that the post office will help the letter along. In the case of love affairs, convention insists that the conveyance of love-letters is the special duty of certain birds, notably the *bayan* or parroquet (*palæornis longicauda*), the explanation being that these birds, being possessed of some power of speech, are mentioned in old romances as the bearers of messages from a lover to his lass. The expression for "convey" in such cases is, therefore, *layangkan* or even *bayankan*.

A further distinction is conveyed by the expression used to describe the Almighty. If the term used is some long expression such as *Tuhan, maliku'l-hinnân wa'l-mannân*, the letter is very formal and is suited for despatch to a ruler. But if a simple expression like *Allah taala* is employed the letter is considered more familiar.

Another distinction, again, is drawn by expressions meaning "perhaps," such as *mudah-mudahan* and *kira-nya* (or *apa-lah jua kira-nya*). These expressions suggest a reduced importance for the letter.

The following gives a list of expressions in a descending scale of formality :

- (a) Barang di-waalkan Tuhan maliku'l-hinnán wa'l-mannán ;
- (b) Barang di-sampaikan Allah ar-rahman ar-rahim ;
- (c) Barang di-sampaikan Tuhan rabbu'l-alamín ;
- (d) Barang di-sampaikan Tuhan sêru sakalian alam ;
- (e) Barang di-sampaikan Allah subhana wa taala ;
- (f) Barang di-sampaikan Allah azza wa jalla ;
- (g) Barang di-sampaikan Allah taala ;
- (h) Barang di-sampaikan Allah ;
- (i) Mudah-mudahan barang di-sampaikan Allah ;
- (j) Apa-lah jua kira-nya datang ;
- (k) Minta tolong êneh-êneh dan tuan-tuan yang berjumpa surat ini sampaikan.

5. To.—This very simple preposition may be expressed in various ways according to the respect that a letter is intended to suggest. To begin with, only a man of princely rank has the privilege of addressing himself to the "face" (*wajah*) of royalty. Ordinary people address the "presence" (*hadzrat*) of royalty, while very humble subjects address the dust beneath a prince's foot (*ka-bawah duli*). Again, all these expressions are confined to royalty. In addressing a commoner a man cannot use *wajah* or *hadzrat* or *ka-bawah duli*; he may (if addressing a superior) lay his petition before the "presence," but he should use the word *majlis*, not *hadzrat*. Only when addressing a man of little importance should the simple preposition "to" (*kapada*) be used.

Further gradations are expressed by the use of the Arabic preposition *ala* for the Malay *kapada*, and also by qualifying with adjectives the expressions "face" or "presence"—e.g., "the noble face" or "the majestic presence." The following are examples of this portion of the *puji-pujian*

- (a) *Ala wajahu'l-karimu' sh-shuri'u'l-'ali*;

"To the majestic, noble, and exalted countenance of ——" This expression might be used in a letter from one reigning prince to another reigning prince.

- (b) *Ala wajahu'l-karimu'l-kamal*;

"To the majestic and illustrious face of ——" This expression might be used by a prince of the royal house addressing his sovereign.

- (c) *Ka-hadapan sêri wajah*;¹

"Before the princely face of ——" This expression might be used by a Sultan to a non-reigning prince.

¹ The word *terkampung* ("laid down before," "submitted to,") may be used before this and the following expressions.

(d) *Ka-bawah hadratu'l-ma'raf:*

"Down before the presence of his highness." This form of address would be used by a chief (not of princely rank) writing to his sovereign.

(e) *Ka-bawah hadzrat, or ka-hadzrat.*

These are less ceremonial variants of (d).

(f) *Ka-hadapan medan majlis,*

"In the field before the presence of —." To a very high official such as a Resident.

(g) *Ka-hadapan majlis.*

"To the presence of —." To an official such as a Magistrate or District Officer.

(h) *Kapada.*

"To —." Only used to persons of no position.

6. **YOU.**—The person addressed is described in several ways. A prince writing to another prince will often use respectful terms of relationship—such as *ayuhanda, kakanda, adinda, anakanda*—according to the relative age of the parties. Writing to Europeans of rank terms of friendship are used in place of those of relationship: *səri paduka sahabat beta, paduka sahabat beta, and sahabat beta*. Strictly speaking, the first of these three expressions ought to be confined to the very highest European officers; a District Officer or Magistrate would be *paduka sahabat beta*, and an unofficial European of good position or a man of little official status would be *sahabat beta*. On the East Coast *kita* is used in place of *beta*; on the West Coast *kita* is used to inferiors only. Malays of low rank when writing to each other use terms of relationship if they are intimate. In other cases, they use the expression *sahabat sahaya*.

The following complimentary attributes should also be used:

Yang tərutama: to the Governor;

Yang maha-mulia: to a Sultan;

Yang təramat mulia: to a Regent, Raja Muda, or semi-independent chief like the Dato' of Jelebu;

Yang bərhormat: to a Resident-General or Resident;

Yang muli: to a Malay chief or European of high official rank.

7. **WHO LIVE.**—This portion of the "compliment" is the expression in which most mistakes are made. A non-reigning member of a royal house and even a District Officer is often described in letters and petitions as "sitting in state upon a throne of sovereignty" (*bərsəmayam di-atas singgasana takhta kərajaan*).

This is an obvious error and is often explained as mere oriental exaggeration, whereas, as a matter of fact, it is simply due to ignorance of the correct term to use.

A ruling prince does theoretically "sit in state upon a royal throne," and may use the expression *bérasmayam di-atas singgasana takhta kèrajaan*. A better expression—for an administrator, at all events—is *mélakukan tadbiru'l-ihsan*, "munificently carrying on the Government."

A non-reigning prince may be said to "sit in state" (*bérasmayam*), but he cannot be said to do it "on a throne of royalty," nor can he be said to "possess a throne of sovereignty" (*mèmpunyai takhta kèrajaan*) or "munificently to administer the Government." He may, however, be said to "possess regal dignity and importance" (*mèmpunyai daulat kèrajaan dan kèbésaran*).

A District Officer may hyperbolically be described as "munificently carrying on the administration," but not as "sitting in state," nor as "possessing a throne of sovereignty." The correct expression is *bèrmakam* or *bèrmastautin*, "officially presiding" or "officially residing."

An honoured unofficial "exists in peace and health and prosperity" (*ada dèngan istirahatdan khairu'l-apat*, or *ada dèngan kèsjahtèraan-nya*). A less dignified expression is the simple *ada di-dalam pèlihara Allah taala*.

A person of no importance simply "exists" (*ada*).

To summarise :

(a) The proper descriptions for a reigning Prince are :

Yang bérasmayam di-atas singgasana takhta kèrajaan;
Yang mélakukan tadbiru'l-ihsan;
 and (less dignified) *yang mèmpunyai takhta kèrajaan dan kèbésaran.*

(b) The best descriptions of a non-reigning Raja are :

Yang mèmpunyai daulat kèrajaan dan kèbésaran;
Yang bérasmayam.

(c) of a Governor :

Yang mélakukan tadbiru'l-ihsan;
Yang mèmentèntah.

(d) of a Resident :

Yang mélakukan tadbiru'l-ihsan;
Yang mèmpunyai pangkat Resident.

(e) of a District Officer :

*Yang bermakam :**Yang bermastautin ;**Yang melakukan jalan berkeseh-kesehan ;**Yang mempunyai jawatan pegawai jajahan.*

(f) of an official, generally ;

*Yang berpangkat (name of office) ;**Yang berjawatan (name of office).*

(g) of an unofficial of standing ;

*Yang ada dengan sehat dan khairu'l-'afat ;**Yang ada dengan kemuliaan ;**Yang ada dengan kesejahteraan ;**Yang ada dengan keselamatan ;**Yang ada dengan selamat ;**Yang ada di-dalam pelihara Allah taala.*

(h) of a person of no importance ;

Yang ada.

It must, of course, be always borne in mind that a man, speaking of himself, would describe his office by a simpler expression than he would use to describe the same office when held by the person he is writing to. Furthermore, in writing to superiors, certain complimentary attributes may be put into the compliments—*e.g.*, *yang mulia, yang arif bijaksana*, etc.

8. AT X.—The name of the place at which the addressee lives is often the subject of honorifics. Perak is *daru'r-ridzwan*, Kedah is *daru'l-aman*, Selangor is *daru'l-ihسان*, Acheen is *daru's-salam*; these titles are conventional, but, where no conventional name exists, an honorific can be invented such as *negeri yang mulia* or *baldu'l-aadnan*, "the august city." *Daru'sh-shahadah* is another such expression. It is common also for Sultans to give special high-sounding names to the little hamlets in which they take up their abode: thus, Bukit Chandan is called *Seri Andalan*. These honorifics are, of course, only used where the writer or the person addressed is a man of very high rank.

9. AMEN.—It is usual in letters between Moslems of high position to end up the *puji-pujian* with some pious expression, sometimes the actual word *amin* and sometimes a longer expression like *salam Allah taala* or *hafudz Allah taala*. When writing to Europeans this expression is altered to *dengan sējaktěra-nya* or *dengan selamat-nya* or some similiar expression of which examples will be given in the "specimen letters."

III.—THE CLOSING WORDS OF A LETTER.

At the close of a letter it is usual to put in a few words, to the effect that "there is no more to say except to send greetings to our friend." This little formula should be expanded somewhat when addressing a superior—

The following are examples :

(a) to a Sultan :

*Tiada apa-apa yang lain hanya-lah di-harapkan serti
piduka sahabat beta dalam sihat dan 'afiat,
, mudah mudahan kekal di-atas takhta kērajaan
su-lama-lama-nya.*

(b) to a Chief :

*Tiada apa-apa yang lain mēlainkan di-harap umur
panjang. Tamat.*

(c) to an equal :

Dēmikian-lah di-maalumkan hanya wa's-salam.

IV.—THE ADDRESS.

The address on a letter only differs from the *puji-pujian* in the first item of the nine that have been discussed. This item should be *alamat surat* instead of *warkatu'l-ikhlas*, etc. The following is an example :

*Alamat surat barang di-sampaikan Allah subhana wa taala ke-
hadapin majlis sahabat beta, tuan A., di-dalam negeri Y.,
daru'l-aman, ada nya*

V.—THE SIGNATURE, SEAL, ETC.

The seal or "chop" on a letter is usually placed imprinted on the margin of the letter to the right-hand side of the writer and more or less parallel with the opening sentences of the compliments. The signature is written under the seal. The date, the place of writing, and sometimes the writer's name (for Malays usually employed professional letter-writers) would be written in a short sentence below the letter—e.g., *Urturat (or Urtuba or Urmaktub or Urmadzukur) di-Taipeng, pada 22 hari-bulan dzu'l-kaedah, sannah 1305.*

In the lower corner of a letter addressed to a man of rank, groups of letters of the alphabet are occasionally written, to wit

ق ط م ی ز
م ع ر و ب ا ل ی ر خ ی

These two groups are conventional and complimentary. In formal correspondence between equals the expressions *السلامة* or *السلامة* are written in place of these letter-groups.

VI.—PETITIONS.

The rules hitherto given do not apply altogether to petitions.

A Malay peasant addressing his prince would write :

Ampun tuan-ku, bĕribu-ribu ampun, tĕrstambah ka-hawaah duli Ulbu tĕlapakan Sĕri Paduka yang maha-mulio yang-di-pĕrtuan yang bĕrstmayam di-atas takhta singgasana kĕrajaun di-dalam nĕgĕri K., daru'l-iman, ada-nya.

A petitioner of higher rank would not alter the tone but would indicate his position by using Arabic words to show that he was a man of some literary taste and refinement, and consequently of some standing in the world :

Ampun tuan-ku bĕribu-ribu ampun, yarju'al-kitab ala hadzrat al-masraf duli tuan-ku saidu'l-karim paduka sĕri Sultan A. ash-sharif as-sayid maulana yang bĕrstmayam di-atas singgasana takhta kĕrajaan di-dalam baldu'l-andam nĕgĕri K., daru'l-ihwan.

The address on a petition simply prefixes *alamat surat* to the *puji-pujian*; thus, *alamat surat ampun tuan-ku, bĕribu-ribu ampun, etc.*

VII.—LOVE LETTERS.

The *puji-pujian* or "compliments," with their conventional terms of respect, sincerity and affection, are only preliminary to the important matter contained in an ordinary business letter.

In a love-letter, however, they are the very gist of the communication, and may constitute the whole of the epistle from the beginning to the end. The ordinary rules of Malay correspondence have, therefore, to be much modified in such cases, and these modifications have been the subject of a good deal of study on the part of native writers or theorists on the subject.

Conventionally, a Malay love-letter is not a prosaic matter of paper and ink, but a message or token borne on the wings of a bird from lover to lover. This theory will easily be understood when it is remembered that native girls are secluded and are not allowed to communicate directly with the outer world, so that in Malay romance a lover usually entrusts his message to a bird gifted with the power of speech or else sends it by means of a suggestive token such as a flower or a leaf. Convention maintains that this should still nominally be done even in these days of a three-cent post. A love letter is not posted—it is entrusted to "some bird of wise utterance;" it is not a poor sheet of paper—it is "a jasmine bud of exquisite fragrance." Words like *surat* or even the royal *warkat* are avoided because of their suggestion of the ink-stand; the proper word is "a greeting with love and tenderness following in its train" (*salam yang di-iringi dengan rindu sayang*). Again, the lover does not address

it to the "presence" of his beloved or to her "face" or to the "dust beneath her feet;" he lays his floral offering metaphorically upon her lap (*ku-atas ribaan adinda*). And, of course, a letter of this type does not concern itself with the question of a girl's official position, but simply dwells upon the charms and virtues that she possesses.

The following example of the *puji-pujian* appropriate to love-letters only refers to cases in which the gist of the letter is on some matter of business and the "compliments" are those formally proscribed for use at the beginning of the epistle:

Bahwa ini lah salam yang di-ringi dengan rindu sayang di-champur dengan dendam taadzim, yang di-sertakan dengan kasih takrim, yang di-hiasi dengan sayang yang tiada berképutusan pada siang dan malam, ya itu datang daripada kakanda X, yang sangat menanggung dukacita sa-hari-hari, ada nya, mudah mudahan barang di-layangkan apa lah kira nya datang ka atas ribaan adinda, Y., yang mulia lagi arif bijaksana serta amat mengasihani segala handai taulan nya di dalam negeri Z. darul'iman, ada nya

The following example, on the other hand, gives a love letter that is nothing more than a message of affection and consists of *puji-pujian* from the beginning to the end:

Salam doa yang di-ringi dengan beberapa hormat yang mala-mula, maka di-champuri pula dengan beberapa rindu dendam yang tiada berképutusan sentiasa pada tiap-tiap siang dan malam pagi dan petang dan sa-bilang waktu tiada lah sa-kal-hati lupa dan lalai barang sa-kétika juga sa-lagi ada perredaran chakrawala bulan dan matahari. Maka adalah laksana punggok merrindukan bulan dan seperti chentay merrantikan hujan dan laksana Zulaiha berahikan Yusuf dan seperti Laili berahikan Mejanun, maka demikian-lah kakanda teringatkan tuan. Jika tidak teringat-gau dan jika duduk terbayang bayang merrainkan terasah-mah sifat wajahul'karim itu terdiri pada orang-orangan mala kakanda yang amat dzail lagi hina papah serta pula dengan miakin daripada segala hamba Allah di dalam dunia ini lagi bebai serta dengan bedoh yatim piatu yang tiada menaruh anak dan saudara lagi tiada menaruh daya dan upaya merrainkan di-harapkan jua belas kasihan tuan serta tulus ikhlas adinda merr'lahikn di atas batu kepala kakanda. Adalah di-urupamakan seperti ayer di dalam téngga kalkauthar serta dengan héning jruah, lagi-pun dengan sejok-nya, dan berbagai-bagai chinta noman rasa-nya yang tiada tépéménai lagi di dalam itu. Di-sertakan pula dengan suatu isharat dan ibarat orang tua-tua: adalah laksana sa-pohon kayu yang tumbuh di-tengah padang serta dengan reodang-nya dan harum bau bunga-nya dan lemah manis rupa buah-nya; maka banyak-lah hamba Allah yang hérmang berhenti di bawah pohon kayu; maka hértup-lah angin yang lemah lembut dari udara yang kéluar dari dalam awang jannatu'n-nah, maka térkibar-lah bau-nya bunga kayu yang amat harum;

sa-ketika jua lalu terlalai-lali hamba Allah yang di-bawah pobon itu seperti laku orang pengan juga sebab menchiom ban-nya itu. Maka sekarang ini ada-lah kakanda yang bernama X. sudah terkana mahok-nya itu dengan tiada terfira-kira lagi, melainkan harap-lah juga kakanda kepada adinda dengan sa-banyak-banyak harap seperti anak syam harapkan ibu-nya. Bahwa ada-lah kakanda ini sa-umpama anak burong; jikalau tiada Allah! Allah! Yah adinda, sa-kali-kali kakanda tiada membuat Allah! Allah! Yah adinda, sa-kali-kali kawanda tiada membuat dusta melainkan dahulu Allah, baada-hu rasul, dan pada kemudian tuan-lah yang kakanda harap. Dan jikalau kira-nya kakanda ada menaruh sayap seperti burong neschaya sekarang ini juga kakanda terbang hinggap ka-bawah hadzrat majlis peduka adinda cahaya nur ini. Dan sekarang apa-lah boleh buat, dan apa-lah daya kakanda? Badan seperti anak merpati terkepak-kepak ka-sana sini lalu jatuh dari atas rumah sampai ka-tanah, entahkan apa jadi. Ya Allah, ya rasul Allah, ketiga-lah dengan adinda, ya adinda, tuan, apa-lah jadi kakanda ini? Ada-lah lakana pantun orang tua :

Enche' Amat membawa suloh,
Hendak menyuloh sarang tebuan;
Sembah di-angkat jari sa-puloh,
Minta mati di-kaki tuan.

And so on. A Malay love-letter usually ends with a string of three or four *pantuns*.

The following is a rough translation of the letter just quoted :

In the train of this letter of greeting I send a multitude of respectful wishes and of loving thoughts that have never yet ceased to attend me either by night or day, evening or morn—no, not for one instant can I forget you so long as the sun and the moon pursue their courses. My love is as that of the night-bird when it sighs for the moon or as that of the rain-bird when it thirsts for the dew of heaven; my love is as the passion of Zulaikha for Yusuf or as the wistful longing of Leila for Mejunun: it breaks on my slumbers with anxious fears, it distracts my waking hours with wandering thoughts, for at no time can my eyes image anything except the glorious beauty of your form. I may be humble and weak and poor, the very meanest of God's servants on earth; I may lack every gift; I may have no friend or relative to look to in the world, but what of that? I put my trust and confidence in your tenderness and in the sincerity of your heart, oh, most desired of lovers! For you are as the waters of the River of Life, pure and calm and lustrous, whose sweetness no man can measure—or, if I may quote a metaphor used by men of old, you are like some tree of over-arching verdure that yields shade and fragrance and fruit in the midst of a desolate plain—can you, then, marvel that men should be attracted by your beauty and that the zephyrs from some heaven of bliss should play about you till the fragrance of your beauty should lull the thoughts of your lovers and lead them to be dead to everything except the delight of breathing the air of your presence? I, too, am under the charm of that

influence but my trust is in you, even as the trust of a nestling in its mother, for should the mother-bird desert it, where else could that poor fledgeling turn? Oh God Most High—for I swear to you I mean no untruth—I have faith in God and the Prophet, and, next to them, in you. Yes, had I the wings of a bird, this very moment would I fly to your presence. O Light of Glory! But of what avail are these thoughts? What power is left me? I am like a dove—but a dove of fettered wings, whose struggles can only cause it to fall more helpless than ever on the ground should he attempt to fly. O God! O Prophet of God! O Love of Mine! What is to be my fate? As in the words of the old, old song:

To her I lift my suppliant hands,
A simple boon I crave—
Oh that the earth on which she stands
May serve me for a grave!

Etc.

VIII.—TYPICAL LETTERS.

The following examples are taken from letters actually written:

1. From a Dato' of Johol to a District Officer. The "compliments" only are given:

Bahwa ini surat daripada beta Dato' Johol, Johan Pahlawan Lela Pêrkasa Sêtiawan, yang mêmérentah di dalam jajahan Nègèri Johol dèngan sêjahtêraan-nya ya itu akan datang ka hadapan majlis sahabat beta tuan X., Magistrate di tanah Melayu, dèngan sêlamat lagi sêjahtêra-nya.

This form, though probably not intended to be offensive, is a typical form to be used in addressing a man very much one's inferior in position, for the only portion given at any length is that portion in which the writer's own titles are enumerated. The offensiveness lies in the brevity of the description of the person addressed.

2. From a Negri Sembilan *lambaga* to his District Officer. "Compliments only." This letter is interesting as the work of an educated man specially interested in custom:

Warkatu'l-ikhlas wa-tuhfatu'l-ajnas yang terbit daripada fuadu'z-zakiah ya-itu hati yang puteh lagi héning dan jêrneh yang tiada ménaruh shak dan waham di-dalam-nya sa-lagi ada pèridaran chakêrawala matahari dan bulan ya-itu datang daripada beta Dato' P. yang ada pada masa ini di-dalam daerah Nègèri Rêmbau, mudah-mudahan barang di-sampaikan oleh Tuhan sêru sakalian alam apa-lah jua kira-nya akan datang mêngadap ka-hadapan majlis sêri paduka sahabat beta tuan X., Magistrate, yang maha-mulia pada mëlakukan jalan bërkaech-kasehan dan mêngambil hati sakalian sahabat handai taulan-nya karib dan baid, yang ada bërâmeyam pada masa ini di-dalam nègèri Tampin dèngan bèbêrapa sêlamat sêjahtêra, ada-nya.

3. From a Malay Raja (not a ruling chief) to a Magistrate. Compliments only :

Surat dengan beberapa tulus dan ikhlas serta suchi hati yang puteh lagi hening dan jernih yang tiada menaruh shak dan waham sa-lagi ada peredaran chakrawala ya-itu matahari dan bulan daripada beta Raja X. yang ada terhenti pada masa ini di-dalam negeri M. dengan minta mudah-mudahan barang di-sampaikan oleh Tuhan Sero Sakalian Alam apa-lah jua kira-nya datang ka-hadapan majlis sèri paduka sahabat beta tuan R. yang menjadi Magistrate di-dalam B. dengan kemuliaan serta pula mendapat selamat dengan sejahtera-nya.

4. From a Regent of Perak to a District Officer announcing the death of the Sultan. Compliments only.

Bahwa surat tulus dan ikhlas kasih sayang daripada beta Raja Muda X., wakilu's-Sultan Negeri Perak, Daru'r-ridzwan, bersemayam di-Bukit Chandan Seri Andalan, mudah-mudahan barang di-waalkan oleh Tuhan Sero Sakalian Alam datang ka-hadapan majlis paduka sahabat beta tuan Y., Magistrate Kinta daerah Batu Gajah dengan sejahtera-nya.

IX. — APPLICATION OF THESE RULES.

It will be seen from the above specimen-letters that Malay clerks are not usually quite consistent in the compliments that they employ but that they do what they can to approximate to certain forms. Conversely, although no rules have been definitely established by actual practice to show how a Malay penghulu, chief, or prince should properly be addressed by a European official, it is not difficult to lay down such rules if we study the practice of Malays when corresponding with one another. We may take as a basis for comparison the extent of territory governed. A certain allowance has to be made for the difference between hereditary and mere official position, but this difference is largely titular. A Resident cannot appropriate in correspondence the royal expressions such as *mēm-punyai takhta kerajaan* but he certainly could claim the administrative descriptions of a Sultan such as *mēnjalankan tadbiru't-ihsan*. In the same way a District Officer corresponds in territorial extent of authority, more or less, with a Malay chief such as a *Sèri Adika Raja*. Omitting the descriptions based on hereditary right and the religious expressions, it would be fairly easy to find formulæ that are apposite and do not jar on the ear like the present confused system by which District Officers claim royal thrones and otherwise make themselves ridiculous in official letters.

The only headings that are at all suitable to a letter from an English official to a Malay chief of any sort are *kaulu'l-hakk* and *kalamu's-siddik*. It is true that they presuppose a certain equality of rank and are not really correct where a comparatively minor official addresses a Sultan, but they have long been customary and are only unsuitable in very exceptional cases, for a correspondence with a ruling chief is not usually carried on by minor officials.

The expression *satri paduka sahabat beta* should be confined as far as possible to Ruling Chiefs, Governors and Residents. The expression *paduka sahabat beta* ought to be quite sufficient for native heads of districts and for English officials of the rank of a District Officer or Magistrate, while *sahabat beta* would be enough in other cases. In the same way, an official, however high in rank, should avoid applying to himself the special Malay terms limited in use to native royal personages—words such as *wajah*, *wasikan*, *bérasmayam*, *singgasana*, *taulat* and *takhta kérajaan*—and he should employ polite expressions descriptive of his duties only. Such expressions are not uncommon.

The following forms may be suggested as suitable to correspondence with Malays:

I.—From a Junior European Official—*e.g.*, a Cadet, Settlement Officer, Assistant Commissioner of Police, Inspector of Mines or of Schools, etc.)—

(a) to a peasant:

Daripada kita tuan X., *képala mata mata* di dalam daerah Y., di-sampaikan kepada M. bin N. yang ada sekarang ini di dalam daerah Z.

Ahual di-taarifkan.....

(b) to a penghulu:

Surat tulis ikhlas daripada beta tuan X., *képala mata mata* di dalam daerah Y., barang di-sampaikan kepada sahabat beta Dato' Penghulu M. di dalam daerah Z., dengan selamat-nya.

Ahual beta taarifkan.....

(c) to a chief:

Surat tulis ikhlas serta dengan hati yang putus daripada beta tuan X., *képala mata-mata* yang ada terhenti sekarang ini di dalam daerah Y., maka barang di-sampaikan oleh Tuhan Sero Sekalian salam datang ka hadapan majlis sahabat beta yang mulia Dato' M. yang ada pada masa ini di dalam negeri Z., dengan sehat dan khairu'l'afat.

Ahual beta maalumkan.....

(d) to a non-reigning raja :

Surat tulus ikhlas serta dengan hati yang puteh lagi hening dan jernih sa-lama-lama-nya daripada beta tuan X., *kepala mata-mata* yang ada terhenti skarang ini di-dalam Y., mudah-mudahan barang di-waalkan oleh Tuhan Sero Sakalian alam datang terhampar ka-hadapan majlis paduka sahabat beta yang mulia Raja M. yang ada bersemayam pada masa ini di-dalam negeri Z., dengan selamat dan kejajahteraan-nya. Wa-baada-hu ahuah beta maalumkan.....

(e) to a reigning Sultan :

Surat tulus ikhlas serta di-iringi dengan hormat ya-itu daripada beta tuan X., *kepala mata-mata* yang ada terhenti kepada masa ini di-dalam daerah Y. mudah-mudahan barang di-waalkan oleh Tuhan Sero Sakalian Alam datang mengadap yang maha-mulia paduka Sero Sultan M. ibni al-marhum Raja N. yang di-pertuan negeri Z. *darul-shahadah*, yang bersemayam di-atas takhta kerajaan dengan beberapa selamat sejahtera-nya.

Wa-baada-hu ahuah di-maalumkan.....

II.—From a Senior Official (such as District Officer or Head of Department)—

(a) to a peasant :

Daripada kita tuan X. pegawai kerajaan di-dalam daerah Y., negeri Perak, di-sampaikan kepada M. bin N. yang ada pada masa ini di-dalam Kampong Z.

Ahuah di-nystakan.....

(b) to a minor penghulu :

Surat ini daripada kita tuan X. pegawai kerajaan di-dalam daerah Y. barang di-sampaikan kepada Penghulu M. bin N. di-dalam daerah Z., dengan selamat-nya.

Ahuah kita taarifkan.....

(c) to a major penghulu or minor chief :

Surat tulus ikhlas daripada beta tuan X. pegawai kerajaan di-dalam daerah Y. maka barang di-sampaikan oleh Tuhan Sero Sakalian alam datang ka-hadapan majlis sahabat beta yang mulia Dato' M. yang ada beristirahat-ul-khair kepada masa ini di-dalam negeri Z., dengan selamat-nya.

Ahuah beta maalumkan.....

(d) to a chief of importance :

Surat tulus ikhlas serta kasih sayang yang terbit daripada hati yang puteh lagi hening dan jernih serta tiada menaruh lupa dan lalai barang sa-ketika jua pun sa-lagi ada peredaran cakrawala matahari dan bulan ya-itu datang daripada beta tuan X. pegawai kerajaan di-dalam daerah Y. barang di-sampaikan Allah azza wa jalla ka-hadapan majlis paduka sahabat beta yang mulia Dato' M. bin N. yang ada beristirahat-ul-khair pada masa ini di-dalam negeri Z., dengan sehat dan afak.

Wa-baada-hu kemudian daripada itu ahuah beta maalumkan.....

(e) to a raja (other than a ruling prince) :

Surat tulis ikhlas serta kasih sayang yang terbit daripada hati yang puteh lagi hening dan jernih serta tiada menaruh lupa dan lalai barang sa-ketika jua pun sa-lagi ada peredaran chakrawala matahari dan bulan ya-itu datang daripada beta tuan X. pegawai kerajaan di-dalam daerah Y. barang di-walkan Allah subhana wa taala ka-hadapan wajah paduka sahabat beta Rajah M. ibni almarhum Rajah N. yang bérés-mayam pada masa ini di dalam negeri Z. haudu'-aadzam serta mempunyai daulat dan kebbesaran, ada-nya.

(f) to a reigning Sultan

Warkatu'likhlas wa tuhfatu'lajnas yang terbit daripada fuadu'z-zakiah ya itu hati yang puteh lagi hening dan jernih sa-lagi ada peredaran chakrawala matahari dan bulan ya-itu daripada beta tuan X. pegawai kerajaan di-dalam daerah Y. mudah-mudahan barang di-walkan Allah subhana wa taala apa-lah kira-nya mengadap yang maha mulia paduka Seri Sultan M. ibni almarhum Sultan Y. yang di-pertuan negeri Z. dara'ah-shakadah yang bérés-mayam diatas singgasana takhta kerajaan di-dalam istana Kuala L. dengan beberapa selamat dan khairu'l-'afiat, ada-nya.

Wa-baada-hu kেমudian daripada itu ahuai beta maalumkan.

III.—From a Resident or Resident-General.—

(a) to a peasant

Daripada kita tuan X. Resident di-negeri Y. di-sampaikan kepada M. bin N. di-dalam kampung Z. Ahuai di-nyatakan ...

(b) to a minor penghulu

Surat daripada kita tuan X. Resident di dalam negeri Y. di-sampaikan ka-hadapan Penghulu M. bin N. di dalam daerah mukim Z. dengan selamat-nya.

Ahuai kita nyatakan ...

(c) to a special-class penghulu or minor chief:

Surat tulis ikhlas daripada beta tuan X. Resident di dalam negeri Y. barang di-sampaikan oleh Tuhan Seri Sakalian Alam ka-hadapan majlis sahabat beta Dato' M. yang mulia pada masa ini di-dalam daerah Z. dengan selamat sejahteranya.

(d) to an important chief:

Surat tulis ikhlas yang tiada menaruh shak dan waham daripada beta tuan X. Resident di-dalam negeri Y. barang di-sampaikan oleh Tuhan Seri Sakalian Alam ka-hadapan majlis paduka sahabat beta Dato' M. yang mulia yang ada pada masa ini di-dalam negeri Z. dengan sehat dan khairu'l-'afiat, ada-nya.

Ahuai beta maalumkan.....

(e) to a non-reigning raja :

Burat telus ikhlas yang tiada mēnaroh shak dan waham sa-lama-lama-nya ya-itu daripada beta tuan X. Resident di-dalam nēgri Y. barang di-wasalkan oleh Tuhan azza wa jalja ka-hadapan wajah paduka sahabat beta Raja M. ibni al-marhum Raja N. yang ada pada masa ini bērsēmamayam di-bandar Z. dēngan bēbērapa sēlamat dan sējahtēra-nya. Ahalu beta maalumkan.....

(f) to a reigning Sultan :

Warkatu'l-ikhlas wa tuhfatu'l-ajnas yang tērbīt daripada fuadu'zzakiah ya-itu hati yang putēh lagi hēning sa-lagi ada pēridaran chakērawa'a matahari dan bulan ya-itu daripada beta tuan X. Resident nēgri Y. mudah-mudahan barang di wasalkan Allah subhana wa taala ka-hadzrat al-mukarram sēri paduka sahabat beta yang maha-mulia paduka sēri Sultan M. ibni al-marhum Raja N. yang-di-pērtuan nēgri Z. *daru'ah-shahadah* yang bērsēmamayam di-atas singgasana takhta kērajaan di-dalam bandar Kuala L. baldu'l-aadzam, dēngan bēbērapa sēlamat dan kēsēmpornaan, ada-nya.

Wa-baada-hu kēmudian daripada itu beta maalumkan.....

IV.—From the High Commissioner to a reigning Sultan :

Warkatu'l-ikhlas wa tuhfatu'l-ajnas yang tērbīt daripada fuadu'zzakiah ya-itu hati yang putēh lagi hēning dan jērneh yang tiada mēnaroh shak dan waham sa-lagi ada pēridaran chakērawa'a matahari dan bulan ya-itu daripada beta Sir M. N. Governor tiga buah nēgri Singapura, Pulau Pinang dan Mēlaka barang di-wasalkan oleh Tuhan maliku'l-hinnān wa'l-mannān apa-lah jua kira-nya ala wajahu'l-karimu'ah-sharif sēri paduka sahabat beta as-Sultan M. ibni al-marhum Raja N. yang-di-pērtuan nēgri Z. *daru'ah-shahadah* yang bērsēmamayam pada masa ini di-atas singgasana takhta kērajaan dan kēbēsaran di-dalam istana bendar Kuala L. baldu'l-aadzam, dēngan istirahat dan sehat sērtā khairu'l-'afiat sēlamat sējahtēra-nya.

Wa-baada-hu kēmudian daripada itu maka ada-lah beta maalumkan.....

PRINTED AT THE
FEDERATED MALAY STATES GOVERNMENT PRESS,
KUALA LUMPUR.

PAPERS ON MALAY SUBJECTS.

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

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

LAW.

PART I.

INTRODUCTORY SKETCH.

BY

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

KUALA LUMPUR:

PRINTED BY J. E. WALLACE AT THE F.M.S. GOVERNMENT PRESS.

1922.

100—9-22.

MALAY LAW.

INTRODUCTION.

OF all branches of Malay research the study of jurisprudence is the one that presents the greatest difficulties. Malay laws were never committed to writing; they were constantly overridden by autocratic chiefs and unjust judges; they varied in each State; they did not harmonise with the doctrines of Islam that they professed to follow; they were often expressed in metaphors or proverbs that seem to baffle interpretation. The following examples of Malay legal maxims will give some idea of the difficulty of understanding what a native jurist really means:

Kambing biasa mēnabehel.

Goats bleat

Ayam oleh itu raja pada tempat-nya.

Poultry are kings in their own domain

Enggang lalu ranting patah.

The twig breaks as the hornbill flies past it

Kusut mēnyel'isaikan.

Hutang mēmbayar, putang mēntromakan.

Oleh tempat sēmenda.

To settle quarrels.

To pay debts, to collect dues.

These things are the business of the wife's relations.

Akar sa-kelai akan pēngikat.

Kayu sa-batang lēmbing pēnikam.

Dahan sa-kelat akan pēnyalang.

Puchok bēnama pēdang pēmanchong.

Itu-lah kata adat dēngan pēnaka.

The piece of rattan typifies the bonds.

The tree-stem means the spear.

The bough means the *kēris* of punishment.

The shoot is the sword of execution:

So say the law and our ancient traditions.

It is extremely doubtful whether any European will ever succeed in thoroughly understanding every intricacy of the law of Menangkabau; but although sayings like those above quoted may seem to be intended for lovers of the unintelligible, the cryptic doctrines of the old Negri Sembilan jurists are full of meaning and interest if only they are studied in the right way.

The first key to all law is, of course, history.

The Peninsular Malays are believed to have originally come from the Menangkabau highlands of Sumatra, but they did not all come at the same time or in the same way. Some came almost direct; these men brought with them the pure Malay law of Menangkabau, the matriarchal *adat p̄rpatch pinang sa-batang*. Others came by way of Palembang, these men brought the patriarchal *adat t̄m̄nggong*, for the ancient Malay kingdom of Palembang had come under the influence of the old Hindu civilisation of Java and had entirely abandoned its Menangkabau customs. We thus get two absolutely distinct schools of law: the *adat p̄rpatch* in the Negri Sembilan and Naning, and the *adat t̄m̄nggong* (or its fragmentary remains) in the other Peninsular States. To these two schools we must add a third: the *hukum shara'* or Muhammadan law. The Malays, as good Moslems, profess to accept the legal teachings of Islam even where those teachings conflict with the local *adat*; they pretend, indeed, to regard the *adat* as explanatory of Moslem law or as supplementary to it. All this is mere fiction; the three systems of law are absolutely irreconcilable. The *adat p̄rpatch* is democratic; it addresses itself to the commons and finds expression in quaint sayings that seem to belong to the homely province of proverbial philosophy. The *adat t̄m̄nggong* is autocratic; it is supported by Malay

princes and finds expression in long legal digests (*undang-undang*) drawn up by court scribes for the glorification of the *raja* and (incidentally) for the purpose of displaying their own learning. The *hukum shara'* is, of course, theocratic: it appeals to the educated classes and is embodied in elaborate treatises that have been translated from the Arabic. No three legal systems could be more unlike one another.

The first duty of the student is therefore to clearly understand the composite nature of Malay law. He must not look for uniformity where no uniformity can possibly exist. Above all, he must not allow himself to be blinded by any European preference for written or recorded laws. He should not take the so-called "codes" (*undang-undang*) too seriously. When he reads about the "Malacca Code" or the "Malay Maritime Code" or about the "Laws of Bencoolen and Palembang," he has to remember that these so-called "codes" were never actually enacted by any legislative authority; they are only digests of Malay law. There is a very great difference between a digest and a code. A digest may give a very faithful picture of its subject, but it is, at best, a picture and not the actual law—no man can be charged in court with violating some section or sub-section of a digest. This distinction would not matter so much if the authors of our so-called Malay "codes" were great legal artists who faithfully depicted what they found to be the law, but they were courtiers who were fonder of theories than facts. When, for instance, the author of the "Malacca Code" assures us that a fisherman is entitled to the ownership of his catch, even if he clumsily happen to hook a passing damsel, we need not imagine that there ever was a time when the hooking of casual spectators was allowed

to become a profitable branch of the piscatorial art; it is more reasonable to suppose that the learned author of the "Maritime Code" was an extremely argumentative person who pushed his doctrines to absurd extremes. Of course these published *undang undang* are interesting and valuable because of the evidence they give of the legal theories that underlie the *adat temenggong*, but they do not possess the authority of enactments nor do they help us in any way to understand the *adat perpatih* or ancient customary law of Menangkabau.

Great weight may, however, be attached to the curious Malay legal maxims, the sententious sayings that have been handed down by oral tradition and are accepted in the Negri Sembilan as good law. They correspond to such English proverbs as "Possession is nine-tenths of the law" and "An Englishman's house is his castle," but they are far more numerous and more authoritative. They deserve very careful study, for they embody nearly the whole of the *adat perpatih* and are based upon actual experience more than upon the opinions of individual jurists. These sayings are a great power in the Menangkabau States, being known to all and having the full force of public opinion behind them, reference to them is sufficient to compel even an unjust judge to do justice to the litigants before him.

The student of old Malay law should also remember the political conditions under which it was administered, since he is apt to be misled by the position of affairs under British protection. In the principal centres of government—Taiping, Kuala Lumpur and Seremban—he sees that the largest public buildings are the gaols and the largest public bodies are the police, so that he is apt to forget that police and prisons had no part in the simple village life of the old Malays. Al-

though a few native princes (especially in the Northern States) were sufficiently advanced to establish at their capitals some cages that might be called rudimentary gaols and to maintain small bands of disreputable followers who might by extreme courtesy be described as their police, the minor headmen who controlled the destinies of the remote villages could not afford these evidences of higher civilisation. In the Negri Sembilan life was largely communal. Imprisonment and mutilation—such as the lopping off of a limb—rendered a man a burden to the community instead of an aid. Torture, scourging, branding and disfigurement were dangerous punishments to inflict because of the desperate thirst for vengeance that they roused in the heart of a sensitive and self-respecting Malay. Death, enslavement and exile were extreme penalties that could only be applied to incorrigible offenders. We therefore find, as we might have expected, that the *adat pèrpatih* was an extremely mild system of law, lenient to first offenders and always ready to condone a wrong if due restitution was made. Its great feature was the system of collective responsibility—the liability of a family for the faults of its members. In inflicting nothing more serious than a fine upon an offender, the administrators of the law could rest assured that all possible family influence would be brought to bear on the criminal to induce him to amend his ways and to become a source of profit instead of loss and disgrace to his relations. By this means the *adat pèrpatih* tended to reclaim the wrong-doer and to keep its own leniency from degenerating into an undue tolerance of crime. On the irreclaimable offender—the man whom his own family rejected—the law pressed severely: it had no option except to banish, kill or enslave him. Taken all

in all, this *adat* of Menangkabau may claim great merit as a system of law: it was just, it was humane, it tolerated no delay in criminal matters, it secured compensation for the injured; it never brutalised or degraded a first offender; it was understood by all and even went to childish extremes in its desire to explain itself clearly and intelligibly to the very humblest intelligence in the community.

The autocratic *adat tēmenggong* was different. The interests of a Malay chief lay in the direction of exacting heavy fines, reducing offenders to slavery under him, and vindicating his authority by the cruel punishment of any man who dared to gainsay him or disregard his commands. The justice of a Malay prince, even when impartial, was a cruel and pitiless justice, seeking to deter rather than to reform. The theocratic *hukum shara'* (which came into prominence whenever a native ruler was frightened by illness or old age into a sudden zeal for reforming his neighbours) was, in its way, even more unsatisfactory than the *adat tēmenggong*. It multiplied offences intolerably. Cock-fighting, opium-smoking, gambling, illicit intercourse, irregular attendance at mosque, and even such technicalities as wearing the wrong kind of clothing and beating gongs at weddings are liable to be severely punished under Muhammadan law. If the *adat tēmenggong* brutalised the people, the *hukum shara'* put a premium on hypocrisy. Zeal for piety, like zeal for law and order, may easily be pushed too far.

As a corrupt judiciary will discredit any legal system however excellent in itself, it is necessary to discriminate also between the law and its administrators when we estimate the merits and demerits of the

old Malayan *adat*. When compared with English law the *adat tēmenggong* seems very faulty indeed; it was crude and primitive in its legal theories, uncertain and unmethodical in its pronouncements, cruel and brutalising in its punishments. The *hukum sharu'* or Moslem law stands on a much higher plane of intelligence, but it was rather inhuman in its penalties and unpractical in its inability to distinguish between crimes and sins. The primitive *adat pērpateh* bears the comparison with English law best. English law is not, of course, above reproach; it owes its reputation in the East more to the integrity of its judges than to its own merits. It is notoriously slow; it is full of formalities and technicalities; it is costly to suitors; it is constantly being amended or modified; it presses hardly on jurors and witnesses and is not easily understood by the people. Moreover, although it may seem paradoxical to accuse English law of comparative brutality, its system of administering punishment as a deterrent suggests the cruel *adat tēmenggong* rather than the kindly *adat pērpateh* which treated crime as a mere civil wrong until an offender was shown to be incorrigible. The interest of the study of the different systems of Malay law with their varying merits and demerits lies in these comparisons of one with the other. From this point of view, the *adat pērpateh* is exceptionally interesting because it shows how these primitive Menangkabau Malays overcame many difficulties that English law has failed to surmount. The men of Menangkabau succeeded in creating a jurisprudence so simple that the humblest villager could understand it, so well known that no judge could excuse or defend an unjust decision, so little vindictive that it sought the interest of the injured party rather than the punishment of the

wrong-doer, and so humane that it could dispense with mutilation, scourging, torture, slavery, and imprisonment. In fact, throughout all the old Sumatran *adat* we can trace the underlying idea that the worst use to which a criminal can be put is to cripple him or to kill him or to dishonour him by degrading punishments or to brutalise him by unproductive prison-labour. As all members of a little community were connected by marriage, they constituted one family and called the village-headmen the *ibu-bapa* or "parents" of the hamlet. The system of justice so administered by one's "wife's relations" was a happy mean between the over-indulgence of close blood-relationship and the utter indifference of stranger to stranger.

THE ADAT PERPATEH

The States that make up the modern Negri Sembilan are not ancient communities. They date back, at farthest, to the middle of the seventeenth century, when a number of Sumatran Malays began to migrate in small detachments from Menangkabau to the inland districts behind Malacca. The descendants of these old immigrants still speak of themselves as "Sons of Menangkabau."

Kita anak Menangkabau yang di-bawah langit dan di muka bumi, di-lingkar Gunung B'rapu, sa-hingga paku raya, h'ler hingga Silagundi, mulek yang bernama Tanah Samata, Pulau Andalas.

We, sons of Menangkabau, who dwell with the heavens above us and the earth beneath our feet, who once held the lands round the Mighty Burning Mountain as far as the great pass that opens the way to the plains, who migrated down to Silagundi, to the territories below the State of Sumatra in the isle of Andalas.

The "Sons of Menangkabau" came down first to Siak; then they crossed the Straits to the Linggi River; thence they made their way to Naning, Rembau and the other Negri Sembilan States. When few and weak they protected themselves by admitting the supremacy of Johor; gaining courage as time went on, they selected a prince of their own blood from the royal line of Menangkabau. This prince, Raja Melewar, appointed about A.D. 1770, was the ancestor of the present Yang-di-pertuan Besar of the Negri Sembilan.

These and many other facts of local history are recorded in the quaint old sayings (*p̄rbilangan*) that have been handed down from generation to generation by way of making the Negri Sembilan Malays ever mindful of their origin. These old sayings are not likely to be forgotten; they are a source of pride, an unwritten pedigree or patent of nobility to the men who quote them and about whom they are quoted. Old sayings, even when historical in character, are generally considered by Malays to be included in *adat*, "law," for although they are not really law, they serve to explain or elucidate the law. Here is one of them:

Bertaja ka Johor

Bertali ka Siak

Bertuan ka Menangkabau

Sultan Besar di-nègèri Sri Menanti.

Pertuan Muda di-nègèri Rembau

Our suzerain is Johor.

We have ties with Siak.

Menangkabau is our master;

Our highest local chief is the Ruler of Sri Menanti.

Our second local chief is the Yamtuan Muda of Rembau.

This saying explains the political position of the confederation in its relations with foreign States.

Again—

Alam bĕraja,
Luhak bĕrpĕngulu,
Suku bĕrtuha,
Anak buah bĕribu-bapa.
 The world has its king,
 The district has its chief,
 The tribe has its headman,
 The family has its elders.

This saying gives the gradations of rank within the State.

Before, however, we can examine the constitution of the Negri Sembilan as a whole, we have to study the units, the little matriarchal communities, of which the population is made up. Tribal descent goes through women—a man is a member of his mother's tribe until by marriage he is received into his wife's. Land can be owned by women only. Women may not travel; the husband settles in his wife's village—not the wife in the husband's. Exogamy is insisted on. These points summarise the constitution of the "family."

The effect of these curious rules—the very reverse of what Europeans are accustomed to—is not to be realised without some thought. Let us suppose that a small party of men and women belonging to the Payakombo tribe¹ settled at a certain village in Naning. The daughters of the original settlers would belong to the same tribe, would possess all the land, and would continue to reside in the same place. The sons of the original settlers would—owing to the law of exogamy—be compelled to leave their native homes, to marry into other communities, and to take up their abode in

¹ Of course there are no actual tribal districts; the whole of the Payakombo tribe did not settle in one place. The unit is a family group (*pĕraf*), a subsection of a tribe (*suku*).

the houses of their wives. This process goes on from generation to generation. The women of a family group (*përut*) constitute a wealthy, powerful and united body, banded together by the bond of a common descent, sharing a common tradition and owning all the land. Their husbands, the men of the community, are a nondescript crowd, drawn from many different tribes and villages, not united by ties of blood, and not owning any of the lands and houses. In such settlements the position of women is an immensely strong one. Any idle or criminal husband would at once incur the hostility of "his wife's relations," the whole clan, and would be practically compelled to mend his ways. Should he prove irreclaimable he might of course be divorced and expelled; he would lose his livelihood and would find that no community would accept him, and that no other woman would marry or support a man who had so hopelessly failed in his duties. If we try for a moment to realise the enormous hold that one of these communities must have over its members, we can at once understand why the "family" could answer for the deeds of its members:

Kusut mènnyèlèsaikan,

Hutang mèmbayar.

Putang mènrimakan.

Oleh tèmpat sèmènda

To settle disputes.

To pay debts.

To receive dues—

These things are the business of "the wife's relations."

I now venture to quote from Mr. Hale's "Folk-lore and the Menangkabau Code in the Negri Sembilan:—"

Orang sèmènda bèrlèmpat sèmènda;

Jika chérdek tèmman bèrunding,

*Jika bodoh di suruh dia arak;
Tinggi banir tempat bérindung,
Rombun dan tempat bérnaung.*

The married man shall be subservient to his mother-in-law.

If he is clever I will try to cajole him.

If he is stupid I will see that he works.

Like the buttresses of a big tree he shall shelter me.

Like the thick foliage he shall shade me.

One can imagine the satisfaction a Malay mother derives from thinking over this saying and reciting it to her cronies and her daughter, when she has made up her mind to receive a son-in-law into the family, be he sharp or slow, clever or stupid—either way she cannot be a loser. Her daughter's house will be built behind her own, if the man is clever he will get enough money to build the house by easy means, if he is stupid she will scold him, that the poor man will be glad to labour with his hands at her bidding—it would seem to the anxious mother that she and her daughter cannot but be gainers by the contract.

This passage bears rather amusing testimony to the power of "the wife's relations." Although the quotation is not likely to prejudice anyone in favour of the women of Rembau, common justice ought to make us recognise that the system worked well. The people of the Negri Sembilan are the most industrious, most intelligent and most artistic Malays in the Peninsula. They owe these qualities largely to the pressure put on them by "the wife's relations." To the communal system they also owe the merits of their law. If a man was wronged he was indemnified by the wrong-doer's "wife's relations." If a man committed an offence in a foolish moment of thoughtlessness or passion, he was not turned into a criminal; he compounded the wrong by the help of his "wife's relations." The quarrels of the community were settled by the elders—the *ibu bapa*, or "parents" of the community, as they were

called—men who were connected by marriage with both disputants and might be expected to temper justice with mercy. The communal system explains both why the law was humane and why it could afford to be humane. The women of a place constituted a bond of relationship between one man and another and gave to a settlement something of the unity of a family with the elders or “parents” at its head.

The highest quality of the *adat perpatih* was its humanity; its next great merit was the extreme simplicity that brought its provisions within the knowledge of everyone. It was embodied in a vast number of homely sayings that covered almost every branch of law, tradition and proverbial philosophy. *Adat*, in fact, meant more than mere law. In the quaint and primitive jurisprudence of Menangkabau the meaning of the word *adat* is explained by the proverb:

Bujur lalu, lintang patah.

Lengthwise, you get through,

Crosswise, you get broken.

If you take a stick and thrust its point at an aperture, the stick goes through; if you press the stick athwart the aperture you only break the stick. The aperture is the same, the stick is the same, the intention is the same, but the procedure is not the same. *Adat* is right procedure. In all matters there is a right way of doing things and a wrong way of doing things; *adat* is the right way. If a man obeys the laws of nature and the customs of society he is likely to get on; if he flies in the face of convention he is sure to be broken like the stick in the proverb. In English the word “law” is used in a loose popular sense as well as in a technical sense; *adat* is law in the loose popular sense. *Adat*

includes the laws of nature, the conventions of society, the rules of etiquette, and even the doctrines of common sense. *Adat* is right action in the matters of everyday life as well as in obedience to the law of the land. The English word "law," as defined by a great jurist like Austin, is *adat* in a very limited sense indeed; it does not cover the so-called laws of nature or of health or of etiquette. An English jurist would say that the law compelled a cabman to wear a badge but not a tie or a water-proof; a Malay would say that *adat* compelled the diver to dress decently and to protect himself from the rain. Curiously enough, the modern Menangkabau Malays have been clear-sighted enough to appreciate the difference between law and *adat*, as the following verse will prove :

*Orang Makkah mēmbawa tēraju,
Orang Baghdad mēmbawa tēlor,
Di-makan dalam puasa,
Rumah yang bērsendi batu,
Adat yang bērsendi law
Itu-lah akan raja*

"Houses built on a framework of brick—customs (*adat*) built on a framework of law—are kings among their kind." In this passage we see very plainly the idea that law lies at the very heart of *adat* but is not coextensive with it.

"Law," then, in the English sense, is virtually a government order backed up by a penalty for non-compliance; the source of law is legislative authority. What, then, are the sources of right action (*adat*)? The Menangkabau jurists say that there are six such sources: primitive justice, revelation, tradition,

treaty-convention, promises and the course of events.¹ All these things determine what is right action and what is wrong.

Primitive justice (*chupak yang asli*) is practically equity or common sense. To illustrate the application of common sense to law the Negri Sembilan jurists have evolved a most curious series of axioms or maxims so homely in their terms that they could not fail to explain the *adat* to the intelligence of any villager however stupid or ignorant. To us, of course, they seem childish :

Kambing biasa mēmbekel,
Kérhau biasa mēnggak,
Ayam biasa bērkukok,
Murai biasa bērkichau.
 Goats bleat.
 Buffaloes bellow.
 Cocks crow.
 Magpie-robins twitter

This only means that every living thing, through birth, natural aptitude or surroundings, has some allotted function in life. Applied to humanity the same axiom is thus expressed :

Pēnghulu biasa mēnghukumkan adat.
Alim biasa mēnghukumkan shara'.
Hulubalang biasa mēnjarah,
Juara biasa mēlēpas.
Saudagar biasa bērmāin bungkal tēraju.
Pērēmpuan biasa bērusahakan kapas dan bēnang.
 The penghulu administers customary law,
 The juriconsult administers religious law,
 The warrior raids the enemy's country,
 The trainer lets fly the fighting-cock,
 The merchant fingers weights and measures,
 The woman works with her needle and thread.

¹ A man's promises and the course of events may determine right action, but they do not affect law. They are not discussed in this chapter.

These axioms have even been versified to enable them to be more easily remembered :

*Chèmpèdak ambikkan gula
 Di-gula dalam pusa :
 Apa-kan chupak pègawai ?
 Bèrolèh titah daripada nani*

*Mèrchampak timba ka hulu
 Kèna-lah undang oleh orang
 Apa-kan chupak pèngulu ?
 Bèrmain undang undang*

*Mèrchotopak ka tèngeh sawah,
 Mèmbawat buah delima
 Apa-kan chupak mèmbèntah ?
 Mèngèrtahu jurat èmpat pèkara*

We have also a similar set of quatrains in a slightly different form :

*Bèrpèrak ka tèngeh kota
 Tèmpat bèrtanam selasèh jamb
 Jika ta' banyak kitab tèrbangk
 Tiada sah mènyaji kadz*

*Burong kènarè bèrkèlak
 Bèrkèlak di tèngeh padang
 Jika ta' bèrani mènyarak,
 Tiada sah mènyadi hulubalang*

*Lalu bèrtèmpat orang kabong
 Ka baroh mèmbawa pètau
 Jika ta' tahu kata bèrhutong
 Tiada sah mènyadi pègawai*

All these verses—and many others like them—only mean that every man has his own business and that he should try to mind it.

The next maxim is that a man should not only attend to his own business, but should attend to it in the proper way :

M'numbok di-l'hsong;

M'nanak di-p'riak.

Pound rice in a mortar;

Boil rice in a cooking-pot.

If you go pounding rice in a cooking-pot, you will only break the pot; if you boil your rice in a mortar, you will not get an appetising dinner. Such action is not right action; it is not the right way to do things; it is not *adat*.

The next item in this homely jurisprudence is that if a person is doing his proper work in the proper way, he is not to be thwarted or interfered with. Every person is "king in his own domain."

P'ngulu itu raja pada t'empat-nya;

P'gawai itu raja pada t'empat-nya;

Hulubalang itu raja pada t'empat-nya;

Kanak-kanak itu raja pada t'empat-nya;

S'gala binatang itu raja pada t'empat-nya;

Ayam itek itu raja pada t'empat-nya.

"Even poultry are kings in their own domain." When it comes to laying eggs the wisest man on earth cannot successfully compete with a humble hen.

The next maxim is a very important one; it deals with the treatment of offences against *adat*. The rule is expressed as follows :

Yang m'ncinchang, yang m'mapas;

Yang m'mbunah, m'mbungunkan;

Yang m'mjual, m'mb'eri balas.¹

Who wounds must heal;

Who slays must replace;

Who sells must restore.

¹ A shorter variant is *chinchang japas, bunah balas.*

In other words, the wrong-doer must pay for the wrong done. This axiom has been versified.

*Orang Silanglang mēmbawa kapas,
Orang Rutun mēmbawa ayer;
Yang mēnichinjang yang mēmapas,
Yang bērhutang yang mēmbayar*

This is, of course, like the doctrine of "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a life for a life." But there is this important difference: the *adat pērputih* aimed at restitution and not at vengeance: it concerned itself chiefly with securing adequate compensation for the injured party or his relatives.

We may conclude with one final axiom of this axiomatic law—

*Chupak yang pēpat,
Gantang yang penuh,
Bangkal yang betul,
Tirai yang baik,
Tanda boleh di-paling bap;
Let your measure be just,
Let your measure be full,
Let your weights be correct,
Let your scales be even,
And no one will go back on what you do.*

This saying is intended to imply that a seeker for justice should not be put off with half-measures, that compensation should be adequate and that debts should be paid in full. Half-measures satisfy nobody; they only lead to vendettas and to the continual reopening of a quarrel.

It is easy to see how this quaint old sententious jurisprudence could be applied to the settlement of simple disputes. Let us suppose that *A* drives over *B*. If *A* does not know how to drive we condemn him at once because "a goat should not attempt to bellow."

If *A* has been using an unsuitably restive horse we also condemn him because he should not "pound rice in a cooking-pot." If *A* has been driving on *B*'s side of the road we decide in *B*'s favour for *B* is "king in his own domain." We follow up the decision by making *A* pay damages because "whoever destroys shall also replace," and then we fix the compensation at a sum proportionate to the injury, for "the measure should be full, the weight should be correct, the scales should balance fairly." Finally, if *A* meets the claim in a fair spirit we can insist on his obtaining a quittance in full from *B*—"the measure is sufficient, and there is no going back on what you do." If the trained jurist is inclined to sneer at a law so childish in its terms as to suggest the nursery or the kitchen rather than the court, he should remember that this very simplicity made it comprehensible to the humblest members of the primitive communities for whom it was intended. As with the great truths of religion—

Truth in closest terms shall fail.

When truth embodied in a tale

May enter in at lowly doors.

The simplicity of the law of Menangkabau was its strength. If a suitor had a perfectly clear case he either got what he wanted or he made it clear to the whole country-side that he was being unjustly kept out of his rights. He could not be put off with any misrepresentation of a law that the very children of the country knew and understood. The difference between the *adat p̄rpat̄eh* and the *adat t̄m̄n̄ggong* is visible in these days of British administration. Whenever a miscarriage of justice occurs in Perak, Pahang and Selangor, the Malays take it very calmly; but in the Negri Sembilan the whole population is excited by any

non-recognition of the local *adat*. The passionate interest taken by the people in their old traditional law is surely a testimony to its practical value. To quote one of their own sententious aphorisms, "A man who deals in jewels is the best judge of a gem."

According to Menangkabau jurists, the axiomatic justice that we have been discussing is only one of six great branches of *adat*. Embodied in a few homely sayings, primitive justice (*chupak yang asli*) may suffice for the settlement of very simple issues, but has to be supplemented by something more elaborate whenever we come to complicated questions such as the title to land, the succession to property, the validity of marriages and divorces, and the proper election of chiefs. The more elaborate branches of jurisprudence are accordingly known to the Malays as artificial law (*chupak yang buatan*), treaty-law (*kata muafakat*) and tradition (*kata pēsaka*). If we accept the unhistorical belief that the whole of the *adat pērpateh* was invented by a certain Dato' Pērpateh Pinang Sa-batang and that the whole of the *adat tēmēnggong* was the work of a Dato' Kētēmēnggongan, we might go so far as to describe all higher law as "artificial;" but, of course, these great opposing legists are mere personifications of schools of jurisprudence and could not historically have sunk European ships or argued with each other or done the other wonderful things that are ascribed to them. Under the circumstances, it will make for clearness if we discuss the peculiarities of the *adat pērpateh* as "tradition" (*kata pēsaka*) and the Negri Sembilan constitutions as "treaty-law" (*kata muafakat*). By this classification we limit the term "artificial law" (*chupak yang buatan*) to the additions imported into *adat* by the influence of Islam.

We use the term "additions" intentionally. In theory the Menaungkabau Malays are good Muhammadans and are bound to accept the whole of Muhammadan law, but in practice they limit that acceptance to matters in which it does not disagree with their own customs. When it comes to choosing between the *adat* and the *hukum shara'* they allow the latter to go to the wall. Of course there are many points on which the two need not conflict: questions of mosque management, for instance, lie entirely outside the *adat*. Even in points in which the two laws contradict each other, the Negri Sembilan Malay affects to believe that Moslem law agrees with *adat*, and that his local *kudzi* is only misinterpreting the law. The Negri Sembilan Malay in fact looks upon the *adat* as the application of divine law to mundane matters—

Adat yang kawi.

Shara' yang lazim.

Custom is real law.

Religion is ideal law.

He argues that there is really very little difference between the two:

Pada adat.

Mēnghilangkan yang buruk,

Mēnimbulkan yang baik;

Kata shara'.

Mēnyuruhkan bērbuat baik.

Mēnēgahkan bērbuat jahat.

Our customary law bids us

Remove what is evil

And give prominence to what is good;

The word of our religious law

Bids us do good

And forbids our doing evil.

One law is satisfied if a man abstains from evil; the other goes further and expects him to do good. Although *adat* may not go as far as religion it must surely be based on the same right principles; how, then, can the two come into collision? So argues a Menangkabau chief whenever he dismisses a *kadzi* for not seeing his way to reconcile the canons of religion with the accepted law of the world.

As the *hukum shara'* or law of Muhammad is the subject of a special chapter of this pamphlet we may pass it over for the moment and proceed to examine the next two branches of Malay jurisprudence, "treaty-law" (*kata muafakat*) and "traditional law" (*kata pŕsaka*), as we may roughly translate them. We use the term "treaty-law" advisedly because the constitutions of the various States of the Negri Sembilan were so elaborate and differed so much from one another as to bear out the theory that they were the result of conventions (*muafakat*) between the different village-communities. The titular head of the country, the Yamtuan Besar, was a hereditary ruler who succeeded to his title according to descent in the direct male line. The Dato' of Naning (the oldest State) was also a hereditary ruler, but he inherited and bequeathed his title according to the matriarchal system of descent through women. The Dato' of Johol was chosen by the chiefs of the aboriginal tribes. The Dato' of Rembau was elected in the most elaborate way from a certain limited clan of *waris* or possible heirs. This clan was divided into two branches, each of which took it in turn to provide the Dato'. In theory the eight subdivisions—the *waris* villages—ought also to have taken in turn the provision of a chief, but in practice the stronger were apt to override the weaker.

The State of Rembau also presents us with the curious anomaly of a Sakai chief¹ reigning over a population of Malays. The *waris* clan was only a subdivision of the great *biduanda* tribe, the descendants of the aboriginal inhabitants of the country. But though the Dato' was, in a sense, a Sakai, the "electors" were Malays. The "electors" were the *lĕmbagas* or tribal headmen representing the twelve Malay tribes.² The Dato' was a Sakai, but his own people had (in theory) no voice in the final stages of his election.

The constitutional *adat* of the Negri Sembilan dealt with many things besides the appointment of the rulers. It defined the position and precedence of the minor chiefs, it settled their powers, and it covered the whole of what we may term their court etiquette. It is summarised in a large number of sayings, of which the following are examples :

*Ada pun raja itu tiada mempunyai nĕgĕri dan tiada boleh
mĕrchakai kharajat, mĕlainkan bĕrĕadilan sahaja sĕrta
pĕrmakanaan-nya*

The King does not own the soil nor can he levy taxes; he is the fountain of justice and may levy definite fees for his maintenance.

This passage explains the position of the Yang-di-pĕrtuan Bĕsar. His precedence was unquestioned; his powers were limited. He was the *kĕadilan* or "fountain of justice," but the great chiefs executed his justice as they thought fit. All executive authority lay with the great local chiefs :

Raja bĕrdaulat, pĕngĕhulu bĕrandika;

Raja bĕrtitah, pĕngĕhulu bĕrsabda;

¹ The Dato' would be a Sakai in the direct female line. By blood he must be largely a Malay—owing to the law of exogamy. But he claims the heirship by virtue of the Sakai element in his ancestry. The Dato' of Johol is also a "Sakai" in this sense.

² The "electors" approve or confirm the election; they do not directly choose the Dato'.

Raja bĕrkalifah, pĕnghulu bĕraku;
 The king has Majesty, the chief has Honour;
 The king decrees, the chief orders;
 The king rules the world, the chief rules the tribe.

These last sayings do justice to the titular dignity of kings.

Raja mĕnobat didalam alam,
Pĕnghulu mĕnobat didalam luhak,
Lĕmbaga mĕnobat didalam lingkungan-nya;
Ibu bapa mĕnobat pada anak buah-nya;
Orang banyak mĕnobat didalam tĕrutak-nya.

The king rules his world;
 The chief rules his province;
 The *lĕmbaga* rules his tribe;
 The elder rules his own people,
 The peasant rules his house

This last passage deals of course with the territorial limits of power. The next deals with the character of that jurisdiction :

Tali pĕngikat daripada lĕmbaga
Kĕris mĕngalang daripada undang,
Pĕdang pĕmanchong daripada raja
 Bonds are the *lĕmbaga*'s
 The execution-*kĕris* is the chief's,
 The sword of execution is the king's

Petty disputes were settled by a system of arbitration, the arbitrators being the village-elders or "parents" of the village. If the dispute was serious enough to demand stronger measures the *lĕmbaga* or tribal headman was called in, with power to bind the culprit and, if necessary, hand him over to the chief, the *undang*, who had authority of life and death.

But why was there a distinction between the sword and the *kĕris*?

In theory the power to shed a man's blood was only vested in the king. This power was very jealously guarded and might even provoke a war if a sultan believed that a great vassal was putting criminals to death without sufficient deference to the supreme authority, the "fountain of justice." The full power of life and death was defined as—

Tikam ta' bértanya,

Punchong ta' bérkhabar.

To stab without question.

To behead without reporting the matter—

a passage that is sometimes misinterpreted into suggesting that a prince could execute a man without trial. The real meaning is that the chief can execute without appeal. The full authority conveyed in these two expressions was essentially a royal prerogative and was not delegated. In practice, however, the power of executing criminals had to be exercised (without appeal) by the chief local authority in the outlying districts of a sultanate. A distinction was therefore drawn between death by the sword and death by the *kēris*. The long rapier-like *kēris* of execution, forced downwards from the collar-bone through the heart and lungs, slew the criminal without (theoretically) causing more external bleeding than could be absorbed by the little piece of cotton-wool through which the *kēris* was driven. Death by the *kēris* was not supposed to shed blood; the power *tikam ta' bértanya* might, therefore, be delegated without impairing the royal prerogative, and it might be exercised without exposing the local chief to the ghostly penalties for sacrilege by violating the majesty of kings. So, too, we have the following saying :

Lēmbaga bērsēkat.

Undang bērkēlantasan

The tribal chief is of limited powers,

But the *undang's* authority is wide.

The four great Penghulus or *Undangs* were the Dato' of Rembau, the Dato' of Johol, the Dato' Klana of Sungai Ujong, and the Dato' of Jelebu. The Dato' of Naning never acknowledged the suzerainty of Sri Menanti, and the old Menangkabau rulers of Klang and Linggi were subjected by the Bugis chiefs. The modern representative of the Yang-di-pertuan Muda has now become an executive ruler in Tampin. For all intents and purposes each subdivision was autonomous, though the rulers of Sri Menanti claimed a titular hegemony similar to that which the mediæval emperors claimed over the States of Europe.

The subdivision of a State into tribal districts under *lēmbagas* is not universal in the Negri Sembilan. The *lēmbagas* differed greatly in relative importance and were not all "electors" of the Dato'.

The *adat* assigned to the major chiefs certain insignia of rank, certain privileges and certain marks of dignity. It laid down, for instance, that the marriage ceremonies in an *undang's* family lasted five days, in a *lēmbaga's* family three days, in a village headman's family two days, and in a peasant's family one day only. It allowed the principal chiefs to possess curious attributes of office such as flags of a type not found in the other Malayan States—the *ular ular*, a long white streamer with a black fringe at the end, the *mēruai*, a long oblong flag with little metal spheres at the far corners; and the *tunggul*, a tricoloured triangular flag with a sphere and a tassel at the point. It also allowed certain officers to decorate with cloth hangings the

ceilings and pillars of the houses. It also granted more material privileges to the *l'embugas* in the form of customary gifts of meat and food at festivals and weddings. Of course it laid down strict rules of precedence for the guidance of officers and arranged every detail of a state ceremony or procession. Indeed, it pushed formality to such extremes that the herald at the installation of a Yang-di-pertuan was expected to stand on one leg and hold his right ear in his left hand when making his proclamation. All these details, of course, seemed matters of vital importance to the old Negeri Sembilan masters of the ceremonies, but they possess no interest to the student of jurisprudence. They have therefore to be passed over.

"Traditional law" (*kata p'saka*) constitutes the fourth of the great branches into which the Menangkabau Malays divided their *adat*. Indeed, it might be made to include all the rest since traditional sayings enter into every section of the law. For the sake of lucidity, however, we will limit the term *kata p'saka* to those sayings that refer to the special features of the law administered in the Menangkabau courts, leaving out administrative matters (*kata muafakat*), religious matters (*chupak buatan*), and axiomatic or common-sense rules of equity (*chupak yang asli*).

In an agricultural community the rules relating to land-tenure are, of course, of the first importance.

The *adat p'erpateh* recognised that whenever waste land was taken up for cultivation it passed from the hands of the aborigines into those of the Malays. While admitting that the aborigines who could not develop the soil had no right to prevent more industrious people from doing so, the *adat* laid down that some compensation was due to the dispossessed, were

it only for the hunting-rights of which they were deprived. In a sense, the law even admitted the claim of the beasts and birds to some consideration :

*Jalan raya, titian batu,
Bukit bukan rimba yang swagi,
Guaung yang dalam, lapan yang lebar,
Bandar yang sundai -
Sibarau banau yang empunya
Lubok yang dalam -
Sekitang kitang yang empunya*

The birds possess the earth; the fish possess the sea
But the aborigines or their representatives (the Dato'
of Rembau and his clan of *waris* or "heirs") owned
the waste lands in a stricter sense.

*Guaung guaung, bukit bukit
Waris dan pénéhala yang empunya
The nullahs and the narrow valleys
The hills and the surrounding flats
Are the property of the chief and of the heirs*

The chief and the heirs own the jungle, and the Malay
settlers own the cultivated tracks :

*Sawah yang berjangat,
Pinang yang berjangak,
Lembaga yang empunya
The stretches of ricefield
The rows of areca palms
These all belong to the tribal headmen.*

Ownership in Malaya went with real working-tenure. The law did not allow a landlord to lock up valuable land at his own discretion or to exact a heavy tax from would-be workers. To use a homely metaphor, it allowed the dog-in-the-manger to levy toll on the cows to the extent of the value of the manger to the

dog, while English law allows toll to be levied to the extent of the value of the manger to the cows. The difference is important. This Malay theory of ownership shows itself in the old Perak *chabut* system under which Chinese miners were free to work any land that the Malay owner did not himself care to work provided that they paid the landlord a certain small percentage of the tin extracted. The same theory, no doubt, inspired the cultivation-clauses and building-clauses in Federated Malay States grants. In any case, the Dato' of Rembau and his *waris* or "heirs" still draw a definite percentage of the land revenue of the country. Under the *adat p̄rpatih*, the real owner of a piece of land is the occupier or cultivator, the original owners who never developed it are only entitled to a small percentage payment as compensation for their jungle-rights. This view of land-ownership is a very fair one. It encourages the development of a country without at the same time exterminating the poor aboriginal jungle-dwellers who know no art except that of the chase. In Rembau, at least, it worked very well and has made the *biduanda* tribe (the representatives of the aborigines) a very wealthy and powerful clan, that has picked up Malay culture and is more than able to hold its own with the descendants of the Sumatran settlers.

The right of ownership possessed by a cultivator commenced from the moment when he began to work the soil. To use the Malay dictum, it began—

Sa-bingkah tanah t̄rbalok.

Sa-h̄lai akar putus.

Sa batang kayu r̄bak.

When the first clod of earth was turned over.

When the first trail of liana was cut.

When the first tree of the forest was felled.

It was rendered quite unassailable by evidence of long ancestral possession—

Pinang yang gayu.

Nyiar yang saka.

Jirat yang panjang

When the areca-palms have grown tall,

And the coconut palms are ancient,

And the line of owners' graves grows longer and longer.

Indeed, what better title-deeds could anyone want ?

Under the *adat pērpatch* ownership went with actual tenure, subject, in some places, to the payment of a small allowance to the descendants of the ancient races who had once possessed the land. But this ownership was qualified by one important condition: the land might only belong to women. No male in Rembau could own it. Every man lived on his wife's land or on his mother's and sisters' land, he cultivated the soil and was entitled to his maintenance out of the proceeds. Moreover, as the law of exogamy was strictly observed, every man had, sooner or later, to leave his own village and to settle in the village of his wife. Marriage within the maternal clan (*pērut*) was incest and was punishable with death. A man always migrated; a woman never did. In the words of the traditional saying: a man sought his fate (*mēnchari untong*); a woman awaited hers (*mēnantī untong*). With his change of home a man passed from the power of his mother's family into that of his wife's. His wife's relations became responsible for him.¹

Orang sēmēnda hēr-kēmpat sēmēnda.

¹ Except in the case of finding a substitute for a murdered man. The substitute had to be provided by the murderer's own family, not by his wife's. This may have been due to the law of exogamy; the murdered man's widow would probably belong to the same village and would be prohibited from marrying a man of her own tribe.

As we have already seen, petty disputes in these little matriarchal villages used to be referred to the local elders, the *ibu bapa*, who had much influence but no official powers. Since we have already discussed the primitive common-sense justice (*chupak yang asli*) administered by these village-magnates, we now need only speak of the criminal law recognised in the higher courts of the *lambang* and undang. The key to the whole of Menangkabau justice is the rule—

Hilang darah ganti darah.

Blood for blood.

"A life for a life." This rule did not mean that capital punishment was necessarily inflicted. The fact that one family had been deprived of its bread-winner was no reason for rectifying matters by depriving another family of its bread-winner. Two wrongs do not make a right. The law of Menangkabau sought to restore rather than to punish; it compelled the murderer's relatives to provide a bread-winner or his equivalent for the support of the widow and children of the victim—sometimes in the form of a person,¹ sometimes in the form of blood-money as the equivalent of a man's services. If a criminal's "wife's relations" saw extenuating circumstances in what the man had done, they could save their clansman from the executioner. If they thought that their kinswoman had married disastrously they could get her divorced on the same absolutely fair terms:

Chari bahaqi:

Dapatan tinggal:

Bawa kembali.

¹ A man for a man; a woman for a slain woman. The substitute was adopted into the tribe of the injured persons.

Earnings (during marriage) are divided;
 The wife's heritage is hers,
 The husband's bringings go back to him.

The *adat p̄rpat̄eh* tried to be absolutely fair; it sought to rectify a wrong and not to apportion blame.

Salah makan di-muntahkan;
Salah tarek di-kembaliakan.

The offences for which (in extreme cases) a criminal might be put to death are summed up as follows:

D̄rhaka d̄rhaki, zumbang salah,
K̄ibat rampas, kior balat,
Maling churi, kichang kichoh,
Upsis rachu, tikam bunuh

Treason, incest, robbery, arson, theft, cheating, poisoning and stabbing—these summed up the list of potentially capital crimes.¹ But the only men who really came to a bad end were the ne'er-do-weels for whom no village would accept responsibility. The position of a stranger in a strange land is—not without reason—a proverbially unenviable one among Malays; no Malay of substance ever was a stranger in a strange land.

The jurists of Rembau and Sri Menanti tried also to invent a rudimentary law of evidence by compiling a list of "indications of guilt" and other signs of the same sort. If a man was seen walking fast near the scene of a crime they condemned him at once, for no Malay with an easy conscience ever walks fast. If a man kept curious hours, they eyed him with suspicion; if he preferred the jungle to the village-paths, they called upon him for an explanation; if he answered at random when addressed, they considered him dangerously eccentric. Indeed, from their standpoint all

¹ Some lists give many more capital crimes.

eccentricity was an offence against *adat*; it is not the correct way of doing things. The most conclusive sign of guilt is, however, summed up in the proverb:

Enggang lalu, ranting patah.

The twig breaks as the hornbill flies past it.

This cryptic utterance is only intended to suggest a coincidence that seems to be more than a coincidence. If the appearances of some tramp invariably coincide with the disappearances of our fowls we are apt to become suspicious of that tramp even though we may have no positive proof of his guilt. After a certain number more of such coincidences the suspicion—without positive proof—will develop into moral certainty. If a man's enemies happened to fall sick and die after quarrels with him, it was extremely difficult for that man to convince his fellow-villagers that he was not a dangerous wizard and that these little occurrences were only matters of coincidence. Many a poor victim in every part of Malaya has been done to death for sorcery on the evidence of "the flying hornbill and the breaking twig." On the whole, however, the old customery law of Menangkabau was reasonable and humane. It was a simple homely law of which its votaries were always proud. It was revered as a priceless possession; it was never to be amended or altered:

Di-anjak layu, di-alah mati

Uprooted, it withers; moved, it dies.

To many persons accustomed to the impartiality of English courts the praise lavished on the Menangkabau *adat* by its followers may seem a mere blind fanaticism; but to those who compare it with the justice administered by native rulers in Siam, India, Burmah and

Java, the simple and humane Menangkabau *adat* must seem fully worthy of the honour in which it was held as "a couch to the sleeper, a shelter to the wayfarer, a ship to the navigator, an ancestral estate to the cultivator—a true measure that no damp can mildew and no heat can warp."

THE ADAT TEMENGGONG

At the fountain-head of all tradition in the Southern Malay States there stands an ancient Hinduised kingdom of Palembang or Sarbaza that flourished between the years A.D. 900 and 1375 and finally perished, along with its daughter-city of Singapore, in the course of a terrible war with the Javanese of Majapahit. After the close of the fourteenth century these ancient States—Palembang and Singapore—disappear from the annals of our local history and are replaced by the famous Malacca sultanate which, as we all know, was overthrown by Albuquerque in A.D. 1511. The old Palembang tradition that had been borne by colonists from Sumatra to Singapore and then by fugitives from Singapore to Malacca was now carried on again by fugitives from Malacca to the island of Bintang, but in A.D. 1526 the Portuguese Viceroy Mascarenhas plundered and burnt the new Malay settlements and drove the sultan to Kampar in Sumatra. After further wanderings, the descendants of the old Malacca kings found in the upper reaches of the Johor river a refuge to which the deep-draughted galleons of Portugal could not safely follow them. Even there they were not left in peace. In A.D. 1613 and again in A.D. 1615 the shallow-draughted fleets of the Achehnese burnt Johor and carried off the Sultan Alaedin Riayat

Shah III to die a captive in Acheen. After the capture of Malacca by the Dutch (A.D. 1641), Johor revived slightly—only to be plundered and burnt by the people of Jambi in A.D. 1677. Twenty-two years later the last of the long line of Malacca princes, Sultan Mahmud Shah II, was assassinated at Kota Tinggi. Civil wars and disturbances naturally followed. About the year 1717 Johor was taken by a Sumatran adventurer, Raja Kechil, who made himself sultan under the name of Abdul Jalil Rahmat Shah and transferred the capital from Johor Lama to Riau. In A.D. 1722 Riau was captured by the Bugis, who appointed a puppet of their own, a Sultan Sulaiman Shah, to be Sultan of Johor, Lingga and Pahang. The descendants of Sulaiman Shah's family are represented to-day by the Sultans of Trengganu and Lingga and by the dispossessed royal family of Kampong Glam. The descendants of Sulaiman's great officers of State—his *Bendahara* and his *Temenggong*—are now Sultans of Pahang and Johor. The descendants of Sulaiman Shah's Bugis supporters are represented by the Sultan of Selangor and the Yamtuan Muda of Riau. Finally, the Sultan of Perak claims to represent the older dynasty, the Malacca sultans, whose direct line came to an end in A.D. 1699.

If, therefore, Malay law is studied in the light of Malay history, we can easily understand why the *adat temenggong* (as the old Palembang jurisprudence is called) should cover so many important States and yet compare so unfavourably with the *adat berpatek* of the humble villages of the Negri Sembilan. However excellent the Palembang law may once have been it must have suffered terribly from the political calamities that so often overwhelmed Malacca, Johor and Riau.

But we have no reason to suppose that the *adat tēmēng-gong* ever was a consistent and coherent system. It simply represents the old Menangkabau jurisprudence—the true law of the Malays—in a state of disintegration after many centuries of exposure to the influence of Hindu despotism and Moslem law. Although to the casual observer nothing could be more striking than the apparent difference between the patriarchal and autocratic *adat* of Perak and the matriarchal and democratic *adat* of Negri Sembilan, the real differences between the two are largely superficial and are connected with the way the law is administered rather than with the actual law itself. Succession to titles and dignities in Perak follows the male line, succession to lands and houses suggests the *adat pērpatch*. It is not long since Sir William Maxwell penned the following words :

In that State [Perak] the lands and houses of the deceased descend to his daughters equally while the sons divide the personal property. The latter are supposed to be able to create landed estates for themselves by clearing and planting land which they may select, or at all events to obtain the use of land by marrying women who may have inherited it.¹

The Perak *adat* here described by Sir William Maxwell is practically identical with the law of the Negri Sembilan. It is a survival and is due to the fact that the Malays were once a matriarchal people and that they still pay more deference to woman's rights than would be tolerated by Hindu or Moslem law. It is borne out by the custom—prevalent all over Malaya—of the marriage-ceremony taking the husband to live in the house of his bride. The old matriarchal law

¹ "Malay Land Tenure," p. 127. [*Journal of the Straits Asiatic Society*]

may also be illustrated by the following passage from the early minutes of the Perak State Council :

It is customary among Malays of rank or position for a husband to appropriate a particular house to the use of his wife at the time of the marriage. She is entitled to live there during coverture, and if she is divorced by the husband the house is regarded as hers and is assigned to her for her use during her life. According to Che Long Jalar's disposition of his property the *kampung* at Bukit Gantang went not to the Mantri but to his sister, Che Alang Sepah, the mother of Che Puteh Hawiah.

Similarly, in that very important matter, the acquisition of title to land, the *adat tēmēnggong* takes the same view as the *adat pērpateh*. Maxwell says of the Perak and Malacca law :

There is no restriction upon the selection and appropriation of forest land, and a proprietary right is created by the clearing of the land followed by continuous occupation. He who by clearing or cultivation or by building a house causes that to live which was dead (*temēngpholupkan bumi*) acquires a proprietary right in the land which now becomes *tanah hidup* (live land) in contradistinction to *tanah mati*. His right to the land is absolute as long as occupation continues or as long as the land bears signs of appropriation.¹

Throughout this definition of title to land we can see the similarity between the ideas of Perak and those of the Negri Sembilan. In the rules regulating the fencing of gardens and the penalties for trespass by buffaloes we can also trace a close resemblance between the *adat pērpateh* and the *adat tēmēnggong*. Indeed, we ought historically to expect such a connection. We know that the old kingdom of Palembang was a Malay country under a Hinduised government, and we would naturally be prepared to find that the *adat tēmēnggong*

¹ "Malay Land Tenure," p. 77.

was only the *adat p̄rpatch* administered on autocratic lines. But the law of Menangkabau was not well suited to a despotic system of government; it fell at once into decay. Its curious proverbial jurisprudence perished as soon as law ceased to be the property of the many and became vested in a few chiefs. Its mildness passed away when the community could no longer be held responsible for the faults of its members. It became uncertain or indefinite from the moment that princes and judges did not like to see their discretion fettered by any inconvenient rules and regulations. In the absence of precise rules, common sense came to be regarded as the only possible law, discussion as the only possible procedure. When in the early days of the residential system the Attorney-General of the Straits Settlements criticised the indefiniteness of Perak *adat*, the Resident replied that the state of society in Perak had not reached the point at which it would be advisable to define more particularly the offences that a chief was empowered to punish. Indeed, the whole spirit of autoeracy is hostile to strictly-defined systems of law.

Nevertheless, the natural love of Europeans for documentary evidence has led several writers to attach considerable importance to the so-called "codes" of the Malays. In their joy at obtaining written laws they have not always scrutinised with sufficient care the authority that these old Malay codes really possessed, and so have come to suggest the existence of native magistrates who administered the *adat t̄m̄nggong* by charging prisoners under some section of the "Ninety-nine Laws of Perak" or of the "Malacca Code." Although it may seem presumptuous to question the importance of laws quoted or translated by scholars

like Raffles, Newbold and Maxwell, the fact remains that the authority of the Malay codes will not bear serious investigation. The "Perak Code," for instance, is made up of a series of ninety-nine legal dicta or judgments that purport to have been delivered by the Persian minister Buzurjmihir for the guidance of his master Nushirwan the Just. Are we to seriously imagine that these ancient Persian worthies knew anything about Malay *padi*-planting or about Muhammadan law? As an exposition of Malay theorising, the "Perak Code" is interesting: historically, it does not seem to have been considered authoritative. The old law of the country is thus described by those who actually administered it:

The chief court of Kuala Kangsar administers, as far as it will go, the law of the country, and this law, though unwritten, is very generally understood [Perak Council Minutes, 1877-1879, p. 19]

Here we have the highest authorities in Perak ignoring the very existence of what is alleged to be their own code. In the same way, we may see that the "Malacca Code" will not bear criticism. Though written at a later date, it purports to represent the law that was once administered in the old sultanate of Malacca and is largely concerned with rice-planting and trading-ships. The trading-ships were not Malay but Bugis. The rice-planting in the old sultanate of Malacca is thus described in the records of the contemporary Chinese navigators who visited the place:

The country produces no rice.

The "Malacca Code" is a modern work that was admittedly written at Riau under Sultan Sulaiman Shah in the days when the Bugis were all-powerful. The "Maritime Code," written at the same time and

place, is also inspired by Bugis *adat*. The true *adat tēmenggong* of Malaya was an unwritten law.

The *adat tēmenggong* was made up of ordinary Malay custom, administered by despotic authority and supplemented by a large number of sumptuary regulations drawn up for the glorification of the court. The latter feature appealed very much to the old Malays, as the following passage from Abdullah's diary will testify :

I enquired of the Boarding Officer (at Trengganu) "Sir, what is the law of this country and what are the offences that I should avoid? We are strangers to the place and do not know its ways, we only want to purchase stores for our journey." He answered, "It is too early to do any marketing—all marketing is done in the evening—but the offences that you must avoid are the following: don't open your umbrella when passing through the raja's grounds; don't wear shoes, don't wear yellow clothes or thin linen: such things are absolutely illegal."

On being told of this list of offences I thought to myself with a smile at the folly of these useless laws—that it would be far more profitable for everyone concerned if they were to prohibit the use of opium with all its demoralising effects and the practice of gambling in all its many forms. And if they are to have laws about clothing, why do they not prohibit the use of clothes that are filthy and have been left unwashed for months at a time?!

Yet this apparent fondness for trivialities is, historically, not hard to understand.

In the old Hinduised kingdom of Palembang the Malays acquired a very high ideal of sovereign power. A Malay *raja* was personally sacred. He was believed to heal diseases with his touch, he might perform miracles; he was considered almost invulnerable. He was immeasurably above his subjects, who were only

permitted to address themselves to the dust beneath his feet. He was the source of all honour and the fountain of all justice. In Moslem times he styled himself a Sultan, a Caliph, a Commander of the Faithful, a Shadow of God upon Earth. Any insult or indignity to a prince was sacrilege; it exposed the perpetrator to all kinds of spiritual punishments. Even to roughly handle a king's regalia was a deadly offence. If a commoner assumed the airs or attributes of a prince, if he wore the royal yellow or flew a royal flag, he was believed to expose himself to certain death at the hands of the ghostly protectors of royal dignities. The commoner had no rights whatever; the king could do whatever seemed best in his own eyes. Such, at least, was the theory of Malay government.

Under the circumstances it is not difficult to paint a very highly coloured picture of the immense improvement in the position of the Malay *ryot* since the introduction of the British rule. Theoretically, all despotic government is abominable; it ought to drive everyone to emigrate at once. In practice, however, life in a country like Russia is not entirely made up of pogroms, nor is existence in a native sultanate quite as black as some writers have depicted it. The most truthful account of it is that given by Sir William Maxwell:

In a Malay State, the exaction of personal service from the *ryot* is limited only by the power of endurance of the latter. The superior authority is obliged from self-interest to stop short of the point at which oppression will compel the cultivator to abandon his land and emigrate. But within this limit the cultivator may be required to give his labour in making roads, bridges, drains and other works of public utility, to tend elephants, to pole boats, to carry letters and messages, to attend his chief when travelling, to cultivate his chief's fields as well as his own, and to serve as a

soldier when required. Local custom often regulates the kind of service exacted from the cultivator in a particular district. Thus, in Perak, one district used to supply the *raja* with timber for building purposes, while rattans and other materials came from others; the people of one locality used to furnish the musicians for the *raja*'s band while another had to provide nurses and attendants for his children¹.

In theory the sultan was omnipotent; in practice he knew the limitations of his power. For his authority and even for his own safety he was dependent on the forbearance of his people and the loyalty of his chiefs. In spite of their extraordinary reverence for kingly dignity the Malays did not believe in primogeniture or in the divine right of any particular member of a royal house. They were always ready to put a younger brother over an elder if the elder was unworthy. Within quite recent times they passed over the Raja Muda Abdullah in Perak, the Raja Muda Mahmud in Selangor, and the senior heirs to the high positions of *Bendahara* in Pahang and of *Temenggong* in Johor. Instances of similar "usurpations" might easily be multiplied. In any case, history made it quite clear to every Malay prince that he could not afford to be too unpopular. Still less could the great vassal chiefs be indifferent to the feelings of their own followers. Having to hold their own against the jealousies of their neighbours and the exactions of their suzerains, the chiefs dared not allow their districts to become impoverished, depopulated, or disaffected. Malay proverbial literature, though very bitter against princes, is kindly in its tone about the chiefs. It helps us to understand why Malay misrule was so tolerable that men would sometimes even leave British territory and settle in a Native State.

¹ "Malay Land Tenure," p. 106.

But the system of government in a Malay sultanate did not lend itself at any time to the proper administration of justice. At its best it encouraged a chief to assist his own followers against the stranger, it never put a premium on the chief doing justice to the stranger at the cost of his own men. In a country district where the people all acknowledged one common territorial chief justice might be honestly administered; but in places where rival magnates existed the quarrels of followers were simply passed on to their patrons. Litigation—in cases where the litigants did not take the law into their own hands—became a matter of diplomatic negotiation between the nobles who championed either side. On one of these occasions—in the old city of Malacca—a certain chief asked the sultan to surrender an offender. The sultan demurred. When the matter was pressed the sultan procrastinated in order to allow time for the chief's wrath to pass away, but at last handed over the criminal with a request that the chief might be merciful to his captive. The chief replied by taking up his elephant-goat and splitting open the prisoner's skull in the sultan's very presence. A criminal was a prize to be fought for; he was not a man to be tried.

* The best parallel to the system of government in the old Malayan trading-centres is, perhaps, the case of the old Italian towns where the palaces of the nobles were simply so many rival fortresses, and where the population was divided up into Guelphs and Ghibelines or into followers of the great princely houses. Every citizen had to find some patron or protector. Such a system, of course, put a premium on bribery and blackmail. The "Malay Annals" tell us that in the good old days of Sultan Mahmud, the trading captains

who visited Malacca used to say that the place produced three admirable things: bananas (*pisang jarum*), the water of Bukit China and the justice of the Bendahara Sri Maharaja. But the Annals admit that the Bendahara took "presents," and contemporary Chinese traders gave the following account of the place:

When a word is used which does not please them, the Malays at once take to the *kérak*, and if a man is killed in this way the murderer runs away to the mountains and hides himself there for some time. When he comes back again the relatives of the deceased do not seek revenge, and the Orang Kaya does not look into the matter any more.

The poorer people often make themselves guilty of robbery, when they meet a single stranger they kill him and rob his effects.

They say that it is better to have slaves than to have land, because slaves are a protection to their masters.

For slight offences they use whipping, their capital punishment is impaling.

Every commoner for his own protection had to buy the patronage of a powerful chief. If he was wronged he asked the chief to take up his case, if the chief dared not do anything the injured party had either to abandon the suit or to take the law into his own hands. Vendettas were frequent and bitter. The judges sat armed and did not hesitate to kill the prisoner if he insulted them or questioned their jurisdiction or impartiality—as he might very well do. But the worst feature of the old Malacca system was the employment of unscrupulous retainers, bands of idle bullies who were ready to commit any crimes in their master's interest. On one occasion a sultan gave a quid of betel-nut to a humble follower. By way of a guess at what this significant mark of honour might indicate, the follower went back and slew the last man to whom the

sultan had been seen to speak. He was not punished for his zeal. Did he interpret his master's mind aright? History cannot tell us. The story only shows how extremely difficult it is to speak positively regarding any sultan's complicity in an assassination.

The aristocratic and autocratic rule, introduced by the old Hindu civilisation and known to Malays as the *adat temenggong*, degraded and destroyed the primitive Menangkabau law. Yet, in a sense, it is supposed to represent progress. It led to a higher material civilisation; it developed class distinctions and court-life; it brought new blood and new ideas into Malaya; it opened up the country, it created fresh wants and stimulated trade with foreign countries—in short, it did many of the things that British rule is believed to be doing at the present day. The followers of the *adat temenggong* are, therefore, prone to despise the votaries of the *adat perpatih*: "dull-witted are the men of Menangkabau who have no footing on the sea." In the eyes of the men of Johor, Perak or Malacca, the Negeri Sembilan Malay is a sort of narrow-minded country-cousin whose *adat*, though suited to his own village, is not adapted to the needs of the great world outside. There is some justification for this opinion; the value of Menangkabau *adat* does not lie in the work that it is actually doing at the present time. None the less, the highly specialised *adat perpatih* possesses the greatest possible interest to the student of primitive jurisprudence, while the cosmopolitan *adat temenggong* is too indefinite and illogical to possess any legal interest whatever.

MUHAMMADAN LAW IN MALAYA.

Although the Koran is always asserted to be the ultimate authority for Moslem law, a single holy book can never be sufficient in itself to serve as a guide to magistrates in the settlement of the many issues that come before them. Even in the early days of Islam, the Koran had to be supplemented. Its simple precepts were interpreted by the help of traditions of what the Prophet himself, as a ruler and judge, had said and done, or by what he had advised others to do. The many "helpers" or "companions" of Muhammad—while they lived—could always testify to the words and deeds of their master; when they died, their testimony was quoted for the guidance of those who came after them. The law thus became dependent on second-hand or third-hand oral "traditions" of what the Prophet had said or done—a confused mass of rulings that were often incorrectly repeated and quite misunderstood. Moreover, these *hadith*, as they were called, became uncomfortably numerous. The great jurist, Ibn Haubal, is said to have collected no less than 750,000 of these sayings of the Prophet, and he accepted about 35,000 as authoritative. Textual criticism was a very simple matter in those days. The present text of the Koran was arrived at by the primitive expedient of preserving one manuscript and burning all the rest, while the choice of these *hadith* or "traditions" came to be decided more by dreams and prayers than by the weight of serious evidence. Rough methods of this sort can, however, be very effective, and no modern Sunnite Moslem would venture to question the accuracy of the Koran-text or the inspiration of that great mass of anecdotal matter which makes up the traditions of the Prophet.

Next in authority to the Koran and the tradition comes the *ijma'* or "consensus" of the authorities quoted by the four great jurists of Islam. These four men were not official expounders of the law; they owe their authority entirely to their personal renown as men of learning and sanctity. The first, Abu Hanifah (A.D. 702-767), was actually scourged for refusing to serve as a judge, and he died in prison rather than accept office. The second, Malik (A.D. 716-795), was flogged by order of the Caliph Al-Mansur on the charge of holding mistaken opinions. The third, Shafei (A.D. 767-820), was a very retiring student and teacher, who only began to write in his forty-seventh year and died in his fifty-fourth. The fourth, Ibn Hanbal (A.D. 786-863), was scourged by order of the Caliph Al-Mamun for holding the view—now accepted by Islam—that the Koran was not created but had existed from the beginning of time. These four jurists agree on all major points; whenever they agree, their "consensus" settles a question for good and all. On some minor issues they differ. Abu Hanifah was essentially a lawyer. He was described by Malik as "such a person that if he were to assert that a wooden pillar were made of gold he would prove it to you by argument." Malik was a true theologian; on his death-bed he severely condemned himself for having allowed his own fallible reason to occasionally influence his legal opinions. Malik was the instructor of Shafei; Shafei taught Ibn Hanbal. There is, therefore, a certain distinction between the followers of these last three (who are known as "traditionists," *ahl-i-sunnat*) and those of Abu Hanifah who are called *ahl-i-kias*, or "disciples of reasoning by analogy." Modern Turkey is Hanifite; so are Northern India and Turkestan.

Morocco and Algeria are Malikite countries. A few fanatical Hanbalites are found in the wilds of Arabia. Egypt, Southern Arabia, Southern India, and the Malay Archipelago are Shafeite. The student of British Malaya is, therefore, mainly concerned with the teachings of Shafai.

The Imam Muhammad bin Idris ash-Shafai, an Arab of the tribe of the Kuraishi, was directly descended from Abdu'l Muttalib, the Prophet's grandfather. From his teacher, Malik, he had derived a very great respect for tradition, but he did not blindly accept it all. Modest and unassuming in character, he did not force his views on his disciples, he allowed people to disagree with him so long as they showed proper respect for the main doctrines of Islam. The weakness of Shafai's system is, perhaps, best shown in the character of the most famous follower of his school, the great Saladin, who was a pattern of personal merit, but whose horror of impiety led him to put to death any one who broached very unorthodox view a out religion.

The Malays never accepted Moslem law in its entirety. They were quite prepared to adopt it in purely religious matters, such as the control of mosque-lands and the levying of tithes, but when it came to the serious business of life—such as contract, sale, slave-right, land-tenure, debt and succession to titles and real property—the chiefs continued to observe their own *adat* or customary law. They were probably right to do so; an abrupt transition from one legal system to another leads to innumerable cases of injustice. Law should be coincident with what may be called national common sense. No Englishman knows the whole of his law, but he feels that if he acts

in accordance with morality, custom and common sense he is not likely to go far astray; would he feel as safe in a foreign land even if the alien system of jurisprudence was logically superior to his own? Malays recognised the theoretical merits of Moslem law but they decided that in matters of everyday life they would do well to adhere to customs that were known to all. The religious law gained ground very slowly. It had to fight against the ignorance and innate conservatism of the people, against the lawless ways of the chiefs, and against the discreditable behaviour of its own unjust judges. There can, however, be no doubt that Moslem law would have ended by becoming the law of Malaya had not British law stepped in to check it. An unwritten code can only be perpetuated by constant observance; every violation of the *adat* by some powerful chief had the effect of weakening the customary law. Moslem law was in a different position. It rested on something stronger than mere observance and was recorded in imperishable literature. It was gaining ground everywhere when the British authorities came into Malaya and limited the scope of religious law (in the Colony, at all events) to issues affecting the validity of marriages and divorces and the legitimacy of children.

Muhammadan jurisprudence regards marriage as having for its primary object the perpetuation of the human race. It confers upon the husband such rights over his wife as may be absolutely necessary to carry out this theory, but it does not permit him to reduce his wife to the position of a household slave or instrument of pleasure. Marriage is effected by a nuptial contract. This contract must be made in the presence of competent witnesses and must be assented to by both

husband and wife either directly or through their accredited representatives. It must be absolute and may not contain any provisions irreconcilable with the theoretical aim of marriage. It must be entered into for an indefinite period (till death or divorce), not for a specified time like a week or a month. It must be actual and not promissory: a mere agreement to marry at a future date is not a valid contract. Under Shafeite law a marriage may be declared null and void if either party is scrofulous, leprous, insane or a sufferer from certain permanent congenital defects which prevent it becoming a reality. A Moslem man may marry a Moslem or *Kitabiah*¹ woman, but not an idolatress; he may be the husband of not more than four women at one and the same time. A Moslem woman may only marry a Moslem and must not have more than one husband at a time, she is entitled to as much time in her husband's company as he devotes to her fellow-wives, but she cannot claim an equal share of his affections, for love is not to be given at will. The prohibited degrees of affinity are summed up in the statement that a man may not marry:

- (a) his mother, grandmother, daughter, grand-daughter, sister, aunt or niece;
- (b) a present wife's mother, grandmother, daughter, grand-daughter, sister, aunt or niece;
- (c) a woman bearing to him any of the above relationships by fosterage;
- (d) a widow or divorced wife of his father, grandfather, son or grandson.

It should be added that the above rules do not prohibit a man marrying the sister or near relative of his

¹Christian or Jewish.

deceased or divorced wife; they forbid his being married to two very near relatives at the same time.

The above statements summarise the Moslem law of marriage except in so far as it deals with the obsolete question of slavery. The law seems simple enough, but its interpretation in special cases has inspired a vast literature. What are the necessary words in a marriage contract? Is a Christian a competent witness? Can he give a Muhammadan girl in marriage? What is the legal effect of a guardian's carelessness in attending to the interests of his ward? What is to be done when an agent exceeds his instructions and marries his employer to the wrong woman or to two women—especially two sisters—at one and the same time? What course is a husband to pursue if a Christian wife demands payment of her dowry in pork? What exactly constitutes relationship by fosterage? If a man is married to two wives—the one an infant, the other an adult—and he finds the elder wife suckling the younger, what does the law expect him to do? If the law compels him to divorce both (one being now a wife's foster-mother and the other a wife's foster-child) must he forfeit their dowries through no fault of his own? It is quite clear that we cannot follow the marriage law through all its intricacies. A Malay bride's *wali* or guardian usually employs an agent or *wakil*. This *wakil* is a man versed in the law; he knows the proper Arabic formulæ by heart and he supplies competent witnesses for the ceremony: in this way the validity of a marriage is ensured. But it must always be remembered that the average Malay looks upon the true religious ceremony much as a French father looks upon the civil procedure which validates a marriage; it is sufficient for legality but for nothing more. The

true Malay wedding-ceremonies lie outside Moslem law: the henna-staining festivity, the bridegroom's procession, the mimic fights, the ceremonial ablutions of the newly married pair—all these prominent features of a Malay marriage belong to an older law than that of Shafei. A wedding before the religious authorities is like a marriage before the registrar: it is tolerated only. A Malay would consider that his daughter had disgraced herself if she was satisfied with a marriage before the local *kadzi*.

Again, according to Shafei, no woman can give herself (or anyone else) in marriage. If a girl is a virgin and under age, it is considered immaterial if she even consents to a marriage, for what can she really know about the meaning of the contract? In its eagerness to protect the interests of virgin minors the Shafeite law has rather overreached itself. It trusts no guardian except an ascending agnate. It presumes that a father or grandfather will have sufficient affection for a young girl to allow of his being entrusted with the power of giving her in marriage, but it does not presume the same of an uncle or even of a brother. This point creates a difficulty in countries like Malaya where immature orphan girls are occasionally wanted in marriage. The difficulty is got over by the fact that Shafei allows his disciples to differ from him on isolated points. The marriage of minors is therefore a point on which guardians find it occasionally convenient to disagree with Shafei; they adopt the view of Abu Hanifah that a guardian can give an immature ward in marriage provided that she is permitted to repudiate an unsuitable marriage contract when she comes to years of discretion. This expedient is known as *balek madzhab* or *balek madahap*—"going back on

one's school of law." Not that the average Malay parent understands the real points at issue. He does what he is told to do by his legal advisers, who take advantage of this expedient in order that they may surmount a difficulty. Sometimes the hindrance is of another sort. It may happen that a girl's legal guardian puts difficulties in the way of her getting married. In such cases the *kadzi* is entitled to step forward and to call upon the guardian to do his duty by the girl or to renounce the position of her custodian. "To her that hath no *wali*"—so runs a traditional saying of the Prophet—"the civil authority is *wali*": the guardian by birth resigns his position, and the guardian by law takes his place. If there be no *kadzi* available, a girl may go with her prospective husband before any person who has the education of a *kadzi* and can ask that person to act as arbitrator and even to give her in marriage should he think it advisable. Islam considers that it is the duty of a guardian to find a suitable husband for his ward.

The Malay rules regarding the "dowry" or settlement made by the bridegroom on the bride are very interesting because they represent a curious compromise between Muhammadan law and ancient Indonesian custom. Moslem jurists recognise one payment, the *mahr*: Malay customary law insists on a whole series of conventional presents, beginning with betrothal and sometimes continuing till the birth of the first child or even later. A sort of compromise has been arrived at by identifying one of these many presents, the *mas kawin*, with the Arabic *mahr* or dowry. The *mas kawin* appears, in former times at least, to have been a mere fee or customary wedding-payment and to have been sometimes fixed so high as to

discourage marriage in impoverished districts and sometimes so low as to be no check on hasty divorce. All this is quite wrong, from the Moslem point of view. The *mahr* is not a payment or present to a woman's relatives: it is a settlement on the bride herself who can claim it as her absolute right. This Moslem view is gaining ground. Every Malay woman now gets either a dowry or a deferred dowry—a sum of money which the husband must pay her if he divorces her without sufficient cause. This deferred dowry is a real check on hasty separations. The old theory of a "customary payment," however, shows itself in the fact that in many districts the amount of the dowry is conventional and does not depend on the wealth of the contracting parties.

The Moslem check on hasty divorce is the *mahr*; the old Indonesian check seems to have been what is known as the *sharikat*. In districts where the dowry is more or less fixed by convention we find that a divorced wife or widow has a claim on her husband's property to the extent of one third of their "joint earnings." The calculation of this third is of course a matter of great difficulty and leads to endless disputes. An arbitrator is usually called in: he makes an approximate estimate of the increase in value (if any) of the husband's property during the period of the marriage and he allows the wife or widow her share. Malay public opinion is also in favour of considering that all jewellery and all household requisites—such as pots and pans—are the absolute property of the divorced wife or widow. The fact is that ancient Malay custom gives a woman a better status than she gets from Moslem theory. In Rembau, a Malay may not even marry a second wife without obtaining the special sanction of the ruler of

the country, while, in other States, the first wife's consent is expected before a second wife is taken. All this is quite unnecessary according to Muhammadan law.

In order to avoid disputes as to the paternity of children the law forbids the speedy remarriage of widows, of divorced women and of women whose marriages have been annulled after consummation. It prescribes a period of time (called the *iddah*)¹ during which a woman is not free to marry again, and it gives her the right (if divorced) to claim maintenance from her husband during the whole duration of her *iddah*. An ordinary decree of nullity of marriage is treated as a divorce: it does not render the children illegitimate, nor does it deprive a woman of her rights to dowry and maintenance.

Like the law of marriage, the Moslem law of divorce is very simple in its main provisions but difficult of interpretation in occasional instances. A man may divorce his wife at any time, with or without cause for complaint against her: a wife may divorce her husband by simply "redeeming" herself or paying him compensation for the loss of his conjugal rights. Divorce does not even entail the parties going before a court or registrar: it is perfectly valid wherever pronounced and whether witnesses are present or no. Such, at least, is the theory. In practice, however, things are very different. A man who divorces his wife has to pay her a certain amount of money for dowry and maintenance and has to meet a good deal of hostility on the part of her relatives and a good deal of unwillingness on the part of others to allow him to marry a second time.

¹ Three clear periods of purity, or about 100 days. But if the wife is pregnant she may not re-marry till she has been delivered.

Moreover, if a man does not divorce his wife formally and with proper publicity he is liable to have the facts disputed and to expose himself to expensive litigation. In practice, therefore, an ill-assorted marriage is only dissolved after much family discussion and with the full knowledge of the *kadzi*, who listens to both parties and tells them what to do and how much they will have to pay or to receive.

In theory there are two kinds of divorce—the *talak* or divorce by the husband, and the *khula'* or divorce by the wife—but from a popular or practical point of view, there are six different kinds of divorce: (1) the provisional divorce, (2) the incomplete divorce, (3) the full divorce, (4) the absolutely irrevocable divorce, (5) the divorce by mutual consent and (6) the divorce by redemption or purchase. The provisional divorce comes about more or less in the following way: when the marriage ceremony is over the bridegroom is sometimes requested to pronounce a *talik* or formula of conditional separation, such as: "If I absent myself for six months without sending any letter or money to my wife she is divorced." In a country whence people are apt to emigrate in search of a living or to disappear on pilgrimages to Mecca, the position of a deserted wife would be intolerable but for some expedient like the *talik* which enables her to go before a *kadzi*, prove her case, and obtain from him an assurance that she is free to marry again. An incomplete divorce (the first or second *talak*, as it is called) arises as follows: if a man says to his wife, "I divorce you," and then repents of his action, he may "recall her" at any time up to the expiration of her *iddak*, but he can only exercise this right of recall twice; on the third *talak* the separation is permanent. The

complete divorce (the third *talak*) takes place when the period of recall has been allowed to lapse unutilised or when the privilege of recall is no longer allowed, or when three successive divorces are pronounced—*e.g.*, "I divorce you once, I divorce you twice, I divorce you thrice." In such cases the husband usually counts out to the wife three articles such as three pieces of paper or three bits of areca-nut so that there may be no misunderstanding about the number of divorces pronounced. After a complete separation of this sort the parties cannot come together again without a formal marriage ceremony. Muhammad, however, to check hasty and ill-considered separations, made it a law that the remarriage of fully divorced persons was not to be permitted unless the woman had in the interval been married (by a fully consummated marriage) to a third party. This intermediate marriage is, of course, a very serious check on hasty divorce. In the very rare event of a man fully divorcing and remarrying the same wife twice—making, with the original marriage three marriages and divorces in all—he is not permitted to remarry her any more: this is the absolutely irrevocable divorce. The divorce by mutual consent takes place when an arbitrator is called in by both parties to decide what is to be done: technically, this is an ordinary divorce by the husband (who is made to pronounce it), but it does not necessarily involve the financial consequences of the ordinary *talak*. The sixth kind of divorce or "divorce by purchase" is a separation at the instance of the wife. A tradition of the Prophet tells us that a certain woman went to Muhammad and made a complaint against her husband. Muhammad advised her to surrender her dowry so as to induce her husband

to divorce her. "I will give that and more," said the woman. "Nay, not more," was the reply. Moslem law sets its face against the husband using his position to extort an unfair amount of compensation from the wife, but it allows him to claim something more than the dowry that he himself has paid. Malay custom has it that the dowry shall be returned doubled. This form of divorce does not entail an intermediate marriage should the parties repent of their action and decide to marry again. It is, however, rare. A Malay woman cannot usually afford to pay a double dowry and she has other methods of exasperating her husband into divorcing her—one favourite method being to lock him up in his house and then (in the hearing of the neighbours) to scream out some interesting but abusive details about his most private affairs.

We have now dealt with the principal elements in the Moslem law of marriage and divorce. We can easily see that the strictly legal position of the wife is unsatisfactory owing to the preponderant consideration given to the authority of the husband. Muhammad found woman in a state of subjection; he could not release her altogether from the results of centuries of hardship, but he did much to improve her position. He insisted on her being treated with respect, he gave her certain absolute rights to dowry and maintenance, and he checked hasty and inconsiderate divorce. Modern Moslem law, however harsh in theory, can be readily adapted to meet a woman's interests. If a father wishes to secure his daughter against the risk of her husband marrying other wives, he can do so by stipulating for a heavy deferred dowry and for a conditional divorce to come into effect if a second wife is taken. The husband, in such a case, has

so much to lose that he dares not marry a second wife in the lifetime of the first. If a man wishes to protect his daughter against the evils of desertion, he can do so by the *talik* process which has been already explained. If a man who is married to four wives wishes to keep them and yet legitimize his son by another woman, he can do so by arranging for one of them to divorce him by the *khula'* process; he thus becomes free to marry and divorce the child's mother and then to remarry his original wife without the unpleasantness of seeing her wedded to someone else as required by the ordinary *talak* procedure. If a marriage is pronounced invalid through no fault of the wife, English law brands the children as illegitimate; Moslem law on this point is kindlier than ours. Much may be made of the fact that a Muhammadan, besides having four wives, can have as many slave mistresses as he pleases. Moslem law did not, however, create or insist upon slavery; it found the institution in existence and regulated the position of the slave. Apart from the slave question—now, happily, a thing of the past—Muhammadan law does not allow a man to have mistresses; it punishes the adulterer with death. The profligacy of wealthy or princely Malays is not to be attributed to their religion, but is largely ascribable to the fact that English law tolerates the laxer features of Islam without enforcing the stricter. Even, as matters stand, a special enactment¹ has been introduced of late years into the Malay States to enforce more rigid rules of morality among Moslems than among Christians. This step was taken at the request of the Malays themselves.

The law of marriage and divorce is the only branch of Muhammadan jurisprudence that is fully recognised

¹ "Muhammadan Laws Enactment."

in the Straits Settlements courts, but certain other branches are worthy of special notice. The first is the law of testamentary and intestate succession which is accepted by Moslems in the Federated Malay States and is often followed (though not the true law) in the Straits Settlements. On the question of testamentary succession the following tradition (recorded by one of the Prophet's contemporaries) is worth quoting in full :

In the year of the conquest of Mecca, on my being taken so extremely ill that my life was despaired of, the Prophet of God came to pay me a visit of consolation. I told him that, by the blessing of God, having a great estate but no heirs except one daughter, I wished to know if I might dispose of it all by will. He replied "No," and when I severally interrogated him if I might leave two thirds or one half he also replied in the negative, but when I asked if I might leave a third, he answered "Yes, you may leave a third, but a third to be disposed of by will is a great portion and it is better that you should leave your heirs rich than in a state of poverty which might oblige them to beg from others."

In accordance with the principle so laid down, a man may dispose of one third of his property by will, but he has no right to use his power in such a way as to defeat the aims of the law of intestate succession. In actual practice, when a Malay makes a will he does so in order to leave money to charity or to the mosque authorities as a sort of fine for having neglected his religious obligations during his lifetime; he does not make a will to favour one heir at the cost of another, nor has he the power to disinherit. If all the heirs are willing to agree to an unequal distribution of the property among themselves, they are at liberty to do so, but they are not compelled to recognise any special legacy made to one or more of them out of the available third of the estate. The object of this limitation of

testamentary power is to prevent favouritism and family disputes. The Colonial courts recognise wills that are in accordance with English law even though the wills may violate the doctrines of Islam; but no respectable Malay would use the privileges granted him by an "infidel" government to commit an offence against Islam. We thus really get a double system. The judge or district delegate gives powers under our law to an administrator or executor—and then this administrator or executor, with the full approval of the legatees or heirs, distributes the property on the lines of Moslem custom. One law is professed and another is followed. On the whole, not very much injustice is done; but it is perhaps, to be regretted that British courts should subsidize, so to speak, the violation of the commands of the Prophet. In the matter of law, as on the question of morality, the Anglicised or "enlightened" Malay of the Straits Settlements may often be the worst offender against his own national or religious codes.

The Muhammadan law of intestate succession differs materially from that of England. To begin with, there is no law of primogeniture in the disposal of real property. Next, there is the rule that a man's share is twice the share of a woman. Thirdly, we have the Moslem principle that the nearer heirs exclude the more remote—thus, children exclude grandchildren from inheriting, even though some of the latter may represent deceased sons or daughters of the legator. Finally, there is the point that people inherit *per capita* and not *per stirpes*: for instance, if a man leaves no surviving sons but five grandsons, all the grandsons inherit equal shares even though four are the sons of one father and the fifth an only son. If the rules as to

dowry are considered to be a set off against the reduced rights of inheritance allowed to women, the only point that seems thoroughly inequitable in the Moslem law of intestate succession is the exclusion of the children of a deceased son from participation in their grandfather's estate should their uncles be alive to inherit it. Yet, even here we must not be too hasty in condemning. Muhammad himself, a posthumous son born in the lifetime of his wealthy grandfather Abdu'l Muttalib, suffered from this very rule of law, but such was the bond of family feeling (which compelled uncles to look after their fatherless nephews) that the Prophet, on becoming all-powerful, did not alter the law though it had deprived him of a share in the ancestral estate. The whole aim of Moslem law is to maintain the moral bond connecting the members of a family, and we very rarely hear of any Malay who has wealthy relatives being thrown upon the charity of the community.

The Muhammadan law regulating religious endowments (*wakf*) deserves attention owing to the frauds than can arise out of the differences between it and English law. Unlike many religions Islam is very chary about accepting endowments. If a man build a mosque with the avowed intention of giving it to the public, the gift is not legal until a public religious service has been held in the completed building. If a man presents a fountain, the fountain must have been built and used before the man and his heirs lose their right to it. If the gift takes the form of an appropriation for mosque revenues, the property must be actually handed over to the local authorities before it ceases to belong to the donor. English law is different: it attaches great value to documentary transfers. It

therefore allows certain abuses to spring up. In some cases, trust-deeds are drawn up that reserve rights to a donor's family, the object of such deeds being practically to secure an entailed income for a man's descendants, thereby evading death-duties, defeating the law of intestate succession and keeping up a lasting position for a family. Another abuse rests upon the English rule that thirteen years' undisputed and absolute possession of landed property gives a title to it. A Muhammadan trustee may not sell or alienate mosque-property, but he is enabled by English law to convey it away by collusion. The Acheen Street Mosque in Penang has lost property of enormous value through adverse occupancy. A third abuse has now been put an end to by recent land laws. In former times, a man could convey land to a mosque by a trust-deed without registering the conveyance or actually handing over the property in the manner required by Moslem jurisprudence. Under its own religious law the mosque could not claim the property; under English law the man's creditors could not seize it. In this way a man might go on for years drawing revenue from lands and houses that ought either to have been devoted to religious objects or to paying his lawful debts. Finally, at the man's death, the mosque (under Moslem law) lost all claim to an endowment to which effect had never been given.

This last point invites attention to a very interesting difference between Malay and English legal notions—the importance attached by the former to oral and by the latter to documentary forms. The Malay desires proper publicity where the Englishman wants a durable record. If a Malay wished to convey a house to his son, he called in all the neighbours, told them all the

facts, and then installed his son as master of the house. His idea was that such proceedings and such publicity made future disputes impossible. He would have looked upon a deed or document as a very tricky business when compared with the honest method of taking the whole world into one's confidence. Although the old Malay practice is more suited to primitive societies than to the requirements of modern commerce, it rests upon foundations of sound common sense. In Penang, at least, a good deal of fraud was perpetuated by secret conveyancing before the present registration laws gave a certain publicity to land ownership. The reasons given for introducing partnership registration in Singapore also rest on the fact that secrecy helps fraud. When once the proper publicity has been secured, the Malay—like all Asiatics—prefers the evidence of things to the evidence of words. He likes to have something to show. If a man wishes to trump up a case against his enemy, he hides stolen goods or illicit chandu or coining implements in his enemy's house. He does not trouble himself so much about suborning false witnesses, he leaves that to the defence. As prosecutor, he is content with the "sign (*tandu*) or *corpus delicti*, and with the evidence of the police.

A legal detail of some importance is the question of the form of oath to be administered in courts of justice. Contrary to the generally received opinion in the Straits, the Malays (and many other Asiatics) have the greatest possible respect for the sanctity of an oath, provided that the oath is taken on something really binding. It is quite a common occurrence in the Straits courts for a case to be stopped in order that the parties may take an oath in a mosque or at a shrine (*kbramat*) or by cutting off a cock's head. Men who would dis-

believe a whole host of witnesses will abandon a prosecution at once if the defendant will swear in proper form that he is innocent. Purgation by oath is not simply a Malay custom; it is fully recognised by Mōslem jurists and goes far to disprove the reckless assertion that a native is ready to perjure himself at a moment's notice. Unfortunately, the formula prescribed in the Straits courts¹ is not a valid oath. The form at present in use runs: "I swear in the presence of God Most High that I will speak the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth." Muhammadan law insists—on the authority of the Prophet himself—that oath shall be either "by God," "by the name of God," or by God under some such designation as "the All-Merciful." "Whoever takes an oath otherwise," said the Prophet himself, "is verily a pagan." To swear "in the presence of God" is precisely one of those evasions that Muhammad so severely condemned. Nor does the formula even possess the merit of being a real affirmation; it omits the prescribed technical term. The fact is that the swearing of witnesses in our courts is looked upon by many respectable Malays as a profane farce; the famous writer Abdullah tells us in his autobiography that he refused a well-paid interpretership rather than administer the oath to witnesses.

Another very radical difference between Moslem and English ideas of jurisprudence lies in the relation between the executive and the judicial power. The English theory separates the two functions; the Muhammadan ideal unites them. The model judge, according to Malay ideas, is the man who will listen to a tale of wrong and then take steps to help the oppressed and to bring the oppressor to justice. The English

¹ The F. M. S. formula is different.

idea is to give a man a summons and then let him fight his own case as best he can, though he may have no legal knowledge and no notion of what can be admitted as evidence. In country districts a District Officer, knowing a good deal about the parties to a case, is inclined to be indulgent to a respectable but garrulous witness who will not keep to the point or observe the rules of evidence, but, in the towns, every native has to work up his case and arrange his testimony before he comes into court. If he can afford it, he engages counsel; if he cannot pay for a properly qualified advocate, he engages a native hedge lawyer who tells him what to say and how to say it. Of course, this system of working up cases rather puts a premium on perjury and on professional witnesses, and tends to turn a judicial proceeding into a mere contest of cunning. Secret societies, though they aid malefactors, are often only a sort of insurance against the risks of malicious prosecution. The Moslem theory of jurisprudence takes the view that a judicial proceeding is an investigation in which the judge is not an umpire but an active seeker after truth. It also draws a more marked distinction than we draw between issues of fact and issue of law. The *kadzi*, or judge, investigates a matter and decides as to the facts. If he is doubtful as to the law, he states a case for the consideration of the legal adviser or *mufiti*. In no case does Moslem jurisprudence allow a doubtful or novel point of law to be decided by a man whose sympathies may be affected by the facts that are in issue. The doctrine that "hard cases make bad law" is very practically applied. Another difference between English and Muhammadan law is that the latter is theoretically unchangeable. A ruler may supplement

but he cannot alter the law of the Prophet, however unjust the law may seem. It is a great tribute to the virtues of Moslem jurisprudence that ten centuries have not made it out of date. We, who suffer from the uncertainty of an ever-changing statute-book, will do well to compare the enduring character of the work of the ancient and primitive Arab jurists with the composition of the highly educated draftsmen of our own local laws.

Another striking feature of Moslem jurisprudence is the fact that a man learned in the law is forbidden to seek office as a judge and is even directed to refuse a judgeship should the post be offered him, provided, of course, that other satisfactory arrangements can be made for carrying on a necessary work. It was not for a mere whim that the great Arab jurist, Abu Hanifah, suffered scourging and imprisonment rather than become a *kadzi*. The Moslem ideal was that the study of the divine law should be absolutely free from the taint of self-seeking. In a sense this was only an ideal, for in the days of Malay rule and even in the days of the caliphs the official judges were usually subservient to the ruler and were occasionally ignorant persons who could neither read nor write. But a judge was not necessarily an official. Any man learned in the law could be called in as an arbitrator to settle a dispute or to investigate the details of a question of marriage, divorce, or intestate succession. If the official judges were not to be depended on, the people were permitted to refer their doubts and quarrels to the true jurists, the men who like Abu Hanifah sought neither office nor money. Such men have usually been forthcoming. The self-denying example of the great Arab jurists was not wasted; it turned the study of Muham-

madan law into something more than a mere profession for earning a livelihood. There is no more painful contrast in British Malaya than the difference between the native votary of English law—the lawyer *burok*, as he is contemptuously called—who seeks to earn a dishonest fortune by perjury and fraud, and the true student of the law of the Prophet who can hope for no wordly advantage, but who loves the law either for its own sake or for the sake of the Prophet who inspired it or for the sake of its high ideals of truth, or justice, and of unselfish service to one's fellow-men.

PAPERS ON MALAY SUBJECTS.

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

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

General Editor.

HISTORY.

PART I.

EVENTS PRIOR TO BRITISH
ASCENDANCY.

PART II.

NOTES ON PERAK HISTORY.

BY

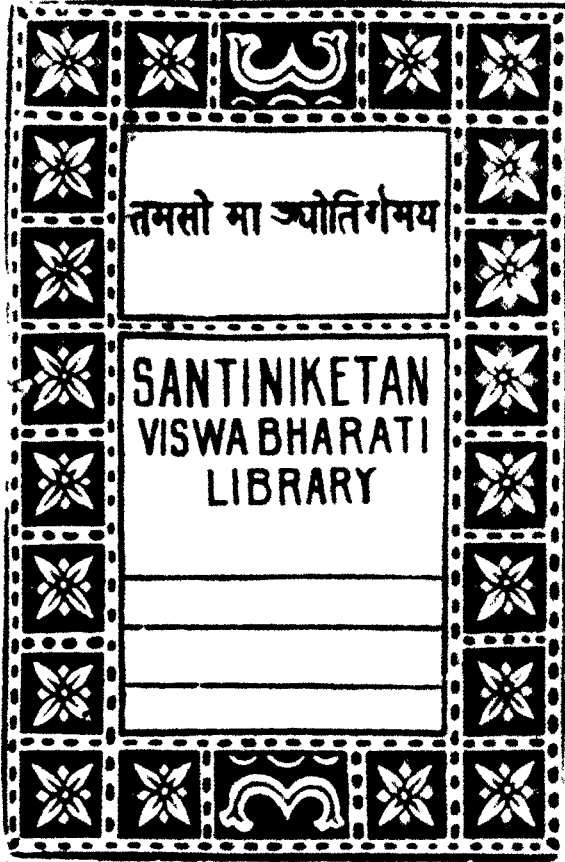
R. J. WILKINSON, *F.M.S. Civil Service.*

48517

KUALA LUMPUR:

PRINTED BY J. H. WALLACE AT THE F.M.S. GOVERNMENT PRESS.

1924.



तमसो मा ज्योतिर्गमय

SANTINIKETAN
VISWA BHARATI
LIBRARY

PREFACE.

As explained in the preface to the "Minutes of the Perak State Council, 1877-1879," it was my original intention to give in the first pamphlet of this "History" series some account of events in Malaya prior to British ascendancy, and in the second pamphlet to deal with the coming of the English to Perak. This intention has been abandoned. The story of British intervention in Perak has been the subject of bitter controversy. A narrative giving the whole truth might terminate the controversy, but it would arouse further bitterness; and, in any case, this little series of educational pamphlets is not the place for the publication of matter to which any exception might reasonably be taken.

Under the circumstances I am only publishing those portions of Part II which deal with the condition of Perak at the time of British intervention—the legendary history of the country, the government by chiefs, the position of the *Mantri* in Larut, and the Chinese disturbances that forced the hand of the Colonial Office. I have used these fragments of Part II as a sort of appendix to the first part—Early History—which is being published in full.

Part I was placed at the disposal of the Editors of "Twentieth Century Impressions of the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States." It is being published by them with the advantage of illustrations, but students may prefer to have it in a smaller, handier and cheaper form.

R. J. W.

HISTORY.

PART I.

EVENTS PRIOR TO BRITISH ASCENDANCY.

WILD ABORIGINAL TRIBES IN THE PENINSULA.

IT is a matter of common knowledge that the Malays were not the first inhabitants of the Peninsula. Although they intermarried with the aborigines, and although they show many traces of mixed blood, they failed to absorb completely the races that they supplanted. The new settlers kept to the rivers; the older races lived on the mountains or among the swamps. Some of the old tribes died out, some adopted the ways of the Malays, but others retained their own language and their primitive culture, and are still to be found in many parts of British Malaya.

The Negrito aborigines, collectively known as Semang, are usually believed to have been the first race to occupy the Peninsula. As they are closely akin to the Aetas of the Philippines and the Mincopies of the Andamans they must at one time have covered large tracts of country from which they have since completely disappeared, but at the present day they are mere survivals and play no part whatever in civilized life. Slowly but surely they are dying out. Even within the last century they occupied the swampy coast-districts from Trang in the north to the borders of Larut in the south, but at the census of 1891 only one Negrito—who, as the enumerator said, "twittered like a bird,"—was recorded from Province Wellesley, and in 1901 not one single survivor was found. Although present-day students, who naturally prefer the evidence of their own eyes to the records of past observers, are inclined to regard the Semang as a mountain-people it is quite possible that their more natural haunt was the swamp-country from which they have been expelled. Whether this be so or not, the Negritos of British Malaya are usually divided up by the Malays into three: the Semang Paya or swamp-Semang (now almost extinct); the Semang Bukit or mountain-Semang who inhabit the mountains of Upper Perak, and the Pangan who are occasionally found in some of the hills between Pahang and Kelantan.

The culture of some of these Negrito tribes is very primitive. The wilder Semang are extremely nomadic; they are not acquainted with any form of agriculture; they use bows and arrows; they live in mere leaf-shelters with floors that are not raised above the ground; their quivers and other bamboo utensils are very roughly made and adorned. Such statements would not, however, be true of the whole Semang race: a few tribes have learnt to plant; others to use the blowpipe; others have quivers of very beautiful workmanship; some go so far (if Mr. Skeat is to be relied upon) as to include the "theft of a blunderbuss" in their little catalogues of crime—but, unless we are prepared to believe that they invented such things as blunderbusses, we are forced to the conclusion that they must have borrowed some of their neighbours' culture.

A few Semang are still to be found in the mountains between Selama and the Perak valleys; others doubtless exist in the little-known country that lies between Temengor and the river Plus; but south of the Plus we come to a fairer race, the northern division of the numerous tribes that are often grouped together as "Sakai."

If identity of language is any criterion of common origin the northern Sakai racial division includes the tribes known as the "Sakai of Korbu," the "Sakai of the Plus," the "Sakai of Tanjong Rambutan" and the "Tembe" who inhabit the Pahang side of the great Kinta mountains. As these northern Sakai are rather darker than the Sakai of Batang Padang and not quite as dark as the Semang, they have sometimes been classed as a mere mixed race, a cross between their northern and southern neighbours. This is not necessarily the case. Their rather serious appearance, for one thing, does not suggest an admixture of the infantile physiognomy of the Semang and the gay boyish looks of the Sakai of Slim and Bidor. Moreover, their industrial art (to judge by blowpipes and quivers) is higher than that of their neighbours either to the north or to the south. They practise agriculture and live in small houses raised above the ground—the commonest type of house throughout Indo-China.

The expression "Central Sakai" has been used to cover a group of tribes who live in the Batang Padang mountains and speak what is practically a common language, though there are a few dialectic differences in the different parts of this district. Mr. Hugh Clifford was the first to point out the curiously abrupt linguistic and racial frontier between the "Tembe" to the north and the "Senoi" (his name for the Central Sakai) to the south. But all the secrets of this racial frontier have not yet been revealed. Although the Sakai who live in the valleys above Gopeng speak a language that very closely resembles the language of the Sakai of Bidor, Sungkai and Slim, they seem still closer

akin—racially—to their neighbours in the north. Moreover, if we look up from Gopeng to the far mountains lying just to the north of Gunong Berembun we can see clearings made by another tribe—the *Mai Luk*, or men of the mountains—of whom the Central Sakai stand in deadly fear. These mysterious *Mai Luk* have long communal houses like the Borneo Dyaks, they plant vegetables, they paint their foreheads, they are credited with great ferocity, and they speak a language of which the only thing known is that it is not Central Sakai.

As we proceed further south the racial type slowly alters until—in the mountains behind Tapah, Bidor, Sungkai and Slim—we come to a distinct and unmistakable race that is comparatively well known to European students.¹ These *Mai Darat*, or hill men, are slightly lower in culture than the northern Sakai; they live in shelters rather than huts; their quivers and blowpipes are very much more simply made than those of their northern and southern neighbours. Linguistically we are still in the "Central Sakai" region.

Near Tanjong Malim on the boundary between Perak and Selangor the type suddenly changes. We come upon fresh tribes differing in appearance from the Central Sakai, living (in some cases) in lofty tree huts, and speaking varieties of the great "Besisi" group of Sakai dialects. The men who speak these Besisi dialects seem to be a very mixed race. Some dwelling in the Selangor mountains are singularly well-built men. Others, who live in the swamps and in the coast districts, are a more miserable people of slighter build, and with a certain suggestion of Negrito admixture. Their culture is comparatively high. They have a more elaborate social system, with triple headmen instead of a solitary village elder to rule the small community. This form of tribal organisation—under a *batin*, *jénang* and *jékra* (or *juru kékrah*)—is common to a very large number of tribes in the south of the Peninsula and is also found among the *Orang Laut*, or sea-gypsies. The Besisi tribes cultivate the soil, build fair houses, have some artistic sense, are fond of music, possess a few primitive songs, and know something of the art of navigation. They are found all over Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Malacca.

In the mountains of Jelebu, near the head waters of the Kongkoi and Kenaboi rivers, are found the Kenaboi, a shy and mysterious people, who speak a language totally unlike either Central Sakai, Besisi or Malay. So little is known about the Kenaboi that it would be dangerous to commit oneself to any conjecture regarding their position in the ethnography of the Peninsula, but it is at least probable that they represent a distinct and very interesting racial element.

¹ This is the type illustrated in Mr. Corrucci's photographs.

In the flat country on the border between Negri Sembilan and Pahang, we meet the Seriting Sakai, an important and rather large tribe that seems at one time to have been in contact with some early Mon-Annam civilisation. Moreover, it is said that there are traces of ancient canal cuttings in the country that this tribe occupies.

By the upper waters of the Rompin river there live many Sakai of whom very little is known. They may possibly be either "Besisi," "Seriting Sakai," "Jakun" or "Sakai of Kuantan."

The term "Jakun" is applied to a large number of remnants of old Malacca and Johor tribes that have now been so much affected by Malay civilisation as to make it impossible to hope ever to clear up the mystery of their origin. A few brief Jakun vocabularies have been collected in the past; a few customs noted. It is perhaps too much to expect that anything more will be done.

The aborigines who inhabit the country near Kuantan (and perhaps near Pekan and even further south) speak a language of their own, of which no vocabulary has ever been collected, and use curious wooden blowpipes of a very unusual type. They may be a distinct race, for they seem to have a primitive culture that is quite peculiar to themselves.

In the mountainous region lying between this Kuantan district and the Tembeling river there is found another tribe of Sakai who wear strange rattan girdles like the Borneo Dyaks, and speak a language of which one observer, though acquainted with Malay, Central Sakai and Northern Sakai, could make nothing. In the mountain-mass known as Gunong Benom (in Pahang) there are found other tribes of Sakai speaking a language that has some kinship with Besisi and Seriting Sakai. Very little else is known about them.

We possess fairly good specimen vocabularies of the languages of all the better-known Sakai and Semang tribes. With the single exception of Kenaboi they possess a very marked common element, and may be classed as divisions of the same language although the peoples that speak them show such differences of race and culture. This language is complicated and inflected, and has an elaborate grammar, but so little is known of the details of its structure that we dare not generalise or point to any one dialect as being probably the purest form of Sakai. It is impossible also to say which race first brought this form of speech to the Peninsula. It would, however, be rash to assume that Sakai and Kenaboi are the only two distinctive types of language used by these wild tribes. Nothing sufficient is yet known of the speech of the *Mat Lank*, of the dialects of Kuantan, and of the old Jakun languages. Far too much has been inferred from the customs of what one may term the

“stook” tribes of Sakai, the tribes that are readily accessible and therefore easy to study. These Sakai have been visited again and again by casual observers, to the neglect of the remoter and lesser-known tribes who may prove to be far more interesting in the end. When we consider the physical differences between tribe and tribe, the differences of language, the differences of culture evinced in types of dwellings, in tribal organisation, in weapons, and in mode of life, we may perhaps be excused for thinking that the racial elements in the Peninsula will prove to be more numerous and important than scientists are apt to believe.

Meanwhile the Peninsula presents us with a curious historical museum showing every grade of primitive culture. It gives us the humble Negrito, who has not learnt to till the ground but wanders over the country and lives from hand to mouth on the products of the jungle. It gives us the same Negrito after he has learnt the rudiments of art and agriculture from his Sakai neighbours. It gives us the Sakai who grows certain simple fruits and vegetables and is nomadic in a far slighter degree than the primitive Semang, for a man who plants is a man who lives some time in one place and therefore may find it worth his while to build a more substantial dwelling than a mere shelter for a night. Here, however, primitive culture stops. Even the man who has learnt to plant a crop in a clearing must abandon his home when the soil begins to be exhausted. The boundary between primitive culture and civilisation cannot be said to be reached until habitations become really permanent and until a comparatively small area can support a large population. That boundary is crossed when a people learn to renew the fertility of land by irrigation, by manuring, or by a proper system of rotation of crops. The Malays with their system of rice-planting—the irrigated rice, not hill rice,—have crossed that boundary. But no Sakai tribe outside the Negri Sembilan has ever done so.

EARLY CIVILISATION.

Although the British possessions in Malaya are not absolutely destitute of archaeological remains they are singularly poor in relics of antiquity when contrasted with Java and Cambodia, or even with the northern part of the Peninsula itself.

Ancient inscriptions have been found in Kedah, in the northern district of Province Wellesley, in the central district of Province Wellesley, and in the island of Singapore. That in Kedah has been completely deciphered; it is a Buddhist formula

such as might have been written up in the cell or cave of an ascetic. That in the north of Province Wellesley was carved on a pillar that seemed to form part of a little temple; it has not been completely deciphered, but from the form of the written character it is believed to date back to the year 400 A.D.; and to be the oldest inscription in this part of the world—unless, indeed, the Kedah writing is slightly more ancient. The rock carvings at Cheroh Tokun near Bukit Mertajam belong to various ages and are too worn away to be read in connected sentences; the oldest seems to go back to the fifth century and another to the sixth century A.D. As the monument in Singapore was blown up by the Public Works Department in order to make room for some town improvements it is no longer available for study, but from a rough copy made before its destruction it appears to have been in the ancient Kawi character of Java or Sumatra. It probably dates back to the thirteenth or fourteenth century A.D. Another inscription, presumably of the same class, is to be seen at Pulau Karimun, near Singapore.

Near Pangkalan Kempas, on the Linggi river, there are a number of broken monuments which, though they seem to be of comparatively recent date, are of considerable interest. On a curious four-sided pillar there are four inscriptions, two in clear-cut Arabic and two in the fainter lettering of an unknown script. Below these inscriptions there is a circular hole cut right through the pillar, and just large enough to permit of the passage of a man's arm—it is indeed believed that this pillar (which has been much used for oaths and ordeals) will tighten round the arm of any man who is rash enough to swear falsely when in the power. Near this pillar is another cut stone on which the lettering of some old non-Arabic inscription can be dimly seen. As there are many other fragments of carved stone that go to make up the *kēramat* or holy place of which the inscriptions form part, the Malays have invented a legend that these monuments represent the petrified property of an ancient saint—his spoon, his sword and his buckler. Muhammadan zeal seems also to have carved the holy name of Allah on the sword of the saint, and to have converted the first line of the inscriptions into the well-known formula, "In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate." Fragments of other monuments may be seen lying low in the swamp near which this Linggi *kēramat* is built up.

Besides these inscriptions traces of ancient non-Malayan civilisations have been found (1) in some curious old bronzes, resembling bells, that have been dug up at Klang in Selangor; (2) in a little bronze image of a walking Buddha that was discovered in a Tanjong Rambutan mine at a depth of some sixty feet below the surface. (3) in an old Bernam tomb beautifully constructed of thin slabs of stone and containing some broken

pottery and three cornelian beads, and (4) in pottery and iron tools that are continually being met with in old mining workings. More impressive, however, than any of these small relics are the galleries, stopes and shafts of the old mines at Selinsing in Pahang—the work of a race that must have possessed no small degree of mechanical skill. Who were the men who left these remains? If it be true (as the condition of the Selinsing workings seems to suggest) that the mines were suddenly abandoned in the very midst of the work that was being done, such a fact would lend further support to the natural conjecture that the miners were foreign adventurers who exploited the wealth of the Peninsula and did not make the country their permanent home. The Malays say that these alien miners were “men of Siam.” Is this true? Students are apt to forget that “men of Siam,” seven or eight centuries ago, would refer to the great and highly civilised Cambodian race who occupied the valley of the Menam before the coming of the “Thai” from whom the present Siamese are descended. It is therefore probable enough that the Malays are right, and that the mining shafts of Selinsing are due to the people who built the magnificent temples of Angkor. Further evidence, if such evidence is needed, may be found in the fact that the Sakai of certain parts of Pahang use numerals that are neither Siamese nor Malay nor true Sakai, but Mon-Khmer.

The general conclusion to be drawn from the traces of ancient culture in the Peninsula is that the southern portions of the country were often visited but never really occupied by any civilised race until the Malays came in A.D. 1400. Such a conclusion would not, however, be true of the Northern States, of Kedah, Kelantan, Trang and Singgora. There we find undoubted evidence of the existence of powerful Buddhist States like that of Langkasuka, the kingdom of *alang-kah suka* or of the Golden Age of Kedah, still remembered as a fairyland of Malay romance. This Langkasuka was a very ancient State indeed. It is mentioned in Chinese records as Langgasu as far back as A.D. 500, and was then reputed to be four centuries old; it appears (in Javanese literature) as one of the kingdoms overcome by Majapahit in A.D. 1377; its name probably survives to this day in the “Langkawi” islands off the Kedah coast. But the ancient States of Northern Malaya lie outside the scope of this pamphlet; they are interesting to us because they probably sent small mining colonies to the south and thus claimed some sort of dominion over the rest of the Peninsula. The great Siamese invasion changed all that. By crushing the northern States during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries A.D. it ruined their little southern colonies and left the territories of Perak, Johor, Malacca and Pahang a mere no-man’s-land that the Malays from Sumatra could occupy without resistance.

THE COMING OF THE MALAYS.

According to a tradition that is accepted in almost every portion of Malaya the founder of the most famous native dynasties was a prince named Sang Sapurba, son of Raja Suran, the "Ruler of the East and of the West," by his marriage with a mermaid, the daughter of the Kings of the Sea. This prince first revealed himself upon the hill of Siguntang, near Mount Mahameru, in the hinterland of Palembang. Two young girls who dwelt upon the hill are said to have seen a great light shining through the darkness of night. On ascending the hill in the morning they found that their rice-crops had been transformed—the grain into gold, the leaves into silver, the stalks into golden brass. Proceeding further they came across three young men, the eldest of whom was mounted on a silver-white bull and was dressed as a king, while the two younger, his brothers, bore the State sword and spear that indicated sovereign power. "Who then are you—spirits or fairies?" said the astonished girls. "Neither spirits nor fairies, but men," said one of the brothers; "we are princes of the race of the Great Alexander, we have his seal, his sword and his spear; we seek his inheritance on earth." "And what proof have you of this?" said the girls. "Let the eldest prince; "but what of that?" is it for naught that my coming has been marked by this crop of golden grain?" Then out of the mouth of the bull there issued a sweet-voiced herald who at once proclaimed the prince to be a king bearing the title of Sang Sapurba Trimurti Tribuana. The newly installed sovereign afterwards descended from the hill of Siguntang into the great plain watered by the Palembang river, where he married the daughter of the local Chief, Demang Lebar Daun, and was everywhere accepted as ruler of the country. At a later date he is said to have crossed the great central range of Sumatra into the mountains of Menangkabau, where he slew the great dragon Si-Katimuna and was made the king of a grateful people and the founder of the long line of princes of Menangkabau, the noblest dynasty of Malaya. Meanwhile, however, his relatives in Palembang had crossed the sea, first to the island of Bintang, and afterwards from Bintang to the island of Tamasak, on which they founded the city of Singapore. "And the city of Singapore became mighty, and its fame filled all the earth." Such, at least, is the story that is told us in the "Malay Annals."

It is very easy to criticize this story, to point out that the tale of the Macedonian origin of Malay kings is too absurd for acceptance, and that the miraculous incidents do not commend themselves to the sceptical historians of the present day. It is also possible to show that there are two entirely different versions of the story in the very manuscripts of the "Malay Annals," and

that both these versions differ from a third version given by the annalist himself to his contemporary, the author of the Malay book known as the "Bustanu's-Salatin." But no one need treat this legend of Sang Sapurba as actual history. The ancient kingdoms of Singapore and Palembang are no myth; the latter, at least, must have played a great part in history. Nor is the legend in any way an invention of the author of the "Malay Annals"; it occurs in still earlier books and is folk-lore throughout Perak at the present day. The Sultan of Perak claims direct descent from Sang Sapurba; one of his chiefs, the Dato' Sri Nara Diraja, is the lineal representative of the herald who came out of the mouth of the bull. As late as February, 1907, the Raja Bendahara was installed (in the High Commissioner's presence) by the Dato' Sri Nara Diraja reciting over him the mystic words—in a forgotten tongue—that the latter chief's ancestor is said to have used at the proclamation of Sang Sapurba himself. The origin of these ancient legends and old-world ceremonies is lost in the dimness of past centuries, but it may, to some extent, be explained by the light that Chinese records throw upon Malay history.

We know with absolute certainty from the accounts of Chinese trade with Sumatra that the kingdom of Palembang was a powerful State, certainly as far back as the year 900 A.D., perhaps even as far back as the year 450 A.D. We even possess the names (often mutilated beyond recognition by Chinese transcribers) of a large number of the old kings of Palembang. We can see that these ancient rulers bore high-sounding Sanskrit titles, almost invariably beginning with the royal honorific *sri* that is still used by great Malay dignitaries. But while the Malay annalist allows a single generation to cover the whole period from the founding of the State of Palembang by Sang Sapurba down to the establishment of the city of Singapore, we are in a position to see that the period in question must have covered many centuries, and that even a millennium may have elapsed between the days of the founder of Palembang and those of the coloniser of Tanasak or Singapore. Although Sang Sapurba may be nothing more than a name the ancient legend is historical in so far that there must have been a time when an Indian or Javanese dynasty with a very high conception of kingly power supplanted the unambitious Palembang headmen who bore homely titles like *Démang Lebar Daun* and claimed no social superiority over their fellow-villagers. The story given us in the "Malay Annals" is only an idealised version of what must have really occurred. The most mysterious feature in the legend is the reference to Mount Siguntang. Although this famous hill (which is believed by all Malays to be the cradle of their race) is located with curious definiteness on the slopes of the great volcano, Mount Dempo, in the hinterland of Palembang,

there is no local tradition to guide us to the exact spot or to suggest to us why that locality, above all others, should be singled out for special honour. The culture of the Malay States that accepted the Hinduised Palembang tradition differs completely from that of the primitive Sumatran communities who have not been affected by foreign influence. Such differences could not have been brought about in any brief period of time. The history of the State of Palembang must go back extremely far into the past; and if only we could unearth some real records they might explain why the proud rulers of the country thought it an honour to claim descent from some still more ancient dynasty associated with the name of a hill-district from which all traces of imperial power have long since passed away.

PALEMBANG, A. D. 450—A. D. 1375.

In the reign of the Chinese Emperor Hsiao Wu (A. D. 454-464), a kingdom of "Kandali" sent articles of gold and silver to China. In A. D. 502 a king of this same Kandali sent an envoy to China with other valuable gifts. In A. D. 519 and again in A. D. 520 similar missions were sent. After this date "Kandali" disappears from history.

Although Chinese records positively identify this country with San-bo-tsai or Palembang, all that contemporary Chinese notices tell us about Kandali is that it was a Buddhist kingdom on an island in the Southern Sea, that its customs were those of Cambodia and Siam, that it produced flowered cloth, cotton and excellent arca-nuts, and that its kings sent letters to the Chinese Emperor congratulating him on his fervent faith in Buddha. Still, as one of these kings is reported to have compared the Chinese Emperor to a mountain covered with snow, we may take it that the accuracy of even this meagre account of Kandali is not above suspicion. We can perhaps see traces of Javanese influence in the reference to "flowered cloth," as the expression suggests the painted floral designs of Java rather than the woven plaid-patterns of the Malays.

In A. D. 905 Palembang reappears in Chinese records under the name of San-bo-tsai. In that year the ruler of San-bo-tsai "sent tribute" to China, and received from the Emperor the proud title of "the General who pacifies distant Countries." In A. D. 960 "tribute" was again sent—twice. In A. D. 962 the same thing occurred. From A. D. 962 onwards we have a continuous record of similar tribute-bearing missions until the year 1178 when the Chinese Emperor found that this "tribute" was too expensive a luxury to be kept up, so he "issued an edict that they should not come to court any more but make an establishment in the Fukien province." After this date the Palembang

merchants ceased to be tribute-bearers and became ordinary traders—a change which caused them to disappear temporarily from official records. "Tribute" was, of course, merely a gift made to the Emperor in order to secure his permission to trade; it flattered his pride and was invariably returned to the giver in the form of titles and presents of very high value. So much was this the case that Chinese statesmen, when economically inclined, were in the habit of protesting against the extravagance of accepting tribute. None the less the Emperor encouraged these men of Palembang, for in A.D. 1156 he declared that "when distant people feel themselves attracted by our civilising influence their discernment must be praised." One Malay envoy received the title of "the General who is attracted by Virtue," a second was called "the General who cherishes Civilising Influence," a third was named "the General who supports Obedience and cherishes Renovation." The manners of the men of San-bo-tsai must have been as ingratiating as those of their successors, the Malays of the present day.

The kings of San-bo-tsai are said to have used the Sanskrit character in their writings, and to have sealed documents with their signets instead of signing them with their names. One king is mentioned (A.D. 1017) as having sent among his presents "Sanskrit books folded between boards." Their capital was a fortified city with a wall of piled bricks several miles in circumference, but the people are said to have lived in scattered villages outside the town and to have been exempt from direct taxation. In case of war "they at once select a chief to lead them, every man providing his own arms and provisions." From these Chinese records we also learn that in A.D. 1008 the Emperor sent a gift of bells to a Buddhist temple in San-bo-tsai. As regards trade, the country is recorded as producing rattans, lignum-aeoes, areca-nuts, coconuts, rice, poultry, ivory, rhinoceros-horns, camphor and cotton-cloth. In the matter of luxuries we are told that the people made intoxicating drinks out of coconut, areca-nut, and honey, that they used musical instruments (a small guitar and small drums), and that they possessed imported slaves who made music for them by stamping on the ground and singing. In A.D. 992 we hear of a war between the Javanese and the people of Palembang.

It seems therefore quite certain that Palembang—between the years 900 and 1800 A.D.—was a country of considerable civilisation and importance, owing its culture to Indian sources, and perhaps possessing very close affinities to the powerful States of Java. What then were the events that brought about the downfall of this great Malayan kingdom?

The close of the thirteenth century in China saw the Mongol invasion that ended in making Kublai Khan the undisputed overlord of the whole country. That restless conqueror was not,

however, satisfied with his continental dominions; he fitted out great fleets to extend his power over the Japanese islands in the north and over the island of Java in the south. He began a period of war during which we hear nothing of the trade with the States in the Southern Seas, but the advent of the Ming dynasty (A.D. 1368) commenced a new era of peace and commerce in which we again find mention of the State of Palembang. Great changes had taken place since the last reference to the country in A.D. 1178. San-bo-tsai had been split up into three States. We hear (A.D. 1373) of a King Tan-ma-sa-na-ho—probably the King of Tamasak or Singapore. We hear also (A.D. 1374) of a King Ma-na-ha-pau-lin-pang—probably the King of Palembang. The King Tan-ma-sa-na-ho died in A.D. 1376, and his successor, Ma-la-cha-wu-li, ordered the usual envoys to go to China, and was sent in return a seal and commission as King of San-bo-tsai. The Chinese annalist goes on to say:

“At that time, however, San bo tsai had already been conquered by Java, and the king of this country hearing that the Emperor had appointed a king over San-bo-tsai became very angry and sent men who waylaid and killed the imperial envoys. The Emperor did not think it right to punish him on this account. After this occurrence San bo tsai became gradually poorer and no tribute was brought from this country any more.”

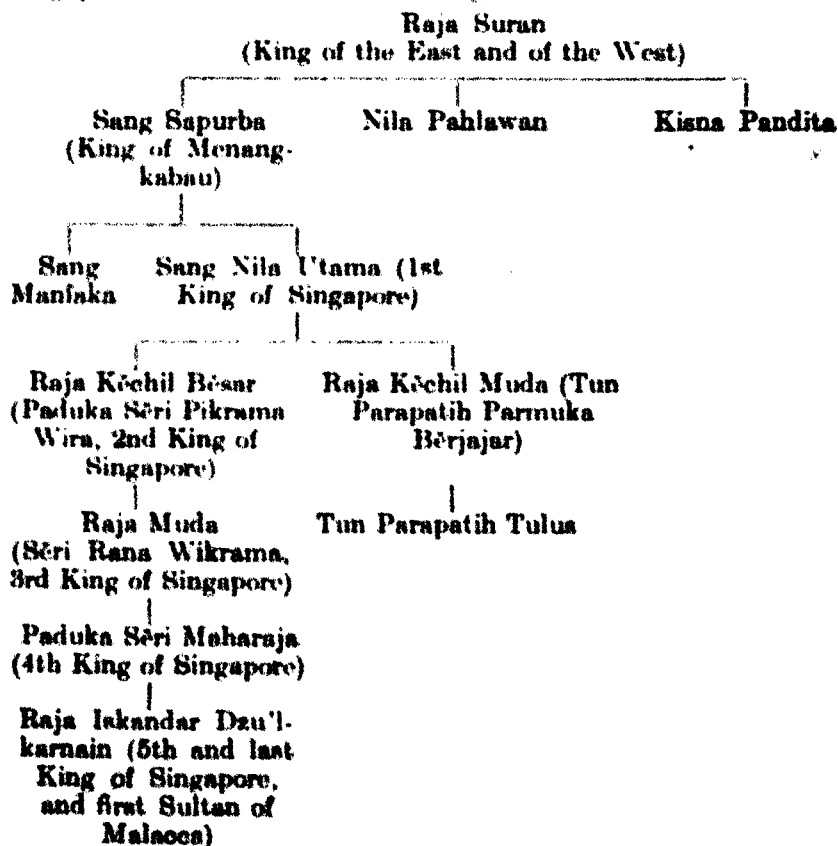
Chinese, Malay and Javanese historical records all agree in referring to a great war of conquest carried on by the Javanese Empire of Majapahit and ending in the destruction of Singapore and Palembang as well as in the temporary subjugation of many other Malay States, such as Pasai, Samudra and even Kedah, Kelantan, Trengganu and Pahang. The Chinese records enable us to definitely fix the date—A.D. 1377. It is a great landmark in Malay history, for the fugitives driven by the Javanese from Palembang and Singapore settled down in the Peninsula and founded the famous city of Malacca.

SINGAPORE: A.D. 1360 (?) TO A.D. 1377.

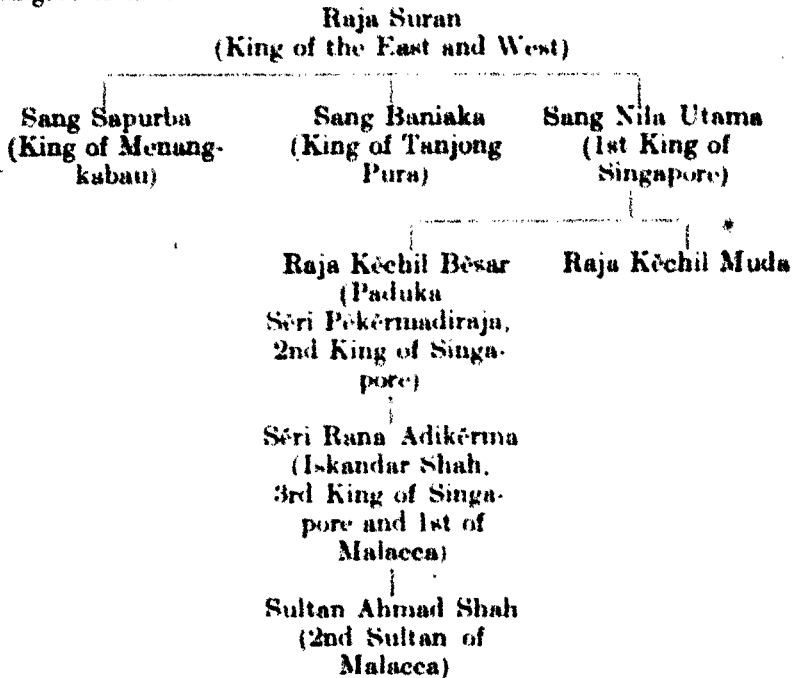
Writing in A.D. 1819 from his newly-founded settlement of Singapore, Sir Stamford Raffles spoke of it as having been the seat of ancient empire, and said that the very lines of the old fortifications could be traced. Sir Stamford referred, of course, to the legends of the “Malay Annals,” according to which “the city of Singapore became mighty and its fame filled all the earth.”

The name of *Singapura* was only an honorific title given to an island that was known, and continued to be known, as Tamasak. Of the existence of this old Malay State of Singapore or Tamasak there can be no doubt whatever, as Chinese, Siamese, Malay and Javanese records agree upon the point. Of the fact that Singapore was a colony from Palembang there can also be no

doubt, since both the Chinese and the Malay records bear out this version of the origin of the city. An inscription in the Kawi character was found by Raffles at Singapore, but it was blown up at a later date by a discreditable act of vandalism, and from the fragments left it is impossible to say definitely whether it was carved by the Palembang colonists or by the Javanese conquerors who destroyed the city in A.D. 1377. The "Malay Annals" tell us a good deal about the place, but give us nothing that is really reliable. They say that Sang Nila Utama, the founder of the State, was driven to the island by a storm of wind in the course of which he lost his royal crown—a story suggesting that the founder was not a reigning prince when he came to settle in the island, and that his followers had to invent a story to explain away his lack of the usual insignia of royalty. He was, however, probably of royal blood, since the Chinese envoys were afterwards willing to recognise his descendants as rulers of Palembang. The Annals also tell us that five kings reigned in Singapore, as shown in the following table :



If this pedigree is to be accepted, the old State of Singapore must have lasted for several generations, but the annalist who drew it up gave another pedigree to his friend, Nuru'ddin Raniri al-Hasanji, the author of the "Bustanu's-Salatin." The other pedigree is as follows :



This second pedigree gives a much shorter life to the old State of Singapore and (since it came from the same source as the first pedigree) shows that neither account can be considered at all reliable. It also suggests its own inaccuracy, since "Iskandar Shah" is not a name that any non-Muhammadian prince of Singapore would have borne at that period. The probability is that the ancient kingdom of Tamasak was a mere offshoot of the State of Palembang, that it did not last for any length of time, and that it came to a sudden and terrible end in the year of the great Javanese invasion, A.D. 1377.

The account of Singapore in the "Malay Annals" is entirely mythical—from the opening tale about the lion that Sang Nila Utama discovered on the island, down to the concluding stories about the attack made by the sword-fish upon the city, and about the fate of Sang Banjuna Tapa, the traitor who betrayed the city to the Javanese and was turned into stone as a punishment for his sin. Yet in all this mythical account there is a suggestion of infinite tragedy. The story of the sword-fish ends with the ominous words that the blood of the boy—who saved the city

and was put to death lest his cleverness should prove a public danger—rested upon the island as a curse to be wiped out in days to come. The story of Tun Jana Khatib is the tale of another awful deed of wrong. The last tale in the narrative is that of the injury which maddened Sang Ranjuna Tapa into treason—the cruel fate of his daughter who was publicly impaled on a mere suspicion of infidelity to her lover the king. More than once does the annalist seem to suggest the Nemesis that waits upon deeds of oppression. In the end the Javanese came; the city was betrayed; “blood flowed like water in full inundation, and the plain of Singapore is red as with blood, to this day.” A curse rested on the place. In A.D. 1819, more than four centuries later, Colonel Farquhar found that not one of the people of the Settlement dared ascend Fort Canning Hill, the “forbidden hill,” that was haunted by the ghosts of long forgotten kings and queens. The alien Chinese who now inhabit the town believe to this day that—for some reason unknown to them—a curse laid on the island in times long past makes it impossible to grow rice on it; rice being the staple food of the Malays. All these legends seem to suggest that the fate of the ancient city must have been one of appalling horror. Many Malay towns have at different times been captured, many were doubtless captured by the Javanese in that very war of A.D. 1877, but in no other case has the fall of a city left such awful memories as to cause men, four centuries later, to refuse even to face the angry spectres that were believed to haunt so cruelly stricken a site.

MALACCA, A.D. 1400—A.D. 1511.

The fall of Singapore led to the rise of Malacca. A number of fugitives, headed (if the Annals are to be believed) by their king himself, established themselves at the mouth of the Malacca river and founded a city that was destined to play a much greater part in history than the old unhappy Settlement of Singapore from which they came. The Annals, however, are not a safe guide. Although it is indeed probable that a party of refugees did do something to found the town of Malacca, it is extremely doubtful whether they were headed by the fabulous “Iskandar Shah.” Be the facts as they may, the new town did not delay its rise very long. In A.D. 1403, as Chinese records tell us, the ruler or *paramisura* of Malacca sent envoys to China; in A.D. 1405 he was recognised as king and received a seal, a suit of silk clothes and a yellow umbrella from the Emperor; in A.D. 1411 he travelled himself to China and was most hospitably entertained. In the year 1414 the son of this *paramisura* came

to China to report his father's death and to apply for recognition as his father's successor. The son's name is given in Chinese records as Mu-kan-sa-u-tir-aha. He died about the year 1424, and was succeeded by his son, who is described in Chinese as Sri Mahala.

At this point it is advisable to say something about Malay chronology. The dates given in Sir Frank Swettenham's "British Malaya," in the Colonial Office List, in Valentijn's "History of Malacca," and in many other works, are all deduced from the "Malay Annals" by the simple process of adding together the reputed lengths of the reigns of the various kings. Such a system is usually unreliable. In the case of the "Malay Annals" the unreliability of the method can be proved by taking the history of ministers who served under several kings, and who must have attained to impossible ages if the reign-lengths are really accurate. The point was brought out clearly for the first time by Mr. C. O. Blagden in a paper read before an Oriental Congress in Paris. Mr. Blagden began by showing that the Malay dates were inaccurate, and then went on to prove that the Chinese records, though meagre and unreliable in many details, gave us a real key to the chronology of the period. From these records it is quite clear that Singapore fell in A. D. 1377, and not in A. D. 1252 as the "Malay Annals" would suggest. From the same source it may be shown that the various Kings of Malacca reigned between the year 1400 and the year 1511. But we are not in a position to prove conclusively who all these kings were. The royal names, as given to us by different authorities, are here shown in parallel columns:

| CHINESE RECORDS. | ALBUQUERQUE'S LIST. | "MALAY ANNALS." |
|---|---------------------|--------------------|
| Palisora (1403-1414) | Parmisura | Iskandar Shah |
| Mukansautiraha (1414-1424) | Xaquendarsa | Raja Besar Muda |
| Seri Mahala (1424) | | Raja Tengah |
| Seri Mahala (1433) | | Muhammad Shah |
| Seri Pamisiwartupasha (1445) | | Abu Shahid |
| Sultan Watafunasha (1456) | Modafaxa | Mudzafar Shah |
| Sultan Waugaasha (1459) | Marsusa | Mansur Shah |
| Mahamusa (undated) | Alnodin | Alaedin Piyat Shah |
| Sultan Mamat (who fled from the Franks) | Mahamat | Mahmud Shah |

The great names of Malacca history are common to all three lists, but the minor names differ considerably. Those in the "Malay Annals" would naturally have been considered the most reliable, were it not that Muhammadan names like Iskandar Shah occurring before the Mussulman period show the certainty of serious error. If also we take Iskandar Shah to be identical with Xaquendarsa and to have come to the throne in A. D. 1414, it will be fairly obvious that the Malay version allows too many generations between him and Mudzafar Shah, who seems to have been reigning in A. D. 1445.

It is quite impossible to reconcile the lists, but the truth may be inferred from what we know for certain. A Chinese work, the "Ying Yai Sheng Lan," dated A.D. 1416, speaks of the Malacca Malays as devoted Muhammadans, so that it would seem that the conversion to Islam took place as early as the reign of the Paramisura and not in the time of his grandson or great-grandson, Muhammad Shah. But the explanation that seems to clear up the difficulties most readily is the probability that the author of the pedigree in the "Malay Annals" confused two princes who bore the name of Raja Kechil Besar,¹ and also confused Sultan Ahmad with Sultan Muhammad. If the title Muhammad Shah and the conversion to Islam are ascribed to the first Raja Kechil Besar instead of to the second, the difficulty of explaining the Moslem names of Iskandar Shah and Ahmad Shah disappears at once and the pedigree is shortened to a reasonable length. The amended version would read as follows :

Raja Kechil Besar
(Paramisura, Sultan Muhammad Shah)

Iskandar Shah

Raja Besar Muda
(Ahmad Shah)

Raja Kasim
(Mudzafar Shah)

Raja Abulullah
(Mansur Shah)

Raja Husain
(Alaedin Riayat Shah I)

Raja Mahmud
(Sultan Mahmud Shah)

We can now pass to the reigns of these different kings.

The Chinese account of Malacca, written in A.D. 1416, gives us a very convincing picture of the Settlement. It tells us that the inhabitants paid very little attention to agriculture, that they were good fishermen, that they used dug-outs, that they possessed a currency of block tin, that they lived in very simple huts raised some four feet above the ground, that they traded in resins, tin and jungle produce, that they made very good mats, and that "their language, their books and their marriage ceremonies are nearly the same as those of Java." The town of Malacca was

¹ Muhammad Shah was known as Raja Kechil Besar before he came to the throne.

surrounded by a wall with four gates, and within this fortified area there was a second wall or stockade surrounding a store for money and provisions.

This description bears out Albuquerque's statement that the town was created by the fusion of fugitives from Singapore with a local population of "Cellates" or *Orang Laut*. The men from Singapore brought their old Indo-Javanese civilisation, the language, the books and the marriage ceremonies that were so closely akin to those of Java; the *Orang Laut* were simply fishermen, living by the sea and using the rude dug-outs that impressed the Chinese historian. But there was a third element. The Chinese account tells us that the tin industry, both in trade and actual mining, was important. As this industry would be quite unknown to the *Orang Laut* and could hardly have been introduced from Singapore we are left to infer that traders in tin had visited the country before the advent of the Malays and had taught the aborigines the value of the metal and the proper means of procuring it. These early traders were, in all probability, the Cambodian colonists whose homes in the north had just been conquered by the Siamese, but who—up to the fourteenth century—appear to have exercised some sort of dominion over the southern half of the Peninsula.

According to both Chinese and Portuguese records the first ruler of Malacca was a certain "Palisura" or "Paramisura," but unfortunately this word only means king and gives us no clue either to the Hindu or to the Muhammadan name of the prince in question. It would seem waste of time to discuss points relating to mere names were it not that these issues help us to unravel the complex chronology of the period. Every king at this time of conversion—must have had a Hindu title before taking an Arabic name, so that serious errors may have been imported into genealogies by kings being counted twice over. Omitting the mythical elements let us collate the first names of the four lists that we possess:

| "MALAY ANNALS." | "BUSTANU'S SALATIN." | CHINESE. | PORTUGUESE. |
|---|---|----------------|-------------|
| (1) | (1) | (1) | (1) |
| Raja Kéchil Béar, Paduka Séri Pékérma Wiraja | Raja Kéchil Béar, Paduka Séri Pékérma Diraja | Palisura | Paramisura |
| (2) | (2) | (2) | (2) |
| Raja Muda, Séri Rana Wikrama | Séri Rana Adik- érma, Sultan Iskandar Shah | Mukensentiraha | Xaquendarsa |
| (3) | (3) | (3) | |
| Paduka Séri Maharaja | Raja Béar Muda, Sultan | Séri Mahala | |

The only point that we have to suggest is that these lists refer to the same men in the same order. If this is admitted, there is no difficulty in giving the pedigree of the Kings of Malacca; but the acceptance of this view disposes at once of the theory that the line of the Malacca Kings covers the earlier dynasty of Singapore. The truth seems to be that the author of the "Malay Annals" had only the Malacca pedigree to work upon, but by attaching Singapore legends to the names of Malacca Kings he represented the genealogy as one which descended from the mythical Sang Sapurba of Palembang through the Kings of Singapore (whose very names he did not know) down to the family with which he was really acquainted.

As Malay tradition seems to insist that the first Moslem sovereign took the name of Muhammad Shah, and as the Paramisura of Albuquerque was undoubtedly the first Moslem sovereign, we are justified in believing that the King Paduka Sri Pékérnia Diraja took the name Sultan Muhammad Shah on his conversion. He ascended the throne before the year A.D. 1408, but was first recognised by the Chinese Emperor in A.D. 1405. He visited China in A.D. 1411. The following is the account given of this visit in the records of the Ming Dynasty:

"In 1411 the King came with his wife, son and ministers—540 persons in all. On his arrival the Emperor sent officers to receive him. He was lodged in the building of the Board of Rites; and was received in audience by the Emperor who entertained him in person whilst his wife and the others were entertained in another place. Every day, bullocks, goats and wine were sent him from the imperial buttery. The Emperor gave the King two suits of clothes embroidered with golden dragons and one suit with unicorns; furthermore, gold and silver articles, curtains, coverlets, mattresses—everything complete. His wife and his suite also got presents.

"When they were going away the King was presented with a girdle adorned with precious stones and with horses and saddles. His wife got a cap and dresses.

"At the moment of starting he was entertained by the Emperor and again got a girdle with precious stones, saddled horses, 100 ounces of gold, 40,000 dollars (*kuwan*) in paper money, 2,000 strings of cash, 300 pieces of silk gauze, 1,000 pieces of plain silk, and two pieces of silk with golden flowers."

It is not surprising that kings were willing to "pay tribute" to China.

The policy of Muhammad Shah seems to have been to ally himself with the Muhammadan States and with the Chinese, and to resist the Siamese who were at that time laying claim to the southern part of the Peninsula. As the Siamese had conquered the Cambodian principalities that had sent mining colonies to the Southern States the King of Siam had a certain claim to consider himself the suzerain of Malacca. But the claim was a very shadowy one. The fall of the Cambodian kingdoms in the north seems to have killed the Cambodian colonies in the south. The Siamese themselves had never exercised any authority over Malacca. The very title afterwards assumed by the Siamese

King—"Ruler of Singapore, Malacca and Malayu"—shows how very little he knew about the countries that he claimed to own. Nevertheless, Siam was a powerful State, and its fleets and armies were a constant menace to the prosperity of the growing Settlement of Malacca.¹

The Paramisura Muhammad Shah died about A.D. 1414. He was succeeded by his son, Sri Rana Adikërma, who took the title of Sultan Iskandar Shah—the Naquendarsa of the Portuguese and the Mukansautirsha of the Chinese records. This prince, who reigned ten years, paid two visits to China during his reign, one visit in A.D. 1414 and the other in A.D. 1419. He pursued his father's defensive policy of alliances against the Siamese.

Sultan Iskandar Shah died in A.D. 1424. He was succeeded by his son, Raja Besar Muda, who bore the Hindu title of Paduka Sri Maharaja and assumed the Moslem name of Sultan Ahmad Shah. This ruler is not mentioned by the Portuguese, but he appears in Chinese records as Sri Mahala. He seems to appear twice—perhaps three times—in the "Malay Annals" first as Paduka Sri Maharaja, son of Sri Rakna Adikërma (Iskandar Shah's Hindu title), and secondly as Raja Besar Muda, son of Iskandar Shah. He is also confused with Muhammad Shah, whose place he ought to be given in the pedigree. It is therefore difficult to say whether he or the first King of Malacca ought to be credited with the numerous rules and regulations drawn up for the guidance of Malay countries and given at great length in the "Malay Annals" as the work of "Muhammad Shah." In any case, from this time forward the use of yellow was confined to men of royal birth, the most rigid etiquette was enforced at all court ceremonies, the relative precedence of officers was fixed, and other rules were made regarding the proper attire and privileges of courtiers. The author of the "Malay Annals" discusses all these points at great length, but European students are not likely to take much interest in them. Happy is the country that has no more serious troubles than disputes about etiquette! The first three Sultans of Malacca must have governed well to bring about such a result as this.

Sultan Ahmad Shah (Paduka Sri Maharaja) died about the year 1444 A.D. His death was followed by a sort of interregnum, during which the reins of power were nominally held by his son.

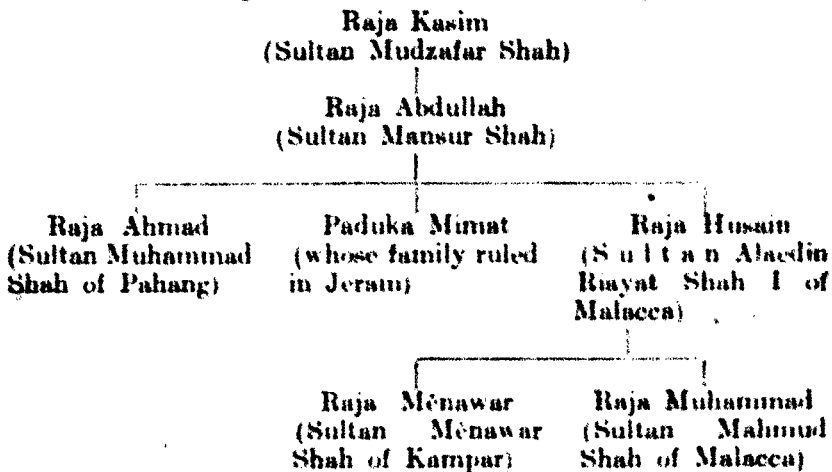
¹ The Siamese occupied inland territories about Chiong-mai till the fourteenth century when they advanced to the coast, founded Ayuthia (A.D. 1350) and overthrew the Cambodian empire by capturing Angkor (A.D. 1373). Col. Gerini's belief that the Siamese had penetrated "far into the Malay Peninsula" before A.D. 1141 seems to be based (see "In Lotus Land," p. 11) upon the "Malay Annals" and not on Siamese sources. But, as we have seen, the chronology of the "Malay Annals" is hopelessly at fault; and the revised chronology which brings the Siamese to the Peninsula at about 1400 A.D. is far more reconcilable with events in Siam.

Raja Ibrahim or Raja Itam, afterwards known as Abu Shahid; because of his unhappy death. This interregnum ended in a sudden revolution in which Raja Ibrahim lost his life and Raja Kasim, his brother, came to the throne under the name of Sultan Mudzafar Shah—the Modafaixa of the Portuguese and the Sultan Wu-ta-fu-na-sha of Chinese records. The new ruler began his reign in the usual manner by sending envoys to China, but he did not go himself to pay his respects to the Emperor. He had to wage war against the Siamese, who seem at last to have made some sort of effort to enforce their claim to suzerainty over the south of the Peninsula. Malay records are not very trustworthy and we need not believe all that they tell us about victories over the Siamese, but we can see from the change in the policy of the State of Malacca that it must have been successful in its campaigns against its northern foes, since the Malays, suddenly becoming aggressive, carried the war into the enemy's country. From this time onwards the town of Malacca became a capital instead of being an entire State in itself.

Mudzafar Shah died about the year 1450 A.D. According to Portuguese authorities he conquered Pahang, Kampar and Indragiri, but, if the "Malay Annals" are to be believed, the honour of these conquests rests with his son and successor, Mansur Shah. Sultan Mansur Shah, we are told, began his reign by sending an expedition to attack Pahang. After giving a good descriptive account of this country, with its broad and shallow river, its splendid sandy beaches, its alluvial gold workings, and its huge wild cattle, the "Malay Annals" go on to say that the ruler of Pahang was a certain Maharaja Dewa Sura, a relative of the King of Siam. Chinese records also say that the country was ruled by princes who bore Sanskrit titles and who must have been either Buddhist or Hindu by religion, but they add that the people were in the habit—otherwise unknown in Malaya—of offering up human sacrifices to their idols of fragrant wood. Their language also does not seem to have been Malayan. Pahang was conquered after very little resistance, and its prince, Maharaja Dewa Sura, was brought captive to Malacca. Of the expeditions against Kampar and Indragiri we know nothing except that they were successful.

Sultan Mansur Shah married five wives. By a daughter of the conquered Maharaja Dewa Sura he had two sons, one of whom he designated as heir to the throne, but a murder committed by the prince in a moment of passion led to his being banished from the court and sent to rule over Pahang under the title of Sultan Muhammad Shah. By a Javanese wife the Sultan had one son, Radin Geglang, who succeeded his step-brother as heir to the throne and was afterwards killed while trying to stop a man who ran amuck. By a daughter of his chief minister, the Bendahara, the Sultan left a son, Raja Hussain, who ultimately

succeeded him. By a Chinese wife the Sultan left descendants who established themselves as independent princes at Jeram in Selangor. By his fifth wife, the daughter of a chief (Sri Nara Diraja), the Sultan only had two daughters. The following table shows how the kingdom of Malacca was divided up :



The policy of war and conquest initiated by Mudzafar Shah and Mansur Shah was a fatal one to a trading port like Malacca; it turned the Malays into a sort of military aristocracy living on the trade of the foreign settlers in their city. Trade is not, however, killed in a day. The foreign merchants from India and China, though they continued to frequent the harbor of Malacca, began to look upon the Sultan and his people as a mere burden on the town—as indeed they were. The Sultan needed money for his pleasures, his followers, and his wars; he increased his exactions from year to year. But for the coming of the Portuguese the fate of Malacca would ultimately have been the same as that of Pasai, Samudra, Perlak and the other trading ports that enjoyed at various times a temporary spell of prosperity as emporia in the eastern seas. Even as it was, Albuquerque found the foreign settlers in the city perfectly willing to rise in revolt against their Malay masters.

Mansur Shah was succeeded by his son, Raja Husain, who took the name of Alaedin Riayat Shah. This prince is said by the Portuguese to have been poisoned at the instigation of the rulers of Pahang and Indragiri. He was succeeded by his son, Sultan Mahmud Shah, the last of the Kings of Malacca. Sultan Mahmud Shah seems to have been a weak ruler, who gave himself up to his pleasures and ultimately delegated all his powers to his son, the Prince Alaedin, whom he raised to sovereign rank under the name of Ahmad Shah. The most important event in his reign—apart from the Portuguese conquest—was the

mysterious revolution of A.D. 1510, in which the most powerful chief in Malacca, the Bendahara Sri Maharaja, lost his life. This event is mentioned by Albuquerque and is described with great vividness by the author of the "Malay Annals," who, being a member of the Bendahara's family, was extremely anxious to represent his great ancestor's case in the best possible light. According to his story,¹ one of the great ministers of State was induced by a very heavy bribe to bring a false charge of treason against the Bendahara—"for there is truth in the saying 'Gold, thou art not God, yet art thou the Almighty,'"—and the Sultan was tempted by an illicit passion for the Bendahara's daughter into consenting to his minister's death: "Love knows no limitations and Passion no considerations." It is probable that the great minister was only overthrown after a severe conflict in which most of his relatives were slain. But that is not the account given us in the "Malay Annals." The proud chief is said to have consented to die rather than lift a finger in opposition to the king: "It is the glory of the Malay that he is ever faithful to his ruler." The Sultan's messenger approached and presented him with a silver platter on which rested the sword of execution. "God calls you to his presence," said the messenger. "I bow to the Divine Will," said the Bendahara. Such was said to have been his end, but there is a curious epilogue to this tale of loyalty. In A.D. 1680 the last prince of the royal line of Malacca was slain by his Bendahara, the lineal representative of the murdered minister of A.D. 1510, and of his successor and champion, the courtly author of the "Malay Annals." It is therefore quite possible that the Bendahara of A.D. 1510 was only conspiring to do what the Bendahara of A.D. 1680 eventually succeeded in doing.

THE PORTUGUESE ASCENDANCY.

The celebrated expedition of Vasco da Gama, the first European navigator to appear in the eastern seas, took place in 1498. Within ten years Da Gama had been followed to the East by many other famous adventurers: Francisco de Albuquerque, Alfonso de Albuquerque, Francisco de Almeida, Tristano d'Acunha, Jorge de Mello and Jorge de Aguyar. In 1508 the whole of the Portuguese "empire" in the East was divided into two viceroalties, one stretching from Mozambique to Diu in India, the other from Diu to Cape Comorin. Francisco de Almeida was appointed Viceroy of Africa, Arabia and Persia; Alfonso de Albuquerque was Viceroy of India. Two other admirals were also sent out in that year to carve out viceroalties

¹ See "Malay Literature," I, pp. 25-26.

for themselves. Of these two, one—Diego Lopez de Sequeira—was destined for Malaya. He left the Tagus with four ships on the 5th April, 1508, sailed to Cochin (the head-quarters of the Indian viceroy), borrowed a ship from the Portuguese fleet at that port, and finally in August, 1509, sailed to Malacca.

As soon as Sequeira cast anchor in the harbour a boat put off from the shore to ask him, in the name of the Bendahara, who he was and why he came. The Portuguese admiral answered that he was an envoy from the King of Portugal with gifts for the Sultan of Malacca. Messages then seem to have been interchanged for several days, and ultimately a Portuguese of good position, one Teixeira, was sent ashore and conducted to the palace on an elephant. He handed the Sultan an Arabic letter signed by Dom Manuel, King of Portugal; he also gave the Malay ruler some presents. This interview was followed by the usual interchange of compliments and friendly assurances; permission to trade was given, and, finally, Teixeira was conducted in honour back to his ship.

But in the town of Malacca all was excitement. The wealthy Indian merchants could hardly have viewed with equanimity the presence of strangers who threatened them with the loss of their trade. The suspicious rulers of the city feared the powerful fleet of Sequeira. The Bendahara wished to attack the Portuguese at once; the Laksamana and the Temenggong hesitated. The Sultan invited the strangers to a feast—perhaps with the intention of murdering them. Sequeira, with a readiness that may have been wise, refused the dangerous invitation. Meanwhile the Bendahara's party had begun to collect a small flotilla behind Cape Rachado so as to be ready for all emergencies. The position was one of great tension. The Portuguese who landed at Malacca do not seem to have been molested, but they could hardly have failed to notice the nervous hostility of the populace. The "Malay Annals"—written a century later—contain echoes of this old feeling of fear and dislike of the strangers, the popular wonder at these "white-skinned Bengalis," the astonishment at the blunt bullet that pierced so sharply, the horror at the blunders in etiquette committed by the well-meaning Portuguese. "Let them alone, they know no manners," said the Sultan, when his followers wished to cut down a Portuguese who had laid hands on the sacred person of the king in placing a collar round his neck. At such a time very little provocation would have started a conflict, and a misunderstanding probably brought it about. A wentry suspected the crews of the Malay boats of wishing to board the Portuguese vessels. He gave an alarm. A panic at once arose; the Malays on deck sprang overboard; the Portuguese fired their guns. Sequeira avoided any further action in the hope of saving those of his men who were on shore at the time, but the sudden

appearance of the Malay flotilla from behind Cape Rachado forced his hand. The Portuguese sailed out to meet this new enemy and so lost the chance of rescuing the stragglers. When they returned it was too late. The city was now openly hostile; the Europeans on shore had been taken; the fleet was not strong enough to capture the town unaided. After wasting some days in useless negotiations, Sequeira had to sail away. His expedition had been an utter failure. After plundering a few native ships he sent two of his own fleet to Cochin and returned to Portugal without making any attempt to redeem his mistakes.

King Emmanuel of Portugal was not the man to submit tamely to a disaster of this sort. Fitting out three more ships under Diego Mendez de Vasconcellos he sent them—in March, 1510—to organise a fresh attack on Malacca. This fleet was diverted by Albuquerque to assist him in his Indian wars, but in May, 1511, the great Viceroy himself set out to attack Malacca, taking nineteen ships, 800 European troops and 600 Malabar sepoys. He first sailed to Pedir in Sumatra. There he found a Portuguese named Viegas, one of Sequeira's men, who had escaped from captivity in Malacca and who reported that there were other Portuguese fugitives at Pasai. The Viceroy sailed to Pasai and picked them up. He was well received by the people of Pasai, but he sailed on at once in order to overtake a native ship that was bearing the news of his approach to Malacca. He caught this vessel and slew its captain. Still sailing on, he captured a large Indian trading ship from which he learnt that the rest of Sequeira's men were still alive and in bondage to the Malays, the leading man among them being one Huy d'Arango, a personal friend of the Viceroy. On the 1st July, 1511, Albuquerque and his fleet of nineteen ships sailed into the roadstead at Malacca with trumpets sounding, banners waving, guns firing, and with every demonstration that might be expected to overawe the junks in the harbour and the warriors in the town.

At the sight of the powerful Portuguese fleet the native vessels in the roadstead attempted to flee, but the Viceroy who feared that any precipitate action on his part might lead to the murder of his fellow-countrymen in the town ordered the ships to stay where they were and assured them that he had no piratical intentions. The captains of three large Chinese junks in the harbour then visited the Portuguese admiral and offered to assist him in attacking the town; they, too, had grievances against the port authorities. The captain of a Gujerat trading ship also brought a similar tale. Early on the following day, there came envoys from the Sultan to say that the Malay ruler had always been friendly to the King of Portugal, and that his wicked Bendahara—who had recently been put to death—was entirely responsible for the attack on Sequeira. Albuquerque

made every effort to impress the envoys with a sense of his power, but he replied with the simple answer that no arrangement was possible until the prisoners had been released. The prisoners were, indeed, the key of the situation. The admiral was sure that any attack on the town would be the signal for their massacre; the Sultan vaguely felt that to give them up would be to surrender a powerful weapon of defence. So the days passed; the Malays were arming, the Portuguese were examining the roadstead with a view to devising a good plan of attack, but neither side was guilty of any overt act of hostility. At the Malacca court itself the usual divided counsels prevailed, the war party being led by the Sultan's eldest son and by the Sultan's son-in-law, the Prince of Pahang. After seven days of futile negotiations a man from the town slipped on board the admiral's ship with a letter from Ruy d'Aranjo, the most important of the prisoners, strongly advising Albuquerque to abandon all idea of rescuing them and to begin the attack without further delay. Although the Viceroy was not prepared to take advantage of this heroic offer of self-sacrifice on the prisoners' part, he felt that his present policy could lead to nothing. By way of a demonstration he burnt some of the Malay shipping in the harbour and bombarded a few of the finer residences on the seaside. The demonstration produced an unexpected result: Ruy d'Aranjo was at once released. He brought with him the news that many of the townspeople were hostile to the Sultan and would be prepared to turn against the Malays should the opportunity present itself. This information probably settled the fate of the city.

More negotiations followed. Albuquerque asked for permission to build a fortified factory in the town of Malacca so that Portuguese merchants might be able to trade there in peace and safety; he also asked for the return of the booty taken from Sequeira and for an indemnity of 300,000 cruzados (about £33,500). He found that the Sultan was not indisposed to make concessions, but that the younger chiefs were clamorous for war. Ultimately, as often happens in Malay councils, the Sultan decided to stand aside and to let the opposing parties—the Portuguese and the princes—fight it out. He himself kept to the defensive and refused either to make concessions or to lead an attack. As soon as this decision was arrived at, the Prince Alaedin and the Sultan of Pahang set about the defence of the town, while the Javanese chiefs seem to have assured the admiral that the coming conflict was no concern of theirs and that they were, if anything, well disposed to the Portuguese.

In order to understand the plan of attack it is necessary to appreciate the difference between the Malacca of 1511 and the Malacca of the present time. It is often supposed that the harbour has silted up and that the conditions cannot be

reproduced, but it should be remembered that the Portuguese ships were small vessels of light draught and could lie much closer to the shore than the deep-draughted steamers of to-day. The great change that has come over the harbour is due to the shifting of the river-channel after it enters the sea. The old maps of Malacca show that the Malacca river on reaching its mouth turned sharply to the right and had scooped out a comparatively deep channel very close to the northern shore where the houses—then as now—were thickly clustered. This channel was the old harbour of Malacca; it enabled light-draughted ships to anchor very near the land, and it explains how the Portuguese with their guns of little range could succeed in bombarding the houses on the shore. Landing was, however, another matter. The deep mud-banks made it extremely difficult to land under cover of the guns of the fleet; the true landing place—then as now—lay just inside the river itself. Above the landing place—then as now—there was a bridge, though the old Malay bridge was a little further up the river than the present structure. This bridge, since it commanded the landing place and maintained communications between the two sections of the town, was the key of the whole situation. Both sides realised how matters stood. The Malays strongly fortified the bridge and stationed upon it a force of picked men under an Indian mercenary named Tuan Bandam. The high ground immediately to the south of the river—St. Paul's Hill, as it is now called—was the true Malay citadel. It was covered with the houses of the principal adherents of the Sultan and was the site of the Sultan's palace itself. It protected the bridge and was garrisoned by the followers of the war-party, the Prince Aladdin and the Sultan of Pahang. It was felt by all that the landing places and the bridge would be the centre of the coming struggle.

Behind all this show of Malay strength there was, however, very little true power. The Malays themselves were, nothing more than a military garrison living on the resources of an alien community. The trading town of Malacca was divided up into quarters under foreign headmen. The Javanese of Gersek held Bandar Hilir to the south of the river; the Javanese and Sundanese from Japara and Tuban held Kampong Upeh to the north of the river. The Indian merchants also possessed a quarter of their own. These alien merchants did not love the Malays. All they wanted was to trade in peace; at the first sign of a struggle they began to remove their goods to places of safety and had to be forcibly prevented from fleeing inland. The Sultan of Pahang with his fire-eating followers was not a very reliable ally; he had no real interest in the war. The conflict ultimately resolved itself into a trial of strength between the personal retainers of the Sultan and the 1,400 soldiers of

Albuquerque, but the advantage of position was all on the side of the Malays.

The Viceroy's preparations for attack lasted several days. He spent that time in tampering with the loyalty of the Javanese and other foreign communities, and in constructing a floating battery of very light draught to enter the river and bombard the bridge. The battery was not altogether a success. It grounded at the very mouth of the river and was exposed for nine days and nights to incessant bombardment from both banks. Its commander, Antonio d'Abreu, had his teeth shot away at the very first attack, but he stuck doggedly to his post and saved the battery from capture. At last Albuquerque landed a strong force, obtained temporary possession of both banks and forced the floating battery up to a more commanding position whence it made short work of the bridge itself. The battery had now served its purpose and had made communication between the two banks of the river less ready than it had previously been, but the fight was by no means over. The Prince Alacelin and his men furiously attacked the landing party and were only beaten off after the Portuguese had lost 80 men in killed and wounded. The Viceroy tried to follow up his success by attacking the mosques and palace on what is now St. Paul's Hill. Bewildered in a maze of buildings the Portuguese again suffered heavy loss and had to beat a confused retreat to their landing place. There they entrenched themselves and were able to hold their own. Their only substantial success had been the capture of the outworks built by the Malays to protect the landing places; the fortifications of the bridge itself were still uncaptured.

The next attack took place on St. James' Day, the 24th July, 1511. The Viceroy landed bodies of men on both banks of the river and advanced again upon the bridge. The Portuguese on the south bank were furiously attacked by a Malay force of about 700 men headed by the Sultan in person. The battle seems to have been a very terrible one and to have raged principally about the south end of the bridge where the high ground of the hill approaches nearest to the river. From their place of vantage on the slopes and under cover of their buildings the Malays poured an incessant stream of poisoned darts upon the Portuguese who replied by burning the houses and endeavouring to drive the Malays out of their cover. Encumbered with armour and weapons the Portuguese found that the heat of the fire was more than they could resist. To add to their troubles, the Laksamana Hang Tuah brought down a flotilla of boats and fireships that harassed the flanks and threatened the communications of the Viceroy's forces. Albuquerque decided to retreat. He retired to his ships, taking with him seventy of his men who had been struck down with poisoned darts. Of these seventy men, twelve afterwards died and the rest suffered from

constantly recurring pains for a long period of time.¹ The Malay losses will never be known. The Sultan of Pahang, whose houses had been burnt and whose property had been plundered, left his father-in-law in the lurch and returned to his own country. The fire-eating youths of Malacca, who had egged on their Sultan to war, had now had enough of the fighting. The foreign merchants had learnt that their Malay masters were not omnipotent. Although the Viceroy had been consistently repulsed, his very pertinacity had practically secured the victory. When he landed again on the following day all organised resistance was over. The foreign subjects of the Sultan refused to expose their lives in a hopeless cause that was not their own. The Sultan's retainers found that the profit of war was not worth its risks. The Sultan himself fled. A few untameable spirits like the Lakaamana continued to carry on a guerilla warfare against the Portuguese, but with no real hope of success. The foreigners all submitted—first the Peguans, then the various sections of the Javanese community. They even joined the Portuguese under the brothers Andrade in an expedition to destroy the stockades of the Prince Alaedin. After this defection the Malay prince saw the futility of further resistance; he followed his father in his flight to the interior. A few scattered bands of outlaws represented all that was left of the famous Malay Kingdom of Malacca.

The spoils taken by the Portuguese are not exactly known. According to some authorities, the value of the plunder was 10,000 cruzados, or about £6,000; others say that this only represented the King's share of the spoil. It was also said that several thousand cannon—either 3,000 or 8,000—were captured. This expression may refer to mere firearms, but it must be enormously exaggerated even with this limitation. The Malay forces were very small and they inflicted most damage with poisoned darts. Moreover, we are specially told that Albuquerque sent home as his only important trophies one or two cannon of Indian make and some Chinese images of lions. Had it not been for the foreign elements in the population of the town of Malacca the capture of the city would have been an act of useless folly; as it was, the victory was a valuable one. It substituted a Portuguese for a Malay ruling class without destroying the tradition of the place, and it gave the Portuguese a naval base, a trading centre and a citadel that they could easily hold against any attacks that the Malays might organise.

The Viceroy could not afford to garrison Malacca with the force that had sufficed to take it. He had captured it with the whole of the available forces of Portuguese India—19 ships, 800

¹ One account says that they all died except one man who cauterised his wound.

European soldiers, and 600 sepoy; he left a small company under a captain. If anything were needed to show the unreality of the wealth and power ascribed by some imaginative writers to these old Malayan "empires" or "kingdoms" it would be the insignificance of the Portuguese garrisons that held their own against all attacks and even organised small punitive expeditions in reply. The loss of ten or twelve Portuguese was a disaster of the first magnitude to the captain in charge of the town and fort of Malacca. A small Portuguese reverse on the Muar river—when the gallant Ruy d'Aranjo was killed—enabled the Laksamana Hang Tuah to entrench himself on the Malacca river and to "besiege" the town. This famous Malay chief, whose name still lives in the memory of his countrymen, was a man of extraordinary energy and resource. He fought the Portuguese by sea in the narrows of the Singapore Straits; he surprised them off Cape Rachado; he harassed the town of Malacca from the upper reaches of its own river; he intrigued with the allies of the Portuguese; he even induced a Javanese fleet to threaten Malacca. This indefatigable fighter died as he had lived, desperately warring against the enemies of his race. With his death and with the destruction in 1526 of the Sultan's new stronghold on the island of Bintang, the Malay power was utterly destroyed. From 1511 to 1605 the Portuguese were the real masters of the Straits.

The history of Malacca from the date of Sequeira's expedition (A.D. 1500) to the time when it was captured by the Dutch (A.D. 1641) reads like a romance. It is associated with great names like those of Camoens and St. Francis Xavier; it is the story of desperate sieges and of the most gallant feats of arms. Tradition has it that once when the garrison had fired away their last ounce of powder in the course of a desperate battle against the Achehnese the suspicious-seeming silence of the grim fortress was enough to terrify the enemy into flight. We are not, however, concerned with the romance of its history so much as with its political aspect. There is something significant in the very titles of the officials of Malacca. The Portuguese Governor of Malacca was its "captain," the heads of the native communities were "captains" too. Indeed, Albuquerque went so far as to appoint the Javanese headman, Utimuti Raja, his Bendahara. The officials of the Dutch bore trading names such as "supercargoes," "merchants" or "storekeepers"; the civil servants of our own East India Company were "writers." There is no arrogance about any of these descriptions; they only showed what their bearers really were. What, then, are we to make of titles such as those of the "Viceroy of Africa, Arabia and Persia" and the "Viceroy of India"? They hardly represented realities; did they symbolise any national policy or ambition?

The aim of all the European powers in the Far East—whether Portuguese or Dutch or English—was to capture the rich trade of these countries. Sequeira asked for permission to trade; Albuquerque asked for permission to build a fortified factory at Malacca; the East India Companies of the Dutch and English were merely trading concerns. Yet there was this difference. The imperial idea—which in the case of the Dutch and English took centuries to develop—seems to have existed from the very first in the minds of the Portuguese. It was not the imperialism of the present day. Albuquerque did not seek to administer even when he claimed suzerainty; he allowed his Asiatic subjects a wide measure of self-government under their own "captains" in the very town of Malacca itself. Although he did not indeed try to administer, he tried to dominate. The Portuguese power would brook no rival. The garrisons were small—they were not sufficient to hold any tract of country—but the striking force of the Viceroyalty was sufficient to destroy any trading port that refused to bow to the wishes of the Portuguese or that set itself in irreconcilable hostility against them. Again and again, at Kampar, in the island of Bintang, and on the shores of the Johor river, did the Portuguese expeditions harry the fugitives of the old Malay kingdom and destroy the chance of any native community rising to menace their fortified base at Malacca. What they did in these Straits they also did on the shores of India and Africa. The titles of the old Portuguese Viceroys were not misnomers, though they did not bear the administrative significance that we should now attach to them. The Portuguese fleet did really dominate the East. The weakness of this old Portuguese "empire" lay in the fact that it could not possibly survive the loss of sea-power. It consisted—territorially—of a few naval bases that became a useless burden when the command of the sea passed into the hands of the English and Dutch. The fall of Malacca may be truly said to date from a. d. 1606, when the Dutch Admiral Cornelis Matelief gained a decisive victory over the Portuguese fleet in the Straits of Malacca. From that time forward the doom of the town was sealed. Trade went with the command of the sea; apart from its trade, Malacca had no sufficient revenue and became a useless burden to the Viceroys of Goa. Portuguese pride did indeed induce the Viceroys at first to send expeditions to the relief of their beleaguered countrymen in the famous fortress, but as siege succeeded siege it became obvious that the fate of the city was only a question of time. It fell in 1641.

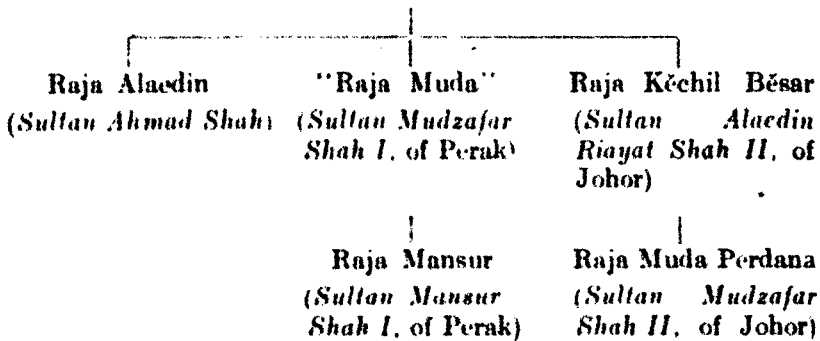
After Sultan Mahmud had been driven out of Malacca he fled to Batu Hampar, while his son, the Prince Alaedin, built a stockade at Pagoh. Pagoh was soon taken by the Portuguese. The Malay princes then took refuge for a time in Pahang, after

which they established themselves far up the Johor river where they were relatively safe from attack. Settlements far up a river are, however, of very little use either for trade or piracy, so—as the Malays regained confidence—they moved southwards and established themselves on the island of Bintang, Sultan Mahmud at Tebing Tinggi and the Prince Alaedin at Batu Pelabohan. This Prince Alaedin had been raised to sovereign rank and bore the title of Sultan Ahmad Shah, to the great confusion of historical records, which confuse him both with his father, Sultan Mahmud, and with his brother who afterwards bore the name of Sultan Alaedin. In any case, this Sultan Ahmad died at Batu Pelabohan and was buried at Bukit Batu at Bintang; if Malay rumour is to be believed, he was poisoned by his father. Sultan Mahmud then installed his younger son as Raja Muda, but did not confer on him the sovereign dignity borne by the murdered Ahmad Shah. After this the Sultan moved his head-quarters to Kopak. There another son was born to him—this time by his favourite wife, Tun Fatimah, the daughter of the famous Bendahara who had so bitterly opposed Sequeira. The child was given the title of Raja Kechil Besar and was afterwards allowed (through his mother's influence) to take precedence of his elder brother the Raja Muda and to be raised to sovereign rank as the Sultan Muda or Sultan Alaedin Riayat Shah II. Meanwhile the Malay settlement of Kopak had increased sufficiently in importance to attract the notice of the Portuguese. In 1526 it was surprised by the Viceroy Mascarenhas, who utterly destroyed it. Sultan Mahmud, again a fugitive, took refuge at Kampar in Sumatra. As the Portuguese had just abducted the ruler of Kampar and had incurred the deadly hostility of the inhabitants of that Sumatran port, the aged Sultan Mahmud was welcomed and was recognised as sovereign in the absence of the lost chief. He died shortly afterwards, leaving the throne to his son Alaedin Riayat Shah II. The new Sultan was not left in peace by the Portuguese. Driven by them out of Kampar he ultimately settled at a place on the Johor river where he died and was succeeded by his son, the Raja Muda Perdana, who took the title of Sultan Mudzafar Shah II. This Mudzafar Shah established his capital at Seluyut (Johor Lama), but he had outlying stations on the trade routes. At a later date these stations were destined to become important.

The Sultans of Perak claim descent from a "Sultan Mudzafar Shah," an elder son of the Sultan Mahmud who was driven from Malacca by the Portuguese. The present Sultan of Perak has himself said that this Sultan Mudzafar Shah went to Perak because he had been passed over for the succession by his younger brother. If this tradition is correct the "Sultan Mudzafar Shah" of Perak would not be the poisoned Alaedin (Sultan Ahmad Shah) but the young Raja Muda, who was set aside by his father in

favour of the Raja Kechil Besar, afterwards Alaedin Riayat Shah II. All that we know about this disinherited member of the royal line is that he married Tun Trang, a daughter of Tun Fatimah by her first husband, Tun Ali, and that he had a son, Raja Mansur. This accords with the Perak story that Sultan Mudzafar Shah was succeeded by his son, a Sultan Mansur Shah. The following table shows the line of descent :

Sultan Mahmud Shah
(of Malacca and Johor)



This pedigree would go to prove not only that the Sultan of Perak represents the senior line of the oldest Malay dynasty, but also that he is directly descended from the famous line of Bendaharas whose glories are the subject of the “Séjarah Melayu.”

Sultan Mudzafar Shah II seems to have reigned in comparative peace at Johor. The only incident of any importance recorded about him was his secret marriage under rather suspicious circumstances to a Pahang lady, the divorced or abducted wife of one Raja Omar of Pahang. Sultan Mudzafar Shah did not live long. When he died the chiefs placed his son Abdul Jalil on the throne. The new sovereign, Abdul Jalil Shah, suffered great tribulations at the hands of the Portuguese, who burnt Johor Lama and drove him to the upper reaches of the river where no ships could follow him. He settled ultimately at Batu Sawar, which he named Makam Tauhid. He died at this place, leaving two sons (Raja Mansur and Raja Abdullah) by his principal wife, and three sons (Raja Hasan, Raja Husain and Raja Mahmud) by secondary wives. It is said that the last three became rulers of Siak, Kelantan and Kampar, respectively, while Raja Mansur succeeded to the throne of Johor under the title of Alaedin Riayat Shah III. It was in the reign of this Alaedin Riayat Shah that the Dutch and English first came to Johor.

EARLY BRITISH TRADE WITH EASTERN ASIA.

In October, A.D. 1589, less than one year after the defeat of the Armada, a body of English merchants memorialised Queen Elizabeth for permission to send ships to trade with India. The memorialists, after discussing the Portuguese settlements in the East and the occupation of Malacca and the Moluccas, drew attention to the many places that might still be profitably visited. The Queen gave the desired permission. In A.D. 1591 an expedition of three ships was sent out by the merchants, but only one ship, under Captain James Lancaster, succeeded in reaching the East Indies. A second expedition under Captain Wood in A.D. 1596 proved a failure. Three years later an association was formed with a capital of £30,133 6s. 8d.; and a charter was petitioned for on the ground that "the trade of the Indies being so far remote from hence cannot be traded but in a joint and united stock." This resulted in the grant, on the 31st December, A.D. 1600, of a "Charter of Incorporation of the East India Company by the name of the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading in the East Indies." The charter was to run for fifteen years.

The first expedition sent out by the newly created Company was commanded by Captain Sir James Lancaster, who had visited the Eastern seas in the previous expedition of A.D. 1591, and who now received from the Queen a circular letter to "the Kings of Sumatra and other places in the East Indies." Sir James Lancaster established trading stations at Acheen and Bantam. He brought back merchandise on which £1,000 was paid in customs duties and he was also the bearer of a letter and gifts from the Sultan of Acheen to Queen Elizabeth. The gifts consisted of a ruby ring and two "gold embroidered vestures" in a china casket; the letter assented to an alliance against the Spaniards and Portuguese of Malacca "whose king and his subjects are our enemies in this world and the world to come." Invaluable experience of the conditions of trade was also gained, with the result that the East India Company's second expedition (under Sir Henry Middleton) paid 95 per cent. profit on the capital subscribed, and the third expedition paid 234 per cent. profit and £4,500 in customs dues. Sir Henry Middleton also brought back friendly letters from Acheen and Bantam, the latter going so far as to say that "England and Bantam are now one." The fourth expedition was a disastrous failure; one ship never returned to Europe and the other, when near safety, was lured to its destruction by wreckers on the Breton coast. The loss of ship and cargo was estimated at £70,000, and £7,000 more was wasted in seeking redress from the French Government. Other ships continued, however, to be sent out. In A.D. 1613 the customs dues paid by the East India Company amounted to

£18,000. In A.D. 1615 two ships actually paid £14,000 between them; in A.D. 1616 the cargo of a single ship was valued at £140,000.

In order to appreciate the significance of these figures, it is necessary to bear in mind the fact that the entire customs revenue of England was being farmed out in the last years of Queen Elizabeth's reign for £12,000 annually. The results of this Eastern trade were quite sensational; they practically doubled the value of the country's imports and held out the prospect of extraordinary wealth to the merchants who took part in it. The Government of James I., delighted at this new source of profit, confirmed the East India Company's charter in perpetuity and even extended its scope. There were, however, unpromising features in the situation. The English had no monopoly; the Portuguese and the Dutch were already established in the Eastern islands. Any competition between rival purchasers would inevitably force up prices and reduce the profits of the European trader. Any attempt to secure a monopoly by force of arms would dissipate in the cost of armaments the profits that the trade could bring in. Accordingly, in A.D. 1615, the Dutch East India Company proposed an amalgamation with the English, the two associations to subscribe £1,200,000 between them. At that time the Dutch had invested £900,000 in the trade.

The position in the Indian Archipelago at that time was a peculiar one. The Dutch had, at their own expense, broken down the Portuguese monopoly of commerce in the Far East. In A.D. 1606 Admiral Cornelis Matelief de Jonge, with eleven ships, some slight help from Johor and four Sumatran junks, had attacked Malacca and nearly captured it. The town was relieved, after heavy fighting, by a Portuguese fleet of twenty-six sail under Don Louis de Lobato; but the undaunted Dutch Admiral, after replenishing his supply of ammunition at Johor, returned to the attack and succeeded in defeating the Portuguese fleet and capturing its leader. The Dutch in the meanwhile had lost heavily, two of their ships had been sunk and 600 of their European soldiers and sailors had been killed. They were not in a position to renew the attack on the town and had to continue to maintain a large fleet and army to secure their trade against molestation by the Portuguese. In A.D. 1618 the British East India Company was informed by its agents that the Dutch maintained 22 forts, 4,000 troops, and 30 large ships in the Indies, and that the cost of this establishment (which would be shared by the British in the event of the amalgamation of the Companies) caused a most serious reduction of their profits. The London Company temporised; it had profited by the Dutch armaments without contributing to their cost, and it desired so satisfactory a state of affairs to continue as long as possible. The Dutch became exasperated; those in Europe pressed for a

speedy decision, while those in the Indies did not hesitate to attack the British ships that interfered with their trade. The agents of the London Company then wrote to their employers that although a refusal to amalgamate would probably end in the English being ousted from the Indian Archipelago, the English factories on the mainland of India were strong enough to drive out the Dutch and secure a monopoly on the profitable trade of Hindustan. These counsels against amalgamation prevailed. In A.D. 1624 the exasperated Dutch attacked the British factory at Amboyna and massacred its occupants. This massacre naturally roused great indignation among the people of England, but it is evident from the correspondence of the British East India Company that the Company deliberately imperilled the safety of its factors rather than come to a fair agreement with the Dutch. In any case, the results of the Company's policy were exactly what had been anticipated: the British flag began to disappear from the waters of the Eastern Archipelago while the factories in Hindustan ultimately made England the predominant power in India.

The system followed by the East India Companies seems to have been that of stationing one or more European "factors" or agents at the principal ports to buy and sell goods on behalf of their employers. A great deal turned upon the character of these men. The London Company impressed upon its representatives in India that "the glory of a factor is the gain of his employers and the contrary his discredit"; it supplied them with profitable reading, "books of divinity for the soul and of history to instruct the mind"; it admonished them "to be the more respective and shun all sin and evil behaviour that the heathen may take no advantage to blasphemous our religion by the abuses and ungodly behaviour of our men." In spite of all this good advice many of the factors turned out to be unprofitable servants. They made up for their insufficient pay by trading on their own behalf; in fact, to use the forcible language of the contemporary comments on their behaviour, they "sheared sheep" and only allowed the parent Company to "shear hogs." The moral lessons seem to have been equally wasted. At Acheen twenty-four men from one expedition are reported to have died through drinking arrack; others died through "the inordinate drinking of a wine called tadie distilled from the palmetto-trees"; others were severely censured for immorality; one "very dissolute scapethrift" went so far as to "capitulate his soul to the devil by turning accursed Mahometan."

We know a good deal about the nature of the old East Indian trade. Sumatra sold pepper, gold, camphor, wax and benzoin; it bought Cambaya and Masulipatam commodities. The Java

factories at Bantam, Gerssek, Jacatra and Japara did a great trade in pepper; Bantam produced from 60,000 to 150,000 sacks of pepper a year. The Borneo factories at Sukadana, Landak, Sambas and Banjermasin did business in diamonds, bezoars, gold and wax. Patani was a profitable market for the sale of Coromandel and Surat cloths. India exported pearls, rubies, emeralds, rich velvets, cloth of gold, tapestry, satins and damasks. The trading-ships also purchased cloves, mace, nutmegs, gum-lac, diamonds, and ambergris wherever they could get them. Only the more precious spices and commodities were worth the cost of transport to Europe, so that the nature of the cargoes of the East Indianmen gave an entirely false impression of the Indies as a place

"Where the gorgeous East with richest hand

Showers on her kings barbaric pearl and gold."

Locally, however, the ships did a profitable trade by buying "coast-cloths" in India and selling them in the Eastern Archipelago. The cargoes from Europe included gloves, embroidered caps, purses, mirrors, glass-ware, knives, pictures, striking-clocks, coloured beaver hats and silk stockings. The London merchants even went so far as to send the Great Mogul a portrait of himself, painted from imagination by an artist in England, but "it was nothing like him and served no use at all." In some places trade was impossible. At Macassar no business could be done because the Hollanders had "murdered the king's most dearly loved nephew, more like cannibals than Christians," and in Cochinchina all strangers were upset into the water and harpooned "like fishes" because Dutch traders had palmed off false dollars on the king.

Of the social and political conditions prevailing in the islands we learn very little from the Company's records. Neither the London merchants nor their agents in the East were at all interested in the peoples with whom they had trade relations, unless, perhaps, we have to except the "dissolute scapethrift" who seems to have made some enquiries into the religion of the country. We have also a severe criticism of a factor for arrogance; the Company is advised to employ men of "good carriage with a humble spirit" for "these men (the Achehnese) are desirous of honour and to have good words." Incidentally we also learn that customs duties were levied in Java—5½ per cent. *ad valorem* at Bantam, and 3½ per cent. *ad valorem* at Jacatra. At Achehnese ports no trade could be done without the Sultan's letter of authority, for which the factors had to pay heavily; but the Sultan must have also made money in other ways for he closed Tiku to foreign commerce in order to make all

business pass through his own port at Bandar Aceh. This incident goes to show that the central government was powerful enough to enforce its authority at an out-port, and it also goes to show that the local authorities could not be trusted to collect revenue on behalf of the sovereign. Of the Sultan of Acheen, the great Iskandar Muda or "Mahkota Alam," we have a very gloomy picture; he is described as very cruel, very grasping, base, covetous, delighting in drinking and making men drunk. He was boastful and unreliable; a report that he was about to set out with a great fleet of galleys to attack Malacca is dismissed by the Company's agent with the sharp criticism, "but their words and deeds seldom agree." Of the Sultan of Johor we are told: "The King of Johor is now [A.D. 1613] at Acheen, having married that king's sister; they often *drink drunk* together." At Patani, the English were, at first, "honourably received by the Queen and country people"; later on they were driven away "in respect of great charges, taxations and other unkind usage imposed on strangers." The letters of the English factors say much that is evil about the native chiefs, but make no complaints whatever about the people. Even the worst that is said about the Sultan of Acheen falls short of the criminality imputed by the Company's agents to their Dutch rivals; the "charges, taxations and other unkind usage" which the traders had to put up with from the local Sultans compare very favourably with the massacre of Amboyna and with the treatment generally meted out by the Dutch to the English and by the English to the Dutch.

It is usual to look upon the time of these early voyages as an age of romance. In reality it is a sordid record of unprofitable servants who defrauded their employers and disgraced their country, and of a sanctimonious Company that supplied its employees with devotional literature, underpaid them and sacrificed their lives rather than reduce its dividends. The story of the beginnings of British trade with the Far East is instructive rather than romantic. It explains the "mildness" of our subsequent rule. The Dutch and English were essentially traders and were quite content to respect the religious ideas and racial customs of the people with whom they came in contact; the Portuguese and Spaniards, who were missionaries, colonisers and conquerors, forced their own creed and their own institutions upon their subjects. The politic spirit of tolerance which grew up along with our Indian Empire was due originally to commercial greed and not to any innate spirit of kindness to the "accursed Mahometan," as the Company agents described him. Trade paid handsomely; territorial acquisitions did not pay. Rather than contribute to the cost of the Dutch Company's troops and fleets, the British Company deliberately sacrificed its share of the

trade of the Archipelago. Nevertheless, the Dutch, with a wider experience of the Eastern trade than the English then possessed, slowly recognised the necessity of territorial acquisitions. They saw (as the English in India afterwards saw) that the cheap "factory" was too dependent for its prosperity, and even for its security, upon the goodwill of greedy native despots to be permanently successful, so they turned it first into an exterritorial concession, then into a fort, and then into a fortified settlement. These steps were not taken in any spirit of imperialism or of land-hunger. In the Peninsula the Dutch held the port of Malacca as well as forts at Kuala Linggi, Kuala Selangor and the Dindings, but they never attempted to govern the hinterland of their possessions. They recognised that administration did not pay, and were content, even in the town of Malacca itself, to leave the natives a large measure of self-government under their own "captains." In these days of scientific warfare it is hard to realise how difficult and costly it was to defend large stretches of territory in days when European troops were hard to obtain and had to be highly paid, and when matchlocks and flintlocks, slow to load and limited in range to about a hundred yards, gave very little advantage over the primitive weapons of an uncivilised foe. Wars in those days were not wars of conquest; they were punitive expeditions. By degrees, as the Dutch and English became stronger both in war and administrative knowledge, they began to consider that the best defence against a harassing native enemy was a vigorous offensive, and that complete subjugation alone led to permanent peace; then, when the discoveries of modern science made conquest easier still, wars were undertaken simply to prevent native misrule interfering with trade. All these changes, however, belong to a later period. The early British and Dutch navigators, though they laid the foundations of great empires, were themselves averse to territorial rule. Professor Seeley, in his famous book on "The Expansion of England," has paradoxically pointed out that the British Empire was acquired "in a fit of absence of mind." He might have gone further and proved that the best feature in the theory of British Government—the kindly treatment of Asiatic races—was actually due to the absence of the imperial spirit. The Spaniards and the Portuguese—not the English and the Dutch—were the real imperialists of the sixteenth century. The trader treated the native with a wise considerateness, while the conqueror, conscious of his strength and higher civilisation, behaved to his subjects with a contemptuous arrogance which ultimately demoralised both him and them.¹

¹ The quotations in this chapter are taken from the "Calendar of State Papers relating to the East India Company," vols. I and II.

THE DUTCH ASCENDANCY.

About the end of the year 1602 A.D. a Dutch navigator of the name of Jacob van Heemskereck visited Johor and left a factor behind, after satisfying himself that the factor's life was not likely to be endangered by any peace between the Malays and the Portuguese. By doing this he attracted to Johor the unwelcome attentions of the Governor of Malacca, who at once sent a few small vessels to blockade the river. However, in A.D. 1603 two Dutch ships that came to visit the factor drove away the Portuguese flotilla and obtained great honour in the sight of the Malays. From this time onwards the Dutch came constantly to Johor. Their factor, Jacob Buysen, resided continuously at his station and seems to have done a good deal to turn an insignificant fishing village into an important centre of trade and political influence. In this work of development he received every assistance from the Sultan's brother, Raja Abdullah, who was anxious to make a definite alliance with Holland and to obtain some permanent protection against Portuguese attack. A Malay envoy was sent to Holland but died on the journey, so that no treaty was actually made till A.D. 1606 when Admiral Cornelis Matelief with a powerful fleet arrived in the Straits of Malacca.

The Dutch account of this expedition tells us that the old Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah had been a great fighter and had waged a long war against the Portuguese. At his death he left four sons. The eldest, the "King Yang-di-pertuan" (Alaedin Riayat Shah III), was in the habit of getting up at noon and having meal, after which he drank himself drunk and transacted no further business. A second son, the King of Siak, was a man of weak character who rarely visited Johor. A third, Raja Abdullah, is described as a man of about thirty-five years of age, fairly intelligent, far-sighted, quiet in disposition and a great hand at driving hard bargains. The fourth brother, Raja Laut, is depicted as "the greatest drunkard, murderer and scoundrel of the whole family..... All the brothers drink except Raja Abdullah; and, as the rulers are, so are the nobles in their train." Such then were the men whom Admiral Cornelis Matelief had come to succour. But we must not condemn these men too hastily. The Bendahara or prime minister of these princes was the author of the Annals, our great source of information on Malay history. The royal drunkard, Alaedin Riayat Shah, was the man who ordered the Annals to be written. The "great hand at driving hard bargains"—Raja Abdullah—is the patron of the history: "Sultan Abdullah Maayat Shah, the glory of his land and of his time, the chief of the assembly of true believers, the ornament of the abodes of the Faithful—may God enhance his generosity and his dignities, and perpetuate his just

government over all his estates." These men must have been something more than mere drunkards; and the historian has reason to be grateful to them.

On the 14th May, 1606, Admiral Matelief arrived off the Johor river and received a friendly letter of greeting from Raja Abdullah; on the 17th May he entertained the prince on board his flagship. The interview must have been amusing, for it is quite clear that the Dutch had come to the Straits with the most exaggerated ideas about the greatness of Johor. On boarding the Dutch ship Raja Abdullah greeted his host most cordially and presented him with a "golden kris studded with stones of little value." In welcoming the sailors to Malay waters, the Raja prolonged the compliments to such an extent that the impatient admiral tried to lead him up to business by a pointed enquiry regarding the nature and extent of the help that might be expected from Johor if the Dutch attacked Malacca. In this matter, however, the prince was anxious not to commit himself. He explained that he was an *orang miskin*, a person of little wealth and importance, subordinate in all things to the will of his royal brother. "In short," says our angry Dutch chronicler, "all the information that we could obtain from this prince was that he was a very poor man indeed; had he been able to fight the Portuguese by himself, would he have sent to Holland for assistance?" This was unanswerable. The admiral gave up all hope of obtaining any real armed assistance from Johor.

Nevertheless, a treaty was signed. It is the first Dutch treaty with Johor and is dated the 17th May, 1606. Its terms are interesting.

The new allies began by agreeing to capture Malacca. After capturing it, they were to divide up the spoil—the city was to go to the Dutch and the adjoining territories to the Malays, but the Dutch were to possess the right to take timber from the nearest Malay jungles for the needs of the town and its shipping. The permission of the future Dutch Governor of Malacca was to be obtained before any European could be permitted to land on Johor territory.

As this treaty seemed a little premature until the capture of Malacca had been effected, Admiral Matelief set out at once to carry out that portion of the arrangement. He gained a decisive victory over the Portuguese fleet but failed to take the town, and ultimately gave up the enterprise as impracticable. On the 23rd September, 1606, he made an amended treaty under which a small portion of Johor territory was ceded to the Dutch as a trading station in lieu of the town and fort of Malacca, the rest of the treaty remaining the same as before. After concluding this agreement he sailed away and only returned to the Malay Peninsula in October, 1607, when he visited the factory at Patani. He then found that a complete change had come over the

position of affairs at Johor. The Portuguese—having lost the command of the sea—had reversed their policy of unceasing hostility to native powers, and were now prepared to make an alliance with the Sultan. The Dutch factor had fled to Java, and the admiral summed up the situation in a letter dated the 4th January, 1608: "the chief king drinks more than ever; the chiefs are on the side of the Portuguese; Raja Abdullah has no power." The Dutch East India Company had invested \$10,000 at Johor and \$63,000 at Patani.

Admiral Matelief could do very little. As he had sent most of his ships home in anticipation of the arrival of a fleet under Admiral van Caerden he tried to induce Admiral van Caerden to change his course and threaten Johor, but he was too late as the admiral had sailed already from Java on his way to the Moluccas and was too far away to give any assistance. Nothing could be done till the autumn. In the end, a Dutch fleet arrived under Admiral Verhoeff to bring the Sultan to reason. Sultan Alaedin Riayat Shah seems to have defended himself by the very logical argument that he wished to be at peace with everybody, and that Dutch friendship, to be of value, should accord him permanent protection. This permanent protection was promised him by a new treaty under which the Dutch agreed to build a fort at Johor and to station two guardships there to defend the place against Portuguese attack. Having made this arrangement the admiral sailed from Johor with a letter from the Sultan begging for Dutch aid to prosecute a personal quarrel between himself and the Raja of Patani. In fact, nothing could have been more fatuous than the policy of this Alaedin Riayat Shah. Surrounded by powerful enemies he was content to think only of the pleasures and passions of the moment, leaving all graver matters to the care of his cautious brother Raja Abdullah.

In A.D. 1610 the marriage of the Sultan's eldest son to his cousin, the daughter of the Raja of Siak, led to a complete change in the attitude of the fickle Alaedin Riayat Shah towards Raja Abdullah and the Dutch. The Raja of Siak, a friend of the Portuguese, became the real power behind the throne of Johor. Again, as in 1608, the Dutch might well have written: "the king drinks more than ever; the chiefs are on the side of the Portuguese; the Raja Abdullah has no power." But vengeance overtook the treacherous Alaedin from a most unexpected quarter. On the 6th June, 1613, the Achese, who were at war with Malacca, suddenly made a raid on Johor, captured the capital and carried the Sultan off into captivity along with his brother Abdullah, the chief Malay court dignitaries and the Dutch residents in the factory. The Achese did not treat their prisoners very harshly. The Sultan of Aceh—the famous Iskandar Muda or Mahkota Alam—gave his sister in

marriage to Raja Abdullah and even joined Alaedin in the convivial bouts that were so dear to the Johor princes. A reconciliation was effected. On the 25th August, 1614, Alaedin Riayat Shah was back in his own capital, but he does not seem to have learnt much wisdom from his stay in Acheen. Accused of lukewarmness in helping the Achehnese in their siege of Malacca, he brought upon himself for the second time the vengeance of the great Mahkota Alam. Johor was again attacked—this time by a force which an eye-witness, Admiral Steven van der Haghen, estimated at 300 ships and from 80,000 to 40,000 men. Johor was taken, but the Sultan himself escaped to Bintang. Bintang was next attacked. The unfortunate Sultan received some help from Malacca, but only just enough to seal his destruction. He was now unable either to repel the attack of his enemies or to clear himself of the charge of allying himself with the Portuguese infidel against whom Mahkota Alam was waging religious war. Alaedin Riayat Shah was taken prisoner and died very shortly afterwards; tradition has it that he was put to death by his captors.

Incidentally it may be observed that the "Malay Annals," though dated A.D. 1612, refer to "the late Sultan Alaedin Riayat Shah who died in Acheen." This reference shows that the book though begun in A.D. 1612 was not actually completed till some years later. It is very much to be regretted that the Malay historian should have confined his work to the records of the past and should have given us no account whatever of the stirring incidents in which he personally, as Bendahara, must have played a most prominent part.

Sultan Alaedin Riayat Shah III was succeeded by his brother Raja Abdullah, who took the title of Sultan Abdullah Maayat Shah. The new ruler possessed many good qualities and enjoyed the advantage of being married to a sister of Mahkota Alam, but he was extremely unfortunate in being forced to contend against so jealous a potentate as his brother-in-law. He seems to have led the wandering existence of a pretender-king. In A.D. 1623 he was certainly driven out of the island of Lingga by an Achehnese force. In A.D. 1634 the Dutch records speak of Pahang and Johor as being incorporated in the kingdom of Acheen. No Dutch ships ever visited Abdullah during his sultanate; no Dutch factors were ever stationed at his court. He was deserving but unfortunate—a mere claimant to a throne that the Achehnese would not permit him to fill. He died in A.D. 1637.

He was succeeded—if indeed we can speak of succession to so barren a title—by his nephew, Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah II, son of the Sultan Alaedin Riayat Shah III who died in Acheen. The new ruler was more fortunate than his predecessor in that the Achehnese power was now on the wane. The mighty Iskandar Muda or Mahkota Alam, the most powerful and most ambitious

of the rulers of Acheen, was dead; his sceptre had passed into the hands of women. These years—from 1637 onwards—may be considered years of revival among the Malay States that had been reduced to vassalage by Acheen, for they gave a new lease of life to the kingdoms of Johor, Pahang and Perak. In A.D. 1639 the Dutch, who were anxious to procure native assistance for the siege of Malacca, made overtures to the Sultan. Possessing the command of the sea they wanted Malay auxiliaries to assist them with supplies and transport, and to help in hemming in the Portuguese by land. The Dutch Admiral van de Veer accordingly entered into an agreement with Abdul Jalil Shah and definitely secured him as an ally in the war against Malacca. This time the Portuguese stronghold was captured (A.D. 1641).

In spite of the fact that the military commanders at Malacca were not altogether satisfied with the help given them by their Malay allies, the Dutch civil authorities did their best to show gratitude to Johor and to restore it as much as possible to its old position. They arranged a peace between Johor and Acheen, and gave various other assurances of their goodwill to the Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah. We hear of various complimentary missions being exchanged between Johor and Batavia without much practical result. What else, indeed, could we have expected? Johor became useless to Holland as soon as the capture of Malacca gave the Dutch a better station in the Straits than the old trading factory of Batu Sawar had ever been. Johor had no industries, no trade, no productive hinterland. It was bound to decline. Sultan Abdul Jalil lived long enough to see a great calamity overwhelm his country. A quarrel with the Sultan of Jambi led in A.D. 1673 to a war in which Johor was plundered and burnt and its aged ruler driven into exile. The death of the old Sultan—who did not long survive the shock of the destruction of his capital—brought to an end the direct line of the Johor dynasty.

He was succeeded by a cousin, a Pahang prince, who took the name of Sultan Ibrahim Shah. The new ruler's energy infused fresh life into the State; he established himself at Riau in order to carry on the war against Jambi more effectively than from Johor Lama, he allied himself with the Dutch, and in time succeeded in regaining what his predecessor had lost. But he did not live long. On the 16th February, 1685, he died, leaving an only son who was at once placed on the throne under the title of Sultan Mahmud Shah. As the new Sultan was a mere boy his mother became regent, but she allowed all real power to be vested in the Bendahara Paduka Raja, the loyal and able minister of her late husband the victorious Sultan Ibrahim. She was wisely advised in so doing. Peace was assured; the traditional friendship with Holland was loyally kept up by the

Bendahara; internal troubles of all kinds were avoided. Unfortunately the Bendahara died, and his headstrong ward took the government of the State into his own hands. In A.D. 1691 we hear of him as ruling from Johor. This young Sultan, Mahmud Shah II, the last prince of his race—ruler of Pahang and Riau as well as of Johor—is the most mysterious and tragic figure in Malay history. He was said to be the victim of one of those terrible ghostly visitants, a Malay vampire, the spirit of a woman dead in childbirth and full of vengeance against the cause of her death. He is accused—by Malay traditions from all parts of the Peninsula—of having slain in the most fiendish manner those of his wives who had the misfortune to become pregnant. Probably he was mad; but no form of madness could have been more dangerous to a prince in his position. The frail life of this insane and hated Sultan was the only thing that stood between any bold conspirator and the thrones of Johor, Pahang and Lingga. The end came in A.D. 1699. As the young ruler was being carried to mosque at Kota Tinggi on the shoulders of one of his retainers he was stabbed to death. All Malay accounts ascribe this assassination to the Sultan's minister, the Bendahara Sri Maharaja, head of the great family that is described in the "Malay Annals" as glorying in the tradition of fidelity to its princes. With the death of the Sultan Mahmud Shah II the dynasty of Malacca, Johor and Pahang disappears from the page of history.

In the records of this long line of kings the point that most impresses the student is the curiously personal character of Malay sovereignty. In Europe, where all the continent is divided up under different rulers, there is no place for a fallen king except as a subject; in the thinly populated Malay world the position was entirely different. So long as a fugitive prince could induce a few followers to share his lot he could always find some unoccupied valley or river in which to set up his miniature court. The wandering fugitive Raja Abdullah (A.D. 1615-1637), whose movements cannot be traced and the date of whose death is uncertain, was nevertheless a king—"Sultan Abdullah Maayat Shah, the glory of his land and of his time." He was born in the purple. But to less highly-born adventurers the acquisition of royal rank (as distinct from mere power) was a very difficult matter. All Malay popular feeling is against the "worm" that aspires to become a "dragon." Should a bad harvest or a murrain or any other misfortune overtake the subjects of an upstart ruler all Malaya would have explained it as the Nemesis that waits on sacrilege, the result of outraging the divine majesty of kings. Royalty was a mere matter of caste, but a great Sultan might create minor Sultans just as the Emperor of China made a Sultan of the Paramisura Muhammad Shah, or as Sultan Mansur Shah divided his dominions between his sons, or as Sultan Mahmud

Shah gave sovereign rank to his son Ahmad Shah, or as the Queen may be said to have created the Sultanates of Johore and Pahang. Titular dignity was one thing; real authority was another. Powerful *de facto* rulers such as, in recent times, the Bendahara of Pahang, the Temenggong of Johor and the Dato of Rembau, and great territorial magnates like the Maharaja Perba of Jelai were kings in all except the name. The glamour of titles and of royal descent is so great that it often obscures realities. The Dutch when they negotiated their treaty with the Sultan of Acheen found, when too late, that he was Sultan in rank only, not in power. The sympathy that has been lavished upon the dispossessed princely house of Singapore is based upon a misconception of the meaning of Malay "royalty." Royal rank meant prestige, position, influence—the things that lead to power. Royal rank was a great thing in Malay eyes and justified the attention that they devoted to pedigree and to the discussion of the relative importance of the articles that made up a king's regalia. But the student of Malay things who mistakes mere rank for power will constantly be surprised to find—as Admiral Matchef was astonished to discover—that a Malay prince is often an *orang miskin*, a very poor person indeed.

Immediately after the death of the unhappy Mahmud Shah, his murderer, the Bendahara Sri Maharaja, ascended the throne of Johor and Pahang under the title of Sultan Abdul Jalil Riayat Shah. Like most princes who obtain a crown by violence he found that his position was one of ever-growing danger from malcontents at home and enemies abroad. Two new disturbing forces had entered the arena of Malayan politics. The first was the great Menangkabau immigration; the second was the continued presence of Bugis fleets and colonies on the Peninsular coast. A constant stream of industrious Sumatran Malays had for some time past been pouring into the inland districts now known as the Negri Sembilan. These men, being very tenacious of their own tribal rights and customs, resented any interference from Johor. The Bugis were even more dangerous. They were more warlike and more energetic than the Malays; they built bigger ships; they were ambitious, and they seemed anxious to get firm footing in the country. In A.D. 1713 Sultan Abdul Jalil Riayat Shah tried to strengthen his position by a closer alliance with the Dutch; but such a policy, though it might assist him against foreign foes, was of very little use against the enemies of his own household. In A.D. 1717 (or a little earlier) an incident occurred that may be described as one of the more extraordinary events in Malay history. A Menangkabau adventurer calling himself Raja Keebil appeared in Johor, gave himself out to be a posthumous son of the murdered Mahmud Shah and stirred up a revolution in the capital. But the strangest part of the incident was its termination. The

upstart Sultan Abdul Jalil Riayat Shah consented to revert to his old position of Bendahara Sri Maharaja and to serve under the impostor, Raja Kechil, whose claims he must have known to be false. To cement this alliance between murder and fraud the ex-Sultan agreed to give his daughter, Tèngku Tèngah, in marriage to the new Sultan, who took the name of Abdul Jalil Rahmat Shah.

It is difficult to trace exactly the course of events after this point because we have two Malay partisan histories written from opposite points of view. One history accepts this Raja Kechil as a true son of the murdered Sultan Mahmud; the other treats him as a scoundrel and an impostor, and makes a martyr of the deposed assassin, Sultan Abdul Jalil Riayat Shah. There can be no doubt that the Bendahara's relatives conspired with the Bugis against their new master, but the details of the plot are not very clear. According to one account a woman's jealousy provoked the trouble. Raja Kechil jilted Tèngku Tèngah in order to marry her younger sister, Tèngku Kamariah. This little substitution of one sister for another did not injure the Bendahara, but it made a great deal of difference to the ambitious Tèngku Tèngah and caused further disension in a family that was already divided by personal jealousies, as the children of the Bendahara who were born after his accession to the throne denied that their elder brothers—who were born before their father became a king—had any right to call themselves princes. It is not surprising that intrigues and conspiracies should have been begun. There was at this time in Johor a Bugis adventurer named Daeng Parani. Tèngku Sulaiman, eldest son of the Bendahara, went to this man and appealed to him for help in overthrowing the upstart Raja Kechil. Daeng Parani hesitated; the odds against him were too great. Tèngku Sulaiman then tried to win over the Bugis adventurer by promising him the hand of his sister, Tèngku Tèngah, in marriage. Daeng Parani again refused. At this juncture Tèngku Tèngah herself came forward and made a personal appeal to the love and chivalry of the Bugis chief. Daeng Parani now consented to act. With great boldness—for he had only a handful of men in the heart of a hostile capital—he surrounded the Sultan's residence and endeavoured to slay Raja Kechil and to abduct Tèngku Kamariah. He was only partially successful; the Sultan escaped. Daeng Parani fled to Selangor, leaving his fellow-conspirators behind. Tèngku Sulaiman and Tèngku Tèngah fled to Pahang. The aged Bendahara, father of Tèngku Sulaiman and Tèngku Tèngah, feeling that he would be suspected of having taken a part in the conspiracy, followed his children in their flight but was overtaken and murdered at Kuala Pahang. He is the Sultan known as *Markum Kuala Pahang*. Tèngku Sulaiman managed, however, to make good his escape and ultimately joined his Bugis friends.

After these incidents Raja Kechil—or Abdul Jalil Bahmat Shah as he styled himself—abandoned Johor Lama, the scene of so many misfortunes to Malay kings, and made a new capital for himself at Riau. He carried on with great courage and success a desultory war against the Bugis, but was ultimately outmanœuvred and lost his position as Sultan of Johor because the Bugis ships, having enticed the Malay fleet to Kuala Linggi, doubled back during the night and suddenly appeared before Riau. In the absence of its king and his followers, Riau could offer no resistance. The Bugis proclaimed Têngku Sulaiman Sultan of Johor under the title of Sultan Sulaiman Badru' Alam Shah. The principal Bugis chief, Daeng Merewah (or Kiara Jaya Putra) became "Yang di pertuan Muda" of Riau with the title of Sultan Alaedim Shah, while another Bugis chief, Daeng Manompo, became "Raja Tua" under the title of Sultan Ibrahim Shah. This seems to have occurred on the 22nd October, a. d. 1721, but the formal investiture only took place on the 4th October, 1722. To strengthen their position, the Bugis chiefs allied themselves in marriage with the Malays. Daeng Manompo married Tum Tepati, aunt of Sultan Sulaiman, Daeng Merewah married Inche Ayu, daughter of the ex-Temenggong Abdul Jalil and widow of the murdered Sultan Mahmud, Daeng Param had married Têngku Tengah, and Daeng Chelak sought to marry Têngku Kamariah the captured wife of Raja Kechil. Other Bugis chiefs—Daeng Sasuru and Daeng Mengato—married nieces of Sultan Sulaiman.

As the Bugis accounts of the Raja Kechil incident differ very materially from the Malay version we can hardly hope to get a thoroughly reliable history of the events that led to the establishment of Bugis kingdoms in the Straits of Malacca. We may, however, consider it certain that Raja Kechil was not a posthumous son of Sultan Mahmud Shah. Dutch records prove that Raja Kechil was an extremely old man in a. d. 1745, they even provide strong evidence that he was 33 years of age when he seized the throne of Johor, he must therefore, have been an older man than the prince whom he claimed as his father. In all probability Raja Kechil won his kingdom by mere right of conquest, supplanting a murderer who was quite ready to give up an untenable throne and to take a secure position as Bendahara under a strong ruler. In later years, when the Malays became savagely hostile to their Bugis master, they were doubtless ready to accept any tale and to follow a Menangkabau ruler, who was at least a Malay in preference to the Bugis pirates and their miserable tool Sultan Sulaiman Shah. But when Raja Kechil died the Malays rallied to the side of his younger son (who had a royal Malay mother) and treated the elder son as a mere alien without any claim to the throne. The murder at Kota Tinggi in a. d. 1666 had divided the allegiance of the Malay

world and contributed greatly to the success of the Bugis; it was only at the close of the eighteenth century that the old Johor communities again recognised a common ruler.

The Bugis chiefs at Riau paid very little attention to the puppet Sultans that they set up. They so exasperated Sultan Sulaiman that he soon left his sultanate and fled to Kampar (A.D. 1728). After this incident the Bugis felt that they had gone too far and they made a new treaty with their titular sovereign and induced him to return to Riau. It should be understood that even with Sultan Sulaiman's help the Bugis position at Riau was very insecure. Raja Kechil, who had established himself at Siak, gained many victories and repeatedly attacked his enemies in their very capital. In A.D. 1727 he even rescued his wife, Têngku Kamariah, who was held captive at Riau itself. In A.D. 1728, with the aid of Palembang troops, he laid siege to Riau and was repulsed. In A.D. 1729 the Bugis blockaded Siak and were repulsed in their turn. The history of the whole of this period of Bugis activity (1721 to 1785) is extremely involved, but is fully discussed in Dutch works, especially in the 35th volume of the Transactions of the Batavian Society. We can only briefly refer to it.

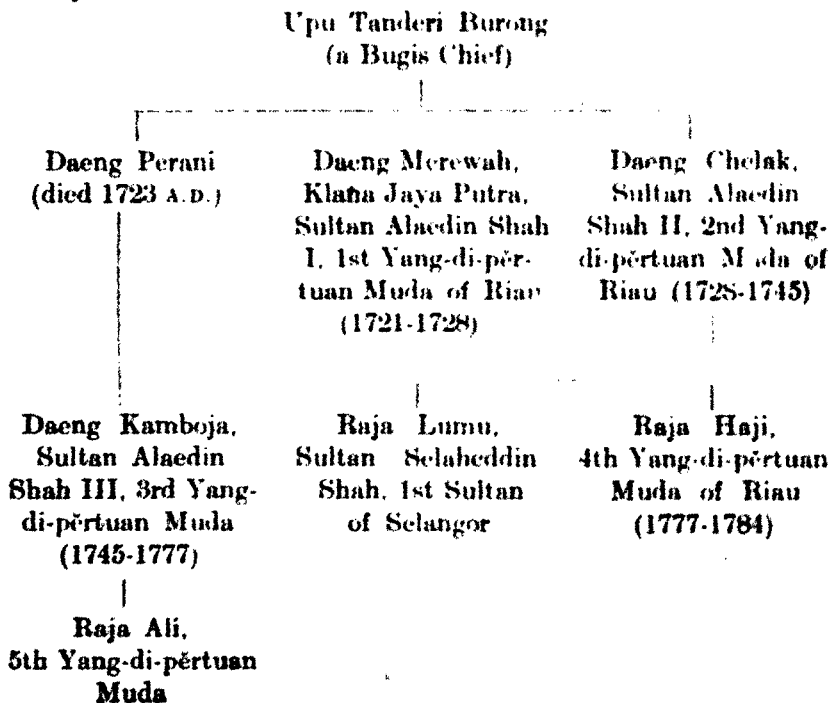
The policy of the Dutch—so far as their general unwillingness to interfere allowed of any policy—was that of supporting the Malays against the restless and piratical Bugis. It was a difficult policy, this assistance of the weak against the strong, but it proved successful in the end. Looking at it in the light of ultimate results we can compare two exactly similar situations—one in 1756 and the other in 1784—and notice the difference in treatment. On both occasions Malacca was attacked.

On the first occasion the Dutch, after repelling the attack on their fortress, allied themselves with the Malays (Sultan Sulaiman, his son the Têngku Besar, and his son-in-law the Sultan of Trengganu) and forced the Bugis to come to terms (A.D. 1757) and to acknowledge the Sultan of Johor as their lawful sovereign. This plan did not work well. Sultan Sulaiman had great difficulty in enforcing his authority. To make matters worse, his death (20th August, 1760) occurred at a time when his eldest son, the Têngku Besar, was on a mission to the Bugis princes of Linggi and Selangor. If Malay records are to be believed, the Bugis chief Daeng Kamboja was not a man to waste an opportunity. He poisoned the Têngku Besar and then took his body, with every possible manifestation of grief, back to Riau to be buried. At the burial he proclaimed the Têngku Besar's young son Sultan of Johor under the title of Sultan Ahmad Riayat Shah, but he also nominated himself to be regent. When the unhappy boy-king was a little older and seemed likely to take the Government into his own hands he, too, was poisoned so as to allow a mere child, his brother, to be made Sultan and

to prolong the duration of the regency. The Dutch plan of securing Malay ascendancy had completely failed; the Bugis were stronger than ever.

On the second occasion (when Raja Haji attacked Malacca in 1784) the Dutch, after repelling the attack and killing the Bugis chief, followed up their success by driving the Bugis out of Riau and recognising the young Malay Sultan Mahmud Riayat Shah as the ruler of Johor. But on this occasion they felt that they could not trust any native dynasty to maintain permanent peace. They accordingly made a treaty with the Sultan and stationed a Resident with a small Dutch garrison at Riau. This plan did not work very well at first; it pleased neither the Bugis nor the Malay chiefs. The fifth Bugis "Yamtuan Muda" attacked Riau; the Malay Sultan fled from his capital to get up a coalition against the Dutch; even the Hanun pirates made an attack upon the place. In time, however, when the various chiefs came to recognise that the glories of independence were not sufficient compensation for losing the creature-comforts of security and peace, both the Malay Mahmud Shah and the Bugis Yamtuan Muda settled down definitely at Riau and accepted the part of dependent princes.

The following pedigree shows the branches of the Bugis family that ruled in the Straits:



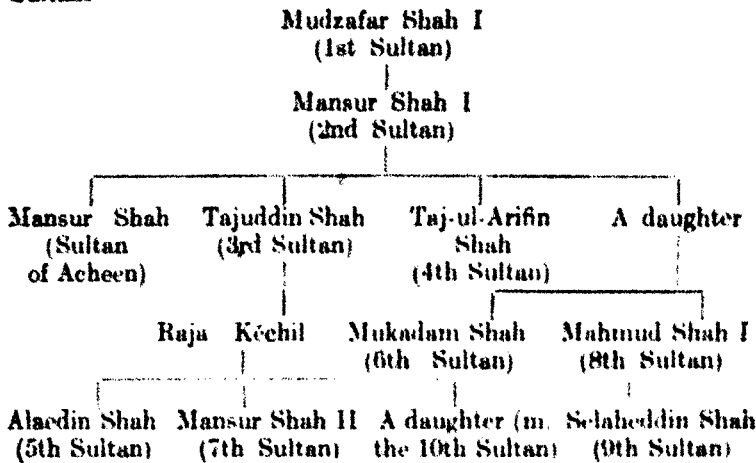
Sultan Mahmud Riayat Shah of Johor died in the year 1812 A.D., leaving two sons, Těngku Husain and Těngku Abdurrahman. The latter was at once proclaimed Sultan by the Bugis Yang-di-pěrtuan Muda of Riau. The elder son, Těngku Husain, who was absent in Pahang at the time of his father's death, returned to Riau, but appears to have made no effective protest against his younger brother's accession. Sultan Abdurrahman was recognised as Sultan of Johor and Pahang by both the Dutch and the English until January, 1819, when it suited Sir Stamford Raffles to repudiate that recognition and to accord to Těngku Husain the title of Sultan of Johor. From this time the line of Sultans divides into two, one branch reigning under Dutch protection in the island of Lingga, the other living under British protection in the town of Singapore itself.

THE PENINSULAR STATES.

PERAK.—The history of Perak may be divided into four periods. Of the first period (during which the seat of Government was at Bruas in the Dindings) we know next to nothing. A few carved tombstones represent all that is left of this very ancient capital—and even these are of late Achehnese make and throw no light whatever on the early history of the country. If Malay tradition is right in saying that the great arm of the sea at the Dindings was once an outlet of the Perak river we can easily understand the importance of Bruas, combining as it did the advantages of a perfect landlocked harbour with a commanding situation at the mouth of the greatest waterway in the western half of the Peninsula. Although Bruas was powerful, the "Malay Annals" tell us, before even the mythical ancestors of the Malacca dynasty appeared on the famous hill of Siguntang, it had begun to decline as the river silted up. In the days of Sultan Mahmud (A.D. 1500) Bruas had so far fallen that its king did homage to Malacca in mere gratitude for assistance against a petty rival village. After the Achehnese invasion the place entirely disappears from history.

The second period of Perak history stretches from the coming of Mudzafar Shah I, the reputed founder of the long line of Perak kings, down to the extinction of his direct male line in the wars with Acheen. This period covers a century—from

A.D. 1530 to 1630—and is marked by the reigns of nine Sultans



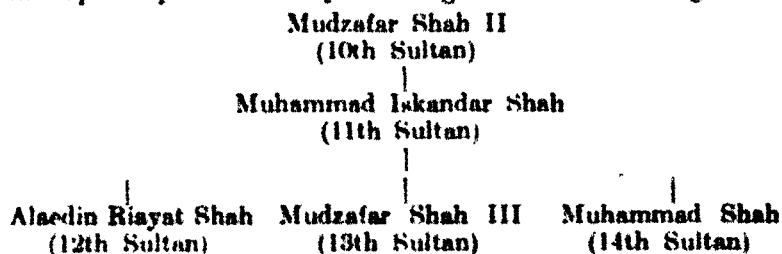
Perak tradition (as we have seen) identifies its first Sultan, Mudzafar Shah, with a son of Sultan Mahmud I of Malacca, who was born about A.D. 1505 and was at one time heir to the throne of Johor but was passed over in favour of his younger brother, Alaedin Riayat Shah II. It goes on to tell us that this disinherited prince after having first settled in Selangor was invited to fill the throne of Perak, and that he reached his new kingdom after various adventures, such as the slaughter of the great serpent Si Katimuna with the sword Chura Si Manjakini. In the story of this prince the Perak tradition does not hesitate to borrow from the legend of Sang Sapurba. Mudzafar Shah was succeeded by his son Mansur Shah. After the death of this latter prince his widow and children were taken prisoners by Achehnese invaders and carried off to Kota Raja where fortune favoured them in that the eldest son—another Mansur Shah—succeeded in marrying the Queen of Acheen.

After restoring his brothers to Perak this Achehnese Mansur Shah perished in a revolution in A.D. 1585. Early in the seventeenth century the great Iskandar Muda or Mahkota Alam, Sultan of Acheen, conquered Perak, and led ruler after ruler to captivity and death until the direct male line of Mudzafar Shah had completely died out and Perak had become a mere province of his empire. About the year 1635 Mahkota Alam died, and his successor, Sultan Mughal, sent a certain Raja Sulong (who had married a Perak princess) to govern Perak as a tributary prince under the name of Sultan Mudzafar Shah II. This event begins the third period of Perak History.

There seems very little doubt that there was a Raja Mudzafar who was disinherited by Sultan Mahmud Shah in the

manner described by Perak tradition. It is also true that this Raja Mudzafar married a lady named Tun Trang and had a son, Raja Mansur, as the Perak tradition tells us. It also seems true enough that the Achehnese invaded and conquered Perak. The only evidence against the truth of this story is negative evidence. The "Malay Annals" are absolutely silent as to Raja Mudzafar having gone to Perak, though they give an account of the second Mudzafar Shah, who was unquestionably Sultan of Perak and who may possibly have been confused with the first.

The third period of Perak history begins with the accession of Mudzafar Shah II (A.D. 1637) and goes down to the death of Mudzafar Shah III (A.D. 1765). The Sultans with which tradition fills up this period of 128 years are given in the following table :



It should be added that the 11th Sultan is said to have reigned for 111 years and that the next three Sultans were his nephews by birth and his sons by adoption.

This period presents great difficulties. Raja Sulong, who married a Perak princess and was sent by the King of Acheen to rule over Perak, is a real figure in history. His mother was a daughter or niece of the author of the "Malay Annals." But (if we are to believe the "Malay Annals") this Mudzafar Shah II was succeeded by Raja Mansur, "who is reigning now." The Perak account itself speaks of the 12th, 13th and 14th Sultans as grandsons of a certain Mansur Shah, who is not given in the pedigree. The Perak account also states that the Bugis chief Klana Jaya Putra invaded Perak in the days of Alaedin Riayat Shah. As the Klana died in A.D. 1728, the 111-year reign seems to need some modification. Again, the Bugis Raja Lumu is said to have been created Sultan of Selangor by Sultan Mahmud Shah of Perak in A.D. 1743; who is this Mahmud Shah?

Putting aside these questions of royal descent we know that this period (A.D. 1637—1765) was one of extreme turbulence, and, probably, of civil war. In A.D. 1650 the Dutch opened a factory on the Perak river; in A.D. 1661 the factory was destroyed and its inmates massacred. Hamilton, writing in A.D. 1727, speaks of Perak as "properly a part of the kingdom of Johor, but the people are untractable and rebellious and the Government anarchical. Their religion is a sort of heterodox

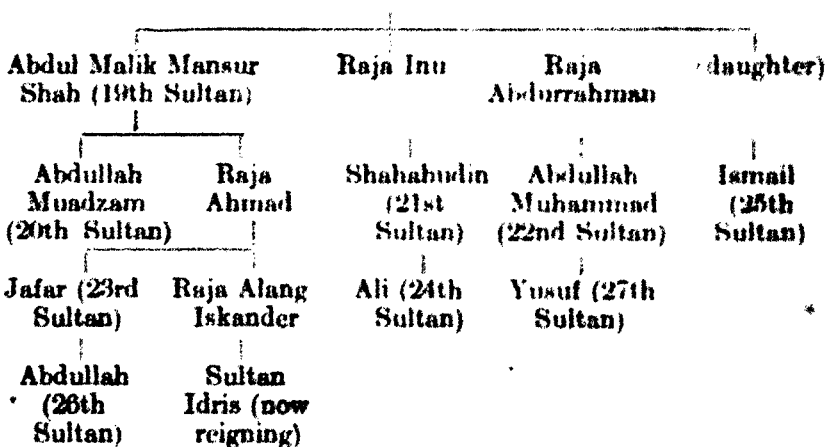
Muhammadanism. The country produces more tin than any in India, but the inhabitants are so treacherous, faithless and bloody that no European nation can keep factories there with safety. The Dutch tried it once, and the first year had their factory cut off. They then settled on Pulau Dinding, but about the year 1690 that factory was also cut off." The ruins of the blockhouse on the island of Pangkor are still to be seen.

In justice to the Malays it should be added that the Dutch in their anxiety to secure a trade-monopoly treated the selling of tin to anyone but themselves as a serious offence and even as a *casus belli*. It is not, therefore, surprising that disputes were frequent and sanguinary.

The first half of the eighteenth century in Perak was marked by internal anarchy and foreign invasions. There were three kings in the State—the Sultan of Bernam, the Sultan of Perak, and the Regent; the chiefs were at war with each other and the Bugis kept raiding the country. About A.D. 1757 things had so far settled down that the Dutch were able to establish a factory at Tanjong Putus on the Perak river. They subsequently sent a mission to Sultan Mudzafar Shah about A.D. 1764 and concluded a treaty with his successor, Muhammad Shah, in A.D. 1765.

The exact position of the next four Sultans in the Perak pedigree is a matter of doubt, but they seem to have been either brothers or cousins of one another and to have belonged to the generation immediately following Mudzafar Shah III and Muhammad Shah. From the 18th Sultan onwards the pedigree is officially stated to have been as follows:

Ahmadin Shah (18th Sultan)



The special interest of this table lies in its illustration of the curious law of succession under which the three branches of the royal house take it in turn to provide the reigning Sultan.

SELANGOR.—The present reigning dynasty of Selangor traces its descent to Raja Lumu, son of Daeng Chelak, one of the Bugis chiefs who overthrew the old State of Johor in A.D. 1722, but it should be added that Raja Lumu appears to have become Raja of Selangor through his mother and not through his father. In any case, he was recognised as Sultan of Selangor in A.D. 1743. He maintained a close alliance with his Riau relatives and with the Bugis of Kuala Linggi. In A.D. 1756 and again in A.D. 1783 the combined Bugis forces attacked Malacca but were repulsed with heavy loss. On the second occasion the Dutch followed up their success by attacking Kuala Selangor and ultimately forcing the Sultan to come to terms.

There have been five Sultans of Selangor: Sultan Selaheddin who founded the dynasty, Sultan Ibrahim who made the treaty with the Dutch in A.D. 1786, Sultan Muhammad who reigned from A.D. 1826 to A.D. 1856, Sultan Aboul Samad who accepted British protection, and Sultan Sulaiman the present ruler. The principal events in the history of this State during the last century were the development of Lukut as a mining centre and the civil wars between Raja Mahdi and Tengku Dzia-ud-din. The Lukut mining led to a great influx of Chinese immigrants, who paid a poll-tax to the Bugis chiefs for their protection and who were kept in order by the splendid old fort on the hills near Port Dickson. As the Sultan seems to have taken rather more of this revenue than the local chiefs would willingly have given him, Raja Jumaat, the principal Lukut chief, succeeded at Sultan Muhammad's death in diverting the succession from the Sultan's son to a weak nominee of his own who belonged to another branch of the family. The new ruler, Sultan Abdul Samad, did not interfere with the Lukut princes, but he ultimately allowed himself to be influenced by a stronger will than his own and surrendered all true power into the hands of his son-in-law, the Kedah Prince Tengku Dzia-ud-Din. He thereby exasperated many of his subjects, who did not like to see a foreigner become the real ruler of the country. Civil war broke out and was only terminated by the Bendahara of Pahang marching into Selangor and restoring peace by force of arms. It was then found out that the Sultan had been quietly giving his support to both parties—a discovery that led to his famous defence, "Both parties were right—from their own point of view." A bad case of piracy in 1874 brought matters to a crisis again and led to British intervention.

Politically the State of Selangor has not been interesting. Piratical and anarchical, it never developed any organised system of government nor did the authority of the Bugis chiefs ever extend very far beyond their own little settlements on the rivers or near the mines.

NEGRI SEMBILAN.—About the middle of the seventeenth century—after the decline of Acheen and before the coming of the Bugis pirates—a large number of Menangkabau Malays migrated in small detachments from Sumatra into the Peninsula, where they founded the little confederacy of States now known as the Negri Sembilan. Extremely proud of their origin—for Menangkabau is the purest-blooded kingdom of Malaya—the descendants of these immigrants still speak of themselves as “we sons of Menangkabau, who live with the heavens above us and the earth beneath our feet, we who once dwelt on the slopes of the mighty volcanoes as far as the Great Pass through which we came down to the plains of Sumatra in the Isle of Andalas.” The early settlers taught this formula to their children so that their history might never be forgotten.

But they taught more. These sons of Menangkabau were passionately devoted to the old legal sayings in which is embodied a most extraordinary system of matriarchal law. They are the most conservative people in Malaya. To their everlasting honour it should be added that they loyally observed covenants by which they first obtained possession of their lands, and that to this day, although all real power has long since passed out of the hands of the aborigines, the proud “sons of Menangkabau” acknowledge as ruling chiefs in Rembau and Johol men who are avowedly the representatives of the humbler race. The migrations seem to have been peaceful. The first-comers occupied the nearest lands in the district of Naning; the next arrivals settled in Rembau; the latest settlers had to go further afield—to Sri Menanti, to Inas, to Sungai Ujong and to Jelebu. In the development of their peculiar systems of constitutional law and statecraft, treaties or conventions (*muafakat*) probably played a great part. In Naning succession to the chieftaincy went by descent in the female line—a Dato’ Sri Maharaja was succeeded by his eldest sister’s son. This little State has been absorbed into the Settlement of Malacca, but the representatives of the old rulers still receive a great deal of popular respect and were even given a small allowance of about £40 a year by the British Government up to a few years ago.

Next in antiquity to Naning comes Rembau. Tradition has it that the first settlers in Rembau were headed by two chiefs, Dato’ Laut Dalam and Dato’ Lela Blang. These men, though they settled in different localities, made an alliance and arranged that their descendants (in the female line) should take it in turn to be rulers of the country. With the craving for high-sounding names that is so striking a feature of Malay character these two chiefs sought and obtained from the then Sultan of Johor the titles that their descendants still bear. The present ruler is the seventeenth Dato’ of Rembau and the ninth “Dato’ Lela Maharaja,” the other eight being “Dato’ Sedia Raja.”

The founders of the State of Rembau were followed to the Negri Sembilan by the headmen of other immigrant parties, until at last a whole aristocracy of petty dignitaries was established in the country. Far from their homes in Sumatra, and surrounded by possible foes, the early settlers had looked to Johor for protection and recognition, but the last-comers, finding themselves strong and Johor weak, began to seek for a prince of their own from the royal line of Menangkabau. In their own words :

“The villager owes obedience to the village-elders,
The village-elders to the tribal chief,
The tribal chief to the ruling chief,
The ruling chief to the titular head of the State.”

This head of the State was the Yang-di-pertuan Besar of Sri Menanti. He occupied a position of great dignity but of very little real authority over great ruling chiefs like the Dato' of Rembau; but of late years he has had his office strengthened by British support. The principal ruling chiefs are :

The Dato' Klana Petra of Sungai Ujong;

The Dato' Mendika Mantri Akhirzaman of Jelebu;

The Dato' Johan Pahlawan Lela Perkasa Setiawan of Johor;

The Dato' of Rembau;

The Dato' Bandar of Sungai Ujong;

The *Tengku Besar* of Tampin, and

• The Dato' Muda of Linggi.

PAHANG —The early history of the State of Pahang—as usually given—is brief and inaccurate. Even so authoritative a work as the present edition of the official “Handbook of the Federated Malay States” sums it up in two statements, both of which are incorrect. It says: “The first ruler of Pahang of whom there is any record was a son of the Sultan Mahmud who fled to Pahang from Malacca after the capture of that town by the Portuguese in A. D. 1511. A reputed descendant of his was Bendahara Ali, who died in the year 1850 or thereabouts.”

We know from Portuguese as well as Malay sources that when Albuquerque arrived at Malacca he found the city engaged in festivities over the marriage of Sultan Mahmud's daughter to a Sultan of Pahang. The statement in the Handbook is therefore singularly unfortunate; a son of Sultan Mahmud is the only person whom that ruler could not have been. There is, however, no mystery about the origin of the old line of Sultans of Pahang. The country was conquered by Mansur Shah or Mudzafar Shah, and was created a separate sultanate when the former ruler bestowed it upon his eldest son. Mansur Shah's descendants

continued to reign over Pahang till 1600 when Mahmud Shah II, the latest prince of the line, was murdered by his Bendahara. Mahmud Shah II was succeeded as Sultan of Johor and Pahang by this Bendahara, who was not a descendant of the old Malacca kings and who took the title of Abdul Jalil Riayat Shah. As after the Bugis conquest of Lingga the Sultans were practically hostages and had to reside at Riau they deputed their principal ministers to govern in their name, the Bendahara in Pahang and the Temenggong in Johor. These ministers continued, however, to visit Riau from time to time and to take part in the decision of the important matters such as questions of succession to the throne. At the death of Sultan Mahmud Riayat Shah (A.D. 1812) the Bendahara came up from Pahang and seems to have accepted Sultan Abdurrahman as his suzerain, though he must have personally favoured the other candidate, Tengku Husam, who was his own son-in-law. When the Riau family divided into the Singapore branch under British protection and the Lingga branch under Dutch control the Bendaharas of Pahang acknowledged the Lingga rulers while the Temenggongs of Johor threw in their lot with the English. In time, however, both of these great feudatories began to pay less attention to their titular suzerains and to assume the position of independent princes, until at last the British Government recognised the real position by converting the Bendahara into a Sultan of Pahang and the Temenggong into a Sultan of Johore.

Malay history is a record of great vicissitudes of fortune. Time after time the connecting link between one period and another is a mere band of fugitives, a few score refugees. Such was the case in A.D. 1511, in A.D. 1526, in A.D. 1615, in A.D. 1673 and in A.D. 1721. It should not therefore be imagined that the new States that were built up after each successive disaster were made up entirely—or even largely—of men of true Malay blood. The bond connecting the Peninsular States is unity of language and religion more than unity of race. The northern Malay is physically unlike the southern Malay; the one has been compared to a cart-horse and the other to a Batak pony. The Malay population of Perak, Pahang and the Negri Sembilan must be largely Sakai, that of Selangor is Sakai or Bugis where it is not made up of recent immigrants. Moreover, the Malays have accepted many of the traditions and beliefs of the people who preceded them in the possession of the land; they worship at the holy places of the older races of the country and believe in the same spirits of disease. Any one who is a Moslem and speaks the Malay tongue is accepted as a Malay whatever his ancestry; there is no real unity about Malay tradition. Still there are three systems of government that are essentially Malayan. The first is what one may call "river" government. The State was a river valley; the Sultan lived near the mouth and levied toll on

all the produce that travelled up and down the great highway of communication. Such a State could be controlled with comparative ease since the great feudal chiefs who governed the reaches and the tributaries of the main stream were dependent for their imports and exports on the goodwill of the king. Pahang, Trengganu, Kelantan and Perak all furnished good examples of this type of feudal government. The second type of Malay kingdom was the predatory State—a Malay Sultan with a sort of military aristocracy living on the foreign settlers in his own country or terrorising smaller Malay communities into paying blackmail or tribute. Malacca, Johor Lama, Acheen, Riau and Pasai were instances of this type of predatory rule; the Larut and Lukut settlements in the nineteenth century show how it could be applied to comparatively modern conditions. The third type is represented by the matriarchal communities of Menangkabau or Negri Sembilan. Self-sufficing, independent of trade and rather averse to war, a Negri Sembilan village might be established at some distance from any navigable river and was not usually amenable to the control of central authorities. It led to the evolution of a most interesting and successful type of a government that one might almost call constitutional. But annalists do not, as a rule, take much interest in the humble politics of village communities, nor do they care much about the civil wars of feudal river-states; it is always the lawless predatory government that makes most noise in the world. The great names of Malay history are those of men like Mansur Shah of Malacca and Mahkota Alam of Acheen. None the less, the best political work of the Malay race was done in the little villages that have no history—the matriarchal communities in the highlands of Sumatra and in the valleys of the Negri Sembilan.

PART II.

NOTES ON PERAK.

LEGENDARY HISTORY.¹

ALL Perak tradition points to Bruas as the original seat of Malay rule in the State. Tradition is supported by history in so far that the "Malay Annals" speak of Bruas as having been a powerful kingdom long before the Malays settled in Malacca or even in Palembang. Geography also supports legend, for, if the great estuary known as the Dindings river was once an outlet of the Perak, Bruas must have occupied an ideal situation for the capital of the State. But the rivers have silted up, the modern village of Bruas (Pangkalan Baharu) is many miles to seaward of the old site, and the fame of the district has long since passed away. A few old legends still linger about the tombstones that mark the spot where the ancient capital once stood. The lost town—so runs the story—was so large that it took a cat three months to do the circuit of the roofs. The water-jars were so huge that ladders had to be used to get at their contents, while, as for the serpents—but even a Bruas Malay apologises for the stories about them. These snakes, it appears, used to stand on their tails and fall with killing weight on the unwary passer-by. More interesting, perhaps, than these echoes of past glories are the Malay predictions about the future of Bruas. It is prophesied that Bruas will be the last province of Perak to be developed, but that, when developed, it will excel all the rest in its wealth and its prosperity. Anyone who knows the splendid tract of country that lies behind the Perak river and the Dindings will see no improbability in the old prophecy on which the scattered inhabitants of Bruas rest their hopes of its future.

Of the names of the old kings of Bruas and of the deeds that they achieved local tradition can tell us nothing. The earliest heroes of Perak legend belong to a later period, to the coming of the ancestors of the present dynasty of Sultans. There are many versions of these stories—versions that differ curiously in certain details while closely agreeing in others—and the general impression that they leave behind is the belief that courtiers have been trying to introduce dynastic questions into the genuine

¹ See also "Malay Literature, II," pp. 39-42.

folk-lore of the country. The dynastic features vary; the folk-lore remains the same.

Once upon a time—so runs one dynastic story—there came out of the sea four princes, the sons of a Raja Chulan and of the Princess Darustan, daughter of King Fatihu'l-ardzi. These princes were descendants of the great Alexander and they bore the names of Nila Utama, Nila Pandita, Nila Pëndaya, and Nila Kéçhil Bongsu. Nila Utama became Emperor of Rome and of China, Nila Pandita became Sultan of Menangkabau, Nila Pëndaya became Sultan of Singapore and Malacca, and Nila Kéçhil Bongsu became Sultan of Perak. But he did not become Sultan of Perak without difficulty. He it was who in the course of his wanderings gave Singapore its name of the "Lion City" because of the lion that he saw standing on the shore; he, too, it was who had to face the terrible storm in the Singapore Straits that nearly overwhelmed his frail bark and only ceased when the prince had changed his name and cast away his crown to appease the jealous wrath of the Spirit of the Tempest¹. Thus it comes about, the legend tells us, that the Sultans have no crown and that all fish have to rise to the surface in the little Strait of Lembajayan because they are dazzled by the splendour of the long-lost diadem of Perak. At last the Prince Nila Kéçhil Bongsu (under his new name of Sultan Mudzafar Shah) entered the waters of the Perak river, but was brought to a standstill by finding that one of the great snakes of the country was stretching its huge body from bank to bank over the shoal that bears the name of *Béting Béras Basak*. "What, then, am I to do?" said the prince to his saintly counsellor, Dëmang Lebar Daun. "I know not," said the saint; "but there is among your heir-looms the sword of your grandsire, King Fatihu'l-ardzi, the magic sword *Chura Si-manjakini* that once belonged to the kings of the sea; that sword perhaps will help you to hew a way to your heritage." So King Mudzafar Shah took the sword; then, concentrating his thoughts on his ancestors, he cut through the body of the snake with a single blow, but the edge of the blade was dented—as may be seen to this day by those who are privileged to look upon the Sultan's sword of State. To this day also the scene of this exploit is a place of votive pilgrimage for the rulers of Perak.

Another story (accepted by His Highness the Sultan himself) represents Mudzafar Shah as the Raja Mudzafar who was disinherited by his father Mahmud Shah (of Malacca) about the year 1520 A.D. This version associates Mudzafar Shah with the slaughter of the snake and the loss of the Perak diadem, but it throws back the tale of Nila Utama and his brothers to a much earlier date. Indeed, the old Palembang legend of the brothers

¹ These legends are related of Sang Nila Utama in the "Malay Annals."

who appeared on Mount Siguntang Mahameru is well known in Perak song and story :

*Limbayong g'itah-nya putch,
Daun-nya jatuh k'itilintang,
Turun b'irpayong gajah putch,
Turun dari Bukit Siguntang.*

*Daun-nya jatuh k'itilintang,
Biri biri di jambatan;
Turun dari Bukit Siguntang
Dapat nigiri di-nobutkan.*

Other Perak legends ascribe the origin of the present dynasty to a certain Sultan Ahmad Taju'd-din who was brought from Johor Lama to reign over Perak at some period that would seem to be about A. D. 1670. This prince is said to have married the daughter of a Perak chief, Tan Saban, and to have died leaving an infant son who was murdered very shortly afterwards by the regent, a Johor prince named Malik Shah. This murder led to a civil war in which Tan Saban was killed by a warrior named Megat Terawis. The story of the lost crown of Perak is associated with Ahmad Taju'd-din as well as with Mudzafar Shah.

The folk-lore about the prince who came out of the sea, gave a name to Singapore, lost his crown in a storm and finally slew a great dragon or snake with his sword Chura Si-manjakimi is not true Perak folk-lore. It is associated with the Johor dynasty and was imported into Perak with the kings. It is all related in the "Malay Annals" and may be read there (except for some trifling discrepancies) by anyone who is interested in the subject. The real local heroes of Perak are Tan Saban, Megat Terawis and the unnamed actors in the tragedy at Tanah Abang. Tan Saban was the ruler of Upper Perak when the ancestors of the present dynasty first came to the country. He governed the whole land from the sources of the great river down to Kuala Temong, where he built a fort and defied the forces of Malik Shah or Mudzafar Shah. On the watch-tower of this fort he used to appear three times a day, clad each time in a garment of a different colour—green in the morning, white at noon-day, and red in the afternoon. Secure in the fact that his skin could not be pierced by any bullet, he used to laugh at the efforts made to shoot him down. But there was in the army of the invader a humble soldier named Megat Terawis, an illegitimate scion of the great imperial house of Menangkabau. This Megat Terawis was born with a silver bullet in each hand, each bullet bearing the inscription "This is the bullet of the prince's son of Pagar Ruyong; wherever this bullet falls its owner will be made a chief." Megat Terawis asked that Tan Saban should be pointed out to him. He fired; the bullet struck Tan Saban, but fell to the ground without piercing the skin. Tan Saban picked it up,

read the inscription and knew that his hour was come. He sent for Megat Terawis, named him his heir, expressed regret for his past hostility to the Sultan, and died, leaving the humble soldier heir to the highest chieftaincy in the State. On the day of Tan Saban's death the present dynasty began to reign over all Perak, with Megat Terawis and his descendants as Bendaharas. There was, however, a curious limitation. The Sultans kept to the left bank of the river while the family of the Megat lived on the right. The present Sultan was the first to depart from this ancient custom and to build himself a palace on the right-hand side of the stream. In course of time, however, the family of Megat Terawis lost all its importance as well as the high office of Bendahara that it had held for about a century. At present the Bendahara is a member of the royal house.

It is difficult to see exactly the relationship between Perak legend and true history. Why did the old Sultans shun the right bank of the river? Even in the story itself there is nothing that would seem to explain it. Why did the Bendaharas assert themselves to be heirs of Tan Saban when his true representatives were the up-country chiefs who bore the title of *Seri Adika Raja*, who claimed descent from him, and whose authority was co-terminous with his own? What also is the real connection between Mudzafar Shah and the legendary origin of the name *Tanah Abang*? As the founder of Perak travelled up-river he is said to have met a youth mourning over the body of his dead brother. The boy had been asking the name of a bamboo, the *buloh apa* or "which bamboo."

"What, brother, is the name of this bamboo?"

"Which bamboo."

"This bamboo."

"Which bamboo."

And the younger slew the elder in a rage before he discovered that "which" was the name of the bamboo.

Then there is the story of the infant princess who was discovered in a great mass of cloud-like foam floating down the Perak river, and whose romantic origin seems to have led to no future of any importance. So, too, there is the tale of the great *aruan* fish that Megat Terawis discovered suckling its young with a milk the whiteness of which gave the great river its name of the "Silver Stream" (*Sungai Perak*). Again we have the story of the cotton-tree that marked the frontier—the tree that bore flowers of white and red, the white towards Perak and the red towards the valley of the Patani. These legends are all associated with the coming of the present dynasty, but they seem properly to belong to a much earlier period.

THE CHIEFS OF PERAK.

ROYALTY.

THE RULER.—The head of the State was, of course, the Sultan (*duli yang maha-mulia Sri Sultan, yang-di-pertuan negeri Perak dâru'r-ridzuan*). He derived his principal revenues from the duty (*chukai Kuala Perak*) levied on all produce entering or leaving the State by the mouth of the Perak river. The duty probably varied from time to time, and many of the great chiefs were exempted (*bebas*) from paying it; but in 1874 this source of revenue had been let for \$12,000 a year, of which the Sultan received \$10,000 and the two great Lower Perak chiefs (the Laksamana and the Shabbandar) \$1,000 each.¹

The Sultan's wife, if of royal birth, was styled the *Raja Perempuan*, but if she was only a commoner she bore the lower title of *Raja Permaisuri*. The heir-apparent bore the title of *Raja Muda*.

Although the Sultan was theoretically absolute, he was expected to obtain the consent of his principal chiefs before he appointed any high officer of State or took any step of great importance to the country. If left unconsulted the chiefs were apt to affect ignorance of the decisions arrived at, to refuse to recognise the Sultan's nominees, and even (by questioning the authenticity of documents) to decline to obey the Sultan's orders. Thus, when the Mantri obtained his concession of Larut he was careful to have his charters sealed by many of the leading chiefs, and when Sir Andrew Clarke made the treaty of Pangkor he insisted on having it agreed to by all the chiefs present at the negotiations. So, too, the first object of Mr. J. W. W. Birch was to obtain the signatures or seals of the chiefs who had not been present at Pangkor.

It was the rule that a Sultan should be succeeded by his heir-presumptive or Raja Muda, but here again the approval of the chiefs was necessary. The procedure was as follows. When a Sultan died his Bendahara or chief minister would at once proceed to take possession of the regalia and to administer the government as regent. At the expiration of seven days he would

¹ The following were among the rates charged :

| | | | |
|---------------|-----|-----|--------------------------|
| Rice | ... | ... | \$ 4 a <i>koyan</i> , |
| Salt | ... | ... | \$16 a <i>koyan</i> , |
| Opium | ... | ... | \$50 a chest, |
| Java tobacco | ... | ... | \$ 2 a <i>pakul</i> , |
| China tobacco | ... | ... | \$ 1.50 a box, |
| Tin | ... | ... | \$ 6 a <i>bahara</i> , |
| Rattans | ... | ... | \$ 2 a hundred bundles, |
| Hides | ... | ... | \$ 1.25 a <i>pakul</i> , |
| Gutta | ... | ... | \$ 2 a <i>pakul</i> , |
| Guzza | ... | ... | \$ 2 a <i>pakul</i> , |
| Salt fish | ... | ... | 10 per cent. in kind, |
| Oil | ... | ... | 10 per cent. in kind. |

send or head a deputation to invite and escort the Raja Muda to the palace. On his arrival at the residence of the late ruler the Raja Muda would be presented with the regalia and would be formally installed as Sultan in the presence and with the approval of the assembled chiefs. The most active part at a coronation was the part played by the Bendahara: he was the *interim* ruler, he summoned the chiefs to the installation, he invited the heir-apparent to attend, he handed over the regalia, he conducted the new Sultan to the throne and he bore all the expense of the installation-festivities. The new Sultan generally replied by conferring upon the Bendahara the vacant position of Raja Muda or heir-presumptive. It was also customary to defer the obsequies of a deceased ruler until his successor had been formally installed.

In accordance with these customs the Raja Bendahara Ismail—at the death of Sultan Ali in 1871—proceeded to take possession of the regalia and to invite the then Raja Muda (Abdullah) to come to the palace for the installation. But Raja Abdullah was a man of unusual timidity; even the prospect of a crown was not sufficient to induce him to take the risks of the journey. He feared that he might be ambuscaded by a rival prince (Raja Yusuf) on the way; he feared also that he might have a private quarrel to settle with the family of the deceased Sultan whose sister he had married and divorced. So he stayed away. The disgusted chiefs waited for him for over forty days during which time the remains of the late Sultan remained unburied. In the end the Bendahara himself was installed as Sultan by the chiefs, the body was interred, and the assembly dispersed.

The new ruler reported his accession at once to the Lieut.-Governor, Mr. (afterwards Sir Arthur) Birch, at Penang, and received a complimentary reply congratulating him on his installation and addressing him as "*Paduka Seri Sultan Ismail Liadcen Riayat Shah*, the son of the late *Shaikh Al-Heyrat Shah*, who now holds the throne of Perak." This letter was dated the 30th August, 1871. So, too, on the 8th February, 1872, Mr. Arthur Birch again addressed Sultan Ismail by his royal titles in a letter applying for the expulsion of certain disturbers of the peace who were meditating an attack on Selangor. Even the Raja Muda Abdullah who had been passed over for the sultanate recognised his rival's title to the throne.¹ The question of the validity of Sultan Ismail's title was not seriously raised till some time afterwards.

A further complication arose out of the fact that Raja Abdullah himself owed his position as Raja Muda to election more than to descent. There were three branches of the royal house

¹ See Appendix A.

that took it in turn to provide the Sultan and the Raja Muda. When the 23rd Sultan died he should have been succeeded by a son of the 21st Sultan; and a son of the 22nd Sultan should have been made Raja Muda. But the son of the 22nd Sultan was Raja Yusuf, who was unacceptable to the chiefs and whose branch of the family thus came to be passed over. Raja Yusuf then became a sort of legitimist claimant, though he recognised Sultan Ismail's title for the time being and only wished to be made the next heir to the throne. Meanwhile, however, Ismail was Sultan; he held the regalia and he was the chosen of the chiefs and people.

THE HEIR-PRESUMPTIVE.—An heir-presumptive to the throne of Perak bore the title of *Raja Muda (yang t'ramat-mulia tuanku Raja Muda, Wakil's-Sultan)* and derived his revenues from the contributions of the gambling houses, opium saloons and spirit shops. It is difficult to get an exact estimate of the total value of this source of income. An opium shop or a gambling saloon in a Malay village of some importance was found by Mr. J. W. W. Birch in 1874 to let for about \$30 a month, but the whole of this sum was not likely to come into the Raja Muda's "tub" (*tong*)—as his treasury was called.

The wife of a Raja Muda when she was of royal birth was styled *Raja Empuan Besar*, but if she was only a commoner she bore the inferior title of *Raja Dewa Nala*. This latter designation has now been altered to *Che' Puan Muda*.

THE PRINCES OF THE BLOOD.—The princes of the blood were collectively known as *waris negeri* and in default of any special title were addressed as *engk*. They were under the special control of the *Raja Muda* who acted as head of the princes, while the *Bendahara* was often supposed to represent the chiefs. Princes, as such, were not entitled to any definite revenues, though they probably helped themselves in many indefinite ways. They were eligible for offices of State and for certain titular dignities carrying high precedence. The most important of these honorary distinctions (in order of rank) were:

| | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>Raja di-Hilir,</i> | <i>Raja K'echil Tengah,</i> |
| <i>Raja K'echil Besar,</i> | <i>Raja K'echil Bongau.</i> |
| <i>Raja K'echil Muda,</i> | |

THE FOUR GREAT DIGNITARIES.

The chiefs of the highest rank were four in number and were known as the *Orang Besar Empat* or *Orang Empat di-Balai*. They were

| | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| The <i>Bendahara,</i> | The <i>T'émenggong.</i> |
| The <i>Orang Kaya Besar,</i> | The <i>Mantri.</i> |

1. **THE BENDAHARA.**—The premier chief of Perak was the *Raja B'ndahara (yang t'ramat-mulia tuanku Raja B'ndahara,*

wakil's-Sultan *waziru'l-kabir*). He was the titular prime minister and commander-in-chief. He derived his revenues mainly from a toll-station (*batang Kuala Kinta*) that levied duties on all produce entering or leaving the Kinta river.¹ It is not known what the gross annual revenue from this station amounted to. The *Bendahara* was also entitled once a year to send the royal musicians (*orang kalur*) round the villages to bear his sword of office (*baur*) and to collect a capitation-tax of 50 cents from every household. This revenue was known as the *beman kalur*.

The wife of a *Bendahara* when she was of royal birth was styled *Raja Empuan Kéhil*, but if she was a commoner she was known as *Bendahara Empuan* or (popularly), as *Che' Puan Bendahara*.

The title of *Bendahara* up to the days of Sultan Iskandar Dzu'l-Karnain (about A.D. 1780) was vested in the family of Megat Terawis. Sultan Iskandar suddenly bethought himself—so the story goes—that it was a great pity that Perak should only have a commoner as its prime minister when there were so many promising young princes for whom no employment could be found. He therefore directed his *Bendahara*, Megat Penda, to build him a palace at Pulau Indra Sakti, and so worried that minister with contradictory instructions and undeserved censures that the unfortunate man tendered his resignation in order to prove that no other *Bendahara* could do the work better. But the Sultan promptly appointed his brother (or cousin), Raja Alaedin, to be *Bendahara* and expressed himself perfectly satisfied with the house that Raja Alaedin built. After that time the high office of *Bendahara* came to be looked upon as an appanage of royalty. About the year 1851, however, the holder of this position died at a very inconvenient time, there being no prince of the royal house who was acceptable to the chiefs. The old theory as to the non royal status of the *Bendahara* was thereupon revived and the office was conferred upon Raja Ismail, whose father was a foreigner though his mother was a Perak princess. The theory was that he should be regarded as a prime minister or premier chief and not as a prince of the blood and ultimate heir to the throne. At the deaths of Sultan Shahabudin, Sultan Abdullah II, and Sultan Jafar, the *Bendahara* accepted this view and put forward no claim to the position of *Raja Muda*. Doubtless he would have done the same at Sultan Ali's death

¹ The tolls levied on produce in 1874 were:

| | |
|----------------|----------------------------|
| Gutta | \$ 1 a <i>pikul</i> . |
| Hides | 124 cents a <i>pikul</i> . |
| Tin | \$ 4 a <i>baharu</i> . |
| Rice | \$16 a <i>koyan</i> . |
| Tobacco | \$ 2 a <i>pikul</i> . |
| Opium | \$ 4 a chest. |
| Oil | 10 per cent. in kind. |
| Small articles | 1 in 10, taken in kind. |

in 1871 had not the timidity of Raja Abdullah created an intolerable situation. The chiefs then revived the more modern Perak practice and treated the Bendahara as an heir to the sultanate. Raja Ismail was a very old man and his installation as Sultan promised to be a temporary makeshift for tiding over a serious crisis.

2. THE ORANG KAYA BESAR -- Immediately after the Raja Bendahara came the *Orang Kaya Besar Maharaja Diraja Pingulu Bendahara*. He was the Sultan's Treasurer, Secretary and Chamberlain. He collected the Sultan's revenues, received and replied to the Sultan's letters and had charge of the Sultan's household. He was always selected from a family of Saiyids who resided at Pachat. He is said to have received the revenues of Pachat, and perhaps he levied some commission on whatever he collected for his master. His wife bore the title of *To' Puan*. There has been no holder of this office since the English came to Perak.

3. THE TEMENGGONG -- The *Orang Kaya Temenggong Paduka Raja*, popularly known as the *Tingku Temenggong*, was a sort of minister of police. In the homely phraseology of the country he was the Sultan's "dagger" (*kris pandak*) or policeman, as compared with the Bendahara who was the Sultan's sword of war. The Temenggong looked after the Sultan's forts and stations; he apprehended, tried and executed criminals; he examined weights and measures and certified to them being correct. He derived his revenue from a monopoly of the sale of salt and ataps, from fees on weights and measures and from the smaller fines that he inflicted. Large fines all went to the Sultan. The public executioner was a servant of the Temenggong.

The Temenggong was also a territorial chief. He was lord of the mukim of Kota Lama, where he was all-powerful. His deputy in charge of his feudal district was himself a minor chief, the *Dato' Sri Lela Paduka*. The wife of a Temenggong was a *To' Puan* and his heir was a *To' Muda*.

4. THE MANTRI -- The fourth in rank of the great court dignitaries was the *Tingku Mantri* or *Orang Kaya Mantri Paduka Tuan*. The Mantri was an adviser attached to the court; he settled disputes between the princes and chiefs and gave his opinion on questions of law and custom. He had no special revenues attached to his office. The first holder of this dignity was an Arab named Saiyid Mahmud in whose family the title remained till A.D. 1862, when Sultan Jafar conferred the title upon Che' Ngah Ibrahim, ruler of Larut, to give him more precedence than he then possessed. But there was no historical connection between the title of Mantri and the district of Larut.

The wife of a Mantri was a *To' Puan* and his heir was a *To' Muda*.

THE EIGHT CHIEFS.

The eight chiefs (*Orang Besar Delapan* or *Hulubalang Delapan*) took precedence after the four great dignitaries. The eight chiefs—in the order assigned to them by the Perak State Council in 1905—are

- The *Orang Kaya-Kaya Maharaja Lela Tan Lela Putra*,
- The *Orang Kaya-Kaya Laksamana Raja Mahkota*,
- The *Orang Kaya-Kaya Seri Adika Raja Shahbandar Muda*,
- The *Orang Kaya-Kaya Penglina Kinta Seri Amar Bangsa Diraja*,
- The *Orang Kaya-Kaya Penglina Bukit Gantang Seri Amar Diraja*,
- The *Orang Kaya-Kaya Shahbandar Paduka Indera*,
- The *Orang Kaya-Kaya Seta Bijaya Diraja* (formerly *Seri Agar Diraja*),
- The *Orang Kaya-Kaya Imam Paluka Tuan*

There is no doubt whatever about the composition of this list, and there is very little doubt indeed¹ about the accuracy of the order of precedence assigned to the various chiefs included in it.

1. THE MAHARAJA LELA. — This chief ruled the district about Pasir Salak. He had the right to stand prominently forward with a naked sword at all court ceremonies and to behead instantly any unfortunate person who behaved improperly or showed contempt for the dignity of the ruler. He was above the law. His peculiar privilege made a great impression on the Malay mind; in Perak he was styled *Maharaja Lela pauchong ta'bertanya* "The Maharaja Lela, who cuts off heads without asking leave," and in all Malaya the expression *bĕrmaharaja lela*, "to play the Maharaja Lela," is used to describe a chartered libertine.

The wife of a Maharaja Lela was a *To' Puan*. The Maharaja Lela drew revenue from his own feudal district of Pasir Salak and from certain customs dues drawn from the Sungai Dedap.

The position of Maharaja Lela is now vacant and is never to be filled because the last holder of the office instigated the murder of Mr J. W. W. Birch.

2. THE LAKSAMANA. — The *Orang Kaya-Kaya Laksamana Raja Mahkota* ruled in Lower Perak. His jurisdiction extended "up-river as far as the tide can reach, down-river to the line where the surf breaks on the bar and the grey-mullet come to the surface." He had also charge of the whole sea coast. Whenever the Sultan's boats entered tidal waters the Laksamana had the right to place his boat at the head of the fleet and to lead the way. At all times he could put up a pole or flagstaff (*galah*) in the bows of his boat and blow the royal trumpet

¹ Some lists give a higher place to the *Dato' Sagor*.

(*nafiri*) as "king of the sea." In the event of war he could summon the peasantry to construct the forts and other coast defences against an invading foe.

The Laksamana administered justice in Lower Perak and derived a certain revenue from fines; he also levied tolls on the river Batang Padang and received a small share of the tolls on the Perak river itself. His wife was styled *To' Puan*; his heir was the *Dato' Raja Mahkota*.

3. THE SADIKA RAJA.—The *Orang Kaya-Kaya Sèri Adika Raja Shahbandar Muda*, popularly known as the *Sadika Raja*, held in the upper waters of the Perak river the position that the Laksamana occupied near the sea. He too—in his own waters—could erect a royal flagstaff and blow the royal trumpet; he, too, was a king in his own place, the *anak raja di-hujung karang* or "prince of the shallows." His authority extended from Kuala Temong (above Kuala Kangsari) to the "white cotton-tree" that marked the watershed between Perak and Patani. He enjoyed the ordinary revenues of a feudal chief besides certain tolls (\$2 a *bahara* on tin, and \$2 a *pikul* on rambang and gutta-percha), fines, fees, and a capitation tax of 70 *gantanga* of rice from every household. His wife also ranked as a *To' Puan*.

4. THE PENGLIMA KINTA.—This chief ruled over the valley of the Kinta river. He received a royalty of 10 per cent. on all tin found in the district, besides the usual fines and fees. He had to send 100 *baharas* of tin annually as a sort of tribute to the Sultan and was given in return a complimentary present of \$100 worth of articles for distribution among his *ryots*. He was sometimes described as the *pēmunggang kiri* or ruler of the "left flank" of Perak because his territories guarded the eastern frontier of the State. The wife of a *Pēnglima Kinta* was a *To' Puan*; his heir was a *To' Muda*.

5. THE PENGLIMA BUKIT GANTANG.—The *Orang Kaya-Kaya Pēnglima Bukit Gantang Sèri Amar Diraja* was the feudal warden of the western marches (*pēmunggang kanan*). He held the pass that led from the Perak river to the plains of Larut. He received some income from the district; but at a later date the Mantri (who was related to the Pēnglima Bukit Gantang) secured all the revenues of Larut for himself. There is now no longer a Pēnglima Bukit Gantang. His wife ranked as a *To' Puan*.

6. THE DATO' BANDAR.—The *Orang Kaya-Kaya Shahbandar Paduka Indèra* was a Lower Perak chief who acted as a sort of harbour master, customs officer, protector of immigrants and superintendent of trade. He received a commission on what he collected. It does not appear that his wife was a *To' Puan*, nor was he a real territorial chief.

¹ Really "left gunwale." See the metaphor of the "ship of State" further on.

7. THE DATO' SAGUR.¹—The *Orang Kaya-Kaya Stri Agar Diraja*, popularly known as the *To' Sagur*, ruled the banks of the Perak river between Kampong Gajah and Pulau Tiga. He was also theoretically the controller of the Sultan's household. In the metaphorical language of the time the kingdom of Perak was a ship; the *Laksamana* was officer of the watch, the *Sadika Raja* steered, the *Penglima Kinta* rowed on the left, the *Penglima Bukit Gantang* rowed on the right, and the *Dato' Sagur* attended to the royal passengers. The wife of a *Dato' Sagur* was a *To' Puan*.

The last *Dato' Sagur* was executed for complicity in the murder of Mr. Birch. The title was abolished and its place in the "Eight" was given to the new dignity of *Orang Kaya-Kaya Setia Bijaya Diraja*, a title that does not carry the territorial authority of the old *Dato' Sagur*.

8. THE IMAM PALUKA TUAN.—The *Orang Kaya-Kaya Imam Paduka Tuan* was an ecclesiastical dignitary. He served as a sort of chief *kada* or high priest and derived his income from the contributions of the faithful. His wife was not a *To' Puan* nor was the position one that could (strictly speaking) be considered hereditary.

THE SIXTEEN MINOR CHIEFS

After the "Four" and the "Eight" came the "Sixteen." The *Dato' Sri Maharaja Lela* appears to have been always regarded as head of the "Sixteen," but it is by no means certain who the other fifteen were. According to the decision of the State Council in June, 1905, the list of "Sixteen" is made up of the following chiefs:

| | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>Dato' Stri Maharaja Lela</i> | <i>Dato' Penglima Teja</i> |
| <i>Dato' Stri Lela Paduka</i> | <i>Dato' Shahbandar Muda</i> |
| <i>Dato' Maharaja Indera Muda</i> | <i>Dato' Setia Maharaja</i> |
| <i>Dato' Maharaja Diraja</i> | <i>Dato' Sa-Indera Bongau</i> |
| <i>Dato' Paduka Setia</i> | <i>Dato' Maharaja Dewa</i> |
| <i>Dato' Stri Dewa Raja</i> | <i>Dato' Paduka Raja</i> |
| <i>Dato' Stri Amar Diraja</i> | <i>Dato' Amar Dewa Angau</i> |
| <i>Dato' Raja Mahkota</i> | <i>Dato' Perdana</i> |

As this list was approved by the State Council it may be taken as correct for the present day, even if inaccurate historically. But a list supplied me still more recently by the kindness of the Secretary to H.H. the Sultan for the purposes of this publication does not agree with that approved by the Council in 1905. Other lists obtained from other sources and at various dates differ still more materially; and Mr. J. W. Birch (who tried in 1874 to get reliable lists of the Perak chiefs) found that it was impossible to get any two people to give the same sixteen names.

¹ He had nothing to do with the king's "dug-outs" (*sagar*). The word is *s'ager*, a Perak dialectic corruption of *stri agar*; cf. *sedika* for *stri adika*.

Below the "Sixteen" came the "Thirty-two." It will be readily understood that if a reliable list of the "Sixteen" is unattainable, a table of the "Thirty-two" is not even worth attempting. The State Council did not attempt it; and His Highness's Secretary writes that the head of the "Thirty-two" was Dato' Tan Dewa Sakti of Batang Padang and that the other members were chiefs of no importance whatsoever. I have an old list of the "Thirty-two," but it cannot be considered authoritative and it clashes with the list of the "Sixteen" approved by the State Council.

It will be sufficient if the principal titles are given without any special reference to such purely artificial questions as the classification into "Sixteen" and "Thirty-two" and without attempting to fix their precedence relatively to one another. We will begin with the court or official dignitaries as distinct from territorial magnates

The military titles were as follows:

- Dato' Pēnglima Besar,*
- Dato' Pēnglima Pērang Kanan,*
- Dato' Pēnglima Pērang Kiri,*
- Dato' Pēnglima Dalam,*
- Dato' Pēnglima Muda*

These military titles were not included in the "Sixteen" or "Thirty-two," they were a class apart.

The ecclesiastical dignitaries were

- Imam Sēri Raja of Kota Lama Kanan,*
- Imam Sēri Jidin of Sayong,*
- Imam Sraja Pakih of Kota Lama Kiri*
- Imam Sraja Mahkota of Bota,*
- Imam Malaikat Aman of Ketior,*
- Imam Shaikhul-Islam of Pasir Salak,*
- Imam Si-Raja Diraja of Gēronggong,*
- Imam Si-Raja Dalam of the Sultan's Palace*

These also were a class apart.

The Sultan's court-heralds are

- Sēri Nara Diraja, principal herald,*
- Sēri Dewa Maharaja,*
- Maharaja Dinda,*
- Paduka Sa-Indēra,*
- Raja Di-Muda,*
- Sēri Rakna,*
- Sandar Maharaja,*
- Raja Di-Bongsu.*

The Raja Muda's heralds are styled :

Sa-Indra Muda,
Sa-Indra Jaya.

The Ladies-in-waiting on the Sultan's wife are entitled .

Sri Nara Suri,
To' Suri,
Rakna S'nari,
Rakna Wati,
Kemala Sri,
To, K'aumba,
To' Tun,
To' Mandu

The Ladies-in-waiting on the Raja Muda's wife are called .

Rakna Muda,
Rakna Jaya

The court-writers are styled

Pakeh Si-Raja Mantri
Pakeh Si-Raja Diraja,
Pakeh Si-Raja Muda

The chief court-musicians (*Orang Kalut*), bear the titles

To' Seta Guna,
Seta Indra

It should be explained that the royal drums and trumpets may not be handled by the general public, the theory is that any such handling will lead to the death of the sacrilegious person at the hands of the ghostly protectors of royal majesty. The members of one family alone—the *orang kalut*, are exempt from this risk and therefore possess a certain hereditary dignity. The heads of the family bear the titles above mentioned.

Another ancient family is the family of the *muntah Damba*. Its members claim to be descended from the singer who came out of the mouth of the white bull that carried Sang Sapurba on his first appearance in the world¹. One version has it that the founder of the family was really a step-brother of Sang Sapurba—the son of Sang Sapurba's mother by a *jin* whom she married as her second husband. The head of this family bears the title of *Sri Bijaya Indra*, and the chief court-herald, *Dato' Sri Nara Diraja*, is a member of the same house. He is the repository of the installation formula, the wording of which is in a language older than Malay—the language of the *jin* according to the Perak Malays, but really Pali or Sanskrit.

Most of the great chiefs—the "Four" and the "Eight"—had deputies or assistants who helped them in their duties and bore

¹ See page 9.

special titles. In some cases these assistants (known as *tongkat* or *golok-golok*) were heirs to the higher title; in some cases they were paid helpers; and again in some cases they were vassal chiefs whose titles were hereditary in their own families. It is, however, difficult to speak positively in every single case as to the exact relationship between a chief and his *tongkat* or *golok-golok*. The following are some of these subsidiary titles:

1. The *Dato' Sèri Lela Paduka* was the Temenggong's deputy in his feudal appanage of Kota Lama Kanan;
2. The *Maharaja Sa-Rama* and the *Maharaja Anakda* were under the *Maharaja Lela*;
3. The *Raja Mahkota* was the deputy and heir of the *Laksamana* in Lower Perak;
4. The *Shahbandar Muda* (or *Shahbandar Ulu*) was the deputy of the *Sadika Raja* at Pulau Kamuri;
5. The *Sèri Paduka Wangsa* was the chief assistant of the *Penglima Kinta*;
6. The *Paduka Sètia* was the principal assistant of the *Penglima Bukit Gantang*—it may be added that *Che' Long Jafar*, the ruler of Larut, was the son of a *Paduka Sètia* and was not a mere "trader" who had settled in the country;
7. The *Sèri Dewa Raja* was a chief in Lower Perak subordinate either to the *Laksamana* or *Shahbandar*;
8. *To' Raja Duamat* and *To' Raja Biji Dewa* were subordinates of the *Sri Maharaja Lela* at Sayong.

The above were subordinate chiefs, though important as deputies or heirs of very powerful territorial magnates. The following were also feudal chiefs, but they governed less territory (in some cases) and are therefore (in those cases) of minor importance:

1. The *Dato' Sèri Maharaja Lela* of Sayong.
2. The *Dato' Sèri Amar Durangga* of Senggang.
3. The *Dato' Sèri Amar Diraja* of Sungai Trap.
4. The *Dato' Maharaja Dewa* of Lambor.
5. The *Penglima Teja* of Teja.
6. The *Raja Indra Lela* of Sungai Raya.
7. The *Dato' Amar* of Paching.
8. The *Dato' Paduka Raja* behind Pulau Tiga.
9. The *To' Sètia Kerma* of Sungkai.
10. The *To' Sènonngah* of Kèpayong.
11. The *To' Paduka Sa-Indra* of Layang-Layang.
12. The *To' Pèrdana Mantri* of Bota.
13. The *Tan Dewa Sakti* of Batang Padang.
14. The *Penglima Kampar* of Kampar.

CONCLUSION.

Generally speaking, a Malay title consists of a string of high-sounding honorifics such as *raja*, *diraja*, *maharaja*, *sèri*, *paduka*, *lela*, *dewa*, *indèra*, *wangsa*, *diwangsa*, etc. These honorifics give no clue whatever to the position of their possessor—indeed, it often happens that the least important nobles possess the most sonorous names. The Perak titles are no exception to the general rule, but it is possible from some of them to infer a good deal as to the former history of the country.

There are in the above lists traces of two distinct types of Government.

The first type is that of Malacca and Johor. The Sultans of Malacca and Johor governed through a number of high court-officials (*orang di-balai*) or ministers: the Bendahara, the Temenggong, the Laksamana, the Shahbandar, and the Maharaja Iaku. These titles all appear in Perak with the same duties attached to them and with approximately the same precedence as at Malacca and Johor.

The second type is that of Acheen. The Achehnese system was feudal: there was a Sultan, of course, but the real rulers were great territorial chiefs who governed provinces and who bore the title of *hulubalang*. Below the great chiefs there was a hierarchy of minor chiefs, rulers of villages.

When, therefore, the ancient Perak nomenclature marked the difference between the *orang di-balai* and the *hulubalang* it really drew a distinction between the court aristocracy of Johor and the feudal aristocracy of Acheen. We know from history that Perak was an Achehnese province in the days of the great Mahkota Alam. About A. D. 1635 Sultan Mughal of Acheen sent Raja Sulong (or Mudzafar Shah) of Johor to govern Perak. Raja Sulong would naturally introduce his Johor system and would give his own chiefs—his Bendahara and his Temenggong—precedence at court over the powerful territorial nobles who ruled the country before he came. He thus began to create the present aristocracy of Perak by the fusion, or confusion, of his own Johor-made nobles with the old feudal "hulubalangs" of the Achehnese hegemony.

The division of the chiefs of Perak into the "Four," the "Eight," the "Sixteen" and the "Thirty-two" bears every mark of artificiality. A more popular, more ancient and more reliable description is that which likens Perak to a ship pointing southward, with the Sadika Raja at its stern, the Laksamana at its prow, the Penglimas of Kinta and Bukit Gantang to its left and right, and the Dato' Sagur in the centre. A glance at the map of Perak will show how well this description fits it. The ancestors of these five chiefs must have divided the country in the old Achehnese days; they were the "hulubalangs" of that time. Upon this territorial nobility of five great feudal magnates

Mudzafar Shah would naturally impose his non-territorial officers—the Raja Muda, the Bendahara, the Temenggong, the Laksamana, the Shahbandar and the Maharaja Lela. He gave the title of Laksamana to the *hulubalang* who ruled the coast and was *de facto* "king of the sea," but he kept the other dignities for his own men. The Raja Muda, the Bendahara, the Temenggong, the Shahbandar and the Maharaja Lela were assigned no part whatever in the navigation of the old "ship" of State.

But two such kinds of aristocracy could not be kept distinct for long. The court dignitaries would naturally try to acquire territorial power and to make their position more permanent than that of officers whose existence depended on the caprice of the monarch. The Dato' Sagur, in whose territory the court was located and whose duty it was to "look after the passengers," would be the first to suffer. He had to surrender Kota Lama to the Temenggong and Pasir Salak to the Maharaja Lela. Some of his vassals seem also to have made themselves independent of their weakened lord. But the four other great "hulubalangs" continued to rule over the great provinces that they held.

Another possible alternative, of course, is that the hereditary chiefs of Kota Lama and Pasir Salak succeeded in getting themselves made Temenggong and Maharaja Lela, respectively. The objection to this view is that the real hereditary chief of Kota Lama was the *Dato' Seri Lela Paduka*, and that there is some evidence of Pasir Salak also possessing a local chief. The Temenggong's authority over Kota Lama was only that of a liege-lord—the sort of authority that a great provincial *hulubalang* like the Dato' Sagur would possess over the chiefs of villages like the *Dato' Seri Lela Paduka*. This feudal theory will easily explain the curious system by which each great *hulubalang* possessed one or more "assistants" (*tongkat* or *golok-golok*) in his district. The chief was the liege-lord, the *tongkat* was the vassal, though that *tongkat* might be the chief's own heir in the chief's own village.

The original *orang dibalai* were—we suggest—the Bendahara, the Temenggong, the Shahbandar and the Maharaja Lela; the original *hulubalang* were the Laksamana, the Sadika Raja, the Penglina Kinta, the Penglina Bukit Ganteng, and the Dato' Sagur. In course of time the position changed. The Perak kings had court-favourites, Saiyids, men of intellect and good birth but of little wealth or real power, on whom they would naturally wish to confer high rank and precedence. The kings seem therefore to have created two or three new dignities that had no part in the old Johor hierarchy introduced by Mudzafar Shah. These were the *Orang Kaya Besar*, the *Orang Kaya Mantri*, and the *Imam Paduka Tuan*. Meanwhile, also, the Temenggong and the Maharaja Lela had acquired territorial possessions. The old line of demarcation between the *orang*

di-balai and the *hulubalang* had ceased to exist; some chiefs partook of the character of both types of aristocracy.

The Sultans then created a new order of precedence: the "Four" and the "Eight." The old names of *orang di-balai* and *hulubalang* were retained for the "Four" and the "Eight," respectively, but ceased to bear any real meaning and are now being rapidly forgotten. The *Dato' Sagur*, whose authority over the heart of the country had made him a very great *hulubalang*, sank to a very humble position in the "Eight." Nevertheless, the list of the "Four" and of the "Eight" is a very definite list and always limits itself to certain great court dignitaries and to the representatives of the five feudal chiefs of the first rank. The minor chiefs, the heads of villages, had no part in it; they were only provided for in the "Sixteen" and the "Thirty-two." But though people spoke of the "Sixteen" and the "Thirty-two," no one seems to have seriously attempted to classify the minor chiefs of Perak. The expressions "Sixteen" and "Thirty-two" simply meant chiefs of the third rank and of the fourth rank and did not correspond exactly with their numbers. The "Sixteen" included any minor chief who had a title and some real territorial power, the "Thirty-two" included any man who bore a title but possessed little else. The "Sixteen" were about twenty-five in number,¹ and the "Thirty-two" were probably more than thirty-two. At the present time the Sultan does not readily confer territorial titles upon the heirs of their former holders, so that many of the ancient dignities of Perak are likely to become extinct.

THE MANTRI OF LARUT.

The district of Larut (with its sub-districts of Krian, Matang and Selama) lies quite outside the valley of the Perak river. A narrow tract of country, lying between the Perak watershed and the sea, it may be said to have come within the "sphere of influence" of the old river-State rather than to have formed part of the State itself. During the first half of the nineteenth century Larut was practically a no-man's-land, for the Malay, who loves the banks of great streams, found very little to attract him in the desolate swamp-country of the coast. Of the principal Perak territorial chiefs, only one—the Penglirna Bukit Gantang—had any footing in Larut at all, and he was simply a sort of warden of the marches guarding the pass that gave access to a

¹ It must also be remembered that titles included in the "Sixteen" might be vacant for long periods and the number actually filled would usually be about sixteen. To make a list of the "Sixteen" is like trying to make the peerages of Ireland or Scotland tally with their representation in the House of Lords.

large and isolated district. Politically speaking, Larut is in Perak but not of it; it owes its population and prosperity to settlers from beyond the borders of the State.

The first man who saw the potential wealth of Larut was a certain Long Jafar, father of the famous Mantri. This Long Jafar was not (as is usually believed) a shrewd trader from Penang or Province Wellesley, but a Perak-born Malay, son of a minor chief, the Dato' Paduka,¹ and grandson of another petty chief, a Dato' Johan. As his brother had married a daughter of the Penglina Bukit Gantang, Long Jafar came to settle in the vicinity of the present township of Taipeng. When he first arrived he found that there were only three Chinese to be exploited in the whole territory of Larut, but after the discovery of some rich mining land he succeeded in attracting many more adventurers to the place. His first mines were at *Kelian Pauh*, where the Taipeng gaul now stands. At a later date an elephant that was being used by the miners escaped into the Kamunting jungles and when recaptured was found to be covered with a mud that was very rich in tin. The prospecting done by this elephant led to a rush to Kamunting—to the "new mines," or *Kelian Baharu* as the place came to be called.

There is a Malay proverb to the effect that a man need not forget his own interests when working for the State. Long Jafar acted up to this rule. Beginning as a mere representative of the Sultan he seems to have gradually bought—one after another—from his master the various sources of revenue in the province. In 1850 he obtained his first title to Larut; he received it from the Raja Muda Ngah Ali and the leading chiefs of Perak. The document² runs:

"Che' Long Jafar has opened up one of the provinces of Perak called Larut and all its rivers to make tin-mines; this he has done by his own diligence and at his own expense. We express our entire approval of the diligence he has bestowed and the expense he has incurred in Larut, and his children shall receive the district as their own property. What is written in this deed can never be annulled by anyone."

¹ The full title was *Dato' Paduka Setia*. The full pedigree is:

Dato' Paduka Setia,
Chief of Lubok Mèrbau

Dato' Paduka Setia
(m. a daughter of a Sumatran Dato' Johan)

Che' Long Jafar
(m. Che' Ngah Pura, a grand daughter of the Dato' Penglina Kinta)

The Mantri Ngah Ibrahim
(m. To' Puan Halimah, daughter of the Laksamana)

The present Mantri.

² The translations of the original documents—made in 1873 by Sir F. Swettenham—are given in full in Appendix B.

In 1856 the then reigning Sultan (Jafar) confirmed the Raja Muda's grant. In 1857 Long Jafar died and was succeeded by his son, Che' Ngah Ibrahim, who at once applied to the Sultan for recognition and was granted powers even greater than those that his father had possessed. The new deed—dated the 30th November, 1857, and bearing the seals of the Sultan, the Raja Muda and the Raja Bendahara—contains the following passages :

"Be it known that, after due deliberation with our princes and chiefs, we bestow a province of this country of Perak upon Ngah Ibrahim bin Jafar to be governed by him and to become his property. Moreover, we make known the boundaries of that dependency to be as follows : from Larut to Krian and Bagan Tiang—these are the boundaries that make up the province of Larut

"Now we confirm Long Jafar's son's Government ; and this cannot be revoked—whether he (Ngah Ibrahim) does well or wickedly—by anyone who may hold the sovereignty of Perak.

"Therefore we endow Ngah Ibrahim with the power of legislation and give him authority to correspond and to settle matters with other countries and with the British Government without reference to us three (the Sultan, Raja Muda and Bendahara) or to anyone who may hold sovereignty in Perak."

The great powers that the Sultan conferred on Che' Ngah Ibrahim were not merely titular ; they were a formal recognition of existing facts. When in 1862 the British authorities called on the Sultan of Perak to enforce an award of \$17,447.04 that had been given against Larut, the Sultan could do nothing. He appealed to the British to blockade Larut and he begged the ruler of Larut to be reasonable. Che' Ngah Ibrahim paid the money in May, 1862, but he got another concession from the Sultan. From this time forward he was destined to be a Raja in Larut.

"The wishes and laws of Ngah Ibrahim are our own laws also :¹ let everyone understand this and not dispute the laws of Ngah Ibrahim bin Jafar."

This was in December, 1863. By the end of March, 1864, he had been granted the title of *Orang Kaya Mantri*—a title of the highest rank in Perak—and received a further deed recognising him as ruler of the whole country from the Krian river in the north to the Bruas river in the south.

"We give the government of the aforesaid entire country to the Orang Kaya Mantri, whether he acts well or ill, with all its subjects and its soldiers, its lands and its waters, its timber, its plants and rattans, its damar, its shells, its mines, its hills and its mountains, and all the immigrants who dwell thereon, whether they be Chinese or Dutch—with power to frame laws and to admit men to the Muhammadan religion, to kill, to fine and to pardon and (as our representative) to give in marriage the guardianless If any man makes disturbances or disowns the Mantri's authority, he commits a sin against God and against Muhammad and against Us."

¹ If, as is possible, the word translated "also" is *juga*, the true meaning would be : "the wishes, etc., of Ngah Ibrahim are equivalent to our own."

Such then was the position of the Mantri until 1873. To the English he was "the Rajah of Larut"; he corresponded direct with the Governor at Singapore and the Lieut.-Governor at Penang; he built roads, let revenue-farms, maintained a police force and even possessed two small ships of war of his own. "He was acknowledged," said Mr. A. M. Skinner, in an official report, "to be practically the independent ruler of Larut." "From what Mr. Arthur Birch tells me," wrote Mr. C. J. Irving, in another report, "I fancy that Larut is a virtually independent State." Its independence was not, however, officially recognised till the 3rd September, 1873, when Governor Sir Harry Ord wrote:

"As I am satisfied from the various documents which the Orang Kaya Mantri has produced that he is the lawful ruler of Larut, and as such independent of the Sultan or any authority in Perak, he will now be recognised by the Government as the independent ruler of Larut."

This decision was announced in Council and was officially conveyed to the Mantri in a letter dated the 5th September, 1873.

Four months later Governor Sir Andrew Clarke, in a despatch to the Secretary of State, gave a very different account of the Mantri's position:

"It was also made perfectly clear to me that the Mantri was not an independent ruler but simply the Governor of the territory or district of Larut and, on his own admission,¹ an officer of the Sultan and owing allegiance to him; for while he held an undoubted appointment as Governor with full powers from the late Sultan, it seems to be perfectly clear that such an appointment terminated with the reign of the Sultan granting it and must, to be valid, be confirmed by his successor."

The contradictory opinions expressed by these two Governors will excuse the somewhat lengthy quotations from the documents upon which the Mantri relied. The documents are also given at full length in an appendix to assist any student who wishes to investigate the whole question for himself. They make it quite clear that the grant of Larut was not to be revocable by future Sultans and that it was not a Governorship tenable for a single life or on good behaviour only. On the other hand, they also make it evident that the Sultan did not give away his own titular dignities. Monarchs rarely do. King James I, when addressing the Sultan of Acheen, described himself as King of England, France and Ireland, and several European rulers at the present day claim to be Kings of Cyprus and Jerusalem. A ruler who is an absolute monarch in his own dominions and who is not restricted in his relations with foreign powers is, however, always considered to be independent—and that seems to have been Sir Harry Ord's justification for recognising the independence of Larut.

¹ This is probably a mistake: the Mantri always claimed to be independent in Larut though he was a vassal in Perak proper. His position of Mantri was revocable, but not that of ruler of Larut.

It was unfortunate for Che' Ngah Ibrahim that he acquired the great Perak title of Mantri. That title—as we have seen—had nothing to do with his dominion over Larut, but it led officials in the Straits to look up the word *Mantri* in Sanskrit dictionaries and to discourse learnedly about the lack of connection between a prime ministership and the government of a province. If the Mantri had been content to be a humble *Dato' Paduka* (Sovereign Lord) like his grandfather, or a *Dato' Johan* (Lord of the World) like his great-grandfather, he would have ranked as a very minor chief in Perak, but he would have been a far greater man in the dictionary. The position of Mantri also led, curiously enough, to the well-born Che' Ngah Ibrahim being considered a parvenu, for he usurped this particular title from an ancient family of Saiyids with whom he was in no way connected. "His case," said Sir Andrew Clarke, "was entirely different from that of the Maharajah of Johore whose father and grandfather had long been in possession of Johore." Yet, there is much to be said for the Mantri. He and his father had made Larut; they took an uninhabited tract of country, opened it up, filled it with colonists, administered it and honestly bought up any claims that the ruler of Perak might have put forward over it. Few Eastern rulers—and certainly not the Maharajah of Johore—could have put forward a fairer title to recognition. These points have to be dwelt upon because the politics of Perak at the time of the Pangkor treaty cannot be really understood without a full explanation of the anomalous position of the Mantri of Larut.

THE CHINESE DISTURBANCES.

The troubles for which the British Government exacted compensation in A.D. 1862 were fights between Larut miners—men who were split up into various factions by their secret societies and by the strong clannish feeling that exists among Chinese coming from one and the same district. In the end, two great secret societies practically absorbed all the rest: the Ghi-Hin Society which was patronised by the men of four Chinese districts, and the Hai-San Society which drew its supporters from five other Chinese districts. Both these Societies had their head-quarters in Penang.

In A.D. 1862 the Cheng-Sia Chinese had attacked the Wi-Chiu Chinese and had driven them out of Larut. Cheng-Sia was one of the "five districts,"¹ Wi-Chiu was one of the "four."² The Mantri is said to have thrown in his lot with the victors and to have shared in the spoil; but this, we imagine, only means that

¹ Go-Koon.

² Si-Koon.

he condoned offences and accepted accomplished facts. In any case, he did not give the five districts or the Hai-San Society any monopoly of the mining, for he allowed their rivals to settle at Larut and to become very numerous and powerful between the years 1862 and 1871. Throughout this period the Mantri ruled Larut in a manner that might be criticised in a European, but seemed quite enlightened when compared with ancient Perak Governments; he built a road, maintained a small force of police, bought two steamers, kept a house in Penang and entertained his own countrymen most lavishly at Bukit Gantang, where he usually lived. He received a vast revenue—some \$200,000 a year or even more—from his district. Meanwhile, however, the Chinese were slowly becoming too strong for him. The great headmen who controlled the mines began to resent any interference with the profits that they made out of their truck-systems; they forced the Mantri to forego the gambling farm and the opium farm and to allow the mine-owners to pocket the gains from both sources. In course of time they would probably have gone further and stopped the tin-royalty as well. But before that happened, a trifling cause—a gambling dispute or a fight over a woman—led to fights that gradually spread to the entire Ghi-Hin faction on one side and the entire Hai-San faction on the other. In February, 1872, the Mantri reported that he and his police were helplessly looking on, while huge gangs of miners were plundering and burning each other's property. In March, 1872, victory had definitely favoured the Ghi-Hin faction. On the 12th March the Ghi-Hin junks fired on anyone who tried to enter Larut by way of the sea. By the end of that month things had quieted down and mining was resumed, but it was confined to the Ghi-Hin men of the four districts. The Mantri accepted the position and punished no one for what had occurred.

Of course the Hai-San leaders—many of them being wealthy Penang merchants—were not likely to continue to tolerate their exclusion from the profits of the Larut mines. They began to collect arms and ammunition with a view to attacking their old enemies; they also intrigued with the Mantri's Malay rivals, especially the Raja Muda Abdullah of Perak. In August, 1872, the Mantri wrote to the acting Lieut.-Governor of Penang (Mr. G. W. R. Campbell) to complain that a man named Bacon was organising disturbances in the Krian district while the Chinese Hai-San leaders were using Penang as a base for a naval expedition against Larut proper. As to the former, Mr. Campbell wrote:

"Bacon, as I believe His Excellency knows, is a Eurasian adventurer aged 45 or 50, who some time ago was dismissed from his managership of one of Mr. Horsman's estates, became bankrupt, and subsequently stood his trial for arson, since which time he has been living chiefly in the Native States and advising Abdullah. . . . There is no doubt that Abdullah, from antagonism to the Larut chief who will not support him, would like Bacon

to collect the Larut revenue; but Abdullah cannot assist Bacon, and Bacon unassisted cannot help himself. He has therefore got a boy, Junus, from Kedah—partly, I imagine, to involve the Kedah people in the matter and partly because Junus may have influence with the Larut Pengulus.¹ Bacon says he himself is not going to collect the revenue or going to Larut at all; Junus is to go and collect it. The revenue is to consist of a tax on rice, one on wood, one on rattans, and a capitation-tax of \$2½ on married couples and \$1¼ on single persons for permission to live in the country..... When I asked Bacon what he had paid for this valuable farm, he said \$2,000."

Mr. Campbell warned Bacon and Junus that their whole expedition was merely piratical and that it might bring them to a very terrible end. But when it came to dealing with the Chinese preparations to attack Larut, the Lieut.-Governor—with no department of Chinese affairs and only seven marine policemen—was as helpless as the Mantri. In October, 1872, a number of armed junks and a strong force of Chinese fighting-men sailed from Penang to Larut and began a determined attack upon the Ghi-Hin miners. The acting Lieut.-Governor and the Superintendent of Police went in a ship of war to Larut to investigate matters and found that the junks were cleared for action and "seemed very determined." Mr. Campbell did not like to take the responsibility of seizing the junks and returned to Penang, where he was severely criticised by Governor Sir Harry Ord for his inaction. As for the Mantri's own ship, the "Betara Bayu," it was put out of action by the primitive expedient of bringing a bogus case against it and having it seized for debt by the Penang Supreme Court; by the time the case was over, the fighting at Larut was also over, and the Ghi-Hin faction had been defeated with very heavy loss. A hundred wounded men found their way overland to British territory; very many more must have perished miserably in the jungles and swamps of the country.

The victory of the Hai-San Society was not, however, decisive. Fighting continued. The great mine-owners began to fly flags of their own and became leaders of armed men; the whole of the country became an armed camp. The Mantri was powerless and retired to Krian. The Penang authorities prosecuted some of the Chinese leaders and did what they could to prohibit the export of arms and ammunition, but they could not make their prohibitions effective. Fighting still went on. When starving and desperate, small defeated bands of Ghi-Hin or Hai-San miners would turn and plunder unoffending traders and fishermen. Piracy became rife, and fears were entertained that the hostility of the great societies would lead to open warfare in Penang itself.

About the middle of the year 1873 it became obvious that the British policy of non-interference in the affairs of the Malay States

¹ The population of Krian was largely of Kedah-Malay descent. This Bacon afterwards became confidential clerk and interpreter to Mr. J. W. W. Birch.

would have to be materially modified. The Lieut.-Governor of Penang (Colonel Anson) did, what he could to put an end to the disturbances by arbitration, but he was balked by the unreliability of some of the Chinese leaders and of the Raja Muda Abdullah, who could not be induced to keep to any definite line of policy. Ultimately, Colonel Anson saw that the only hope of restoring order without actually annexing Larut lay in giving a whole-hearted support to the Mantri. On the 20th July, 1873, Captain Speedy, Superintendent of Police, resigned the British service and went to India to recruit Sikhs for the Mantri. On the 21st August Colonel Anson advised the Governor to take the strong step of recognising the Mantri's independence. Accordingly, on the 3rd September, Sir Harry Ord recognised the independence of Larut and on the 9th September he repealed in the Mantri's favour the order prohibiting the export of arms and ammunition to the disturbed districts. By throwing the full support of the English on the side of the newly-recognised ruler it was hoped that the country would be pacified and the piracy put an end to. But the state of Larut was far more serious than the Governor had anticipated. A few days after the recognition of the Mantri the boats of H.M.S. "Midge" were fired upon and two officers wounded. Retribution followed at once; the junks and the stockades on the Larut river were shelled, captured or destroyed by British gun-boats on the 20th September. Among the prisoners taken on this occasion was the Raja Muda Abdullah. On the 4th November seven Chinese junks were seen to fight each other near Pangkor for several hours, but no one ever discovered what they were fighting about. Ultimately the Chinese seem to have given up their junks and taken to swift piratical row-boats that were still more difficult to cope with, as the following statement by Sir F. Swettenham will show:

"In the operations against the Chinese pirates of Larut in 1872-73, when H.M.'s gun-vessels for months sought and pursued the pirates without securing one boat or one man, I several times accompanied the men-of-war and joined the boat expeditions.

"Though the pirates were repeatedly seen, sometimes in the act of committing a piracy, they were never caught, for they could always get away from a man-of-war's boats or from the heavy and useless steam launches sent against them.

"Without a proper steam launch, one of the fastest and lightest draught (say 3 feet) I believe it is impossible for English sailors to act successfully against pirates on such a coast as that of the Malay Peninsula, a network of mangrove swamp and shallow rivers, often dry at low water. A pirate boat once out of sight in such a maze is as difficult to find as the proverbial needle in a haystack."

These piratical row-boats carried their depredations as far north as the Kedah coast and as far south as the Dindings, to the intense exasperation of the British authorities. But the exploits of these pirates were due to hunger and desperation more than to success or courage. The Chinese could not be hunted

down in their own tidal rivers but they were being blockaded and starved. To seaward lay the British gun-boats; to landward were Captain Speedy and his Sikhs as well as the Malays of the Mantri and of his friend the new Sultan Ismail. Sooner or later the Chinese were bound to give in. It was, however, just at this critical juncture that Sir Harry Ord left the Colony and Sir Andrew Clarke took his place.

BRITISH POLICY IN 1873.

When in A.D. 1868 Sir Harry Ord made a treaty with Kedah, the Colonial Office—while not disapproving of the treaty itself—laid down decisively for the instruction of its officers that "it would generally be undesirable that a Governor should enter into negotiations with native rulers—still less that he should conclude any agreement with them—except in pursuance of an object or policy considered and approved by Her Majesty's Government." These instructions are logical enough. But the "policy considered and approved by Her Majesty's Government" in the days of Sir Harry Ord was one of the strictest non-intervention. When, in July, 1872, a number of Malacca traders sent a petition to the Governor about the losses to which they were being put by the Selangor disturbances, they received the following reply.

"It is the policy of Her Majesty's Government not to interfere in the affairs of these countries except where it becomes necessary for the suppression of piracy or the punishment of aggression on our people or territories and if traders, prompted by the prospect of large gains, choose to run the risk of placing their persons and property in the jeopardy that they are aware attends them in these countries under present circumstances, it is impossible for the Government to be answerable for their protection or that of their property."

This answer was formally approved by Lord Kimberley in December, 1872. The same rule of absolute neutrality was again laid down for the Governor's guidance in a despatch dated the 5th July, 1873. From that date, however, we seem to get indications of a change of policy. Writing to Mr. Seymour Clarke on the 5th August, 1873, the Colonial Office qualified its assertion of neutrality by stating that it had *hitherto* been the practice of the British Government not to interfere in the internal affairs of the Native States. Six weeks later, on the 20th September, 1873, the practice of non-intervention was avowedly given up.

"Her Majesty's Government have, it need hardly be said, no desire to interfere in the internal affairs of the Malay States; but, looking to the long and intimate connection between them and the British Government,..... Her Majesty's Government find it incumbent to employ such influence as they possess with the native princes to rescue, if possible, these fertile and productive countries from the ruin which must befall them if the present disorders continue unchecked.

"I have to request that you will carefully ascertain, as far as you are able, the actual condition of affairs in each State and that you will report to me whether there are in your opinion any steps which can properly be taken by the Colonial Government to promote the restoration of peace and order and to secure protection to trade and commerce with the native territories. I should wish you, especially, to consider whether it would be advisable to appoint a British officer to reside in any of the States. Such an appointment could, of course, only be made with the full consent of the native Government, and the expenses connected with it would have to be defrayed by the Government of the Straits Settlements."

It seems clear, therefore, that in August, 1873, the Secretary of State had been contemplating a change of policy and that in September, 1873, that change became an accomplished fact. If the abandonment of the old neutral attitude is to be ascribed to the representations of any Governor, it must have been due to the counsels of Sir Harry Ord. But as Sir Harry Ord was on the point of retiring, the orders of the Colonial Office were not directed to him (though he was still in office) but to the Governor-designate, Sir Andrew Clarke, who happened to be in England when this all-important despatch was written. Still, it is not likely that the counsels of Governors could have been sufficient in themselves to have brought about so great a change if they had not been aided by the course of events. In the year 1873 Larut was being torn in two by rival secret societies; Perak proper was in a state of anarchy; Selangor was in the throes of civil war; even in the Negri Sembilan there were serious disturbances. The whole Peninsula, as Sir Harry Ord pointed out, was in the hands of the lawless and the turbulent.

The policy of inaction that had been pursued between 1867 and 1873 must have been very galling to an administrator of Governor Ord. Local feeling was all in favour of intervention. In February, 1869, when Raja Yusuff laid his claim to the throne of Perak before the Straits authorities, the Colonial Secretary (Colonel Macpherson) openly expressed to the Governor his regret that it was not possible to take advantage of the opportunity and govern the country through a British nominee. In 1871 a committee (of which Major McNair was a member) definitely proposed that Residents should be sent to the Native States. In 1872, Mr. G. W. R. Campbell, when acting Lieutenant-Governor of Penang, wrote in a similar strain :

"I speak with diffidence, being so new to this portion of the East, but I think it is worth consideration whether the appointment under the British Government of a British Resident or Political Agent for certain of the Malay States would not, as in India, have a markedly beneficial effect. Such Resident or Political Agent would need to be an officer of some position and standing and a man of good judgment and good personal manner, and he should, of course, have a thorough knowledge of the Malay language..... In India, in many a native-ruled State, it is marvellous what work a single well-selected British officer has effected in such matters as roads, schools, and police—even within the compass of a few years."

The ideas and wishes of the officials and unofficials of the Straits could, however, be of little avail as long as it was the declared intention of the Colonial Office to abstain from interference in the internal affairs of the Peninsula. It was only when the anarchy of 1873 forced the hand of the authorities at home that the Governor has a real chance of effecting anything of permanent value. That chance fell to the lot of Sir Andrew Clarke.

The preceding chapters will—it is hoped—make it fairly clear why the British intervened in Perak affairs and what was the political condition of the country at the time of that intervention. They may also serve to show that the introduction of the residential system into the Malay States was not the result of any sudden inspiration on the part of a new Governor, but was led up to by the course of events and by the advocacy of many Colonial officials—Sir Harry Ord, Colonels Anson and Macpherson, Major McNair, and Mr. G. W. R. Campbell, among others. Sir Andrew Clarke, before leaving England, had been told what he was to do. He landed in the Colony in November, 1873, and signed the Pangkor Treaty in January, 1874. His intervention was only one incident in a long series of events with most of which he had not been associated. But there were many possible ways of intervening in the affairs of Perak, and Sir Andrew Clarke must be judged by the line that he elected to take—his recognition of the Raja Muda Abdullah as Sultan, his reversal of Sir Harry Ord's policy towards the Mantri, his choice of Residents, and his instructions to the Residents that he selected. This line, whether right or wrong, led to the Perak war and to bitter controversies that make it, even now, inexpedient to discuss the history of Perak for the years 1874, 1875 and 1876.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.

LETTER ACKNOWLEDGING SULTAN ISMAIL.

From the Raja Muda Abdullah to Sultan Ismail. The wording is literally as follows:

With all submission and humility from your grandson, the Raja Muda, who is at this time residing at Sungai Korok, to my grandfather Seri Paduka Duli Yang di-pertuan yang maha-mulia.

After Compliments.—We respectfully inform our grandfather about all matters concerning us; for at this time our thoughts are troubled, for things are much altered since former days.

When our late grandfather ascended the throne he instructed us in the way we should go. When we went wrong he reminded us of what was right. If we slept, he watched; if we tarried, he urged us on; if we were headstrong, he checked us; if we could not succeed, there was one to help us.

The Rajas at that time gave us much assistance. Now our grandfather holds the sovereignty of Perak, and we are very glad of it. We believed that increased power would be shown to us. But our faith has not been justified by God's grace, and we, in consequence, are much distressed. But we still rely upon our grandfather's assistance in all these matters.

In the past our good fortune never failed us; but now, since our grandfather ascended the throne, for the first time we are put to shame in a way never previously endured by any Perak Rajas.

Life has become more burdensome than before and we are resigned to God's will. We have received no instructions from any of the chiefs of Perak as to the position (*tanggungjawab*) we occupy, or any advice as to the best course to pursue. Now we have erred towards our grandfather; yet, even in this case, not one of them pointed out what was right or what was wrong in our behaviour, only as it seemed to us ourselves.

Moreover, we settled things (according to our own notions), but none of the chiefs took any notice of us. Now, indeed, we ask a thousand pardons and beg our grandfather to assign us some responsible position that our mind may be at rest.

14th Shawal, 1289.

(7th December, 1872.)

APPENDIX B.

CHARTERS OF THE MANTRI

I

In the year 1287¹ of the Mahomedan Era, the year called Jim, on Friday, the 1st day of the month Muharram,² on that date we, Raja Nyah Ali bin Sultan Shahabudin Shah, at present in possession of the supreme power in Perak, give notice by this writing that, acting under the orders of His Highness our father-in-law, the Seri Paduka, who governs Perak aforesaid, we bestow this favour upon Che' Long Jafar bin Abdul Latif Paduka Setia.

¹ A. D. 1866.

² 29th February.

Che' Long Jafar has opened up one of the provinces of Perak called Larut, and all its rivers, in order to make tin mines; this he has done by his own diligence and at his own expense. We express our entire approval of the diligence he has bestowed and the expense Che' Long Jafar has incurred in the aforesaid place (Larut), and his children shall receive it (Larut) as their own property at their own disposal. This is established and confirmed with the approval of the chiefs who have affixed their seals to this document, as a sign of each one's approval and concurrence, and what is written in this deed can never be annulled by anyone.

Done this 1st day of the month Muharram.

[Sealed by the Regent Raja Ngah Ali, by the Taménggong, by the Penglina Bukit Gantang, by the Penglina Kinta, by the Shahbandar and by the Sadika Raja.]

II.

This document is given under the seal of His Highness Maulana Paduka Seri Sultan Jafar Maatham Shah bin Al-marhum Ahmad Shah Johan Bérdaulat Khalifatullah, who possesses the sovereignty of the country of Perak.

Be it known to all Rajas, and sons of Rajas, and Chiefs, Warriors, Officers, Eunuchs, Herald's, Penghulus, Naibs, Subjects and Soldiers, in our presence and at a distance, living beneath the shadow of the Government of Perak, that we make this document sealed with our seal and bestow it upon Che' Long Jafar bin Abdul Latif.

Inasmuch as Che' Long Jafar received a written power from Raja Ngah Ali bin Al-marhum Sultan Shahabudin Shah with the sanction of his father, done in the presence of all his chiefs who affixed their seals to that document which was written on the 10th day of the month Rabialawal in the year 1267, to the effect that the Government of Larut and its dependencies was bestowed upon him (Che' Long Jafar), to be managed by him at his own expense, to be his own property, and the inheritance of his children.

Now we confirm all that is therein written, to the effect, that it (Larut) shall become his (Long Jafar's) property and the inheritance of his children.

This we declare and establish, and we have sealed his document with our seal.

Done this 10th day of the month Rabialawal in the year 1273.²

[Sealed by the Sultan.]

III.

This document is given under the hand and seal of us, Maulana Paduka Seri Sultan Jafar Maatham Shah bin Al-marhum Ahmad Shah who holds the sovereignty of the kingdom of Perak.

We three, Ourselves, the Raja Muda, and Raja Béndahara, our Chief Ministers, bestow upon Ngah Ibrahim bin Jafar (this power): Be it known to all Rajas, sons of Rajas, Chiefs, Warriors, Officers, Eunuchs, Herald's, Penghulus, Naibs, Subjects and Soldiers, in our presence and at a distance, that after due deliberation with our Rajas and Chiefs, we bestow a dependency (province) of this country of Perak upon Ngah Ibrahim bin Jafar, to be governed by him and to become his property. Moreover, we make known the boundaries of that dependency to be as follows: from Larut and Krian and Bagan Tiang, these are the boundaries, that is to say,

¹ Erratum; it should be the 1st Muharram.

² 7th May, 1866.

these compose the country of Larut (lit. this is Larut), to follow out the terms of the power by which his father Che' Long Jafar managed (governed that country) up to the time of his son Ngah Ibrahim who received it from his father by his father's gift.

Now we confirm his (Che' Long's) son's Government and this cannot be revoked, whether he (Che' Ibrahim) acts well or wickedly, by anyone who may hold the sovereignty of Perak.

Therefore we endow Ngah Ibrahim with all power of law, and give him power to correspond and settle matters with other countries and with the English Government without reference to us three, or to anyone who may hold sovereignty in Perak.

Thus do we confirm that to him as his property and bestow it upon him.

Written on the 10th day of the month Shawal, 1274.¹

[Sealed by the Sultan, Raja Muda and Bëndahara.]

IV

At Pasir Panjang, Indera Mulia, in the country of Perak in the year 1290.

On Monday, the 21st day of the month Shawal in the year 1290,² at the time and date aforesaid we Paduka Séri Sultan Jafar Maatham Shah, a renowned sovereign, ruler of the kingdom of Perak, grant this (power) to Ngah Ibrahim bin Jafar in order that it may be known to all Rajas and all sons of Rajas, Chiefs, Warriors, Officers, Eunuchs, Heralds, Pēnghulus, Naibs, Subjects and Soldiers, together with all in our presence and at a distance, thus we make known to them all: that after due deliberation with our Rajas and Chiefs, we bestow a province of the country of Perak upon Ngah Ibrahim bin Jafar to be governed by him.

Moreover, we make known the boundaries of that province to be as follows: from Larut and Krian, Bagan Tiang, these are the boundaries, that is to say, these from the country of Larut, as far as Krian.

And on the sea coast towards the west as far as Tanjung Bèlanak, thence from Pasir Gèdèbu to the mouth of the Krian river; towards the interior all which marches with Kedah, and the government of our chief of the interior, following the boundaries of Krian as they are at present, the total,³ one river in Kurau given to an old subject of ours, the Pēnglima Bukit Gantang Séri Amar Diraja, his place will be bounded on the right and left by country under the government of his grandson, Ngah Ibrahim, as aforesaid, and thus there will be no disputes about either's boundaries.

Let no one under the government of Ngah Ibrahim break his laws within the aforesaid provinces. Just as we ourselves should give laws to them as long as they lived under the Government of Perak, so Ngah Ibrahim can govern them as he pleases and make any laws he thinks fit, without committing any offence against us, or against our rajas or chiefs in this country of Perak or in any other country.

Should anyone, whether Malay or Chinese, or of any other race, wish to do anything in the aforesaid provinces, such as cutting wood or tin mining, he must agree to be faithful to, and receive permission from, Ngah Ibrahim, in like manner as he would receive it from us—and (be it known to) our rajas and chiefs, that if they do not arrange with Ngah Ibrahim and obtain his consent they cannot do (anything in Larut).

The wishes and laws of Ngah Ibrahim are our own laws also, let everyone remember this and do not dispute the laws of Ngah Ibrahim bin Jafar.

[Sealed by Sultan Jafar.]

¹ 30th November, 1867. ² 10th December, 1868. ³ Except?

V.

On Tuesday, the 10th Jimadilawal 1280,¹ in the year Wan, in the reign of Maulana Sri Sultan Jafar Maatham Shah, at the Palace at Pasir Panjang, Indra Mulia, in the presence of the Raja Muda, representative of the Sultan, and in the presence of the Raja Béndahara, also representative of the Sultan, and in the presence of the Sultan Muda, and in the presence of all the Rajas and sons of Rajas and Chiefs, the head of them being Orang Kaya Besar Maharaja Diraja, and in the presence of all the Temenggongs and the Temenggong Paduka Raja, and in the presence of all the Warriors, Officers, Eunuchs, Heralds, Penghulus, Naibs, Subjects and Soldiers, crowding the Hall of Audience :

Now, at this time, His Highness the Yang-di-pertuan (*i.e.*, Sultan) bestows this (document) given under his seal, upon the Orang Kaya Mantri.

Be it known to all Rajas and sons of Rajas, and all Chiefs and Warriors, Officers, Eunuchs, Heralds, Penghulus, Naibs, Subjects and Soldiers, that we inform this Orang Kaya Mantri that we bestow Larut upon him : westwards as far as Krian, eastwards as far as the mouth of the Bruas river, thence to Bukit Bérapi and towards the interior as far as the interior at the new mines.²

We give the government of the aforesaid entire country³ to this Orang Kaya Mantri, whether he acts well or ill, with all its subjects and soldiers, its lands and its waters, its timber and plants and rattans, its *damar* and shells, its mines, its hills and mountains, and the immigrants who are living there, whether they be Chinese or Dutch, with power to frame laws, and admit men to the Muhammadan religion, and to kill and to fine, and to receive criminals, and to give in marriage those who have no guardians, the Orang Kaya Mantri our Wakil (representative) can become their guardian.

Over all the things which we have stated in this document, we give notice that we have empowered the Orang Kaya Mantri to hold sway.

If we are in want of anything we shall look to no other source (for assistance), but the Orang Kaya Mantri only. Everyone who resides in the aforesaid province (*i.e.*, Larut) must follow out and obey the orders and counsels of the Orang Kaya Mantri, for whatever the Orang Kaya Mantri does is done (as if) by our orders.

Moreover, be it known that if anyone goes to that country (Larut) wanting anything there, we do (or can) not give them permission—we have given the government of all the aforesaid provinces to the Orang Kaya Mantri : now, the Mantri shall rule (lit. give laws to) all the (aforesaid) provinces of Perak, inland as far as Baru³ southwards, northwards, westwards, and eastwards (as stated above). Let no one, by God's help, make disturbances or disown the Orang Kaya Mantri. If anyone makes disturbances or disowns (him) he commits a sin against God, and against Muhammad and against us.

By the grace of God, with the protection of the Prophet, our revered ancestors (or, perhaps, by the graves of our ancestors) the former Sultans, to the man who does that we will mete out a full punishment : if he disown (the Mantri) we will seize his property, if he resist him (the Mantri) we will kill him, so shall it be—we cannot alter what is written in this document sealed with our seal.

[Sealed by Sultan Jafar.]

¹ 31st March, 1864. ² *Klian Baharu* : Kamunting, near Taiping.
³ *Klian Baharu*

APPENDIX C.

LIST OF THE SULTANS OF PERAK.

The Sultan of Perak has two well-known pedigrees associated with his name; he accepts one as correct and rejects the other as spurious. The officially accepted genealogy gives 26 Sultans while the other only mentions 20. I give the two lists in parallel columns to show where they possibly correspond. I give the personal names, the royal titles, and the descriptions by which they were known after their death:

A.—THE TWENTY EIGHT.

- I. Raja Mudzafar, Sultan
Mudzafar Shah I.
Marhum Tanah Abang¹
- II. Raja Mansur, Sultan
Mansur Shah. Marhum
Kota Lama Kanan²
- III. Raja Ahmad, Sultan
Ahmad Tajud-din Shah.
Marhum Muda
- IV. Raja Arifin, Sultan *Tajw'l*
Arifin Shah
- V. Raja Ali, Sultan *Alauddin*
Shah
- VI. Tengku Tuha, Sultan
Makadam Shah. Died
in Acheen
- VII. Raja Mansur, Sultan
Mansur Shah II. Died at
Johor
- VIII. Raja Yusuf, Sultan
Mahmud Shah. Marhum
Pulau Tiga
- IX. Raja Kobat, Sultan
Sulhah'd din Shah. Died
at Kampar
- X. Raja Sulong, Sultan *Mud-*
zafar Shah II. Marhum
Jamalu'llah
- XI. Raja Mahmud, Sultan
Muhammad Iskandar
Shah. Marhum B&ar
Aulu'llah
- XII. Raja Radin, Sultan *Alau-*
din Riayat Shah
- XIII. Raja Ino, Sultan *Mudzafar*
Shah III. Marhum Haji
Allah³

B.—THE TWENTY.

- I. Sultan *Ahmad Tajud din*
Shah. Marhum Tanah
Abang³
- II. Sultan *Malik Shah.*
Marhum Kota Lama⁴
- III. Sultan *Mansur Shah.* Mar-
hum Jaidu'llah
- IV. Sultan *Mahmud Iskandar*
Shah. Marhum B&ar
Aulu'llah
- V. Sultan *Alauddin Iskandar*
Shah. Marhum Sulong
- VI. Sultan *Mudzafar Shah.*
Marhum Haji Allah

1 Cf. B I.

2 Cf. B II.

3 Cf. A. I.

4 Cf. A 2.

5 Died a.d. 1768.

A.—THE TWENTY-EIGHTH—(cont.)

- XIV. Raja Bisnu, Sultan
Muhammad Shah, Mar-
hum Aminu'llah
- XV. Raja Iskandar, Sultan
Iskandar Dzul-karnain,
Marhum Kahar
- XVI. Raja Samsu, Sultan
Mahmud Shah II, Mar-
hum Muda
- XVII. Raja Aladdin, Sultan
*Aladdin Mansur Iskan-
dar*, *Muda Shah*
- XVIII. Raja Chik, Sultan
Ahmadin Shah
- XIX. Raja Abdu'l Malik, Sultan
*Abdu'l Malik Mansur
Shah*, Marhum Jamalu'l-
lah
- XX. Raja Abdullah, Sultan *Ab-
dullah Muadzam Shah*,
Marhum Khalilu'llah
- XXI. Raja Chulan, Sultan *Sho-
kahu'd din Shah*, Marhum
Safu'llah
- XXII. Raja Abdullah, Sultan *Ab-
dullah Muhammad Shah*,
Marhum 'Itikadu'llah
- XXIII. Raja Ngah Jafar, Sultan
Jafar Muadzam Shah,
Marhum Waliu'llah
- XXIV. Raja Ngah Ali, Sultan *Ali
al-kamal Riayat Shah*,
Marhum Nabi Allah
- XXV. Raja Ismail, Sultan *Ismail
Muabidin Shah*, Marhum
Mangkat di-Skudai
- XXVI. Raja Abdullah, Sultan *Ab-
dullah Muhammad Shah
II*, now Ex-Sultan
Abdullah
- XXVII. Raja Yusuf, Sultan *Yusuf
Sharifu'd din Mufdzal
Shah*, Marhum Ghaf-
ru'llah
- XXVIII. Raja Idris, Sultan *Sir
Idris Merahidu'l-wadzam
Shah*, o.c.n.o., now
reigning

B.—THE TWENTY—(cont.)

- VII. Sultan *Iskandar Dzul-
karnain*, Marhum Kahar
- VIII. Sultan *Mahmud Shah*,
Marhum Muda
- IX. Sultan *Aladdin Mansur
Iskandar Muda Shah*,
Marhum Paduka
Marhum
- X. Sultan *Ahmadin Shah*,
Marhum Bériseu
- XI. Sultan *Abdu'l Malik Shah*,
Marhum Jamidu'llah
- XII. Sultan *Abdullah*, Marhum
Khalilu'llah
- XIII. Sultan *Shakahu'd din
Shah*, Marhum Safu'llah
- XIV. Sultan *Abdullah Muham-
mad Shah*, Marhum
'Itikadu'llah
- XV. Sultan *Jafar Muad-
zam Shah*, Marhum
Waliu'llah
- XVI. Sultan *Ali al-kamal Riayat
Shah*
- XVII. Sultan *Ismail*
- XVIII. Sultan *Abdullah Muham-
mad Shah II*
- XIX. Sultan *Yusuf Sharifu'd-
din Mufdzal Shah*, Mar-
hum Ghafiru'llah
- XX. Sultan *Sir Idris Mer-
chidu'l-wadzam Shah*,
o.c.n.o.

The first list, A, is that given by the Dato' Setia in connection with the renovation of the tombs of the old kings. It has been officially approved and the names in it are being engraved on the new tombstones.

The second list, B, is an old list compiled before Sultan Yusuf came to the throne. The last two names have therefore been inserted by me. It seems to have been accepted till comparatively recently and is the one always referred to in bluebooks, etc., on Perak affairs.

A curious feature about the Dato' Setia's list, A, is that in giving relationships it sometimes refers to names that do not appear in itself but that may appear in the rival list (B). Thus, his 13th and 14th Sultans are given as sons of "Mansur Shah of Pulau Tiga." This cannot refer to A 7 but might refer to B 2; for A 7 must have died about A.D. 1610 and A 13 died in A.D. 1765.

Again, assuming that A is correct, we find that the lengths of the reigns of the first 13 Sultans amounted to about 230 years and the next 13 Sultans to only 110 years.

B omits Sultan Muhammad Shah (A 14), who certainly existed and who made a treaty with the Dutch in A.D. 1765.

PAPERS ON MALAY SUBJECTS

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

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

MALAY HISTORY.

PART V.

NOTES ON THE NEGRI SEMBILAN.

BY

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

KUALA LUMPUR

PRINTED BY J. BROWN AT THE F.M.S. GOVERNMENT PRESS.

1911.

PREFACE.

THIS pamphlet was intended originally to contain a series of essays (some being of a very technical character) on Negri Sembilan subjects. It has, however, been decided to publish only the two less technical essays in the "Papers on Malay Subjects" and to issue the others in separate form in a series of monographs that will appear later.

R. J. W.

HISTORY.
NEGRI SEMBILAN NOTES.
PART I.
NEGRI SEMBILAN HISTORY.

By R. J. WILKINSON.

I.—INTRODUCTORY.

THE annals of the little Malay confederacy known as the "Nine States" (*negeri sembilan*) have been the subject of much discussion and of many essays by Martin Lister, D. F. A. Hervey, R. N. Bland, A. Hale, C. W. C. Parr, and other authorities, who can claim a more intimate knowledge of the country than that possessed by myself. Under the circumstances some defence or apology seems necessary for the fact that my account differs very much from that which has hitherto been accepted as true history. The divergencies are largely due to the use of fresh historical material and to the critical method that I have thought it necessary to adopt when discussing Malay legends.

In Martin Lister's own words the history upon which he relied had been "handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation of the inhabitants." Though oral tradition of this sort possesses a good deal of value, it is insufficient by itself to give us a trustworthy history of a country. It must be corroborated or checked; and Martin Lister did not know of any data by which his legends could be verified. Other writers have sought for additional history in what one may call the constitutional law of the Negri Sembilan; they have drawn inferences from explanations that every Malay accepts or seems to accept as historically true. Thus, the royal Sakai ancestry of the ruler of Rembau is deduced from the fact that he "is *dytërumba*; he adds to his constitutional authority the privilege of blood—of a pedigree traced on the maternal side back to the aborigines, the heirs of the soil he rules, whose rights have been merged in his."¹ Plausible as the process appears, such a method of tracing history is even less to be trusted than Martin Lister's frank acceptance of local legends for what they

¹ Parr and Mackay. "Rembau," p. 51.

were worth. The new method is simply history that takes as its basis the pretensions of various families and the claims that they put forward to a share in the revenue. The trail of greed, of arrogance and of self-interest is over all such testimony.

Even in the course of this enquiry I have met with attempts to tamper with historical truth. Sometimes it was a mere hiding of evidence, as when a powerful chief concealed the fact that he possessed a Sakai weapon among his heirlooms—the concealment in this case being due to his fear that a Sakai ancestry might be imputed to him. Sometimes the suppression goes further, as when in one instance a Malay magnate destroyed deliberately a number of documents that did not corroborate his own version of history. Indeed, there was evidence to show that in another case a good many years ago, all the chiefs and headmen of a small Negri Sembilan State agreed among themselves to deceive the District Officer and to induce him to recognise a concocted constitution that would give them a claim to a larger share of the local revenues than they actually possessed. The effort seems to have been successful. But it must not be supposed that these local attempts to falsify history are due to the temptation offered by the credulity of individual British officers; the forger was at work in these States long before the days of the protectorate. One document produced before me in connection with a certain title bore the date 1698, purported to have been issued by a sultan who lived in the early part of the nineteenth century, was stamped with the seal of a sultan who died in A.D. 1760, and was written on paper with a water-mark of A.D. 1771. It must have been concocted in connection with a controversy that was raised and settled several generations ago.

These facts will explain why I have thought it necessary to be critical of my historical material, to check it by collecting different versions of the same incident, to supplement it in every possible way, and to be very careful before accepting any uncorroborated statements. But for a cautious student there is plenty of evidence that has been neglected hitherto. To begin with, there are the seals used by the local chiefs now and in the past. These seals are usually dated and bear the name of the sultan who conferred them. They give us first-hand evidence of real value.¹ Then we have the testimony of the "Malay

¹ The life of a seal is not long enough to ensure our possessing the originals; we only have copies that were made to replace the old seals. The evidence is not conclusive, but it goes a long way towards proof.

Annals," a book written in A.D. 1636. It is evident that any references made by the author of that book to the Negri Sembilan of his own time are of great importance for corroborating or demolishing our tradition. Lastly, there are many traditional details, of little importance in themselves, that have a material bearing on the truth or falsity of more important assertions. We have, for instance, lists of the holders of almost every Negri Sembilan title. The length of a list may not be absolute proof of the antiquity of a title; but it is *prima facie* evidence and may be corroborated by the traditional association of certain holders of the dignity with events of which we know the dates. Singly, such facts count for very little, but cumulatively they may prove a great deal.

Let us then apply these critical methods to the main points of our present traditional history.

The principal figure of the "Sakai" period of Negri Sembilan history is the Dato' Sekudai. He lived in the days before the foundation of the Menangkabau State of Rembau—and that State is supposed by Malays to have existed for 360 years, and is believed by Newbold, Parr and Mackray¹ to date back to A.D. 1530 or 1540. We can check these statements. The Dato' Sekudai is mentioned in the "Malay Annals" as a contemporary chief (A.D. 1636). The seal of the second Dato' of Rembau (son of the first) is probably extant even now; certainly its impression is to be seen on old documents. It bears the date A.D. 1707. The fifth Dato' of Rembau is associated by Jelevu and Sungrei Ujong tradition (as well as by Rembau tradition) with events that occurred between A.D. 1757 and 1773.² His son became Dato' of Rembau about the year A.D. 1795. In face of this evidence, is it possible to accept Parr's view that the first Dato' of Rembau dates back to A.D. 1540; that the fifth reigned between A.D. 1645 and 1660; and that the eleventh (son of the fifth) became Dato' in 1795, one hundred and thirty-five years after his father's death? These are rather serious calls upon our faith.

Let us turn to Johol. The Dato' of Johol is expected to wear his hair long and to decline to travel; he is the lineal

¹ "Rembau," pp. 12, 118. ² He is said to have visited Malacca, and we know that a Dato' of Rembau visited Malacca in A.D. 1767. There he married a Portuguese girl who became the mother of the eleventh Dato', an ancestor of the Wario Tjbat. He refused his daughter to Sultan Abdul Jauh Muzaffar Shah (A.D. 1760). He expelled the Linggi settlers from Rembau (A.D. 1770-1780).

representative of a Sakai chieftainness of the most legendary period. Here at least we ought to have a lineage that goes back to the misty regions of the distant past. But criticism plays havoc with romance. The line of Johol chiefs only includes eight names; the seal of the dignity is dated 1874¹; and the ancient long-haired chieftainness was traditionally the mother of a Dato' of Ulu Muar who was put to death about the year 1773. Johol is the newest, not the oldest, of the nine States.

Jelebu is reputed an ancient "Sakai" kingdom; its chiefs bore the title of *undang* in the days before Rembau was founded. So runs our tradition. It also tells us that the third Dato' obtained a certain seal and title from Johor, and that the first Dato' Bandar of Jelebu obtained his seal and title at the same time. Let us examine these seals. They quote as the fountain of honour Sultan Abdul Jalil Muadzam Shah of Johor; and he reigned and died in A.D. 1760.

The first Yamtuan Besar, Raja Melewar, came over from Sumatra about A.D. 1773 under very romantic circumstances; he was (we are told) a son of the Sultan of Menangkabau of the oldest Malay lineage and was deputed by his father to reign over the Negri Sembilan. History again is fatal to romance, for there was no Sultan of Menangkabau in A.D. 1773; the Menangkabau kingdom had been partitioned nearly a century before

Discrepancies of this sort between Malay tradition and indisputable fact make it imprudent to follow blindly in the wake of great pioneers of Negri Sembilan research such as Lister and Hervey. Much evidence has come to light since their time to enable a more accurate account to be written; and, doubtless, this present history will be corrected and supplemented in its turn as more facts become known. The only finality that we need expect lies in the possibility of the old uncritical methods of study being abandoned for good and all. Far too much of our past information rested on no better authority than the representations of some inventive *lĕmbaga* on the look-out for an increase of pay.

¹ At the earliest.

II.—THE LEGENDARY OR SAKAI PERIOD.

A.D. 1450—1600.

Malay tradition divides the history of Negri Sembilan into three principal periods: (1) an early period when the country was split up into four Sakai States (Sungei Ujong, Klang, Jelebu and Johol); (2) an intermediate period during which the four Sakai States were replaced by nine Menangkabau States under the suzerainty of Johor; and (3) a modern period during which four out of the nine Menangkabau States formed themselves into an independent constitutional monarchy under a yamtuan or ruler of their own.

It is with the early or "Sakai" period that we are first concerned.

Malacca was founded shortly before the year A.D. 1400 by the fusion of a settlement of aborigines with a colony of Singapore or Palembang Malays. The place grew rapidly in importance, and was soon in a position to exercise some sort of hegemony over the coast districts of Selangor and Sungei Ujong and over its own hinterland of Rembau and Naning. From the "Malay Annals" we learn that a Malacca noble named Tun Perak was penghulu of Klang in the reign of Sultan Mudzafar Shah (about A.D. 1450). This penghulu was a man of the very highest rank; his sister, Tun Kudu, was married to the sultan; his father had been bendahara; he himself rose afterwards to the position of bendahara; and his son was the aged bendahara who fought Albuquerque in A.D. 1511. From the "Malay Annals" again we learn that Sungei Ujong was governed in the days of Mansur Shah by a Malacca noble, Tun Tukul, and that like Klang it was an appanage of the bendahara's family. Of Jelebu and Johol we hear nothing. The evidence of the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu* makes it quite clear that "the four Sakai States" were mere fiefs of the bendahara from A.D. 1450 to the date of the "Annals" themselves (A.D. 1636); and even the seal of the Dato' of Rembau, granted in A.D. 1707, bears the inscription "by the grace of the Bendahara Sri Maharaja." The inhabitants of the Negri Sembilan of that early time may have been aborigines but their rulers were certainly Malacca Malays.

We will now turn from recorded history to local Malay tradition.

"It is difficult to say," writes Martin Lister, "how long ago it was that a great number of Sakai travelled from the mountains of Seudai and arrived in Johol. Their numbers amounted to as many grains as are contained in a *gantang* of padi, as on their arrival in Johol each individual planted a grain of padi and it was found that a *gantang* was exhausted. . . . There were four great chiefs or *batins* among these Sakai: three were men and one a woman. The woman elected to remain in Johol. The three men separated with their followers. One went to Jelebu, one to Klang, and one to Sungei Ujong. This was the origin of the *wadany yang empat*, the four law-givers, of which Klang was the oldest."¹

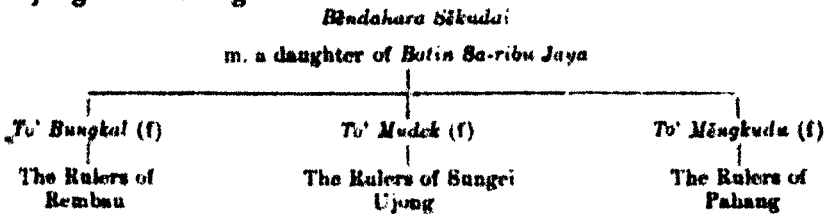
This is the Johol story. In Rembau we hear again of a Sakai migration and of Sekudai; but the details are different. The migration becomes a mere "descent from the hills," a blending by intermarriage of the aboriginal hill-peoples with the Sumatran immigrants from the other side of the Malacca Straits; Sekudai appears only in the story of the Dato' Sekudai and is not associated with the migration. In Sungei Ujong we hear of the founding of the four Sakai States without any general migration, and the date is given as at a time anterior to the coming of the Dato' Sekudai.

All traditions unite in saying that there were four "Sakai States," although the "Malay Annals" mention only Sungei Ujong and Klang. The point is unimportant. More interest attaches to the story of the Sakai migration. The Negri Sembilan aborigines belong to three distinct tribes: the Biduanda (also known as Blandas and Mantra); the Besis; and the Jakun. The legends are associated with the Biduanda, a hill-tribe that speaks a language made up mainly of archaic Malay. It is possible that the old Malacca *penghulus* succeeded in imposing their language upon these Biduanda, but it is difficult to see why they failed to convert the Biduanda to Muhammadanism and why they did not impose their language upon the Besis and Jakun. The problem must be left unsolved for lack of evidence.² Meanwhile the old Malay traditions or folk-lore regarding this early Sakai period may be placed on record for what they are worth. The Johol story has been given in the words of Martin Lister. The Rembau legend tells us in its figurative language that "the black crows (the Sakai) walked down from the hills while the white egrets (the Sumatran immigrants) flew over the

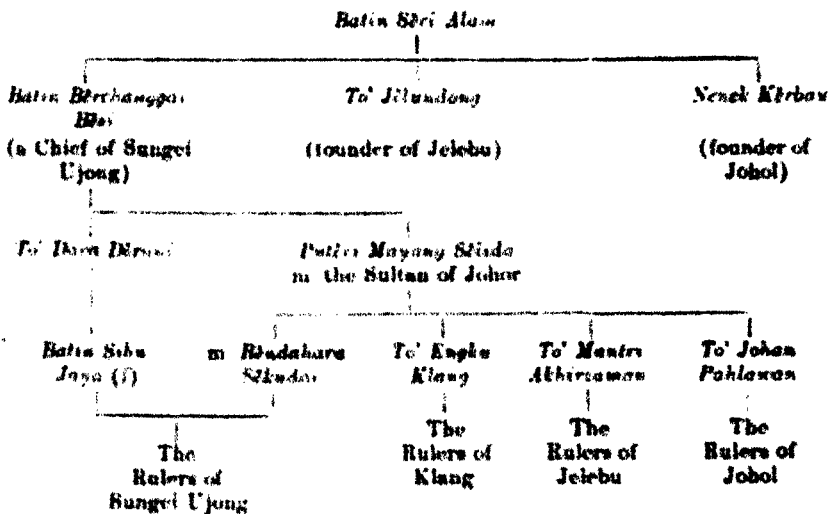
¹ J. B. A. S., S. B. (1864) xiii; "the Constitution of the Negri Sembilan."

² I am inclined to conjecture a connection between the Biduanda and the Sumatran Sakai.

sea." Then there came the Bendahara Sekudai, "a great man, a man of title," who married a daughter of the aboriginal chief, Batin Sa-ribu Jaya, and had three children, who became in their turn the ancestresses of the ruling houses of Rembau, Sungei Ujong and Pahang.



These pedigrees would carry more conviction if they did not possess such geometrical exactitude. The Sungei Ujong genealogy shows this bad quality to an even more suspicious extent.



By a similar arrangement of parallel columns all the principal titles of Sungei Ujong are made to trace back to a common ancestor. This, of course, is Malay tradition; history does not work on mathematical lines.

Sungei Ujong legend is more interesting and certainly more original than its pedigrees. It takes us back to the very dawn of history, the creation of mankind.

It ascribes the origin of the Biduanda to a certain Batin Sri Alam, who met a walking tree-trunk near the waters of the river Langat. He captured it and kept it in captivity till it laid eggs,

forty-four in number. He buried the eggs till they were hatched, when there emerged forty-four children, the ancestors of the Biduanda. Batin Sri Alam brought up these children till they came to years of maturity and had to be supplied with garments of bark-cloth to cover their nakedness. He then sent twenty-two over to Sumatra, where they colonised the coast as far as the borders of the Batak country, while he kept the remaining twenty-two in the Peninsula, where they became Biduanda or Rayat—the latter term being interpreted as “sons of the soil.” Another story tells us that every man falls from heaven either on his feet (as a raja), or on his seat (as a *batin*), or on his face (as a slave). Batin Sri Alam rose up from his seat and travelled round the world ruling the slaves—the Bedouin in Arabia, the *Biduan*¹ in India and the Biduanda in Malaya; the three terms being all translated “serf.” Folk-lore and etymology are at daggers drawn in every region of the earth.

These legends of the creation are not the only stories associated with Batin Sri Alam. He is said to have led an expedition into Jelevu. There he found trays of food waiting for him, served up and ready for him to eat, but with no man present to explain the source whence they came. Batin Sri Alam made few enquiries; he ate the food and named the place *Kuala Dulang*, the place of plates, as an everlasting memorial of his gratitude. He showed less thankfulness in his next adventure. The Muhammadans of Jelevu did their best to bring him into the fold of the true religion. He accepted their ministrations at first with great placidity and consented to repeat the Confession of Faith; but when the *mudin* went on to explain the need of circumcision Batin Sri Alam incontinently vanished. One rumour has it that he reappeared on Mount Siguntang Mahameru, another that he is still in hiding among the caves of Kota Glanggi in Pahang. But, whatever his fate, he was never seen again either by the Moslems who effected his conversion or by the land that he did so much to people.

Next in this aboriginal genealogy comes the Batin Berchanggal Besi, whose wife was Berduri Hesi and whose brother-in-law was Ketopong Besi—the iron-clawed chief with his iron-quilled wife and her iron-crested brother. The names are somewhat forbidding; but the legend bids us avoid hasty conclusions by assuring us that these saga-figures were quiet, primitive people, unacquainted with the use of iron

¹ “Minstrals.” The word is Sanskrit.

or even of fire and that they had to live on uncooked food. By them there was found in a hollow of the rocks a lovely fairy-child whom they adopted as their own, though she showed her breeding by living on fruit and declining to share their bestial repasts of raw meat. When she grew up she appeared to the Sultan of Johor in a dream and let him know that she was to be seen in the place where water was heaviest. The Sultan began his investigations at once. He weighed the water of Johor and found that Malacca water was heavier. Following up this clue, he found that the Linggi and then the Langat waters were heavier still. He travelled up the Langat till he came to the junction of the Beranang and the Semenyeh. Applying his regular test, he chose the waters of the Beranang. A little further upstream he came to a place where four streams met. Here the welcome sight of some sugar-cane pulp and maize-refuse floating down on one of the streams suggested the presence of human habitations and led him to the home of his destined bride. She became the mother of the Bendahara Sekudai.

There are, however, many variants of these legends. In Mr. Bland's version of the *Aturan Sungai Ujong*, the story of the sugar-cane pulp and the maize-refuse is told of the Bendahara Sekudai himself when in search of his bride, Batin Sibul Jaya, and the incident is located at the junction of the Linggi and Rembau rivers.

Legend also associates Batin Berchanggih Besi with the founders of various States. Dato' Jelundong, foundress of Jelebu, was his sister. So was Nenek Kerbau, foundress of Johol. To' Tukul and To' Landas, joint-founders of Klang, derived their titles from the hammer and the anvil with which they rendered to Batin Berchanggih Besi the service that Batin Sri Alam vanished to avoid.

Again it is related of To' Dara Derani, daughter of Batin Berchanggih Besi, that she fled in terror from Sang Kelembai who was striding about the country turning all whom he met into stone. "Why flee?" said an Achehnese saint who lived at Sungei Udang between Pengkalan Kempas and Permatang Pasir, "I have a charm that no Kelembai can face. A single candle will keep him away." The candles were lit nightly; the people were saved from a stony fate; and the place is called Pengkalan Dian to this day. This legend is interesting because it is associated with the "petrified properties" of this Achehnese saint,

the curious old granite carvings that lie round his tomb and are the great archæological mystery of Negri Sembilan.

Tradition gives us the names of the places that were important in those primitive days: Ching, Beranang, Pajam, Lebah Bergoyang, Buloh Bohal, Langkap Berjuntai, Subang Hilang, Merbok Kerawang, and Tunggul Si-jaga. They could not have been Malay villages for they are not on the banks of streams such as Malays love. Probably they were Biduanda settlements and represent the golden age of the Sakai, the time before the Menangkabau colonists filled up the country and drove the aborigines to the mountains.

These legends are given for what they are worth. The student of serious history will prefer to rely on the maps of Goudinho de Eredia (A.D. 1613) and the statements of the "Malay Annals" (A.D. 1636). He will learn from them that the Negri Sembilan of this "Sakai" period was a country sparsely populated by wandering aboriginal communities who were exploited by officials and traders from Malacca and Johor.

III.—THE DATO' SEKUDAI, A.D. 1600—1640.

The Dato' Sekudai or Bendahara Sekudai or Batin Sekudai has become a sort of mythical figure. The rulers of Rembau claim him as their ancestor through his marriage with the daughter of the aboriginal chief, Batin Sa-ribu Jaya or Sibul Jaya. The rulers of Sungei Ujong also claim him as an ancestor and Batin Sibul Jaya as an ancestress; little discrepancies as to sex are negligible in a Malay legend. He lived at all sorts of dates. He was the traditional grandfather of the first Dato' of Rembau, who ruled (according to Parr) about A.D. 1540. His wife was a traditional contemporary of the Achehnese saint (of Pengkalan Dian) who died in the reign of Mansur Shah about A.D. 1460.¹ One Rembau legend has it that the first Dato' of Rembau claimed the title because he was the Bendahara's grandson. One Sungei Ujong legend has it that the Bendahara was married in the presence of Sultan Abdul-Jalil II of Johor, a ruler who reigned from A.D. 1637 to 1671. But every Malay account agrees on the fact that this Dato' lived in the Sakai period before the foundation of the nine Menangkabau States. He is of interest as a date, if as nothing else.

¹ From the inscription on the tomb.

The Dato' Sekudai appears in the "Malay Annals" and is a historic as well as a legendary figure. The "Annals" tell us very little about him. His son, Tun Ahmad, married Tun Puteh, daughter of Tun Anum, Bendahara of Johor. Another of his sons, Tun Kenibak, married a Johor lady, Tun Chembul, and had two children, Tun Puteh and Tun Pandak. The Dato' was therefore a grandfather at the time the "Annals" were written. Of him personally the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu* only says that he obtained his name because he was the first person to colonise Sekudai; clearly, the Rembau and Sungei Ujong traditions cannot refer to an earlier Dato' Sekudai. It only remains to fix his date by the light of what the "Malay Annals" tell us.

The "Annals" are dated A.D. 1612 and purport to have been written or inspired by Tun Sri Lanang, Bendahara of Johor.¹ But this date cannot be accepted. Even in the preface where it occurs reference is made to the death of Sultan Alaedin in A.D. 1615, and in the body of the work mention is made of Sultan Mughal of Acheen (A.D. 1635), of the mission of Mudzafar Shah to Perak (A.D. 1635), and of the fact that Mudzafar Shah had been succeeded by his son Mansur Shah "who is reigning now." The "Annals" cannot have been written in their present form prior to A.D. 1635.² But Sultan Abdullah is referred to as the reigning Sultan, and he died about A.D. 1637. These facts give us the date of the "Annals" very closely, and show us that the Dato' Sekudai was a man of a certain age in A.D. 1636. He must have been a man of high birth to have borne the title of Tun and married his sons so well, and he must have played a very important part in the Negri Sembilan to have become the legendary figure that he now is. We may say that he flourished between A.D. 1600 and 1640—a date that disposes of the Rembau tradition that its line of rulers dates back to A.D. 1540. Incidentally, too, the date disposes of the fanciful claim put forward for the Dato' of Rembau that he "is *bĕrtĕromba*, that he adds to his constitutional authority the privilege of blood—of a pedigree traced on the maternal side back to the aborigines, the heirs of the soil he rules, whose rights have been merged in his." There is no question of any Sakai heiresses in actual history. The "Malay Annals" tell us that the Negri Sembilan districts were appanages of the Bendaharas of Johor "to this day" (A.D. 1636). The Dato' Sekudai was closely connected with

¹ Grandfather of the lady who married the Dato' Sekudai's son, Tun Ahmad.

² The last chapter was added very much later than 1636.

the Bendahara's family. Rembau tradition traces descent to him; the Rembau seal refers to "the grace of the Bendahara Sri Maharaja." The idea of *waris* rights through Sakai ownership of the soil is a mere fiction that has been accepted all too readily by British officers stationed in Rembau.

IV.—THE NINE MENANGKABAU STATES,

A.D. 1640—1760.

The Menangkabau migration to the Peninsula seems to have begun in the sixteenth century some time after the capture of Malacca in A.D. 1511. In A.D. 1613, Goudinho de Eredia notes in his book and map the presence of Menangkabau settlers in the Portuguese territory of Naning and also in Rembau beyond the Portuguese frontier. There is nothing, however, in his map to indicate that there were Menangkabau colonists in Johol, Sri Menanti or Sungei Ujong; indeed, his silence suggests that those districts were still occupied by the aborigines. The fact that he speaks of Sungei Ujong as a Sakai region and of Naning as a Portuguese possession goes to show that the foundation of the "Nine States" must be referred to some later period.

In A.D. 1639 things began to change. The Dutch Admiral Van de Veer made a treaty of alliance with Sultan Abdul Jalil II of Johor and co-operated with him in the siege of Malacca. The military value of the Malay auxiliaries proved a disappointment to the Dutch; but the fact remains that the Sultan's men were present at the siege and were brought into close relationship with their Menangkabau kinsmen. From this date the Johor Government began to possess a much stronger hold over the Malay settlements in the Negri Sembilan. The position had changed in other ways as well. The Malacca Malays do not appear to have sent colonists to their dependencies; they simply sent officials and perhaps a few traders, miners and planters as the English do to-day. But the Menangkabau men were a settled Malay population, with influential resident families, that sought to get the chieftaincies into their own hands. The days of the deputy from Johor were really numbered; the reign of Sultan Abdul Jalil II marks the commencement of a new era in Menangkabau history.

In A.D. 1643 the Dutch at Malacca created the first of the "Nine States" by recognising a certain Dato' Sri Lela Merah

as hereditary Ruler of Naning. It is not to be supposed that there were no chiefs in the rest of the country, but they had not yet secured the recognition and the hereditary rights that would justify us in regarding them as Heads of the Nine States.

In A.D. 1705 the Ruler of Naning secured recognition and received certain *kibāsaran*, or insignia of rank, from the Sultan of Johor, Abdul Jalil III, as well as from the Dutch. This seems to have been the signal for other ambitions and applications of the same sort. In A.D. 1707 the second *de facto* Ruler of Rembau obtained a hereditary title and a seal from Johor "by the grace of the Bendahara Sri Maharaja." A few years later the Dato' Bandar of Sungei Ujong¹ (and probably the Penghulu Mantri or Ruler of Sungei Ujong) obtained similar recognition. The title of Penghulu Mantri had been in existence for a very long time but was held (in its early years at least) by deputies from Johor; it now began to be held by a local hereditary chief. The Dato' of Jelebu did not secure full recognition till about A.D. 1760;² the Dato' of Inas probably secured his position about the same time. The Chiefs of Pasir Besar, Klang and Segamat have disappeared from history and their seals cannot be traced; the To' Raja of Jelai is a Pahang magnate. But I see no reason to doubt the universal Malay tradition that the "Nine States" were made up of Naning, Rembau, Sungei Ujong, Jelebu, Klang, Inas, Pasir Besar, Segamat and Jelai. There was no real "confederacy." The "Nine States" were merely a congeries of small chieftaincies that had received recognition from their common suzerain, the Sultan of Johor. They were not even "Menangkabau" States in the truest sense of the word. The *adat berpatah*, or law of Menangkabau, was introduced into Sungei Ujong at a much later date, and it is doubtful whether it was ever introduced at all into Klang, Segamat and Jelai.

Of course, the traditional account of the foundation of the Nine States is more romantic than the reality. Let me quote the present Yamtuan of the Negri Sembilan on the subject:

"In the early days of the foundation of the States that make up the Negri Sembilan, colonists came over from Menangkabau to all the nine settlements, and each settlement had its own penghulu or headman over itself. As the population augmented with the arrival of fresh colonists, and with the natural increase through the birth-rate, the penghulus came to an agreement among themselves and went on deputation to Johor. This was in the days of Sultan Abdul Jalil II of Johor. . . . The Sultan gave them each a seal and a title with authority to govern the country under the suzerainty of Johor."³

¹ From the Bandar's dated seal. ² From the Dato's seal quoting Sultan Muadzam Shah. ³ From a letter to the Resident of Perak.

History moves with prosaic deliberation; it does not create Nine States in a day. Romantic legend proceeds on different lines. To be remembered, it must be picturesque; to be picturesque, it sums up a whole century of history as a sort of grand durbar, in which the mighty Sultan Abdul Jalil II distributed seals and titles to the founders of the new ruling dynasties. The seals themselves disprove this story. There was no durbar and no distribution of this sort; the legend is a mere dramatic picturing of a great historic change.

The Sultan of Johor could grant seals and titles but he could not confer any real power. The new dignitaries returned to their various States with their seals in their pockets and their pretensions very much enhanced, only to find that the local magnates had still to be reckoned with. They met with varying destinies. In Rembau and in Naning the Chief secured local recognition but had to consent to have his powers fettered by the admission of four tribal headmen to a share in the Government. In Jelebu the Dato' had to grant to two powerful and ancient dignities (Dato' Mantri and Dato' Umbi) a right of veto at the election of his successors. In Sungei Ujong the Ruler had to share the revenue with the Dato' Bandar and the Dato' Andulika Mandulika. In Jelai the To' Raja confined his authority to his own valley and asserted no claims to suzerainty over other local chiefs who held no title from Johor. In Inas the Dato' failed to secure any hegemony over the other local magnates and was compelled to cede his position to the more powerful Dato' of Johor and to become that Ruler's vassal. The Rulers of Pasir Besar and Segamat lost their positions altogether and did not survive even as vassal chiefs. The peculiar constitutional arrangements that we meet with in the different Negri Sembilan States seem to have been due in some measure to the concessions with which the Johor nominee bought off the opposition of the other local magnates.

The world of Negri Sembilan is a small one; but, small as it is, it did not stand still during this long period of 120 years. The immigrants from Sumatra continued to flock into the country and to fill it up. The effect of the immigration was twofold. In the first place it tended to displace the law of Johor by the customary law of Menangkabau. It is noticeable that the first two rulers of Rembau were father and son, thus suggesting succession according to the law of Johor. In Naning, where Johor rule was never effective, the Menangkabau law of succession

was followed from the first. In Sungei Ujong, where the Sumatran immigrants were not numerous, succession by uterine descent was only introduced in the nineteenth century. The gradual displacement of Johor law by Menangkabau custom was one of the great features of this transition period. The other was the shifting of the balance of power. The first Sumatran immigrants had settled in the nearest valleys: in Naning and in the low-country (*baroh*) divisions of Rembau. The later settlers had to go further afield, with the result that they created new States—Inas, Johol, Gemencheh, Terachi, Gunong Pasir, Jempol and Ulu Muar—and upset the balance of power in the old by making the new divisions of Rembau more populous than the original settlements.

Meanwhile the civil wars and troubles that were distracting the Government of Johor between A.D. 1700 and 1760 rendered the Sultan willing to grant titles and concessions to any chiefs who would recognise him, and made it impossible for him to interfere effectively in the internal affairs of the Negri Sembilan. Further, the accession of the Bendahara's family to the throne enabled the sovereign to give away powers that had previously belonged to the sovereign's ministers. No Negri Sembilan seal can be traced to an earlier date than that of the change of dynasty. The weakness of Johor, the increasing population of the Negri Sembilan, the agitation for the introduction of Menangkabau law, the rise of new settlements and new chiefs: all these things made for one single end—the severance of the tie between the Negri Sembilan and Johor.

V.—ABDUL JALIL MUADZAM SHAH, A.D. 1760.

The name of Abdul Jalil Muadzam Shah, Sultan of Johor, plays a great part in Negri Sembilan history and tradition. It was this Sultan who conferred on the Penghulu of Jelebu his seal and title of Dato' Mantri Akhirzaman Sultan. The name also appears on Raja Adil's seal: *Ibni Sultan Abdul Jalil Muadzam Shah*. It appears on the seals of the Rulers of Tampin—e.g., *as-Sultan Abdul Jalil Muadzam Shah turun kapada as-Sultan Sharif Hamid bin Sharif Shaaban Muhammad Shah*. It appears again on the seal of the last Ruler of Naning: *Sultan Si-Maharaja Diraja ibni Sultan Abdul Jalil Muadzam Shah*. It was also a "Sultan Abdul Jalil" of Johor

who is alleged by tradition to have granted to the Negri Sembilan chiefs the permission to seek a ruler in Menangkabau.¹

But when we turn to the annals of the Sultans of Johor the name of Abdul Jalil Muadzam Shah seems at first sight to be conspicuous by its absence. The third Abdul Jalil (1701-1717) was Abdul Jalil *Riayat* Shah; the fourth (1717-1722) was Abdul Jalil *Rahmat* Shah. *Faute de mieux*, Parr identifies this Abdul Jalil with the child-king, Ahmad Riayat Shah; and then finds it incredible that an "infant puppet could effect such a partition of his empire."² It is equally incredible that this child-ruler, who died before he came of age, should have borne two distinct titles. Abdul Jalil Muadzam Shah could not possibly have been the "infant puppet," Ahmad Riayat Shah. A glance at the latter's full name will explain the mystery, he was Ahmad Riayat Shah *ibni* Abdul Jalil Muadzam Shah. What then was the history of this boy's father?

Sultan Sulaiman of Johor and Lingga died in A.D. 1760 at a time when his eldest son and heir, Tengku Besar Abdul Jalil, was in Selangor with the Yamtuan Muda, Daeng Kemboja; and the Sultan's death was followed a few weeks later by that of the Tengku Besar himself. Daeng Kemboja gained so much by this opportune coincidence that he is accused by Malays of having brought it about by poison. However, he dissembled his joy and took the body with a great show of grief to Riau, where he placed the Tengku Besar's son upon the throne under the name of Ahmad Riayat Shah. Dutch records mention the visit paid to Malacca by the Bugis fleet bearing the remains of the deceased heir to the sultanate.

Abdul Jalil Muadzam Shah occupies a peculiar position in history. In one sense he was never Sultan. He survived his father, it is true, but he died before he could return home and assume the reins of power. On the other hand, there is no doubt that he was *de facto* Regent for some years previous to the death of his father. He bore a royal title, negotiated several treaties, and doubtless did confer the awards and titles that are attributed to him. In fact he pushed generosity of this sort to a fault. He ceded Rembau (and other territories) by treaty to the Dutch. By another treaty he ceded Rembau to the Bugis. He also appointed Raja Adil his deputy, to govern

¹ The old seal of the Dato' of Ulu Muar quotes Sultan Mahmud *ibni* Sultan Abdul Jalil, but it is doubtful whether this is Sultan Mahmud III of Johor, or Raja Meliwar taking the title of Sultan Mahmud. ² "Rembau," p 17.

Rembau in his name; and, last of all, it is quite possible that he did grant Rembau (and other territories) to Raja Melewar as the tradition would have us believe. The cession of the same piece of territory to four different owners is quite consistent with the ways of Malay princes, especially when (as in the case of Sultan Abdul Jalil Muadzam Shah) they have no real claim to the territory that they cede. But if Malay tradition is justified in accusing Daeng Kemboja of poisoning the Tèngku Bèsar, we may be able to trace in Abdul Jalil's policy some slight justificatory explanation of the reason for his death.

One more fact is related about this Abdul Jalil Muadzam Shah. It is said that he asked for the daughter of the Dato' of Rembau, To' Uban, and that the Dato' refused her to him. This led to a feud. Rembau tradition mentions the feud and the name of the Dato', but not the name of the Sultan. Jelebu tradition mentions the feud and the names of both Dato' and Sultan; it goes on to add that the Dato' of Jelebu obtained his seal and title for his good services in reconciling the antagonists. We need not accept every detail of the story. The Rembau tale that the hostility of Johor caused a breach of the law of succession in Rembau is hardly credible of a time when the Johor power was represented by an "infant puppet." But there was doubtless an "incident" of this sort that led to the execution of To' Uban's brother who was despatched on a mission to Johor and to the grant of a title to the Dato' of Jelebu who may have been more conciliatory and apologetic. And if it does little else, the incident helps us to date its hero, Dato' Uban, the fifth Ruler of Rembau.

VI.—THE MENANGKABAU PRINCES.

A.D. 1721—1773.

Reference has already been made to the fact that the constant migration of settlers from Sumatra into the Negri Sembilan tended to create a demand for autonomy. In this chapter an account will be given of the manner in which this autonomy was brought about; but before dealing with the point it is necessary to give a short sketch of the position in Johor.

In A.D. 1699, Mahmud II, the last sultan of the old Malacca line, was assassinated at Kota Tinggi. He was succeeded by his bendahara who took the title of Abdul Jalil III. In his turn,

Abdul Jalil III was deposed¹ by the Sumatran pretender, Raja Kechil, who claimed to be a posthumous son of the murdered Sultan Mahmud. Raja Kechil took the title of Abdul Jalil IV. But the sons of Abdul Jalil III intrigued with the Bugis and succeeded in overthrowing the pretender who had deposed their father. This was in A.D. 1722. For the next twenty-five years there was a continuous civil war between the two factions, one aided by the Bugis and the other by Sumatran Malays.

In this long civil war the Negri Sembilan States recognised the pretender, Raja Kechil, as a true son of the murdered sultan and took his side against the Bugis. They did what we might have expected them to do, for Raja Kechil was a Sumatran of the same blood as their own settlers. But by their action they brought upon themselves the hostility of the Bugis, a dangerous race, united, energetic and redoubtable in every way; while they themselves were leaderless and divided. Such situations created the opportunity of the military adventurer, the soldier of birth and renown, under whom the Negri Sembilan chiefs might lay aside their differences and fight as one man against the common enemy. But let the present Yamtuan describe the position in his own words:

"As time went on, the State of Johor grew old and was attacked by enemies on all sides—men from Jambi and Menangkabau, Achelnes, and Europeans from Malacca. The Negri Sembilan settlements themselves fell into the hands of Bugia chiefs from Riau and suffered cruelly from the tyranny and oppression of their foreign rulers. At last the position became intolerable. Little by little the Menangkabau settlers were losing all that they possessed; so far from meeting the Bugis on equal terms they had to sacrifice every single thing that they owned; they had passed into complete subjection; and even the Sultan of Johor was powerless to keep the Bugis at bay, for he also was weak and beset by enemies. In this dilemma the Menangkabau penghulus of the Negri Sembilan held a meeting and came to an agreement under which they went and represented to the Sultan the tyranny of the Bugis, asking him to let them have a prince for themselves to govern the country and drive out the enemy. But the Sultan would not give them a prince. So they asked permission to refer to Menangkabau in Sumatra and to procure a prince from that country. To this the Sultan consented, for he was himself of the Menangkabau family, and also because the Negri Sembilan had been colonised and developed by settlers from Menangkabau and were known by the Menangkabau name. Upon their arrival in Menangkabau the Sultan there gave them the services of one of his sons named Raja Melewar. On the return of the delegates the penghulus and all the people did homage to Raja Melewar, after which they made all preparations for a general war against the Bugis. In course of time, thanks to the valour of Raja Melewar and to the power of his sword, the Bugis were defeated, and their ruler, Daeng Kemboja, retired to Riau where he died. All this is recorded in the histories of Malaya."²

¹ A.D. 1717.

² From the letter to the Resident of Perak.

A reference to Bland's *Aturan Sungai Ujong*¹ will show that the Sultan who referred the delegates to Menangkabau is said to have been Sultan Abdul Jalil IV, and that the occasion on which he did it was when he had ascended "his father's throne by the aid of Bugis and Rawa troops." This was about A.D. 1717. Raja Melewar was chosen and placed on the throne about A.D. 1773. Malay embassies are very dilatory, but the longevity of these particular envoys is beyond belief. We can see clearly enough how Malay tradition condenses long periods of history into single dramatic incidents.

But the Sungei Ujong account furnishes us also with a solution to the problem that it presents. It tells us that Raja Melewar was not the first Menangkabau prince to be "deputed" from Sumatra to the Negri Sembilan.

"In due time after this (embassy) Raja Kasah came from Menangkabau, sent by the Raja of the country; and the four penghulus received him. He was unable, however, to introduce the laws of Menangkabau as the four penghulus desired. . . . After Raja Kasah came Raja Adil. . . . He was also unable to revise the customs. . . . Raja Adil went back to Menangkabau and was succeeded by Raja Khatib. He also did not know how to introduce new customs. And the four penghulus were amazed and said, 'the Raja of Menangkabau promised he would grant us a Raja who would establish his laws in the four countries; now we have had three Rajas who have done nothing at all.' Then Raja Khatib went away, and after him came Raja Melewar."

The Dutch records in Malacca tell us that in A.D. 1722 there was "a son of the Sultan of Menangkabau" in Rembau preparing to lead the people against the Bugis. This may have been "Raja Kasah." Of Raja Adil we know more. He was not a foe of the Bugis; in fact he owed his seal and authority to Abdul Jalil Muadzam Shah, the ally of Daeng Kemboja, and he married his daughter to a Bugis chief. In A.D. 1757 he was conducting negotiations at Malacca on behalf of the State of Rembau. Of Raja Khatib we hear much and know little. He was the enemy of Raja Melewar, against whom he waged a civil war. Tradition has it that he was an impostor who was unmasked by Raja Melewar. But the facts seem to be otherwise. Raja Melewar attacked and was badly defeated at Kampong Bukit, whence he retreated to Spri. He then detached Penghulu Naam of Ulu Muar from Raja Khatib's side and invaded the country again, this time successfully. It was then Raja Khatib's turn to flee and to intrigue with

¹ J. R. A. S., S. B., xxviii.

² From an account of Sungei Ujong prepared by the present Dato' Klana for Mr. D. G. Campbell, when Resident of Negri Sembilan.

Penghulu Naam. Suspecting treachery, Raja Melewar beheaded the intriguing Penghulu before attacking the enemy. Raja Khatib fled and never returned. Penghulu Naam's head is buried at Bukit Tempurong and his body under an *asam jawa* tree near the old *astana* at Ampangan Rambai.

The details of this story and the part of king-maker played by the petty Penghulu of Ulu Muar make it fairly clear that Raja Melewar was not a delegated prince of Menangkabau with the whole forces of the four *undang* at his back. He was an adventurer who conquered for himself a certain real authority in the valley of Sri Menanti and then proceeded to claim or to obtain a certain nominal authority over the whole of Negri Sembilan. He did that by taking the title of *yamtuan* or king.¹

VII.—THE CONSTITUTION OF A.D. 1773.

Raja Melewar is believed to have been installed as Sovereign of Negri Sembilan by the four *undang* at Penajis in Rembau in the year 1773; and I see no reason to question the date. It is approximate if it is not exactly correct. But there is some reason to doubt the details of the story.

Consider the state of the country at the time. Between Dato' Uban of Rembau, who was governing his country in A.D. 1770, and Kosel, his son, who became Dato' about A.D. 1795, there were no less than five Rulers of Rembau and the rule of alternate succession was disregarded altogether. Although we know nothing definite about these frequent and irregular changes we may infer that the time was one of civil war and turbulence in that little State. In Sungei Ujong the Dato' Klana had just obtained a Bugis title and was no friend of the customary law of Menangkabau which Raja Melewar is said to have introduced. In Jelebu the Dato' had obtained a seal and title from Johor some fifteen years previously but had had hardly time to consolidate his power to meet the rivalry of the more ancient dignities of Dato' Mantri and Dato' Umbi. The famous installation at Penajis may be a mere dramatization of a slow historic change. Still, whatever the truth may be, there is no doubt that Raja Melewar did secure for himself recognition as *Yamtuan* of the

¹ He appears to have taken the title of *Sultan Mahmud ibni Sultan Abdul Jalil*, evidently in virtue of some concession granted him by the ever-generous Abdul Jalil Muadzam Shah of A.D. 1760.

Negri Sembilan, that he created the modern Johol, and that the constitution of Negri Sembilan represents the outcome of his policy. Under that constitution Raja Melewar became the titular king of the country, with no ownership of the soil and no power to tax the people, but with high titular dignities and a small civil list.

As regards Johol the position is this. We know that Dato' Naam was Raja Melewar's contemporary and was the first of the seven holders of the dignity of Penghulu of Ulu Muar. There have been eight Rulers of Johol, seven of Jempol, eight or nine of Terachi, and ten of Inas. In no case do the lists of the holders of any of the minor tribal dignities cover more than eight names in the Johol division. These lists are not conclusive evidence of the antiquity of a title, but their average length and their uniformity suggest that they date back to the time of Raja Melewar and must have been affected very greatly by his policy. In this connection it is interesting to note that the second and third Rulers of Johol were women, and that the second was named the "Long-haired,"¹ and the third *Sétiawan*, a title now borne by the Dato'. Is it too much to see in these details some explanation of the feminine attributes that have been the cause of the dignity being associated with immemorial Sakai antiquity?

Raja Melewar could not have been a son of the Sultan of Menangkabau, for that old Sumatran empire had fallen to pieces a century before his time. He may, of course, have been a descendant of the old Menangkabau kings. But it is a notable fact that no Negri Sembilan princely pedigree goes back further than the ancestor who first came to the Peninsula; the antecedent Sumatran portion is never given. This is the more remarkable because the theory of the constitution expected every Yamtuan to prove his *silasilah* or genealogy before he was installed, and because the imaginary Sultan of Menangkabau continued to send his sons over to Negri Sembilan for half a century after the coming of Raja Melewar.

But if these early yamtuan were not princes of Menangkabau, who were they?

Any explanation must be conjectural. Still, there is a clue. A Rembau account of Raja Melewar says that he went from Menangkabau to Kampar and from Kampar to Telapak Burok (or Teratak Buloh) before setting out on his journey to Johor. Why

¹ Rambut panjang.

Telapak Burok? When we come to the Sungei Ujong story of Yamtuan Sati we read that after his deposition he went with his wife to live at Telapak Burok in Siak. Other princes and princesses in the local pedigrees are said to have done the same—was this little place their real Sumatran home? When we remember that these Menangkabau princes were obtained through the medium of the Raja of Siak, it is hard to resist the conclusion that he sought them in his own territories from a family at Telapak Burok and did not send embassies to the extinct Empire of Menangkabau.

One last point remains. why did Raja Melewar accept a position of no real power and why were the all-powerful provincial chiefs anxious to secure a puppet to rule over them? We are referred by courtly Malay historians to Raja Melewar's kingly descent, to the anxiety of all men to do him honour, and to the fact that he was a warrior-prince, under whose generalship the local leaders were willing to lay aside their rivalries and expel their common enemy, the Bugis prince Daeng Kemboja. We need not accept this explanation at its full face-value. there is no country in the world where titles are sought after more than in the Negri Sembilan. The "constitution" of A.D. 1773 had great merits. It gave the chiefs a "king" whom they knew and trusted, who could ennoble them much more readily and economically than the distant Sultan of Johor, and who could settle their many disputes without interfering with local autonomy. It gave Raja Melewar an exalted title, an assured position and a certain income. On paper the constitution of the Negri Sembilan was excellent, but the chiefs forgot that a great name is apt to rouse corresponding pretensions and that Raja Melewar's successors might be less tractable than he. It took a century of civil war to stamp out the arrangements that looked so well in theory. For the moment all went well, it was not till the death of the first yamtuan that troubles began to arise.

VIII.—THE YAMTUAN MUDA OF REMBAU.

A.D. 1773—1830. •

In A.D. 1757 the Dutch records tell us that there were present in Malacca two chiefs who came to negotiate a treaty on behalf of Rembau. One of these was the ruling Dato'; the other was Raja Adil. But who was Raja Adil and what authority had he to represent Rembau?

As usual, Malay traditions agree to differ. But the seal of Raja Adil makes it plain that he was a delegate or representative of the Regent of Johor and that he did not bear the title of yamtuan. His seal and powers passed afterwards into the hands of Raja Asil, his son, who took in 1798 the title of "Sultan Muhammad Shah, Yang-di-pertuan Muda of Rembau." The change was merely titular; Raja Adil exercised in Rembau the same powers as a Yamtuau Muda, and is counted as the first of the line even though he never held the actual title. According to one version Raja Adil was the second Yamtuau Besar; but this may be doubted. He was probably senior to Raja Melewar, and certainly played his part in the Negri Sembilan before his Sri Menanti rival appeared on the scene.

The facts that led up to the creation of this new dignity are not recorded; they can only be guessed. It is hardly likely that Raja Adil and Raja Asil could have witnessed without jealousy the assumption of the title of Yamtuau by a Menangkabau prince who had no greater claim to it than they themselves possessed. When Raja Melewar died there would be a disputed succession: in any case the yamtuan of A.D. 1773 became two yamtuaus in A.D. 1798 and three yamtuaus a generation later. From A.D. 1798 we get two princely families: one in Sri Menanti and one in Rembau and Jelebu. Peace between them was secured by the marriage of the Yamtuau Besar, Raja Itam, to the widowed sister of the Yang-di-pertuan Muda, Raja Asil.

A Negri Sembilan throne was a precarious possession at best. About the year A.D. 1812 Raja Haji, son of the Yamtuau Muda, abducted a woman of Rembau and took her for safety to his father's house. All Rembau was in arms at once at this violation of customary law. According to Begbie (who was writing only twenty years after the event), Raja Ali, a nephew of the Yamtuau Muda, persuaded his uncle to flee for refuge to Malacca till the storm blew over. Raja Asil, with his sons, fled, leaving the bold nephew to face the storm. Raja Ali got over the difficulty by deposing his uncle and seizing the throne. The new Yamtuau Muda was a son of a Bugis chief named Daeng Alampaki and a stepson of the Yamtuau Besar, Raja Hitam.

If Raja Asil's position had been precarious that of his nephew was more precarious still. The latter had to contend against the hostility that besets every usurper, the intrigues of his disinherited family and the jealousy and suspicion of the democratic people of Rembau. He moved at first with great deliberation,

making no enemies. In A.D. 1819 he made a treaty of friendship with the Dutch. With the Sri Menanti family he was on good terms, being the stepson of Yamtuan Hitam and the brother-in-law of that prince's successor, Raja Lenggang Laut. By slow degrees he saw his disinherited cousins sink into poverty and disgrace during their exile at Malacca, till Raja Haji died and Raja Jafar, his brother, was ready to renounce his pretensions. But just as Raja Ali seemed sure of his position, the unexpected death of the Yamtuan Besar, Lenggang Laut, in A.D. 1824, threatened the peace of the Negri Sembilan and the position of the Yamtuan Muda.

Immediately after the death of the Sri Menanti ruler the Dato' of Ulu Muar (Dato' Bongkok Abdul Malik) came forward as custodian of the royal family, reported the sovereign's death to the four great *undang*, and invited them to instal Raja Radin, a mere boy, as Yamtuan Besar, in the place of his father, the deceased Lenggang Laut. The Dato' Klana Kawal of Sungei Ujong (whose duty it was as *imam* of the four *undang* to nominate a Yamtuan's successor) objected to the procedure. Insisting that a successor should be delegated from Sumatra, he entered Sri Menanti with a strong force, drove out the Dato' of Ulu Muar, and placed a soldier of fortune named Raja Kerjan in charge of the royal domain till the Raja of Siak could choose and send over a successor. In A.D. 1826 the successor arrived, a certain Raja Laboh or Yamtuan Sati, who had married a daughter of the exiled Raja Asil and was therefore a deadly enemy of the Yamtuan Muda, Raja Ali. He made a very poor use of his position. Instead of pursuing a conciliatory policy he allied himself at once with the Sumatran free-lance, Raja Kerjan, whose misconduct had made him thoroughly unpopular and whose military reputation rested largely on a policy of self-praise. Yamtuan Sati could look for no friendship from his family foe in Rembau, nor from Ulu Muar and Johol, where Dato' Bongkok and Raja Radin had found a refuge. He had only one powerful friend and supporter, the king-making Dato' Klana Kawal. With incredible folly he proceeded to quarrel with his only friend, the Klana, over a matter of a few cents.

It appears that about the year 1830 Dato' Klana Kawal went to Sri Menanti to attend a cock-fight, at which he won a good deal of money. In the midst of his jubilation over his bags of copper coin he was accosted by a Sumatran prince, Tengku Kechil Muda Raja Laut, who ordered him to pay 2½ per cent.

commission to the Yamtuan. This was too much for the very small reserve of patience possessed by Dato' Klana Kawal. Apart from the question of the Yamtuan's ingratitude to a man to whom he owed everything, the demand for a percentage was unconstitutional; it interfered with every right that a *waris* possessed in the country. The Sungei Ujong chief plunged his hands into his sacks of cents and said to Raja Laut, "It is to us, the *waris*, the heirs of the soil, that all commissions and percentages belong. I claim the commission; let the Yamtuan have the rest of the money." Raja Laut went off well-satisfied with 97½ per cent. of the Klana's winnings, leaving the Klana to see that his temper had got the better of his judgment. Of course, reflection only made him angrier as he realised his error. As he went down the steps of the *astana* he muttered tags of customary law and ended by laying down his handful of cents at the foot of a tree. "If the law is to be broken, be it broken; I, too, shall break the law. How runs the saying?"

'*Bertali ka-Siak*;

'*Bertuan ka-Menangkabau*;

'We have ties with Siak, and look to Menangkabau for our Lord.' May I drink the water of forest streams and eat the roots of forest plants and pillow my head on forest timbers—I will have no more of these ties with Siak and these princes from Menangkabau." He passed on to Terachi where he sent for his old enemy, the Dato' of Ulu Muar, and told him that the *astana* might be attacked with impunity. Dato' Borgkok immediately drove Yamtuan Sati out of the country and restored Raja Radin to his father's old home. Yamtuan Sati took refuge in Malacca.

The flight of the "delegated prince" and the attitude of the Klana made it possible for any local candidate to hope to become Yamtuan Besar. There was no lack of applicants for the honour. First there was the boy, Raja Radin, his father's heir. Next there was "Yamtuan Beringin," Raja Radin's self-appointed guardian. Next there was Raja Kerjan who did not lack assurance in matters of this sort. Then there was the deposed ruler who wanted to be restored; and last of all there was Raja Ali, Yamtuan Muda of Rembau, who saw an opportunity of securing for himself a titular kingship over the whole of the Negri Sembilan.

It was during the troubled years of Yamtuan Sati's presence in Sri Menanti that a new factor in Rembau politics had come to

the front in the person of Saiyid Shaaban bin Saiyid Ibrahim al-Kadri, a clever Arab who had succeeded in ingratiating himself with Raja Ali and becoming the Raja's son-in-law. Saiyid Shaaban's influence was so great that from this time onwards the Yamtuan Muda's whole policy was devoted to the advancement of the interests of his son-in-law and to securing the Saiyid's recognition as heir to the throne. It was a risky policy. The Saiyid was not popular. He was a man of no real rank; his mother was a slave girl; and his father's Arab blood counted for very little with Rembau tribesmen who traced descent through the mother. Such then was the position when the outbreak of the Naning war gave a sudden importance to what were previously the family quarrels of a few petty chiefs.

IX.—THE NANING WAR, A.D. 1831—1832.

The "Naning War" is an episode to which the English student cannot look back with satisfaction. The Portuguese are the only Europeans who have been able to carry on war against Malays in a manner suggestive of something higher than comic opera. The real point at issue between the English and the Dato' of Naning was a matter of 200 *gantang* of rice, worth a few dollars at the very outside. Of course, there were "principles" involved. The English claimed to be fighting to vindicate the sanctity of an ancient treaty made by the Dutch 190 years earlier; the Malays were fighting nominally for their independence, but in reality to support the pretensions of the ambitious Dato' Dul Saiyid. The facts were as follows:

In A.D. 1643 the Dutch had made a treaty with Naning. Under that treaty the first Naning "Dato'" had agreed to pay the Dutch a tribute of one-tenth of the rice-crop of Rembau, the Dutch pretending to believe that the entire crop did not exceed 4,000 *gantang*. The Dutch could not have levied this tribute by force; but the Dato' was glad to pay it for their recognition of his title and their assistance against his rivals. The successors of that Dato' were not in need of Dutch support and found that the tribute was irksome. They, therefore, approached the Dutch with a view to its abolition. A compromise that saved the dignity of all parties was arrived at by the Dutch affecting to believe that the entire rice-crop of Naning only amounted to 2,000 *gantang* a year and by their accepting 200 *gantang* as one-

tenth of the quantity. From that date the Dato' paid the Dutch 200 *gantang* of rice per year, and the arrangement was confirmed by the English in the Naning Agreement of A.D. 1801.

About the year A.D. 1830 the East India Company chafing at the cost of the Settlement of Malacca, drew attention to this old treaty and pointed out that a great deal of revenue was being wasted by the acceptance of 200 *gantang* of rice as one-tenth of a crop that was enough to maintain a population of some 10,000 people and could hardly amount to less than a million *gantang*. In vain did the local authorities point out the iniquity of an exaction for which the Company made no return and the folly of trying to enforce it at the cost of war; the East India Company was obdurate, saying that a treaty was a treaty and must be observed. Matters were not made easier by the fact that the reigning Dato', Dul Saiyid, was a man of arrogance and ambition. The Malays of Naning refused to comply with the orders of the Company and affected to believe that those orders were mere illegal demands made by Mr. W. T. Lewis, the Collector of Land Revenue. The Resident Councillor sent a portion of the Malacca garrison to invade Naning and maintain the authority of the Company. This led to the "War."

On arriving at the borders of Naning the officers found that their advance was blocked by a solitary Malay *pēnglima* in full war-paint who hurled defiant imprecations at the troops and danced a contemptuous military dance in full sight of the whole British force. Such conduct could not be tolerated. The cautious troops suspecting that the dance was intended to decoy them into the exposed padi-fields, bombarded the truculent *pēnglima* with their field-guns, to his extreme delight, as the artillery of that time was not exactly an arm of precision. In the end the dancing *pēnglima* was hit "in the midst of a *demi-volte*"; and the elated troops were left to find out for themselves that Malays who did not expose themselves were more difficult to deal with than Malays who did. The field-pieces next became a source of great tribulation owing to the love of the draught buffaloes for muddy pools and other localities that made very poor emplacements for the guns. After several hours had been spent in advancing three-quarters of a mile, the troops bivouacked for the night. The next day they had to face new difficulties. They had not brought much food as they had not anticipated resistance. Small convoys invited disaster; large convoys were impossible when the force itself was so small. In the end the whole body of

troops had to retreat to the nearest rest-house on British territory and impound whatever stores the local *kédai* could produce. This staved off disaster for the moment, but it encouraged the enemy and brought every waverer to the side of Dul Saiyid. The troops were besieged in the rest-house. Meanwhile, in the town of Malacca all was panic; the wildest reports were current and the authorities dared not denude the place of its remaining defenders in order to send succour to their soldiers in the field. The men in the rest-house held out till their provisions were exhausted and then endeavoured to cut their way through the enemy and reach Malacca. The old trouble about the buffaloes and the guns began again to impede progress. At last, the exasperated officers solved the difficulty by spiking the guns and allowing them to fall into the hands of the enemy. Malay resistance may be harrassing, but it is not an effectual bar to the march of European troops. The force got back to the town of Malacca and the Malays were ungrateful enough to eat the buffaloes to which they owed so much of their success. The victory and the buffalo-feasts left Dul Saiyid the undisputed master of Naning.

Probably we shall never learn the truth about Saiyid Shaaban and his policy at this time. Begbie says that the Saiyid suspected the British expedition of being aimed at Rembau in the interests of Yamtuan Sati, and that he lay in ambush in the jungle and counted every gun and every soldier in order to satisfy himself that Yamtuan Sati was not with the force. The Malay account also represents Saiyid Shaaban as the ally of Naning at this time. It is typical of a certain aspect of Malay character that a chief like Saiyid Shaaban, born and educated in Malacca, should have been so foolish as to imagine that his own petty rivalries with Yamtuan Sati could stir up European Governments and set in motion European troops. The issue of the war taught him more wisdom than that. Whether it was that he realised that no European Power would tolerate a reverse so damaging to its prestige, or whether he did not wish to magnify still further the power of Dul Saiyid, he reversed his policy as soon as the expedition had been repulsed. From this moment he figures as the friend of the English.

The East India Company began now to regret the policy that plunged it into war over a question of a few measures of rice. The Singapore press was scathing in its comments upon the political and military inefficiency that had been conspicuous

throughout the whole affair. British prestige demanded the despatch of a second expedition and rather better preparations and management. While these preparations were being made negotiations were opened with Raja Ali and Saiyid Shaaban. An interview was arranged and a treaty made with the Rembau chiefs. Begbie, who was an artillery officer in the Naning expedition, describes the Rembau magnates as the sorriest crowd of vagabonds who were ever admitted to the honour of an alliance with the British Empire. However, the treaty was signed. It is noteworthy that Saiyid Shaaban's name did not appear in it, nor had he any *locus standi* whatever as a Rembau chief; yet, both the English and Malay accounts represent him as the most important figure in the negotiations. According to the Malay story he obtained for his assistance the promise of a pension and of a refuge in the Colony should the vicissitudes of Negri Sembilan politics ever lead him to need such assistance. He also received a plot of land in Malacca and was certainly encouraged in his ambition to become the heir to Raja Ali's dignities.

The second Naning expedition was more successful than the first. Taboh Naning, Dul Saiyid's village, was taken by assault; many of the Naning chiefs went over to the British; Dul Saiyid himself became a fugitive and ultimately surrendered. He was deposed but received a pension from the Indian Government till his death. His heirs still take the title of Dato' of Naning and possess a certain prestige; his tomb is the scene of votive pilgrimages. His country became a Malacca district and the tribal chiefs were replaced by territorial penghulus. Naning lost its autonomy and the East India Company its money; the only gainers by the war were Raja Ali and his son, the ambitious Saiyid Shaaban.

X.—TAMPIN, A.D. 1833—1872.

The fall of Naning was a great triumph for Rembau. True, the State had given the English no assistance, but its defection from the side of Naning was represented everywhere as the decisive factor in the war. Begbie himself attached more importance to this factor than it probably deserved. In Sri Menanti Yamtuan Sati had fallen; in Naning the Dato' had been deposed. Raja Ali and Saiyid Shaaban were the dominant chiefs; and they possessed the friendship of the British at Malacca.

Taking advantage of the opportunity, Raja Ali proclaimed himself Yamtuan Besar of the Negri Sembilan, while Saiyid Shaaban took the title of Yamtuan Muda.

The descendants of Raja Ali and Saiyid Shaaban possess the originals of the two treaties made with England about this time. The earlier is dated the 20th January, 1832 (14th Shaaban, A.H. 1247); the later is dated the 9th January, 1833 (19th Shaaban, A.H. 1248). It was in the interval between these two treaties that the two chiefs claimed their increase in rank, as appears clearly from the seals used on the two occasions. The claim was perilous. It is typical of Malay chiefs that they are never content with the reality of power: they prefer to imperil it for the sake of empty titles. The Yamtuan Muda and Saiyid Shaaban had nothing to gain by their new titles; *per contra* they gave offence to every chief in the Negri Sembilan. For the moment, however, the other chiefs nursed their wrath, awaiting their opportunity. It was the folly of Saiyid Shaaban that gave them the chance for which they were waiting.

The Dato' Muda of Linggi (To' Muda Katas) was a personal enemy of the Saiyid and had endeavoured without success to interrupt the negotiations that had led to the treaty of 1832. Nakhoda Lop, a rival of the To' Muda, took advantage of the altered conditions in order to secure the Saiyid's assistance against Linggi. He presented Saiyid Shaaban with a gold-sheathed *keris* and with a buckle (*pénding*) of some value and so obtained his help in an attack on To' Muda Katas. The attack failed. To' Muda Katas happened to be a believer in a vigorous offensive. He did not wait for a second attack but led a raid into the heart of Saiyid Shaaban's territories. The Saiyid called on the Dato' of Rembau for assistance. The Dato' of Rembau, To' Nganit, had not received any gold *pénding* and saw no reason for interfering in private quarrels. He stood aloof. Saiyid Shaaban then committed an act of blazing indiscretion. He sent a small band of his followers to surprise and slay the Dato' of Rembau, a fellow-magnate of his own State. To' Nganit escaped with his life but his house was plundered and burnt by Saiyid Shaaban's men. After this outrage all Rembau rallied to the side of the injured chief, and even the Dato' Klana of Sungei Ujong declared against Raja Ali and Saiyid Shaaban. On the principle that "one should fight a hawk with a hawk and a sparrow with a sparrow," the two great *undang* now put forward a prince, Raja Radin of Sri Menanti, as a candidate

for the dignity of Yamtuan Besar. A civil war followed and ended in the flight of Raja Ali and his son-in-law.

Accounts differ as to what exactly happened. One story has it that Raja Ali fled to Lubok China, then to Simpang Linggi, and finally to Malacca, while Saiyid Shaaban held his own in Tampin and succeeded ultimately in turning Tampin into an independent State. Another story has it that Saiyid Shaaban fled to Malacca while Raja Ali held out in Tampin. There is no doubt about the issue of the war. After a long and desultory struggle the old State of Rembau was torn in two, the western portion going to the Dato' of Rembau and his headmen, and the eastern portion to Raja Ali and Saiyid Shaaban. Raja Ali died at Këru, near Tampin, in the year 1850. Saiyid Shaaban lived till 1872 (A.H. 1291) but never succeeded in receiving recognition as Yamtuan Muda. He was accepted as the independent ruler (*tëngku bësar*) of Tampin, and as nothing more.

Incidentally it is recorded in the annals of Raja Ali's family that Saiyid Shaaban was serving a sentence of six months' imprisonment in the Malacca gaol when his father-in-law died, and that a hard-hearted British Government refused to allow him out on parole to attend the obsequies. His wife sent the Tampin regalia as an offering to the authorities at Malacca without being able to induce them to change their resolution. The regalia were then concealed and (presumably) have not been found since. They are said to have consisted of two spears (one of the type known as *changgai putëri*, the other *bërkërawang*), a long *këris* (*këris panjang bërkëlok bërsalut*) and a written genealogy of the family. The obsequies of Raja Ali were carried out by his daughter, Raja Lebar, wife of Saiyid Shaaban.

Thus then was the State of Tampin established. The question suggests itself: Why did this particular portion of the old State of Rembau cleave to Saiyid Shaaban when the rest of Rembau seceded? And what is the origin of the four local territorial dignities, the penghuluships of Këru, Repah, Tëbong and Tampin Tëngah?

The facts seem to be as follows. The old Malay State of Rembau contained a large amount of unoccupied territory. Adventurers at the head of bands of emigrants came at various times to the Yamtuan Muda and obtained his permission to form settlements in these tracts of jungle. Tradition has it that Penglima Hitam, a Batu Hampar tribesman of Lanun descent,

was the first to colonise Tampin, he was head of a party of 70 Lanun settlers. A Machap man of the Mungkal tribe is credited with having colonised Kêru and Têbong, while a Tiga Batu party colonised Repah. These four settlements with their territorial penghulus, having nothing in common with the tribal chiefs of Rembau, followed the fortunes of the Yamtuan Muda and his descendants. The boundary between Rembau and Malacca is given as follows in the treaty of 1833:

"From Kuala Sungai Haneh to Bukit Bertam, thence to Bukit Jelutong, thence to Bukit Putus, thence to Jirat Gunjai, thence to Lubok Talam, thence to Dusun Feringgi, thence to Dusun Kepar, thence to Hulu Sungai and thence to Bukit Putus."

This is the present boundary. But it is suggested that the Tebong district at least lay in the territories of the Dato' of Naning and that its inclusion in Tampin was the result of the Naning war.

XI.—BRITISH INTERVENTION, A.D. 1872—1897.

Sungei Ujong.—The history of the State of Sungei Ujong stretches back far into the past. As early as A.D. 1460 or 1470, it was ruled by Malay chiefs who bore the title of *pēnghulu mantêri* and were appointed by the bendaharas of Malacca and Johor. But the present ruling houses of Sungei Ujong do not date back so far. They seem to have acquired their hereditary rights about the year A.D. 1700, and transmitted them at first from father to son in accordance with the law of Johor, and not by uterine descent as required by the law of Menangkabau. About the middle of the eighteenth century a son of the *pēnghulu mantêri* of Sungei Ujong obtained the semi-royal Bugis title of *dato' këlana putêra*, by which his representatives have since been known, to the exclusion of the more ancient dignity of the penghuluship. In A.D. 1773 the State was one of the four that recognised Raja Melewar as yamtuan of the Negri Sembilan, and Sungei Ujong so obtained for its ruler, the Klana, recognition as *imam* or head of the *undang* of the confederacy. To this day the Dato' Klana is charged with the duty of making the formal nomination of a new Yamtuan. About A.D. 1780 the second Dato' Klana (Leha) gave a settlement at Linggi to a number of Riau colonists who had been expelled from Rembau by Dato' Uhan for declining to give up their customary law, the *adat tēmenggong*. If it is true, as some

traditions have it, that Raja Melewar's popularity was due to his being able to enforce the *adat p̄rpatch*, it is a notable fact that Sungei Ujong, the first State in his confederacy, never accepted that law in its entirety and did not accept any of it till a much later date. Sungei Ujong has a territorial rather than a tribal system of administration.

Early in the nineteenth century a conflict began to arise between the supporters of the matriarchal law of Sumatra and those of the Peninsular patriarchal law. It came to a head in a civil war of succession between the third Dato' Klana (Bahi) and the turbulent Dato' Kawal, heir by uterine relationship to the first two Klanas. In the end Dato' Kawal triumphed; he became the fourth Klana and introduced the *adat p̄rpatch* along with a compromise, a *giliran* (or rule of succession by rotation), under which his representatives and those of Dato' Klana Bahi took it in turn to succeed to the position of head of the State. These disputes and the headstrong policy of Dato' Kawal did a great deal to weaken the real authority of the ruler.

It must always be remembered that Sungei Ujong was not a tribal State like Rembau. It possessed great territorial chiefs in the Dato' Bandar who governed the Coast, the Dato' Andulika Mandulika who ruled Pantai, the Dato' Akhizaman of Rantau, the Dato' Amar of Ulu Klawang, and the Dato' Muda of Linggi. These chiefs possessed concessions and seals; in some cases they owed their positions and revenues (equally with the Klana) to the Sultan of Johor. Foremost among them was the Dato' Bandar, chief of the *waris di-ayer*, who held the country's richest sources of revenue in his own hands. The Dato' Klana wanted that revenue for his wars; the Dato' Bandar disputed his orders. Civil war arose and the Yamtuan Besar, Raja Radin, was called in as arbitrator. The revenues were divided and various compromises were arrived at to save the dignity of both parties. History was tampered with; pedigrees were put forward to show a relationship between the rival families; sayings were coined to make peace between the Klana and Bandar. The State was "an egg borne by them equally"; they were "as the pupil and the white of the eye."

*Télur sa-biji sama di-tatang ;
Pēsaka satu sama di-bēla ;
Hilang di-darat di-ayer mēnchari,
Hilang di-ayer di-darat mēnchari,
Laksana mata hitam dēngan mata pulch.*

But common-sense is against such diplomatic compromises. The Bandar smarted over his loss of revenue; the Klana resented his loss of dignity. The State became a house divided against itself; whatever one ruler did, the other opposed. Matters came to a crisis in the Selangor disturbances of the early seventies. The Selangor refugees, fleeing from the wrath of the British, came to Sungei Ujong. Warned by the British Government the Klana gave them no shelter. Encouraged by the unpopularity of this inhospitable policy, the Dato' Bandar shielded the refugees and made the Klana's position insupportable. The unfortunate Klana had to choose between the enmity of the British and deposition at the hands of his own people. He threw in his lot with the British, maintained his position with the assistance of a Resident, and divided the ranks of his enemies by inciting a chief to drive out the Bandar and seize his authority. Ultimately the country was pacified and a British Protectorate was established, under which the Klana and the new Bandar ended their differences by the receipt of an equal status and an equal civil list.

Sri Menanti.—We have seen that the expulsion of Yamtuan Sati and the fall of Raja Ali, Yamtuan Muda of Rembau, left Raja Radin in undisputed possession of the royal demesne in Sri Menanti and the royal dignity of Yamtuan Besar. He held this position against all rivals till his death, and even exercised a good deal of influence in Sungei Ujong, in Rembau, and in Jelebu. His death, however, was the signal for new disturbances. His son, Tengku Antah, on claiming the throne, was opposed by a Sumatran prince, a son of the old claimant Yamtuan Beringin, who maintained that the custom of seeking a ruler outside the country should be reverted to. The *undang*, on being called in, set aside the claims of both the disputants and placed on the throne an older man, Yamtuan Imam, brother of the deceased Yamtuan Radin. The death of Yamtuan Imam reopened the trouble. This time the claimants were Tengku Antah, son of Yamtuan Radin, and Tengku Ahmad Tunggal, son of Yamtuan Imam. The former had the more powerful local following; the latter had seized his father's seals which were the true regalia of the State. The local *undang*, the Dato' of Johol, favoured Tengku Antah, who installed himself at Sri Menanti and made a fresh seal of his own to replace the missing regalia. But the rest of the Negri Sembilan rulers were now weary of the eternal disputes over the title of Yamtuan. The Dato' Klana, Saiyid Abdurrah-

The present Dato' Bandar Ahmad.

man, of Sungei Ujong, was friendly to the claimant, Tengku Ahmad Tunggal. The Dato' of Rembau claimed complete independence, and the Dato' of Jelebu's attentions were monopolised by a Yamtuan Muda of his own with whom he was on the worst of terms. The "treason" of the three *undang* who would not acknowledge Yamtuan Antah would, if acquiesced in, have left him in undisturbed possession of Sri Menanti at least; but with true Negri Sembilan imprudence he would not leave well alone. In A.D. 1876 he attacked the Dato' Klana of Sungei Ujong for showing courtesy to the pretender, Tengku Ahmad Tunggal. The Dato' Klana was then under British protection. A British force at once set out in two columns; one column forced the Bukit Putus pass and occupied the Terachi valley, the other traversed the mountains and took the Malays in the rear. This reverse made Tengku Antah consent in A.D. 1876 (at the instance of the Maharaja of Johor) to resign his claims to the titles of "Yamtuan Besar" and "Sultan" and to style himself only "Yamtuan of Sri Menanti." In A.D. 1887 he made a fresh treaty, submitting himself to the supervision of the British Government as regards his relations with other States: and in A.D. 1889, his son and successor, Tengku Muhammad, and the rulers of the States under his jurisdiction (Johol, Inas, Ulu Muar, Jempol, Gunung Pasir and Terachi), placed themselves unreservedly under the protection of England. This treaty was also accepted by the Rulers of Tampin and Rembau.

In this connection it is necessary to explain that there was a phase in the history of the Negri Sembilan States when the Maharaja of Johor endeavoured to play a part in their affairs. It must be remembered that the independence of the Negri Sembilan was never admitted by the Maharaja and that the policy of that prince seemed to be aimed for some time at bringing this part of the Malay world into his own sphere of influence. The activity of the British Government put an end to any ambitions that the Maharaja may have entertained of bringing Rembau and the Sri Menanti States into union with Johor and Muar, but traces of these perished hopes may be seen occasionally in the terms of old treaties, notably in the Rembau agreement of 1877, the Jelebu agreement of 1877 and the Sri Menanti agreement of 1876.

Rembau.—The war between Rembau and Tampin over the pretensions of Yamtuan Ali and Saiyid Shaaban ended, as we have seen, in the complete separation of the two States. Like

all Malay wars it was long, desultory and indecisive. Rembau continued to be hostile to Tampin; the Ruler of Tampin continued to intrigue for the dignity of Yamtuan Muda. The chronic trouble caused by these irritating little conflicts and intrigues led in the end to discontent with the Rulers of both States. In March, 1877, Haji Sahil, the unpopular Dato' of Rembau, made a treaty "for giving quietness and peace" to his country by undertaking to submit all his disputes for the "advice and instructions" of the Maharaja of Johor. This treaty was *ultra vires* as it was not signed by the eight *lĕmbaga*. Six years later, by a fresh treaty, the eight *lĕmbaga* deposed Haji Sahil and appointed Serun bin Sidin, Dato' of Rembau. By this treaty the chiefs agreed to refer all their disputes to the Governor of the Straits and to abide by his decision. But this treaty was not enough. It gave the British Government no real control over the country and allowed the Dato' and his *waris* to pursue a most suicidal policy of land-alienation for the sake of the personal gains made by selling large tracts of country to Chinese tapioca-planters from Malacca. A policy of this sort is so pregnant with future trouble that the British authorities began to strain every nerve to obtain some hold over the land-policy of the country. In the end the Dato' and the leading *waris* chiefs who claimed possession of all waste lands parted with their rights to the British Government in return for one-third of the revenue. This is the treaty of September, 1887. In 1889 the State of Rembau joined with Tampin and the Sri Menanti States in forming the confederacy known as the "old" Negri Sembilan.

Jelebu.—The State of Jelebu was established about A.D. 1760 by a certain local chief of Ulu Jelebu obtaining from Abdul Jalil Muadzam Shah, Regent of Johor, a seal and title as ruler of his country. There were, however, certain local territorial chiefs who held positions of real antiquity and importance even though they had not been recognised by the Johor Government. These chiefs seem to have disputed the Dato's authority, with the result that a number of *muafakat* or compromises were arrived at. The title of Dato' now "rotates" between three families, one being the original Ulu Jelebu family;¹ and each new holder has to be approved by two local chiefs, the Dato' Umbi and Dato' Mantri. But a further disturbing element appeared in the country in the form of the princely Sumatran families who exploited the Negri Sembilan so successfully. Raja Adil is said

¹ The *waris* Ulu Jelebu, *waris Keming* and *waris Saarim*.

to have lived in Jelebu; and his grandson, Tengku Sabun, made himself Yamtuan Muda of the little State at some date about A.D. 1820. Dynastic disputes and wars of succession divided the Jelebu chiefs and exposed the country to raids from Pahang which depopulated considerable tracts. When the British Protectorate was established in Sungei Ujong the condition of Jelebu was pitiful. In 1877, the Yamtuan Tengku Abdullah made a treaty agreeing to ask "advice and instructions" from the Maharaja of Johor, but such an undertaking, given by a titular dignitary without the consent of the Dato' and chiefs of Jelebu, was valueless for bringing about peace. The troubles continued. In 1883, the British Government was invited to arbitrate and a fresh treaty was made. Under this treaty the residential system was introduced into Jelebu, the Yamtuan was bought out with a life-pension of \$1,200 a year, and the Dato' and chiefs were promised an interest in the revenues of the State. The Yamtuan died not very long afterwards, and a fresh treaty was drawn up (in A.D. 1886) abolishing the dignity of Yamtuan and readjusting the financial arrangements.

The Negri Sembilan.—The various treaties to which reference has been made had the effect of dividing the administration of the country into two sections: the Eastern (comprising Rembau, Sri Menanti and Tampin) under "the Resident of Negri Sembilan," and the Western (comprising Sungei Ujong and Jelebu) under "the Resident of Sungei Ujong." This administrative partition was brought to an end in 1895 by the appointment of the Hon. Martin Lister as Resident for both divisions under his old title of Resident of Negri Sembilan. Mr. Lister died in A.D. 1897 and was succeeded by Mr. E. W. Birch, who effected the union of the Negri Sembilan States under a titular Malay sovereign by the election of Tengku Muhammad, Ruler of Sri Menanti, as Yang-di-pertuan Besar of the whole country. This was, for all intents and purposes, a reversion to Raja Melewar's constitution of A.D. 1773, which had been abolished (as we have seen) by the treaty of 1876 after nearly a century of civil war.

PART II.
THE CONSTITUTION.

By R. J. WILKINSON.

Alam bĕraja ;
Nĕgĕri bĕrpĕnghulu ;
Suku bĕrtuha ;
Anak buah bĕribu-bapa ;
Orang sĕmĕnda bĕrtĕmpat¹sĕmĕnda.

"The world has a king, the country a chief, the tribe a head, the family an elder, and every man a family to attend to his affairs," so runs a local saying that summarises the constitution of the Negri Sembilan. Unfortunately, this brief definition includes technical terms that presuppose a knowledge of all the complexities of Menangkabau law. Words like "tribe," "family," "elder" and "chief" are beyond any simple interpretation; they have to be explained guardedly and at very great length if the explanation is to escape the wrath of every European who has dwelt in Rembau and absorbed its enthusiasm for the unimportant.

Some terms, of course, are easy to define. "The world" is the Negri Sembilan; no Rembau man need take exception to that. "The king" is the *Yang-di-pĕrtuan Bĕsar*. "The country" is Rembau (or her sister-States); the definite article need only be emphasised to indicate what is meant. "The chiefs" are the Klana of Sungei Ujong, the Penghulu of Jelebu, the Dato' of Johol, and the Dato' of Rembau. But underlying this territorial system we have a tribal organisation. Each of the four great chiefs rules, or ruled—for we are dealing with the constitution of A.D. 1773—over a number of "tribes"¹ or semi-autonomous clans, each of which manages most of its affairs under the control of its own *lĕmbaga* or headman. The clan, in its turn, is subdivided into "families,"² each with its own "elder"³; and the "family" may be divided into various branches settled in different localities. Every individual has his own immediate relatives to look after his affairs and avoid, if possible, the publicity and scandal of a reference to the family elder. If a dispute could not be

¹ *Suku*. ² *Pĕrut*. ³ *Ibu bapa* or *buapa*.

arranged amicably it had to be taken to the elder who had jurisdiction up to \$3.50 or the value of a goat. If that jurisdiction was insufficient the case might be referred to the *lambaga* whose powers went up to \$7 (or the value of a buffalo) and included authority to arrest: "bonds are the *lambaga*'s," said the law. Next came the court of the chief or *undang*, whose jurisdiction extended to \$14 and included the power of life and death. In exceptional cases a matter might come for hearing before the king's own court.¹

In itself the gradation of official powers is no protection to the liberty of the subject. Its special effectiveness in the case of Negri Sembilan lay in the fact that the higher authorities were like our own appellate or assize courts: they could not initiate an attack on an individual. The Negri Sembilan peasant was more than a ryot helpless in the clutches of a great territorial chief. If he committed a petty offence he was judged by his own people: the chief could not interfere. If he was charged with a graver crime he was heard by his own people, and if a *primâ facie* case was made out against him he was handed over to the higher authorities for trial. If the tribal headmen used their powers unfairly and screened their own people from punishment they might be called to account for their misconduct; but the chief could not proceed against anyone except the tribal headman, nor was he strong enough to attack any single *lambaga* unjustly in face of the opposition that such a proceeding would arouse among the rest. The abolition of direct relations between the chiefs and the ryots made the Negri Sembilan tribal divisions a real shield to the rights of the subject. If any European student imagines that constitutional Government is alien to the Asiatic mind he may study the Menangkabau system with profit, for it is a genuine Malay creation and owes nothing to alien influence. Its faults and failures are those common to all democracies: overmuch disputation, irresolute and divided action, and the inertia that comes of a Government being over-weighted with checks and counter-checks. These faults were free from any oriental hankering after despotism. The Negri Sembilan Malay was a loyalist in his way, but he loved his liberty even more than he loved a lord. It was his attempt to love both that brought disaster upon him.

The "king" or Yang-di-pertuan Besar was essentially a constitutional ruler. "He does not own the soil nor can he

¹ *Kerdilan*.

levy imposts," said the law; "he is only the fountain of justice and can claim a civil list." No one indeed could be less like the despot of Eastern romance. His civil list was framed on very frugal lines: "from every household a gallon of rice and a couple of coconuts" each time a ruler was buried or crowned. Commuted into dollars at the last accession this *mas manah* amounted to

- ₪14 for Johol proper,
- ₪14 for all Ulu Muar,
- ₪7 for all Jempol,
- ₪7 for all Gemenchah,

and so on. Moreover, it was limited by the stipulation that the funeral of one ruler and the installation of the next should be treated as one ceremony and should call for one contribution only. On the occasion of a great festival—such as a royal marriage or circumcision—the yamtuan was entitled to a gift of three buffaloes from the magnates who attended the dinner. In consonance also with the universal Malay custom that regards all rarities and freaks as the king's perquisite the yamtuan could claim bezoar-stones, talismans, ivory, freak-buffaloes, and even the children of unmarried mothers as being inexplicable phenomena, "plants without seeds, flowers without buds." When all these sources of income are totalled up they represent very little. Attempts to get more were risky. One Yamtuan, as we have seen, tried to levy a commission of 2½ per cent. on some money won by the Dato' Klana when betting at a cock-fight in Sri Menanti. He was deposed and driven out. Any attempt to claim percentages or raise taxes brought the "king" into collision with the great territorial chiefs who were always ready to fight for the retention of their perquisites.

The Yamtuan was *bĕrkhalifah*, the Caliph, God's vicegerent on earth. This meant that he stood at the head of the religious law and was the court of final resort in all disputes regarding Moslem custom. His position meant less in the Negri Sembilan than it did elsewhere, owing to the fact that the chiefs and people owed their powers and liberties to the *adat* and were very unwilling to admit its subordination to the Law of the Prophet. Indeed, they tried to argue that the two were identical or of equal importance.

*Hukum yang rata,
Adat yang datar.*

“Religious law is level; customary law is flat.” And again

*Adat yang kawi,
Shara' yang lazim.*

“Custom is compulsory; religion is obligatory.” In both cases we get a distinction without a difference. Moreover, the judges of religious law were removable at the will of the local chiefs and were not likely to carry many appeals to the king. At the same time the position of “Caliph” must have been one of some importance, for the powerful rulers of Rembau claimed to be *bērkhalfah* as soon as they asserted their independence of the Yamtuan.

The king was also the *kādilan* or fountain of justice: in other words, he was the final court of appeal. His jurisdiction amounted to 66 *kupang* or \$24, and he could behead while the chief could only kill with the *kēris*. If a Dato' of Johol or Dato' of Rembau considered that a matter was too thorny for him to settle by himself he might always refer it to the Yamtuan as a disinterested arbitrator. The value of the king's prerogative in this respect depended greatly on the trust that the chiefs could feel in him. A fair-minded prince might have become the most influential man in the land; a self-seeking judge was what nobody wanted. If the civil wars are any criterion of the capacity for rule displayed by the later “kings” they indicate that the fountain of justice was polluted and that the indefiniteness of the ruler's judicial powers are due to the fact that reference to him never crystallised into a regular custom.

Apart from the limitations to his power the king held a position of great dignity. He and his family were extra-territorial, belonging to no clan and owing no allegiance to any tribal headman. He was sacrosanct¹. The great territorial chiefs were revered². They had a special sanctity of their own, but it was a pale shadow of the true majesty of kings. The later penghulus of Rembau, though they claimed several royal attributes, dared not claim the *daulat*. Royalty had also its own court language: the great chiefs could not annex it though they tried to raise their own “utterances”³ to the plane of the king's “commands.”⁴ Then there were the ceremonies: the royal precedence, the deference of others, the homage, the kingly yellow that no one else might wear, the regalia, the salutes, the

¹ *Berdaulat* ² *Berpujaka* ³ *Sabdala* ⁴ *Titah*.

dwelling in palaces, the title of Sultan—all these things were precious possessions and whetted an appetite for more.

We may pass over the minor rulers, the Yamtuan Muda of Rembau and the Yamtuan Muda of Jelebu. They had no place in the arrangements of A.D. 1773, but were added afterwards to allow some feud or put an end to the jealousy of rival princes. Each Yamtuan Muda was a local deputy of the Yamtuan Besar, and did not possess a distinctive position of his own in the theory of the constitution.

Next below these titular rulers came the four great territorial chiefs or *undang*. Ceremonially they were of minor importance. When elected each of these chiefs had to present himself before the yamtuan and do homage for the office conferred upon him—a mere form, since the yamtuan had no power to bestow such dignities. On these occasions the chiefs were addressed formally as *orang kaya*: a commoner's title, not a prince's. Nor could a chief habitually use the royal yellow or the royal forms of speech or any other regal attribute; he was a commoner and no more. He could claim a salute of five guns as against seven for a yamtuan and three for a *lĕmbaga*. So, too, his wedding *bĕrhinai* ceremonies lasted five days as against a prince's seven, and a *lĕmbaga's* three. He had no less than 15 *kĕhĕsaran* or insignia of rank, but they were not "regalia" in the highest sense. In theoretical power he had also to take a position below that of the king. His jurisdiction was limited to a *bahara* or about \$14, while the king's extended to 66 *kupang* or \$24.80 to be exact. The chief could only execute with the *kĕris*; to "shed blood" was a royal prerogative. The yamtuan could levy his *mas manah*—his gallon of rice and two coconuts—on all the households of "the world": the *undang* levied a similar contribution on certain Crown lands¹ only. But with all this affectation of inferiority the great territorial chiefs were wealthier and mightier than the king. Their wealth they did not owe to their office but to the fact that they were *waris*, heirs of the soil, representatives (in theory) of the old aboriginal peoples. Though the chief divided his revenues with the rest of the *waris* (he was only one of many "heirs"), he took the lion's share in accordance with the tribal rule, "Big shares to big men, little shares to little men." Constitutionally, too, the four great territorial chiefs were the *tiang balai*, the pillars of the court, the electors and upholders of the yamtuan. The yamtuan could not create a chief, but the

¹ Tanah Mlapakan.

chief might—and often did—create a yamtuan. Raja Khatib was put forward by the Dato' of Ulu Muar, a minor territorial magnate; Yamtuan Radin was the nominee of Rembau; Yamtuan Sati was made and unmade by the Dato' Klana; Yamtuan Antah was set up by the Dato' of Johol. In true power there was no comparison between the chief with a whole State at his back and the king with his great pretensions and his ragged retinue. One was reality; the other bluff. So was it also with jurisdiction. That of the king was a name; that of the *undang* a living force. The king might behead, it is true; still he could only behead his own followers, and the practice was not to be commended. For real criminal justice the chief's *kēris* was all that was wanted. The chief's powers were definite enough. He heard cases of treason, murder, robbery, arson, poisoning and incest. Lesser offences were tried before the *lĕmbaga*, and unless the *lĕmbaga*'s fining powers (\$7. or the value of a buffalo) were exceeded, the chief did not interfere. As has been pointed out already, the *undang*'s court was not one of original jurisdiction; offenders were brought to it by their own tribal headman, and when the case was over it was also the *lĕmbaga* who saw to the recovery of the fines. The chief was in general control of the tribal headmen and could call them to account if they were inefficient or corrupt, but the machinery for the purpose was elaborate and does not enter into the theory on the Constitution.

In three out of the four States the term *pĕnghulu* (*nĕgĕri bĕrpĕnghulu*) may be identified with the *undang* himself; in the fourth State, Johol, there were divisional *pĕnghulus* who were subordinate to the *undang*.

The main point of the theory is that below the territorial chief—be he an *undang* or a divisional *pĕnghulu* like the Dato' of Ulu Muar¹—there come the tribal headmen who are not territorial in the strictest sense of the word. They are known as *lĕmbaga* and their tribes as *suku*: both terms need a good deal of explanation.

The colonists from Menangkabau came to the Peninsula from various Sumatran districts: from Payakombo, from Sri Lemak, from Sri Melenggang, from Batu Hampar, from Batu Balang, from Mungkal, from Tanah Datar, from Tiga Nenek and from Tiga Batu. After settling in the Negri Sembilan they and their descendants continued to call themselves after the districts from

¹ The divisional *pĕnghulu* is often termed an *undang*.

which they had come, so that what are territorial names in Sumatra have come to be tribal names in the Malay Peninsula. But this list of ten tribes would not be exhaustive. It might happen that some Sri Lemak settlers would reside for some time in Pahang and then migrate to Ulu Muar; while other Sri Lemak colonists would come direct to Ulu Muar from Sumatra. This would create a distinction between the *Sēri Lēmak Pahang* and the *Sēri Lēmak Mēnangkabau*. In other cases there might be two separate migrations from the same locality at different times under different chiefs; thus, we get the Payakombo tribe in Rembau split into two portions, one in the low-country under the *lēmbaga Dato' Mērbangsa*, and the other and larger portion in the uplands under the *lēmbaga Dato' Sēri Maharaja*. Furthermore, the Negri Sembilan population includes descendants of the original inhabitants who were in the country before the Sumatran settlers arrived, and who are known generically as the *biduanda* tribe; and it also includes colonists who did not come from Menangkabau: for instance, the clans of the *anak Aceh* or Achehese, and the *anak Mēlaka* or Malacca Malays. It is, therefore, difficult to lay down any general rules as to the distribution of these different tribes.

Moreover, it must be remembered that Menangkabau *adat* traces descent through women only. The "Payakombo" tribe of to-day is made up of the descendants in the direct female line of the women-settlers from the Payakombo district; the descendants of the male settlers take their mother's designation. Under the circumstances these tribal distinctions have no real racial or territorial significance. For all intents and purposes they are artificial divisions. The artificiality of the whole system is enhanced by the fact that a man passes on marriage from the control of his mother's tribe to that of his wife's, so that a large proportion of the males in the charge of any one tribe do not belong to that tribe at all by descent. A Negri Sembilan *suku* is a very mixed community; its women—and the lands they own—are the bonds that hold it together. Not that the artificiality of the whole tribal system would matter much if it worked well in other respects. But the inequality in numbers and importance between one tribe and another and between one family and another created difficulties. In 1891 two Rembau tribes totalled 167 persons between them, while a third tribe numbered 3,766 by itself: a constitution that disregards numerical differences of this sort is hardly the work of men wise in the wisdom of the

world. There are many features in the government of the old Negri Sembilan that seem to have been invented for the express purpose of exciting tumults and provoking civil war.

Nothing, for instance, could be fairer—on paper—than the system of *gilir* or rotation. We will suppose that there were four Payakombo "families" in existence when the constitution was settled. To avoid the risk of the position of *lĕmbaga*-ship being monopolised by any one family, the four might agree that the tribal headman should be selected from the ranks of each in rotation. But what was simple, practical and just in A.D. 1700 might become an abuse two centuries later. New families would have come over from Payakombo and have risen to importance without acquiring any claim to the honour of giving a *lĕmbaga* to the tribe. Old families would have fallen into poverty and discredit, yet under the ancient constitution they would still have the right to insist that the tribal headman shall be selected in rotation from their own ragged and disreputable ranks. If the divisions had been territorial instead of tribal a redistribution of electoral rights could be arranged easily enough on the basis of numbers, but with "families" and "clans" the difficulty is almost insuperable. The grievances and disputes which arise out of the election of officers in the Negri Sembilan are due to the fact that the Constitution (in so far as it affects that one issue) is quite out of date.

The jurisprudence of Menangkabau allowed for the need of constitutional changes from time to time. It recognised tribal agreements¹ as a source of law. If the tribe choose to admit new colonists to a full or partial franchise the tribe was at liberty to admit them. Doubtless, arrangements of this kind were arrived at from time to time in the interests of tribal peace; but they were only compromises and concessions, varying in each case with the requirements of the moment. There was no uniformity about them. The old families gave as little as possible, the new families took as much as they could get. These divergencies and anomalies make it necessary to write a separate account of each State, tribe, and title in the Negri Sembilan; general statements on such points are impossible. But within the tribe itself the powers of the headman and elder do not vary. The differences that exist are confined to extra-tribal authority and to the method of selection or appointment to offices.

¹ *Musafakat.*

Before proceeding to discuss the unvarying element—the authority of an official within his own tribe—it may be of interest to give an example of constitutional change and of the reasons for it. In the oldest Rembau treaties we get the signature of the Dato' and of four tribal headmen. This Council of Four represented in all probability the four principal *lĕmbaga* at the date when the Constitution was established. Yet, in 1891, the tribesmen represented by these four headmen numbered only 1,317 persons out of a total population of 11,136 souls. The Council of Four had long ceased to be representative of the whole people, though its members still enjoy a certain ceremonial precedence over the rest. Accordingly, in 1832, we find that four more *lĕmbaga* were added to the list of signatories to a treaty, thereby indicating the creation of a Council of Eight. These four additions possessed (in 1891) a following of 3,667 tribesmen, so that the Council of Eight is much more representative than the original Four. On the 1891 census the figures are :

| | | |
|---------------------------------------|-----|-------|
| Biduanda (represented by the Dato') | ... | 3,766 |
| Tribesmen under the original Four | ... | 1,317 |
| " " additional Four | ... | 3,667 |

or 8,750 out of 11,136 persons. Although there are even now over 2,000 persons who are not included in what we may call the higher franchise of Rembau, the present state of affairs represents a very great advance on the days of the Council of Four. And the constituencies (if we may call them so) are unequal. The Dato' Samsuroh Pahlawan only represents about 150 tribesmen: and even the senior *lĕmbaga*, the Dato' Gempa Maharaja, with his following of 300, compares unfavourably with the junior *lĕmbaga*, the Dato' Mandulika, whose *anak buah* must be about 2,000 in number. Anomalies of this sort will explain the turbulence of Government in Rembau, besides throwing light upon the distribution of the population in the days of the early colonists.

Within the tribe itself things were simple enough. The *lĕmbaga* was its head.¹ His authority was defined with great precision; he could fine or award compensation to the extent of the value of a buffalo or of a *bahara* of tin, a jurisdiction representing some \$7 in the currency of the time, though it would represent far more in the depreciated silver of to-day. He was

¹ In Jelebu, Johol and Rembau. In Sungei Ujong the term *lĕmbaga* is used loosely and often incorrectly.

elected by a strict rule of rotation from one after another of the fully enfranchised families included in the tribe; but the election (which was made by the *ibu bapa* or heads of families) had to be confirmed by the territorial chief, be he an *undang* or a *pēnphulu* like the Dato' of Ulu Muar. Once elected and approved the *lēm̄baga* could not be dismissed except by the *undang* in council, nor could he be dismissed for anything except a serious offence such as dereliction of duty or encroachment on the powers of others. His position in fact was a very strong one.

The duties of a *lēm̄baga* were of a very varied character. He was expected to be present at great social functions in his tribe—weddings, feasts, ear-boring festivities, circumcision celebrations, and so on; but his presence had to be paid for by gifts of rice or cakes and by the tit-bits of the meat of the buffalo slaughtered for the occasion. He had judicial authority in cases of serious assault: in more serious cases he took the accused into custody and handed him over to the *undang* for trial. He was a sort of qualified witness in important cases such as transfers of land, and he was a sort of bailiff or sheriff for carrying out decrees of the court.

In Rembau and in the Kuala Pilah district the *lēm̄baga* still plays a part in land administration. Although there need be no question of the usefulness of the tribal system in the past, there may well be two opinions about its utility at the present time if compared with the territorial system in force in the other Malay States, and to some extent in Jelebu, Tampin and Sungei Ujong. In Malacca it was swept away after the Naning war and a territorial classification was substituted for it. In Tampin and Jelebu it is perishing; in Sungei Ujong it never thrived: Rembau is its main stronghold.

Below the *lēm̄baga* came the *ibu bapa* or elder. The elder or elected head of the family was the court of first instance in such family disputes or petty assaults as could not be settled in a friendly manner by the immediate relatives of the disputants. Even in the past the elder's powers were limited. He could not arrest: "bonds are the *lēm̄baga's*," said the law. He might give damages or award compensation or impose a fine up to the value of \$3.50 or one goat, but he could not enforce such a decision without invoking the aid of the *lēm̄baga*. Such powers are quite obsolete now. The elder's main business, however, was of another kind. He was supposed to be *au fait* with the affairs of his "children." If they were in debt or trouble he pleaded

their cause; if there was any doubt as to what they had done he was expected to testify to the truth. In order that he might possess the needed knowledge of what was going on he was an honoured guest at all family feasts and family councils, and he was called in to attest the payment of a debt or the final settlement of any transaction of importance. He was a sort of attestant J. P. or qualified witness. The elder was elected by his "children," subject to the approval of the tribal headman. "He lives or dies at the discretion of the *lĕmbaga*," said the law; he could in fact be dismissed without trial or enquiry. The dignity of *ibu bapa* still exists in Rembau, Kuala Pilah and Jelebu, though shorn of much of its ancient importance.

Two more institutions invite attention though they are left unmentioned in the short summary of the Constitution that has served as a heading for this chapter. They are the *orang bĕsar* and the *waris*. The *orang bĕsar* (or *bĕsar*, as they are more commonly called) were tribal officials whose business it was to act as a check on the officer immediately above them, whether he was an elder or a *lĕmbaga*. The territorial chief appointed some to keep an eye on the *lĕmbaga's* doings and prevent him becoming too powerful; the *lĕmbaga* appointed others in order that he might keep his "elders" in order. With the weakening of the tribal system the powers and duties of the *orang bĕsar* have passed outside the range of practical politics.

It is otherwise with the *waris*, whose position has been much misrepresented and misunderstood—to their own very great advantage—by many a writer upon the subject of Menangkabau *adat*. They are sometimes spoken of as the *waris* "tribe," and are identified with the great Biduanda clan who number about one-third of the whole population of Rembau. Moreover, it is suggested or implied that "the proprietary right of the aborigines in the soil vested in the *waris* by virtue of the alliance contracted between To' Lela Balang and the daughter of Batin Sekudai."¹ All this is pure myth.

In the first place a distinction must be drawn between the *waris* and the *biduanda*. True, the *waris* are members of the Biduanda tribe in Rembau and most other States, but they are not co-extensive with it. They are a privileged inner ring or circle, very little limited indeed in number: so limited in fact,

¹ Parr and Mackray, "Rembau," p. 28.

that they hardly number twenty adults for the whole of Sungei Ujong.¹ In Rembau they are more numerous, it is true; but even in Rembau there is a great numerical difference between the few families who make up the privileged circle of the *waris*, and the four thousand persons who are grouped together as Biduanda.

Who then are the *waris*? They are the "heirs" of some territorial chieftaincy, or of some ruling house—in Rembau, as in Sungei Ujong, Jelebu and Johol. Doubtless, they sometimes claim descent from mythical figures like the Batin Sa-ribu Jaya, who is alternately a man and a woman at the discretion of local genealogists, but the facts of history are plain enough. The exploiters or overlords or rulers—call them what we will—of the ancient Negri Sembilan were the members of the great house of the bendaharas of Malacca and Johor. Tun Perak, the fourth of the Malacca bendaharas, held at one time the actual post of penghulu of Klang. He was the father of the Bendahara Lulok Batu, the seventh bendahara (A.D. 1511), and grandfather of Tun Isap Beragah, the eighth bendahara. Continuing the pedigree we come to Tun Perak's great-grandson, Tun Isap Biajid, the ninth bendahara, who is associated with the early years of Johor: to Tun Isap Misai, a generation later, the tenth bendahara; and lastly to Tun Isap Misai's grandson, the eleventh bendahara, Tun Sri Lanang, who inspired (if he did not write) the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu*. And the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu* tells us in so many words that these outlying districts had been the property of that great Malacca family from the time of the earliest Bendaharas down to the period at which the "Annals" themselves were written (A.D. 1636). There is no question of any "Batin Sa-ribu Jaya" or of any Sakai ancestry through whom a claim was made.

True, we have only Tun Sri Lanang's word for the statement that his family possessed these rights; he may be exaggerating the power and wealth of his family. But corroboration comes from an unexpected quarter. The old seal of the Dato' of Rembau was worded as follows: *Dato' Sĕdia Raja bin Dato' Lela Maharaja, dĕngan kurnia Bĕndahaya Sĕri Maharaja*. Then follows a date of which the first two figures are illegible. "By the grace of the Bendahara Sri Maharaja"—that is the authority on which the old chiefs of Rembau based their claim.

¹ *I.e.*, the Klana's *waris*. But *waris* may be used of the heirs of any territorial title; and there are thus several *waris* groups in Sungei Ujong. In Terachi the *waris* are not Biduanda, nor is the Dato' of Naning.

Be it remembered that this old seal—which can be read on the treaty of 1833—was not personal to the ruling Dato' (who was a Lela Maharaja), but was the seal of the chieftaincy itself. There is no question of any *waris* tribe or of any Sakai descent: the *waris* are simply one or more Biduanda families who obtained a seal and a concession from an old Malay chief.

What then was the date of this concession? The last two figures are "21,"—A.H. 921, 1021 or 1121. The first of these dates takes us back to A.D. 1514, an impossibly early period. The second takes us to about A.D. 1610, when the author of the *Sjjarah Melayu* was himself bendahara; but he bore the title *Paduka Raja* not *Sjri Maharaja*. The third is A.D. 1707. The seal would represent the second Dato' of Rembau,¹ the first having been a Lela Maharaja. The Sungei Ujong pedigrees, though they mention no dates, give us seven penghulus anterior to the Dato' Klana of A.D. 1773, and suggest that the *waris* family obtained its rights during the closing years of the seventeenth century. The assertion of right by uterine descent is not a Sakai custom nor is it a Johor custom, it is a matter of Menangkabau *adat*; and the conclusion to which the historian is forced is that certain early Menangkabau settlers acquired the claims of the old Johor overlords and then proceeded to transmit them to their *tjempat sëmenda* or "wife's relations" in accordance with their own ancestral law.

¹ This is in accordance with tradition which maintains that the second Dato' of Rembau was the son of the first. It also explains the *giliran besar* of Rembau. The transition from the *adat tjemenggong* to the *adat perpatch* would make two families eligible to the rulership: the *lela maharaja* family as heirs of the first Dato' and the *adja raja* family as heirs of the second. The *giliran* of the Sungei Ujong *waris di-darut* arose in exactly the same way. The Malay theory of Sakai ownership of the soil is quite irreconcilable with the claims of the *waris jawa* of Rembau.

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

PAPERS ON MALAY SUBJECTS.

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

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

LIFE AND CUSTOMS.

PART I.

THE INCIDENTS OF MALAY LIFE.

BY

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

KUALA LUMPUR:

PRINTED BY J. E. WALLACE AT THE F.M.S. GOVERNMENT PRESS.

1925.

PREFACE.

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

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

R. J. WILKINSON.

LIFE AND CUSTOMS.

INFANCY.¹

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

The presiding authority on these occasions is a woman, the *bidan*, or midwife. The mighty *pawang*, or wizard, is also there, but he plays a humble part. He chooses an auspicious place for the birth and he surrounds it with thorns,² nets, dolls and bitter herbs, in order to keep the spirits of evil from getting at the mother and child in the perilous hour of their weakness. He selects the exact spot by dropping some sharp-pointed chopper or axe-head and marking the first place where it sticks into the ground. Thorns are thought to be dangerous to the trailing entrails of the vampire;³ bitter herbs are unpalatable to everyone;

¹ Ante-natal ceremonies are dealt with in Appendix A.

² *Duri mēngkuang* and *duri bulang*.

³ *Pēnanggalan*: it has long pendent bowels.

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

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

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

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

¹ The treatment is the very severe one of "roasting" (*diang*).

the neighbours and receives his necessary quantum of feminine adulation. He has his head shaved. A sacrifice may be offered up on his behalf; feasts may be given in his honour. If his parents are unusually proud of him they offer up vows at some shrine, to be fulfilled in later years when the child has survived the perils of infancy. In short, the seventh day is the celebration-day of a baby's birth and everything possible is done to honour the child on that occasion. From an orthodox standpoint the great event on this occasion is the religious sacrifice¹ that accompanies the ritual shaving of the head. The sacrifice should consist of two goats for a boy and one goat for a girl, and it may be offered up at Mecca on the child's behalf. But orthodox rites of this sort are not always the most important in the eyes of the Malays.

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

¹ *Akikah.* ² *Beras bérak.* ³ *Tépong tauar.* ⁴ *Lapat.* ⁵ *Kétupat.*

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

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

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

Barang siapa berpadi tempoy
Pada tempoy hama daktangah
Barang siapa berhat mumin
Hati giring mumin istana Allah

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

¹ See Appendix B, where the full text is given.

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

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

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

¹ Skent, "Malay Magic," p. 336; but in most places it is a cross for both girls and boys.

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

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

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

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

¹ This ceremony, *turun Ka-tanak*, coincides and corresponds in details with the presentation to the Spirits of the River (*turun Ka-ayer*).

to an easy mouthful—*Mat* for *Muhammad*, *Pin* for *Arifin*, *Pihi* for *Shafei*, *Din* for *Jamaludin*, *Lah* for *Abdullah*, and so on. Moreover, the Malays have a whole series of conventional or descriptive names that they give to their children in order of seniority: *Long* or *Awang* to the eldest child, *Alang* to the second, *Nyah* to the third, *Anjang* or *Panjang* to the fourth, *Andak* or *Pandak* to the fifth, *Teh* or *Puteh* to the sixth, etc., all in succession according to age. These conventional names¹ though they bewilder the beginner, are often a guide to the advanced student when he wishes to find out the relative seniority of the members of a Malay noble house. In a few cases the names given to the children of a family give some indications of their parents' tastes or ideas. A succession of names ending in *ar-rashid* (the Orthodox) always suggests that the father is a strict follower of the Muhammadan faith. A name taken from old Javanese legend implies that the giver has a pretty taste in romance. But fanciful naming is rare. The average Malay is content with stock names, such as *Long Mat* and *Anjang Abdullah*; indeed, he will often elect to drop his own appellation and be called after his child—*Pa' Long* or *Pa' Awang*, the father of his firstborn.

CHILDHOOD

Between the ages of two and six a Malay child is allowed to amuse himself by playing games in the immediate vicinity of his home while making himself useful by running small errands for his parents. He wears nothing, eats very simple food, and puts his relatives to so little expense that the possession of a

¹ *Timang-timangan*

large family is never regarded as an economic difficulty. At the age of six he usually begins to receive some sort of education. At various periods between early childhood and adolescence every boy and girl has to submit to certain ceremonial operations, such as ear-boring (in the case of girls) and circumcision (in the case of boys). By far the most important of these rites is circumcision. It takes place after a boy has passed an examination in the Koran and represents his formal admission to the communion of Islam. In certain portions of Malaya (especially in the Northern States) it is accompanied by such a wealth of irrelevant detail as to suggest that it has been grafted upon an ancient festival belonging to an older faith than that of Islam, but whatever may have been its origin the event is important enough from an orthodox Muhammadan standpoint to justify the sincere gratification of a Malay father at seeing the completion of his son's training in the creed of his ancestors.

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

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

As with all incidents of Malay life the sending of a boy to a Koran-class was accompanied by much

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

The old Malay Koran-schools were often residential. Boys were sent to live in the house of

some renowned teacher, the parents supplying each of their sons with a sleeping-mat and pillow, a cooking-pot and a sack of rice. Three lessons were given daily. They lasted for an hour at a time—one after the early morning prayer, the other after the midday devotions and the third after vespers. At other times the boys helped their master in his housework and in the care of his rice-fields and orchards. The instruction was of a most primitive character. A pupil began by learning to repeat correctly the Arabic formulæ with which every lesson began and ended. When he had mastered these preliminaries he proceeded to study the alphabet, less for its own sake than as a sort of guide to reading Arabic prayers and texts. Through much memorising and through the assistance given him by his knowledge of the lettering he would in time succeed in being able to read the Koran and the principal prayers from end to end. There his education stopped. The general drift of the text was explained to him, but not the construction of the sentences nor the meaning of the Arabic words. A slight amount of dogma was also imparted. Religious doctrine can, of course, be made to vary greatly according to the needs of the locality. A Patani *imam* once gave a lecture on "infidels" in the presence of a Siamese Governor and of a European visitor. "Infidel," he explained, was the name given by Muhammad to the lusts of the heart.¹ It did not necessarily refer to other faiths. Other religions had prophets of their own who were nevertheless true prophets like *Nabi Isa*, the prophet of the Christians, and *Nabi Musa*, the prophet of the Siamese. Here he bowed to his

¹ *Nafsu yang didalam diri kita.*

foreign audience. Doctrines of this sort are not mere diplomatic statements to meet the needs of the moment; they are sedulously preached by Moslem advocates of peace and conciliation in every part of the world. Of course they differ very greatly from the teachings of Acheen and of Arabia, and although they furnish matter for debate among the amateur theologians of the village they are looked upon as rather wasted when taught to children. In practice the Malay boy has to memorise his Koran and his prayers before he can be admitted by circumcision to the community of Islam, and he can afford to postpone his studies of doctrine to a later date.

At first sight nothing could appear more futile than the Koran-class instruction given to boys all over the Moslem world. It is mere parrot-like repetition of certain texts in a language not understood by the pupils; and, even if it develops the memory, it would seem to be useless either as an intellectual training or as an education in morals. But it is never safe to condemn a system that has proved acceptable to a large section of humanity. In some schools the more logical process of teaching a boy Arabic before teaching him the Koran has been tried and found wanting. Arabic is a very difficult language; the teachers were unskilful, and the pupils became discouraged and gave up a task that seemed hopeless. Modern educationists are inclined to insist on the necessity of making study interesting to the student. They may be right; but few of us owe our knowledge of Latin grammar to the intrinsic interest of the subject. Encouragement, reward, the admiration of one's fellow schoolboys, and even the much-maligned "rod of correction" are brilliant

torches along the path to knowledge. The Malay child who mastered an Arabic "broken plural" or some eccentricity in the ways of the Arabic verb would never receive as much praise and satisfaction as the boy who learnt a new prayer and was able to chant it correctly to the great joy and pride of his parents and the envy of the whole neighbourhood. Incidentally and almost unconsciously the learning of successive prayers and texts led an intelligent Malay boy to pick up a good deal of knowledge about the meaning of Arabic words and the syntax of the language. The process was slower, but the steps were pleasanter and more encouraging. Every prayer represented one more step to the good; it was a milestone on the way to wisdom. The duller boys dropped out, and were content with what they knew; the cleverer boys went on and studied more. Learning took a strong religious tinge and became rather fanatical, but it was never stifled by the form in which instruction was given. Meanwhile a boy learnt his Arabic alphabet and with a little coaching could apply it to the reading and writing of Malay.

Manners were recognised as a very important item in the education given at these old Malay Koran-classes; and nothing is more deplored by natives of the old school than the alleged inferiority of the present generation in this branch of instruction. A boy was taught to be silent until he was addressed, to keep his eyes cast down in the presence of his superiors, to behave unobtrusively at a public meeting, and to adapt his language to the occasion on which it was used. He generally learnt these lessons well; Malay courtesy is admired

by all. It is only right to add that some few religious leaders, in their anxiety to teach humility, have taught their followers to cringe in a manner that is as objectionable as the truculent self-assertion which every good Malay considers the acme of bad taste. But such cases are rare. The well-educated Malay of the older generation is a master of courteous manners and quiet dignified language; he creates difficulties by his very anxiety to avoid any expression of opinion that may seem to disagree with a view of the person addressed. A well-known Malay member of a State Council was once asked point-blank for his views on an issue regarding which his sovereign had not yet expressed an opinion. With great reluctance the chief rose and spoke at considerable length in a manner that roused the keen æsthetic appreciation of his critical fellow-countrymen. "An excellent speech," said the Sultan, when the applause had subsided. "But what did he say?" enquired the bewildered Resident. "Oh, he did not say anything at all, but the way in which he said it was magnificent!"

At the conclusion of a boy's education his parents give an entertainment at which he is enabled to display his best manners and his knowledge of Arabic ritual. This feast is part of the circumcision ceremony. The formalities begin when the boy is clad in royal garments and is set upon a royal throne for all and sundry to see. Then on the following day he is stripped, bathed and purified; he is stained with henna like a bridegroom and is dressed in the garb of a pilgrim to Mecca. In this guise he recites prayers to the assembled guests in order to prove the sufficiency of his learning. When the prayers are

over he rises and prostrates himself before his teacher in gratitude for past kindnesses. The parents now come forward with the customary gifts: a suit of clothes, a sum of money and certain articles of food. Then there follows (in some parts of Perak) a very curious ceremony. The boy is taken to an inner room, where he is stripped and covered with a rich cloth, while his mouth is filled with yellow glutinous rice and his body is sprinkled with the purifying rice-dust. After this, two coconuts and two small packets of rice are slowly rolled over him from head to foot. A hen is placed on the boy's chest and is encouraged to peck up any grains of yellow rice that may still be adhering to the boy's mouth. This is done to drive away ill-luck. The circumciser (or *mudin*) then comes forward and gently taps the boy's teeth with a stone. This is also done to avert misfortune. Feasting follows. The boy is dressed again and is carried in procession round the village and down to the river for another ceremonial purification. There the circumciser makes an appeal to the Spirit of the Waters, deprecating his wrath. The usual purifying rice powder is scattered on the stream and the usual offerings are made—yellow rice, a quid of betel, an egg, seven long packets of cooked rice and seven square packets of cooked rice. When the Water Spirit has been propitiated the boy is washed by his mother and has his long lock of hair solemnly shorn off by the *mudin*. The people then return to the house to witness the actual circumcision itself. While this is taking place the boy is made to sit either on a banana trunk or on a sack of rice.¹

¹ See Appendix C.

The ceremonies vary greatly in different States. It is usual to circumcise a number of boys at one time so as to minimise the cost of the celebrations. In such cases the son of the giver of the feasts is treated as the king for the occasion, while the other boys (whose parents contribute nothing) play the part of mere attendants upon the central figure. At the Perak Court the *mudin* is a regular officer of State with a recognised title;¹ but he carries out his work under rather disturbing conditions, for the great chiefs stand round him with drawn swords ready to slay him if he mismanages the operation. In Patani the boys are carried about on a dais in the shape of a bird or animal; in Perak they are borne on men's shoulders. In the towns of the Straits Settlements the royal ceremonies are less conspicuous. More attention is paid there to the religious details, while motor cars, jewellery and brass bands make up for the absence of the regalia and symbolism of the Native States.

A Malay girl is taught something of the Koran, though she is not expected to attain to the same standard of proficiency as her brothers. When her religious education is complete she is dressed like a pilgrim to Mecca and is admitted to the community of Islam by a ceremony much simpler and less public than the circumcision-rites of boys.² On this occasion her ears are bored and her teeth used to be filed down and stained "black as a humble-bee's wing." Tooth-filing and tooth-staining are now obsolete; the ceremonies attached to them seem to have been little more than precautionary rites against evil spirits.

¹ *To' Gembira*. He appears in the Estimates.

² In Patani this ceremony is performed in infancy.

Ear-boring is still practised, but the huge, round ear-studs¹ which were assumed after this ceremony and worn by girls as emblems of their maiden state, are now becoming ceremonial and are only put on for the wedding itself in order that they may be formally discarded a few days afterwards.

BETROTHAL

Malay girls are usually kept shut up in their own homes from the age of ten to the time of their marriage. This seclusion varies in rigour in different parts of Malaya, being strictest among the "Jawipekan" population of the towns and least strict in the districts where the ancient customary law is observed. The confinement of girls to their houses served to guard them from the dangerous notice of the chiefs and also from the risk of their injuring their matrimonial prospects by any foolish compromising acts. In the law-abiding Menangkabau communities of Sumatra a good deal of freedom could be safely allowed, provided that the women kept in parties by themselves and did not indulge in *tête-à-tête* interviews with fascinating young men. Out of this degree of freedom there grew up a pretty custom that has greatly influenced Malay literature—the practice of holding rhyming contests between the rival parties of the men and the girls. A girl might be suddenly inspired to extemporise or quote some *pantun* or verse that was apposite to the character, history or appearance of some young man who happened to be present. The opportunity was not to be missed. The

¹ *Subang*.

person chaffed (or one of his friends) would retort with a second *pantun*. The contest would then continue till one or other party was at a loss for a proper reply. The Malay quatrain is a very easy thing to extemporise, owing to the fact that its first two lines are mere jingles put in to rhyme with the last two, and also because every line is sung slowly and is followed by a chorus or refrain that gives time to the other party to think of an appropriate answer. At the same time there can be a vast difference in quality between one *pantun* and another, and there is every scope for skill and wit in these poetic contests, punctuated as they are by the applause or laughter of the audience. While, therefore, in everyday life the negotiations for a wedding are of a very commonplace order, it is quite otherwise in ceremonies and in literature. The heroine of a romance is always wooed in verse, and even the bearers of a formal proposal of marriage are expected to announce their errand and receive their answer in an appropriate succession of quatrains.

The diplomacy of a marriage generally commences when the parents or friends of the prospective bridegroom make advances to the girl's family with a view to finding out (without exposing themselves to the humiliation of a public rebuff) whether a proposal of this sort would be likely to be well received. Enquiries such as these need a good deal of tact. The suitor's party do not wish to take any risks and the girl's parents do not like to show any suspicious eagerness to part with their daughter. Hints are sometimes used. What could be more innocent than the position of the little silver vase

containing the *sireh* that is offered to a visitor? Yet if this vase is upset and left lying on its side, the quick-eyed enquirer knows that his quest is useless; the lady's people do not desire the marriage. If his hints become broader and the vase still remains upright he knows that he can proceed to more definite action. Professional marriage-brokers are often employed at this stage, their very presence suggests their errand to the girl's parents.

When it seems likely that the proposal of marriage will be well received the ladies of the young man's family call upon the bride, make much of her and endeavour to appraise her character and charms. The meaning of such overtures can hardly be mistaken; but it is essential that a real understanding should be arrived at before the marriage can be openly discussed. A rebuff would be fatal to any friendly relations between the two families, it would indeed be an insult. "Do not start by speaking of 'agreements' and go on by calling them 'enquiries,'" says one proverb. "Let your word, once given, be held like a fort," says another proverb. Betrothal—because of the feuds that may spring out of a broken promise—is the one occasion in life when the Malay tolerates no indecision and no evasion.

Let us therefore suppose that the proposal is welcome to both parties and that there are no real difficulties in the way. "One side has the curry, the other side has the spoon;" it only remains to bring the two together. The main details—the amount of the settlement to be made on the bride, the value of the wedding gifts, the probable duration of the engagement, and other questions of the same sort—are roughly settled by custom and are known to both

parties. All that is left is to have them definitely laid down so that no misunderstandings may arise afterwards. As these matters are too delicate for direct negotiation between the parties, they are usually referred to the *penghulu* and elders of the village. At this point secrecy ceases to be possible, even if every one is pledged to it. Both parties submit their case to arbitration, knowing in outline what they have to expect and ready to abide by the decision of their elders if it is unfavourable to them on the minor issues that have to be decided. By a recent discussion of the Perak State Council the following scale of "dowry" (or settlement by the bridegroom on the bride) was laid down for observance in ordinary cases.

| | |
|--|---------|
| For a Sultan's daughter | \$1,000 |
| For the daughter of a Raja Muda or Bendahara | 500 |
| For the daughter of a major Chief | 250 |
| For the daughter of a minor Chief | 125 |
| For the daughter of a man of some position | 62 50 |
| For the daughter of a peasant | 31 25 |

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

Other matters have also to be arranged. The cost of the wedding festivities has to be paid by the bride's family, but the bridegroom has to contribute

to it. The *penghulu* has to fix the amount of this contribution of "money to go in smoke." In former times in Perak it used to be \$6½, but the exact sum can be modified by agreement. The *penghulu* has also to fix the approximate date of the marriage, so that neither side may evade its obligations by prolonging the engagement indefinitely. When everything has been arranged in such a manner as to leave no loophole for future disputes the agreement has still to be confirmed by a formal proposal and by its formal acceptance.

Malay etiquette expects the suitor's parents or guardians to proceed on his behalf to the lady's house and, after many apologies and much circumlocution, to enquire (usually in verse) whether the young man may be permitted to offer himself for acceptance as the lady's slave. It also insists that the girl's relatives shall declare themselves quite unworthy of the proposed honour. The most that they will admit is that they are like the proverbial expression, "nearly up to but not attaining." As for the girl herself, "she cannot cook, she cannot sew, look to it that ye be not deceived in her; she is a buffalo that has been allowed to run wild, she may have some defect that has escaped our observation." The suitor's family reply politely that they have long been seeking a buffalo of that description and that she exactly meets their wishes. Ceremonial gifts of betel-nut are then brought forward in two boxes adorned with palm blossoms and decorations of gilt or coloured paper. Slipped over the *sirih*-leaf in one of these boxes are two rings of the pattern known as *bunga nyior*; one of these rings is a pledge of good faith to

be given to the girl's parents, and the other is a betrothal-ring to be given to the girl herself. After these rings have been passed round from hand to hand so that everyone may be able afterwards to testify to the occurrence the suitor's mother is invited indoors to see the girl. Of course such a visit is never unexpected. The girl is there, dressed in her best and overcome by self-consciousness as her future mother-in-law comes in, addresses her as "my child," kisses her and gives her the engagement-ring as evidence of her betrothal. The girl answers by doing obeisance. The ladies of the suitor's party then strike up a verse declaring that they have been attracted from afar by the lodestone of the damsel's beauty.¹ The girl's relatives sing in reply that the strangers from a distance are welcomed as friends. After a few more quatrains of this sort refreshments are handed round and the suitor's relatives go home.

The public proposal of marriage and its public acceptance give finality to the contract. Its nature can no longer be questioned, and it has to be carried out unless one or other contracting party elects to pay damages for its violation. Even the discussion of details cannot be reopened. The appropriate Malay proverb on this occasion is *Putus bĕnang boleh di-hubong; patah arang sudah sakali*: "broken thread may be tied together; broken charcoal is broken for ever." Broken charcoal is the symbol of finality. The contract is final: the bystanders have witnessed it, the whole village is invited to testify to it. The rule as to its breach is *tanda ĕmpat pulang dĕlapan*: "if the engagement rings are worth four dollars, the girl's relatives must return eight." If the man does

¹ See Appendix D.

not carry out his promise, he forfeits the betrothal gifts; if the lady is false, she returns the gifts doubled in value. Nowadays the presents may be worth much more than four dollars, but that sum meant a great deal to the poverty-stricken ryots in the days before British ascendancy.

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

About a week after the public proposal of marriage the prospective bridegroom pays a ceremonious visit to the family of his betrothed. He is entertained to dinner on the verandah, brings gifts of money, is very obsequious to his future mother-in-law, and finally goes home about midnight after receiving a present of a complete suit of new clothing, with the explanation that they are "a miserable set of rags that may be of use to you to wear when bathing, but, alas!

we are poor people and can give you nothing better." He is not allowed to see his betrothed; it is now her turn to look through the chinks in the wall.

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

In every country it sometimes happens that a man falls desperately in love with a girl already engaged to someone else. In such cases every possible opposition must be made to the new suitor if a feud with the first suitor is to be avoided. On this point all Malay law was explicit. Still, if the new candidate for the girl's hand had "a strong party to back him, plenty of money and no lack of personal courage," he was not likely to find that her relatives were really unwilling to accept him as her husband, provided, of course, that he made such a show of force as would acquit them of the charge of connivance. Even with the complicity of the girl's relatives the abductor's task was a hard one. He had to defend himself against the murderous enmity of his injured rival until such time as the authorities could step in and put an end to the quarrel. Indonesian custom knew by experience that it had to concern itself more with pacifying feuds than with preventing them; it never

hesitated about compounding an offence. If a man's betrothed was seduced or abducted, the law stepped in and made the wrong-doer pay compensation all round and a fine to the Bendahara as well. If he failed to pay, he was sold into slavery for the debt. If he paid, the matter blew over. Marriage by abduction became a recognised institution,¹ with a special scale of enhanced payments associated with it.

In the old wild days of Malay rule these abductions often led to most tragic results. If a girl was famous for her beauty the report of her engagement was enough to bring about a crisis. Any disappointed suitor—or perhaps some gay Lothario tempted by the spice of danger that attends the plucking of forbidden fruit—might have recourse to the simple expedient of seizing the girl and threatening to drive his *kēris* through her heart if any attempt was made at a rescue. An outrage of this sort was known as *panjat angkara* and was hazardous in the extreme. Even if the abductor escaped instant death he dared not sleep, lest he should be murdered in his sleep; he dared not eat, lest his food should be drugged; he had to be constantly on his guard, lest he should be suddenly speared by a treacherous thrust through the thin flooring of a Malay house. His one chance of life lay in the fact that his desperation made his enemies chary about approaching him, while it made his friends eager to purchase his safety by promises of compensation. * The "Malay Annals" record the case of a Javanese chief who succeeded in winning a Malacca wife by a desperate *panjat angkara*. Many abductors were less fortunate. In one case, mentioned by Sir William Maxwell, a certain Mat Taib, a poor retainer of the Sultan, asked

¹ *Panjat adat*

for Wan Dena, the daughter of the Bendahara of Kedah, in marriage. The relatives refused. He then forced his way into her house, seized her by the hair, drew his kris and defied everybody. Eventually he was drugged—probably with his friends' connivance, for he was not slain—and the girl was released and married to one Mat Arshad. A year later Mat Taib ran *amok*, killing Mat Arshad and wounding Wan Dena. But it must not be supposed that this *panjat angkara* was a recognised and regular form of marriage like *panjat adat*. It was far too violent for that: it was a savage variant of the *crime passionnel*, and had much in common with the *amok*, which is only the Malay form of suicide. How else can one explain the action of Hang Kasturi, who, when his intrigue was discovered, slew the girl in the most cruel manner, stripped and exposed her mutilated body, and then fought all comers till he was slain?¹

Incidents of this sort were the exception, not the rule: the seclusion of Malay girls did not lend itself readily to broken vows and breach-of-promise cases. The average Malay engagement pursued its tranquil uneventful course until the prosaic incident of a rice harvest placed the families of the prospective bride and bridegroom in a position to entertain their friends. In the old days of native rule a bad harvest meant a general curtailment of the wedding-festivities. In the present age of security and peace the beneficent alien money-lender is always ready to make up for the deficiencies of the crops. The marriage-ceremonial has become more elaborate than ever, while the people are sinking more and more into debt.

¹ The story is given in the "Malay Annals" and is very famous.

MARRIAGE.

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

During the first three "henna-staining" days the bride is at home to those of her lady friends who express a wish to assist in painting her fingers with henna. She receives such guests and accepts whatever gifts they bring, while the male friends of her family are being entertained by her relatives on the verandah. The actual henna staining is done by a professional expert and the assistance given by the visitors is purely nominal. The first "henna" night is known as the *hinai churi*, because the staining is done in private and in a very small way, the second night is the *hinai bésar*, when the fingers, the toes and even the sides of the feet of both bride and groom are painted with henna. Both nights are marked by feasts and

dancing. On one of the two nights a special "henna-dance" is performed; the other dances and amusements are of the regular Malay type and are only given for the amusement of the guests. On one of these two nights also a special wedding-dish of rice¹ is served. The third night is marked by more feasting, by the chanting of Arabic hymns² and by the ceremonial presentation³ of certain gifts of food from the relatives of the bridegroom to those of the bride—a huge dish of rice adorned with red eggs stuck on a tree-branch, and a certain quantity of raw material (such as coconut and firewood) for the preparation of the coming feast. These gifts are presented to the sound of much music and gun or cracker firing.

The morning of the fourth day is taken up with the ceremonial shaving⁴ of the bride's fringe and with her adornment for the festivities of the evening. Her hair to the width of a finger's breadth all round the forehead is drawn forward and shaved off, while the band plays special tunes in honour of the event. After this shaving is over, the bride puts on her bridal dress and jewellery. She wears a gold-embroidered jacket with tight sleeves, a pair of loose silk trousers and a silk sarong. In her hair she fixes a number of artificial flowers of tinsel-work, kept in position with wires; to her ears she attaches the heavy, round ear-studs⁵ that are the emblems of virginity. On her arms, over her tight sleeves, she puts on an assortment of bracelets and anklets, notably the dragon-shaped *pontoh*. She is also adorned with golden nail-protectors, with hollow anklets, with

¹ The *nasi hadap-kudapan yang berastakom*. ² *Dzikir mauid*.

³ *Serah*. ⁴ *Andam*. ⁵ *Subang*.

necklaces, with three heavy crescent-shaped breast ornaments known as *dokoh*, and, in many cases, with as much additional jewellery as her mother can borrow for the occasion.¹

While these *andam*-ceremonies are taking place at the bride's house, the bridegroom is also being decked out for the evening procession. He is dressed as a warrior king. He wears the soldier's short coat,² made of rich silk with a gold edging. He also puts on loose trousers of silk and gold, a rich waist-cloth, a stiff headdress or turban, with artificial flowers and pendent ornaments, a *kēris* mounted in gold, royal bracelets,³ a royal necklace of gold and three or more of the crescent-shaped ornaments known as *dokoh*.

When the procession is ready it starts off with the bridegroom (and sometimes with many symbolic gifts to make its way slowly and circuitously to the house of the bride. It cheers itself upon the way with the sound of much cracker firing, with shouts, with shots, with the banging of drums, with the clanging of gongs and with as many other noises as the village is capable of producing. The bridegroom himself is borne in state by the best means of conveyance obtainable, be that conveyance a motor car, a carriage and pair, a dog-cart, a horse, an elephant, a jinrikisha, or even the humble shoulders of a coolie. As he approaches his destination the noise becomes more and more deafening, and when he stops it is impossible to hear anyone speak. This is the signal for the bride's people to suddenly become awake to the fact that something is happening. "Who is this visitor!

¹ Nowadays there is great variety in bridal costume, even in Perak, to which these rules apply. ² *Haju sinny*. ³ *Pantak*.

Whence comes he? Does he come in peace or in war?" A colloquy ensues. Sometimes the bridegroom's party apologize for his coming: "He comes by no wish of his own; he is drawn by some magnet of irresistible attraction, by the breath of the breeze, by the swirl of the tides." A duenna from inside the house shouts, "Let him be welcome then; but he must doff his weapons and pay tribute in the land where a queen holds sway." To which his supporters reply, "His wallet is torn, his money is lost, he can only give an earnest of the gifts that are to come." In this way he may be admitted on payment of "tribute" or little gifts to all and sundry of the old ladies of the house. Or, again, the bride's friends may affect complete ignorance of the bridegroom's personality; they may want him described so as to assure themselves that there is no mistake. All this, of course, gives unlimited opportunities for friendly chaff. Or again, they may pretend to resist him and hurl sweetmeats at the advancing host of the bridegroom's supporters. A mimic battle ensues and goes on until some well-meant act of treachery gives the bridegroom admission and prevents the jest from lasting too long. His followers crowd in after him.

It is usual at this stage for the young man to display a timid modesty that accords very ill with his truculent soldier-dress. He is Mars overcome by Venus; he is a poor fainting creature whose eyes have to be guarded with a fan lest a sudden glimpse of his betrothed should overpower him; he has to be held up by his friends lest his limbs should give way. Everyone hastens to reassure him and lead him to the bridal dais where his bride is waiting. There the pair have to be ceremonially seated together with their

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

On or about the seventh day the ceremonial bathing takes place. A temporary bath-house is built on a dais above a flight of seven steps, and is prepared for the reception of the bridal pair. The two march up

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

Throughout this period of the ceremony the married relation between the bride and bridegroom is only nominal. They see very little of each other and

are not permitted to be alone. It is not till three days, or a week, or even a fortnight has elapsed after the "final" fourth day¹ that the bridegroom is allowed to have the bride to himself. If he is not satisfied with her and has reason to question her virtue he is entitled to announce his dissatisfaction by appearing in public without his *kêris*, or minus his headdress, or otherwise "incomplete." In that case he can claim a refund of half the dowry. But the marriage is not considered void² and the passing of such a public affront on his wife's family is not likely to conduce to the success of his future life. It is considered bad taste as well as bad policy to create a quarrel at this stage. Any differences are enquired into and can be amicably settled without the cognizance of all the scandal-mongers of the village.

In all the ceremonies that have been described hitherto no account has been given of the true marriage service (if we may so call it) in which the blessing of the Almighty is invoked upon the union of his servants. This detail is generally overlooked by spectators as it is very simple and very private. What happens is this. The *imam* or other officiating elder opens the proceedings with a religious appeal, such as, "I exhort you to the fear of Allah." To this his hearers reply, "Amen." Then the bride's guardian³ is expected to repeat a formula offering the bride in marriage to the bridegroom and mentioning the amount of the marriage-settlement. But as the formula is long, and as it is in Arabic, and as the guardian is usually too illiterate and too flustered to be intelligible in a language that he does not know, he appoints some more learned man to be his attorney⁴ and to make the

¹ *Hara langsong.*

² A divorce, however, follows.

³ *Wali.*

⁴ *Wakil.*

offer in his name. The offer is then made by the attorney. As soon as it has been made the presiding elder gives a warning tug to the bridegroom's arm by way of telling him that he must now express his acceptance of the offer. He does so—in Arabic. This formula is short enough to present little difficulty even to an illiterate man, but the nervousness of a bridegroom occasionally makes him use some expression that is not to be found in any Arabic dictionary. Everything has then to be repeated all over again—the offer, the warning tug, and the reply. At last the bridegroom gets his words right and the marriage is nearly valid. It is made quite valid by the two necessary witnesses being appealed to, and by their replying that they have heard everything that has taken place. The presiding elder then repeats a prayer¹ more or less to this effect: "O God, make union between these two as Thou didst make union between the water and the earth." The ceremony ends. The bride need not be present at all, and if she is a maiden and under age her consent need not be asked.

What is fairly evident from the elaborate wedding ceremonies of the Malays is the fact that the actual religious rite is looked upon as a legalising form like the signing of the register in an English church or the attendance at the Mairie in France. The major incidents—the henna-staining, the shaving of the forehead, the procession, the sitting in state, and the lustrations on the seventh day—all lie outside the scope of Moslem law: they represent survivals of older customs and religions. Henna-staining is a custom that prevails in most Muhammadan countries and was

¹ The *khutbah nikah*.

probably imported with Islam. The procession of the armed and mounted bridegroom, the mimic resistance offered to him and the efforts to overcome it either by bribery or battle may be far-away echoes of a time when marriage by capture or marriage by purchase was the recognised rule of the day. Many of the other incidents have no special reference to marriage. The sitting in state and the ceremonial lustrations, for instance, are not confined to weddings. The shaving of the forehead is hard to explain: certain superstitions are connected with it; inferences regarding the bride's virtue are drawn from the way the hair behaves. In one old romance, the "*Hikayat Koris*," a distinction is drawn between wives for whom a bridegroom thought it worth his while to shave his own forehead and those to whom he did not pay that compliment. We can see traces of marriage by purchase in the advances paid at betrothal and in the other customary gifts. We find signs of the matriarchate in the rule that the bridegroom must reside in his wife's house for some considerable time after his wedding. Upon the simple Moslem marriage rite there is superimposed a whole mass of ancient custom that the Malay refuses to discard. He considers the religious ceremony to be legal but inadequate; he wants the other things as well. He does not change old customs for new: he adds the new to the old. In old days high officers of state used to come on painted elephants to their installation. In 1907 the Raja Bendahara arrived in a carriage and pair, but the painted elephants followed behind. In 1908 the Raja Muda came in a motor-car with carriages and elephants in his train. "What will be used at the next installation of a Malay Chief?" asked a critical

spectator. "An aeroplane," said the Dato' Sri Adika Raja. But it is also safe to predict that the aeroplane will be followed by a motor-car, the motor-car by a carriage and pair, and the carriage and pair by a painted elephant. Last of all will come a faithful retainer, prepared to carry the Chief on his shoulders should our modern contrivances end by leaving his old master in the lurch.

ADULT LIFE.

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

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

Of course the above procedure is not invariable. A Malay official cannot afford to live in his wife's house if the Government desires his presence in some other place. Old parents, when their last remaining daughter is married, sometimes move to an annexe or enlarge the house so as to retain their daughter and to save themselves from the danger of being left alone in their old age. Moreover, it is not always possible to find unoccupied land in the vicinity of the house of the old people. The cultivation of all available land in the rice-growing districts of Penang and Province Wellesley has led to an annual exodus to Krian for the padi-planting season. In such cases the new household is apt to make its home in the new country while

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

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

more consistently now than they did in the days of native rule, but there can be no doubt that the easy-going nature of the people is against regularity in any form.

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

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

kindly to fasts, but they pay very great attention to the fact that the month is an unlucky one in the matter of work.

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

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

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

event the *kanduri roti*, because of the cakes that they eat to commemorate it.

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

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

longer, and the strain becomes more cruel. The 26th night is the "Night of Power" on which the Koran was sent down to Muhammad, a night when the very trees of the forest are believed to bow in homage towards Mecca: it is a great event and is marked by ceremonial lustration, by nocturnal feasts and by religious services of unusual length. It is the culminating point of the *Ramazan* devotions. After the "Night of Power" the weary worshipper scans the horizon anxiously for a sight of the new moon that is to put an end to his long-drawn troubles.

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

The next great day is the 10th of the twelfth month, *Dzu'l-hijjah*. It is the month of the Pilgrimage. On this 10th day the pilgrims at Mecca visit a place called the Mina Bazaar, near Mount Arafat, and offer up a sacrifice to mark the conclusion of the *Haj*. The day is known in the Straits as the *hari raya haji*. It is the great day of the *haji*, the man who has been to Mecca. It is the anniversary of his pilgrimage. On this day the *haji*—who is often a humble Javanese gardener working in some Singapore or Penang compound—puts on the gorgeous robes and

turban of the Arab, takes a holiday and astonishes his employer by his sudden magnificence. The transformation does not last long. In two days the *haji* is back at work along with his less fortunate friends who have never been to Mecca. This festival is the last of the Moslem year.

The Malay possesses another year, a solar year, with holidays and festivals that have no connection with religion. It begins with some definite sign—the height of the Pleiades above the horizon or the seasonal ripening of some fruit¹—telling the ryot that the time for planting is at hand. The true Malay year is a sort of farmer's almanac. Its first festival is marked by the reading of prayers, the burning of incense, and the singing of chants over the mother-seed that is to be used in the rice-nursery. The calendar is marked by further festivals at every stage of cultivation—at the sowing, the transplanting and the harvesting. It is supplemented by special holidays, when mimic fighting or mock-propitiation is used to get the better of the ghostly denizens of the district who prey upon the crops. This solar calendar is only unsatisfactory because it is unauthorised and uncontrolled by any supreme authority, so that its details vary in every part of the Peninsula. It is the relic of an old agricultural religion and belongs properly to the province of Folklore and Malay Belief. None the less its holidays are observed and its feasts are well attended. The exact day for each event is fixed by the local *pawang*, but it turns upon the state of the crops and the details of the padi-planting industry. The industry is the subject of a special pamphlet and need not be considered here.

¹ The *perah* fruit.

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

methods, summed up the situation with the pithy proverb that it is useless to teach swimming to ducks. Still, these figures make it abundantly clear that Mr. Hale's estimate of 600 *gantang* to the acre is too high for an average. The crop of 366 *gantang* was declared to be a fair crop for the locality.¹ Mr. Hale's estimated price of 8 cents per *gantang* is also rather high. Taking 350 *gantang* at 8 cents as a conservative estimate we find that the harvest of land in Krian, after deducting land rent and water-rate, works out at \$25 an acre. If we set against this sum the tithe taken by the mosque, the cost of buffaloes (if used for ploughing), and the money lender's interest at 24 per cent., it may fairly be contended that rice-planting does not pay.

As a matter of fact, it does pay. Mr. P. A. Thompson² estimates the gross value of the rice-crop in Siam at about £3 5s. an acre, and looks upon this figure as very profitable, though it corresponds almost exactly with the Krian estimate. A loan at 24 per cent. is not a business transaction, nor does a Malay borrow money to open up new land; indeed, he could not get his loan till he has cultivated his land and secured his title. He borrows money for some wedding-ceremony or as security for a friend, and we ought not to lay at the door of the rice-growing industry the improvidence and recklessness of individual ryots. When all is said and done, a profit of \$125 (on a five-acre block for some five months' work) is good profit, as native incomes go, especially when

¹ In the following year much better crops were obtained, one plot yielding 600 *gantang* to the acre. The mill buys padi at 7 cents a *gantang*, paid in advance.

² "Lotus-land," p. 183

we remember that much of the work of padi-planting is little more than the leisurely duty of watching a growing crop.

Rice-growing is not the Malay peasant's sole means of livelihood. He usually has his little holding with its thirty or forty coconut trees round his house.¹ With an annual yield of 50 nuts per tree and an average price of 4 cents a nut he may get anything from \$50 to \$80 a year from this source. If he resides near the sea he can earn an appreciable amount by working as a fisherman. If he lives near a forest he may gather and sell rattans and other jungle produce. In some places he can make great profits by cutting the *nipah* palms and making house-roofing. If his house is near a high road he may keep a cart or carriage and earn an occasional dollar by letting it out on hire. In many cases he has some special source of income of his own—he may be a mosque-official or a Koran-teacher or a school-master or a smith. Separately considered these sources of profit amount to very little; collectively they mean a great deal. They must represent an average of some \$15 to \$20 a month and would be much more if the rice-planters made full use of their opportunities and leisure. As it is, the Malay peasant is never likely to furnish a plentiful supply of cheap labour; he is far too well-off for that. He may take odd jobs and small contracts, but he will not consent to exchange his lot for that of a regular wage-earner on an estate. Why, indeed, should he? His life is varied, pleasant, and healthy; it supplies him with all that he needs; it allows him ample leisure and absolute personal

¹ I have heard it said on good authority that 25 coconut trees will support a Malay family.

freedom. It enables us to understand why the ceremonies at a peasant's wedding can go on for a week and be attended by the whole village without dislocating the industries of the locality. All that is necessary is the choice of a suitable season—the month after the harvest—when everyone is at leisure and the granaries are full.

Agriculture is the soul of Malay life. The ryot may hear of lunar months and of the years of the Hegira, but he speaks of "years of rice" or "years of maize," and he dates an incident as "so many harvests ago." He is essentially a planter; his festivals are seasonal; his joys and sorrows depend on the crops; and his whole life is regulated by the great rice-planting industry.

SICKNESS AND DEATH

When a Malay becomes so ill that the ministrations of the local herbalists are of no avail he sends for the *pawang*. Now the *pawang* is a very unorthodox person: historically he is the priest of an older religion and theoretically a trafficker with evil spirits and a dabbler in the blackest of black art. To the pious dignitaries of the mosque the *pawang* is an abomination, because he represents the accredited agent of the Devil. But the sick man is not likely to stand upon such ceremony; believing as he does that all sickness comes from the Evil One he will not be deterred by any rules of propriety from entering into negotiations with his tormentor. He sends for the *pawang*. The *pawang* realises the delicacy of the situation and begins with mild measures: he tries to feed the Evil One. He hangs out baskets of food and

cakes in the jungle—raw food and cooked food, vegetable food and animal food, dainties to suit all tastes. If the spirit is malicious enough to go on tormenting the poor sick man after such kindness has been shown, the *pawang* tries a little mild deception. Having built a sacrificial boat, filled it with money and provisions, and induced the evil spirits to step on board, he sets it adrift on the river to float away to its fate in the Great Sea. If the demon of disease is too canny to be taken in by these temptations—well, there is no help for it: a *bĕrhantu* ceremony must be resorted to. It is wicked; but what else is the poor sick man to do?

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

Sir Frank's sick man was a reigning Sultan; Mr. Skeat's was a peasant, the brother of his collector. Sir Frank's *pawang* was, "a woman in male attire—in ordinary life she was an amusing lady named Raja Ngah, a scion of the reigning house on the female side"; Mr. Skeat's *pawang* was a man of no special importance. Sir Frank's orchestra consisted of "five or six girls holding native drums" and was headed

¹ "Malay Sketches," pp. 153-159.

² "Malay Magic," pp. 436-444.

by the daughter of Raja Ngah; Mr. Skeat's was only the *pawang's* wife, "an aged woman whose office was to chant the invocation." Sir Frank's ghostly visitation was the aristocratic *Israng*, the special familiar of Raja Ngah: Mr. Skeat's was the plebeian tiger-spirit, the common property of the whole Malay world. There is a vast difference in the importance of the incidents described; Mr. Skeat's may be called a vulgar or workaday *bĕrhantu*, while Sir Frank's represented a minor incident in the history of the State.

In a shadowy way we can also find outlined for us in the dry records of a Straits Settlements blue-book the story of a much greater *bĕrhantu*—one that was a major incident in the history of the State. When Sultan Abdullah was charged with complicity in the assassination of the British Resident, one of the allegations against him was that he had "sent off a boat to Pasir Panjang to fetch down the Raja Kechil Muda and his son, Raja Ahmad, to conduct a *main bĕrhantu* in his presence," and that the object of the performance was in some way connected with the murder of Mr. Birch. Mr. Plunket, who conducted the enquiry, had only a vague idea of what a *bĕrhantu* was. He described it as "a superstitious performance which the Perak people have learnt from the Sakais or wild men of the interior for looking into the future by calling up spirits and questioning them: . . . on this occasion in all seriousness the Sultan sent for Raja Kechil Muda and his son (as skilled persons in such performances) to conduct a *main bĕrhantu* as a preliminary ceremony to carrying out the conspiracy, already formed against Mr. Birch's life. . . . The performances on

the first and second nights were merely preliminary introductions to what was to follow, but on the third night Sultan Abdullah, having been possessed by seven spirits in succession, spoke out and declared that Mr. Birch would be dead in a month." Such was Mr. Plunket's interpretation of the incident, though his account is not borne out by the evidence. The performance took place at Batak Rabbit on or about the 24th August, 1875.

There is no doubt from the evidence that the *pawang* at this great *bĕrhantu* were the Raja Kechil Muda and his son, Raja Ahmad. "On this night," said one witness, "the devils asked to be paid, and Raja Kechil Muda replied that the devils would be paid with a boatload of offerings when Mr. Birch was dead. One of the Sultan's devils declared that the devil which would kill Mr. Birch resided at Kuala Perak." Another witness testified as follows: "Raja Ahmad said that he could call up Mr. Birch's spirit for \$100. The Sultan agreed to pay this sum. . . . Raja Ahmad said that what the Sultan wanted was being done. The Sultan said, 'Will what I want happen?' Raja Ahmad said, 'It will.'" Another eye-witness described "the performance which took place. At its conclusion Raja Ahmad said to Sultan Abdullah, 'Now I have done for Mr. Birch, but I won't do it properly unless you pay me.' Sultan Abdullah replied, 'I will pay you without fail if you can only get Mr. Birch out of Bandar Baharu.'" The evidence records the surprise that was felt at a *bĕrhantu* being held when nobody was ill, and it works up to the conclusion that the Sultan "wanted to do something wrong to Mr. Birch and that he wanted to kill him by sorcery."

Although the eye-witnesses were very reluctant to talk about what had happened, the general drift of their evidence was that the wizards were the Raja Kechil Muda and his son, that the fee was \$100, besides the offerings to the spirits, that the spirits invoked ("the Sultan's devils") were the *jin kērajaan* or divinities of the State, and that the hope was that these mighty spirits would wreck Mr. Birch's launch off Kuala Perak and drown him in the sea.

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

On one point Sir Frank is in error, though so near the truth that the very subtlety of the distinction has led him off the trail of an interesting fact. There are two Sultans in Perak: one is "the Sultan of the State" and the other is the Sultan "who is entitled to traffic with these distinguished spirits." This latter sovereign, the *Sultan Muda* as he is called, is chosen from the royal house; his wife is a titular queen, the *Raja Che' Puan Muda*; and he has a deputy or heir-apparent known as the *Raja Kèchil Muda*. But it is the law of the State that this spiritual Sultan, prince of the blood-royal though he be, may never succeed to the secular Sultanate of the State. His kingdom has nothing to do with this visible world of Perak; he rules over the Spirits of the Land and can convene eerie courts to be attended by ghosts of all grades of dignity from the great "Twin Brother of the Heavens," who came into existence when the universe was created, down to the humble *arak arak jin sa-ribu*, "the ghosts who follow in procession, a thousand ghosts at a time." The president of this ghostly court is the Sultan Muda (or his deputy, the *Raja Kèchil Muda*). He knows the exact title by which each Spirit must be addressed and the subtle distinctions of rank between them. He alone can summon the very highest ghosts in the land, and his fee for doing so is \$100 in all. These facts may throw some light on a few of the details of the mysterious *bèrhantu* at Batak Rabbit that was brought up against Sultan Abdullah at his trial. They may also explain the following minor incident in the early history of British intervention in Perak.

When the Pangkor Treaty was made and Sir Andrew Clarke's advisers were looking for a

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

Among the regalia of Perak is a set of small cups (resembling Chinese tea-cups but with serrated rims) that are used by the Sultan Muda in his incantations. So, too, a very handsome golden bowl,¹ with a cover of gold and a saucer of *suasa* studded with precious stones, is said to have done service in these *bĕrhantu* ceremonies. Under the ancient Government of Perak it was the feudal obligation of the villagers of Pasir Garam to erect the nine-staged pavilion used for the ceremonial lustrations after a princely *bĕrhantu*. Although few people in

¹ Known as a *Mundam*. It is an Acehness bowl and is said to date back to the time of *Marhum Besar Aulia'llah*.

Perak know who the Sultan Muda is and although his office and that of the Raja Kechil Muda do not figure in the Annual Estimates, every section of his duties and every detail of his costume are most clearly defined by the unwritten custom of the country. The ceremony of the *bĕrhantu* commenced at 8 p.m., when the Sultan Muda, dressed in the prescribed robes, made his formal entry and took his seat on the *puadai*, a narrow mat only used on such occasions. His head would be veiled with a scarf of many colours. Rice-dust was scattered about to avert ill-luck, incense was burnt, and the Sultan Muda, grasping a handful of *sambau* grass, bowed, folded his arms, and gave the signal for the invocation to begin. The Chief Minstrel¹—to the accompaniment of an orchestra of drums—then chanted his appeal to the Spirits of the Country, one by one in the strict order of their precedence, to attend the audience of their King. A strange assembly was this ghostly Court of Perak. It numbered among its aristocrats spirits borrowed from all religions and from every part of the world, souls of orthodox rulers like Ali, Ahmad and Solomon, deities of India like Brahma and Vishnu, nature-gods like the "Supporter of the Heavens" and the "Ruler of the Storm," and divinities of special localities like the *Dato*' of Mount *Bĕrĕmbun*. Invoked by their proper names and titles—for no mistake was permissible on this point—the Spirits would come in, one by one, announcing their arrival by the flicker of the tapers used in the performance. As each Great Spirit arrived the Sultan Muda² would turn to the Chief Singer and enquire in set phrases if all was well. In language that was equally well studied the

¹ *Biduan*.

² As the medium of the Spirit in question.

Singer would reply that all was indeed well, and that the object of the meeting was the convocation of all the Spirits to a great feast to be held on the morrow. The Singer would then go on to invoke the next Spirit in order of precedence, and, as the Ghosts of Perak are many, the ceremony would drag on far into the night.

Early the next morning the Sultan Muda and the Raja Kechil Muda paid their first ceremonial visit to the pavilion of lustration, the great nine-storeyed scaffolding erected by the men of Pasir Garam. At the summit of the pavilion was the image of a bird, the *jéntaru* that lives on the dew of heaven and is ever calling for the rain. Below this image were many minor decorations and offerings—streamers of cloth and paper, strings of flowers and fronds, square rice-packets and long rice-packets, cakes and pastry, jars of water, joints of sugar-cane, food of all sorts—and prominent among them all would be the grisly head of a pink buffalo sacrificed in honour of the occasion. Everything was on a lavish scale, befitting the greatness of the ghostly guests. The Sultan Muda having seen that all was ready would return home. Then in the half-light of evening, "when faces can just be recognised," he would come back and ascend the tower along with his heir-apparent and a train of attendant *puwang*. Bowing to the four quarters of the heavens he would wave the offerings in each direction as an invitation to the Spirits to approach and partake of the provisions that had been consecrated to their use. Later on the whole party, meeting at the palace, held another and wilder *bêrhantu*, appealing desperately to the Spirits of the Country to help the sick king in his hour of distress.

The great drums of royalty, the holy regalia of the State and even the maiden daughters of the royal house were brought out to do honour to the invisible guests: the feast was of the very best, and every effort would be made to thoroughly propitiate the Spirit. The sick Sultan was laid on a curious sixteen-sided dais, the *pētērakna panchalogam*, specially prepared for these occasions, and the *bērhanu* invocations would then go on as before.

On the third day (or later) the Sultan, if cured, was taken to the lofty nine-staged pavilion and was ceremonially bathed by the Sultan Muda and his attendants. This lustration marked the final recovery of the royal patient. It gave the Sultan Muda a claim to his fee of \$100—\$25 for himself, \$25 for the Raja Kechil Muda, and \$50 for his suite of wizards. We are, of course, speaking of royal illnesses. When the patient was a man of humble birth, the ceremony was simpler, the *pawang* was less authoritative, the spirit was a "common devil," and the fee was less—witness the ceremony recorded by Mr. Skeat. All these things are questions of degree. In describing a *bērhanu* we must allow for the importance of the occasion, and lastly we must reckon with another possibility suggested in the pithy summing-up of my Malay informant about these *bērhanu* performances: "All these things cost money—and sometimes they only make the patient worse."

Was the Spirit at a *bērhanu* ceremony to be regarded as an enemy to whom the sick man had to pay ransom? Or was he an ally called in to fight the hostile Demons of Disease? Probably the latter—or the *bērhanu* against Mr. Birch would have been meaningless—but possibly he was a little of both.

The ways of demons are inscrutable. The ghosts of the State should be the allies of the State, but they might consider it a service to the country to remove a Sultan instead of curing him. In such a case the Sultan's appeals might be promises of repentance. We will return therefore to the eventuality already suggested—the possibility that the din and excitement of the coming of the Spirits may have only pushed the patient a little nearer to the grave. Hope is given up; the *pawang* returns home to find excuses for his failure, and the poor despairing invalid, having failed to get well either by fair means or foul, hands himself over to the last ministrations of the orthodox leaders of religion. The *imam* and his fellow-dignitaries of the mosque are bound by duty to attend at the deathbed of a dying believer and to prepare him for the great change by repeating seven times in his ear the assertion of the Unity of God, the cardinal pillar of the Moslem faith. As with the Hebrew whose last words should be "Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is One God," so also the dying Moslem should pass to the hereafter while testifying to the same great truth. He endeavours therefore to listen to the *imam* and to repeat the Arabic formula after him, "though feebly and incorrectly for the power of his tongue is broken." He dies, and the attendants immediately bind up his jaw, pinion his arms to his sides, fasten his lower limbs together and lay him reverently on a couch in the great centre-room of his house.

At nightfall torches are lit and the neighbours assemble, the men to pray and the women to weep and lament, while the inmates of the house are kept busy providing refreshment for all who come to render the

last honours to the dead. All through the night, if possible, the Koran should be chanted. In the morning the preparations for interment commence. The men prepare the loose coffin in which the body is borne to the grave and the rough litter on which the coffin is carried. The women get ready the *sireh*, the small coins and the fragrant leaves that are to be used in the course of the coming ceremony. As noon approaches the body must be washed for the last time. For this purpose it is usually laid on rollers of banana-trunk, but in special cases of distinguished honour it may be allowed to rest on the legs of relatives and friends. The lustration is done by an expert, and consists partly of real cleansing and partly of ceremonial purification. When all is over, the body is dried with a towel, perfumed with camphor and sandal-wood, plugged against impurities, and shrouded in a long white wrapper with fastenings taken from its own unravelled edges. The last toilet of the dead is now complete. A short prayer is said, a little money is scattered about, and the body is placed in the coffin and borne outside the house. There a short funeral service is held. When this is over, a pall is thrown over the coffin and the litter is lifted on the shoulders of the attendants and borne to the cemetery, a procession following and singing the creed. It would be quite wrong to use a wheeled vehicle for such purposes, and many are the devices resorted to for evading the difficulty. In some very stately funerals it is said that concealed hearses have been used while the "bearers" marched by the side of the hearse and pretended to carry the coffin. In some cases the bearers have stood in the carriage and supported the coffin on their shoulders. But the law

on the point is unmistakable. Even the present constitutional Sultan of Turkey at the lowest ebb of his fortunes was able to veto the use of a gun-carriage at a military funeral given by the Young Turks.

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

After the burial a few more prayers are said— notably the *talkin* or last exhortation to the deceased—and alms are distributed among the pious poor. A few of the friends go back to the house of mourning and assist in chanting the Koran during the night. On the third day a funeral feast is held in honour of the departed. If the relatives can afford it, similar funeral feasts may be held on the seventh, fortieth

and hundredth day after the death. Gifts are made to the mosque authorities—a mat to the expert who washes the body, the pall to the *imam* who recites the burial service, and other customary fees in rice, coconuts, sugar-cane and money.

Temporary wooden marks are set up to show the place of interment, and are replaced at a later date by tombstones if the relatives of the deceased are well-off. Round posts are set up for a man, flat planks for a woman. Of the two marks put up, the headstone is much the larger, and the space between the pair (about three feet) is usually filled up by a low ridge of earth. A few monuments are very elaborate. The tombs of the early Perak kings were of the Achehnese type—four-sided monumental headstones carved with the confession of faith. So are the graves at the ancient Perak capital, Bruas, and so also is the tomb of the great Upper Perak female saint, To' Temong, who played some part in the legendary history of the country. About A.D. 1700 the type seems to have suddenly changed. The gravestone of the Sultan *Marhum Bésar Aulia'llah* is of a curious polygonal type narrow at the base and increasing near the top. The monument of *Marhum Kahar* is of the same type and far more elaborately carved; the headstone is joined to the other by a long stone block five or six feet long and carved with the triple crescentic *dokoh* that was the sign of royalty and a long narrow cutting that fills with rain and supplies water for the birds of the air to drink—but whether this was its real object I cannot say.

Older graves have been found in Perak; some indeed are lined with slabs of stone and contain broken pottery and even cornelian beads. But were

they Malay? Of their origin nothing is known. The Malays, who are extremely conservative in the matter of old ceremonial, give us nothing in their burial-customs that is not of the most orthodox Moslem character. It may be that they used formerly to dispose of their dead otherwise than by interment—but this point must be left to be dealt with in the course of another chapter.

CONCLUDING NOTES.

The Malay cares nothing for consistency; he does not exchange old customs for new; he keeps both the new and the old. He is indeed afraid to give up the old. "Again and again have I tried to abandon this inconvenient system [of coinage]," said a Pahang prince to Abdullah Munshi; "but the tigers took to eating men, and the crocodiles became hungrier, and I desisted." The Malay is afraid to give up an ancient practice because he fears the vengeance of the creators of the practice; he thinks that the dead hand of some old lawgiver may reach out over the intervening centuries and strike down the impious being who dares to alter what past ages have approved. To meet this difficulty he keeps the old while adopting the new. He has gone on preserving custom after custom and ceremony after ceremony till his whole life is a sort of museum of ancient customs—an ill-kept and ill-designed museum in which no exhibit is dated, labelled or explained. For the Malay has not retained these old ceremonies for their own sake or because he loves them; he has preserved them as mere formalities: dead

things for the satisfaction of his dead ancestors. If the European observer examines the bridegroom's offerings at a Perak wedding he will see that they are mere dummies of wood and paper got up to represent coconuts, firewood and cattle. Malay custom is largely a matter of dummies. Some day when elephants become scarce the elephant at a raja's installation will be replaced by a figure of bamboo and tissue-paper, a mere symbol to be borne along in the train of a prince. Why indeed should it be otherwise? The elephant is no longer there as a beast of burden: he only figures in the procession to gratify the ghostly majesty of ancient kings who like to see their descendants keep up the traditional forms of royalty.

Malay ceremonial, as we have said, is a museum of dead customs kept up for the benefit of the dead. It is unlabelled and unexplained because the men of old who made each custom may be safely trusted to know its nature and its meaning, and if the men of old had left us records of their times in the form of ancient history and literature they might have helped us to understand every incident in the long drama of Malay ceremonial. But they have left us very little. As guides they fail us, they force us to infer and to surmise where we ought to be able to speak with confidence: all that they can do is to indicate the lines on which research must proceed. We must work historically. We can best begin by eliminating the modern Moslem elements—the henna-staining, the marriage contract and prayers, the entire funeral ceremony, the practice of circumcision, and the festivals that make up the lunar year. Of the Hindu elements we cannot speak so positively: they probably

include the bridal rice, the bridal thread, much of the lustration ceremony and some details of the propitiatory sacrifices. But when we have eliminated these Hindu and Moslem details we are still far from the bedrock of Indonesian custom; we have to distinguish between essentials and accessories. Dances and feasting are accessories to weddings all over the world, yet they are not really a part of the marriage ceremony; they belong to the great province of merry-making. The "enthronement" at a Malay marriage is merely honorific; the "lustrations" are rites of purification; the offerings to evil spirits are made to avert ill-luck. Rites of this sort, like feasts and dances, accompany every great Malay ceremony; they are common accessories, not true essentials. It is only when we have set aside these items that we get at the real traces of old Indonesian custom. To describe a Malay wedding by giving an account of the *bĕrsanding* is like publishing the *menu* of a wedding breakfast as an example of an English marriage service.

After this rough classification of the items that make up our Malay museum of ancient custom we can proceed to discuss the various exhibits one by one. Let us begin with the Moslem exhibits as being the most modern and the easiest to identify and understand. In the matter of marriage-custom Islam has exercised very little influence. It brought in the brief religious service at which the contract is ratified and witnessed, and it identified an old Indonesian customary payment, the *mas kahwin*, with its own *mahr* or marriage-settlement. These two items represent the barest requirements of Muhammadan Law. In the matter of unessentials Islam only introduced one rite—the henna-staining. This henna-staining is

accompanied in Malaya by a peculiar dance performed to a special tune: the dancers (men and women in turn) balance a cup or vessel to which lighted tapers are affixed while they go through the prescribed steps: they are expected to play with the cup and even to invert it without extinguishing the lights by the jerkiness of their movements. In the matter of funeral-ceremonies Islam exercises a complete monopoly. In circumcision we should expect a similar monopoly, and we find it in Southern Malaya (if accessories are eliminated) but not in Northern Malaya, where the circumcision-ceremonies are very elaborate, take place at a comparatively late age and are regarded almost as a recognition of puberty and as a preliminary to marriage. In the matter of the calendar the influence of Islam is very distinct: it monopolises the festivals of the lunar year and surrenders the solar year to older Malay creeds. These few points summarise Muhammadan influence on Malay ceremonial.

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

Cremation was practised by the Malacca Malays during the first half of the fifteenth century—so every contemporary Chinese navigator tells us most positively. Cremation is still found in Hindu Bali and is constantly mentioned in old Malay romances; it is, in fact, the common practice of Hinduism and

Buddhism. It is not found among the aborigines of the Peninsula, nor is it to be traced among such wild tribes as the Borneo Dyaks and Philippine Igorrots. Under the circumstances, we might have inferred that the ancient Malays buried their dead till they accepted Hinduism and Buddhism; that they then began to burn their dead, and that they finally abandoned cremation for burial when they became Moslems. Curiously enough, there is strong evidence against such an inference, plausible though it seems at first sight. In the North of the Peninsula there is positive proof of the existence of tree burial, a practice that survives to this day in spite of the hostility of Buddhist priests, Moslem Imams and Siamese Governors. The Buddhist Malayo Siamese are like their Moslem cousins in that they believe ordinary religion to be sufficient for ordinary cases, but consider that exceptional cases demand exceptional treatment. If a man dies a "bad" death he is not interred or cremated; he is given tree-burial so that his soul may have peace. The body is "rolled up in a mat and then in a casing of split bamboo so as to form a cigar-shaped bundle which is suspended between two trees in a waste place or hung up in the fork between two branches."¹ Moreover, even when a man has died a normal death his relatives sometimes attempt to combine the new and the old by putting the body into an aerial coffin² for some days prior to cremation. Tree-burial must at one time have been a very common practice in the Northern States of the Peninsula though we cannot trace it in the South.

1 "Fasciculi Malayenses," Anthropology Part II (a), page 54

2 Aerial coffins are said to be used by the Northern Sakai also in the case of the death of one of their *pawang*

There were also other and stranger ways of disposing of the dead. "Among the Malays [of Patani]," says one authority, "interment is the universal rule at present; but it is said that until recently people who had died a bad or unlucky death were frequently cast out to be eaten by dogs and vultures."¹ There are no vultures to be found further south than Perak. We may, however, compare with the Patani tradition the following passage in the "Malay Annals" giving the words of the Aru Ambassador to Pasai. "Better die at once and on this spot, if the dogs of Pasai are to eat me, be it so!" Let us also couple with these words the following statements of ancient Chinese writers on Java:

When their parents die they carry them to the forest and allow them to be eaten by dogs; if they are not devoured completely they are very sorry. The remains are burned, and often the wives and concubines are burned also to accompany the dead.²

Their burial rites are as follows. When a father or mother is about to die the sons and daughters ask whether after death he or she would prefer to be eaten by dogs, to be burnt or to be thrown into the water. The parents give their orders according to their wishes and after their death their directions are carried out. If it is their wish to be eaten by dogs the body is carried to the seashore or into the wilderness where dogs soon arrive; if the flesh of the corpse is eaten completely it is considered propitious, but if not the sons and daughters lament and weep and throw the remains into the water.³

The circumcision-ceremonies both in the North and the South are very elaborate. In the South they are made elaborate by the accessories (the enthronement, the lustrations and the propitiation of evil

1 "Fasciculi Malayenses," Anthropology, Part II (a), page 77.

2 History of the Ming Dynasty.

3 Yung Yai Sheng Lan (A.D. 1416).

spirits); but the essentials are Moslem. In the North the rite of circumcision is regarded as the equivalent of the Buddhist tonsure ceremony: one is *masok Mēlayu*, the other is *masok Siam*. When the Northern Malays became Moslems they may well have grafted circumcision upon the old tonsure ceremony. In any case, Malay ceremonial bears out clearly enough the view that Islam overlaid Hinduism in Southern Malay and Buddhism in the North.

We can now pass to the Hindu elements in Malay ceremonial. They are hard to identify because Malay Muhammadanism itself came from a Hindu country and has a strong South-Indian colouring. Still in the bridal rice¹ shared by the newly married pair, in the bridal thread² passed round them at the lustration, and in the bathing pavilion³ erected for this rite, we have not only Indian customs but actual Indian names. These, of course, are minor details. The influence of Hinduism went further: by creating Malay dignities and the whole theory of kingship it may be said to be behind the entire ceremony of enthronement. But Hinduism exercised its power at second-hand: its direct influence is neither interesting nor important in matters of custom.

The accessories of Malay ceremonial—the enthronement, the lustrations, and the propitiatory rites—demand some attention. The propitiatory rites belong to the province of Malay Magic or Malay Belief; they need not be here discussed. The lustrations are probably Hindu. The *bērsanding* or enthronement is extremely interesting, though not in the sense in which it is usually studied. It is a ceremony in which the bride and bridegroom play at

¹ *Nam bīrastakona.* ² *Bīnang pancharona.* ³ *Pancha-pīranda.*

royalty; they sit in state on a royal dais, wear regalia and receive the homage of the assembled guests. They play most interesting parts—the parts of an ancient king and queen—acted to the staging of an old-world throne and court. The European observer looks on and thinks that he sees a wedding. But he forgets that the subject of the drama is royalty and not marriage: he will learn nothing about Malay marriage-theories from a mere glorification of the bridal pair.

Let us compare for a moment the enthronement of a Perak bridegroom with the enthronement of the Sultan himself: and in this connection it may be mentioned that a Perak prince wears as his wedding-jewels articles taken from the actual regalia of the State. At his coronation a Sultan wears a golden chain, three gold breast-ornaments, golden bracelets shaped like dragons, a gold-sheathed *kēris*, a golden-hilted sword and a silver seal mounted on a piece of wood. A Perak prince at his wedding only wears the chain, the breast-ornaments, the bracelets and the *kēris*. The difference is important. The chain, the breast-ornaments, the bracelets and the *kēris* are true regalia: the sword and the seal are dynastic heirlooms. The sword is the "sword of Alexander"; the seal is the "seal of Alexander"; they are historic things, but there is no legend attaching to the regalia worn by the bridegroom. The Perak bridegroom is imitating royalty in general; he is not copying any particular line of kings. The drama at which he is playing is older than the Perak dynasty; it has remained practically unchanged (as the "Malay Annals" prove to us) since the days of the Malacca kings; it probably goes back to the old Palembang kingdom with its strong

Javanese affinities. Wherever the old Palembang tradition exists—in Pahang, Johor, Riau, Malacca, Selangor and Perak—the “enthronement” or *bêrsanding* varies very little. But if we leave the Palembang area and cross into Patani, we find a complete change. We see an “enthronement,” it is true, but it is not the enthronement of a Palembang king. The ceremony is different; the regalia are different. We see before us the ghost of the ancient Northern Courts and of the old and high civilisations that have been crushed out of existence by the Siamese. From the custom and ceremonial of the Northern Malays we may yet learn much about the history of this most interesting part of the Peninsula.

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

The fact that the Malay husband still comes to live in his wife's house is evidence that the wife's position must once have been the higher one.

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

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

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

APPENDICES.

A.

By Raja Haji Yahya.

ANTE-NATAL CEREMONIES.

BAB PERI MANDI BUNTING DAN MELENGGANG PERUT DAN MENEMPAH BIDAN.

Maka sa-télah génap-lah 7 bulan pèrèmpuan itu mêngandung, maka ibu bapa laki-laki itu-pun bèrsiap-lah akan sakalian alat héndak mélénggang dan mandi bunting sèrta ménèmpah bidan akan ménantu-nya itu, sèrta bèrmusafakat dèngan ibu bapa si-pèrèmpuan itu. Tèlah bèrsatujuan muafakat-nya, kapada saat yang baik ya-itu hari khamis malam jumaat, maka ibu bapa pèrèmpuan itu-pun bèrsiap mênghiasi rumah-nya, mênggantong tabir langit-langit dan membèntang hamparan yang indah-indah, sèrta mènjèmput sanak-saudara kaum-kèlurga, dan mèmotong ayam itek, sèrta mèmbuat lèmping pénganan bèrbagai-bagai jénis. Dan pada malam-nya, bèrhimpun-lah sakalian jènputan tadi, daripada tuan haji, lébai, imam, khatib dan lain-lain-nya, ka-rumah ibu bapa pèrèmpuan yang bèrsèdia tadi. Maka adat-nya pada sa-génap tèmpat orang khanduri atau lain-lain jamuan pada mula-mula sampai itu di-jamu makan sireh atau roko kèmtudian baharulah di-angkatan sakalian makanan yang héndak di-bèri makan itu. Maka sakalian mèreka-itu dudok-lah bératur di-dalam majlis yang tèlah di-sèdiakan oleh tuan rumah itu.

Sa-tèlah hadir sakalian jèmputan itu, baharu-lah di-angkat sakalian hidangan akan mènjamu mèreka-itu. Maka pada sa-panjang rèsam Mèbyu apabila makanan itu sudah bératur datang-lah tuan rumah itu mêngatakan: 'Silakan ènche' ènche' dan tuan-tuan sèrta adek-kakak sakalian makan mana-mana yang hadir bagi jamuan hamba ini.' Maka baharu-lah sakalian mèreka-itu makan. Sudah makan lalu minum ayer ada yang sharbat atau coffee, kahwa, dan lain-lain-nya. Lèpas itu, makan sireh pula, dan pèrasapan-pun di-bawa orang-lah ka-tèngah majlis itu, ya-itu tèmpat membakar kèmèngyan karna héndak bèrdzikir maulud, dèngan èmpat biji buyong ayer mandi yang bèrtutup dèngan daun nyior bèrukir bèruwan dan bèrtèbok aneka jénis bunga awan yang indah-indah, sèrta di-lilit pula dèngan kain

puteh kĕmpat-ĕmpat biji buyong itu, lalu di-bĕtakkan bĕrsama-sama dĕngan sa-batang dian akan pĕlita maulud itu. Sa-tĕlah itu maka datang-lah bapa atau waris tua si-laki-laki itu kapada tuan imam, khatib, bilal, atau pĕnghulu dan sakalian yang hadzir itu, sĕraya kata-nya: "Tuan sĕrta datok-datok dan ĕnehe-ĕnehe sakalian-nya, sahaya mi ada bĕrhajat sadikit hĕndak maulud mĕmuji bagi junjongan kita, salla llahu abulu wa's-salam, akan pĕkĕrjaan mandi dan mĕlenggang pĕrut mĕmantu sahaya mi, sĕrta mĕnĕmpah bilan-nya sakali."

Sa-tĕlah sudah, maka sakalian-nya-pun mĕmula-lah bĕdzikir maulud, ya-itu di-dacha doa dahulu oleh khatib, lĕpas itu bĕrdzikir-lah bĕrangkap-rangkap bĕrempat atau bĕrdua pada mĕmbuat dzikir itu, dan di-jawab oleh sakalian mĕreka yang asing-asing itu, hingga mĕndĕru-lah bunyi-nya di dalam majlis itu. Maka adat-nya yang mula-mula mĕmbawa dzikir itu, ya-itu orang tua-tua sĕpĕrti tuan imam, tuan kadzi, datok pĕnghulu dan barang siapa yang tahu daripada pĕgawai-pĕgawai masjid, atau pun orang yang patut akan mĕndahulu bĕrdzikir itu. Lĕpas orang tua-tua babaru-lah orang muda-muda pula punya gibran akan bĕrdzikir itu, dĕngan bĕrbagai-bagai lagu dan lagham-nya mĕngikut kĕpanduan mĕreka-itu masing-masing. Maka sa-ĕketika bĕrdzikir itu, di-angkat orang-lah makanan daripada bangung pĕngaman sĕrta dĕngan aver panas daripada daun teh, atau coffee dan kahwa, atau-pun sharbat dan lain-lain, tĕrkadang tĕbu dĕngan garam guna-nya mĕnjadi pĕlampas suara mĕreka yang bĕrdzikir itu supaya jangan mĕnjadi sĕrak atau garam dan sa-paruh mĕnambah-nambahkan molek lagi bunyi-nya.

Hata sa-tĕlah hampir-lah babagi dua, ya-itu hĕndak bĕrdiri pada kĕrja maulud itu, maka ibu bapa laki-laki dan pĕrĕmpuan-pun datang-lah mĕmbawakan anak-nya yang hĕndak mandi bunting itu bĕrdiri bĕrsama-sama dĕngan mĕreka yang bĕrdzikir itu, maka dian maulud itu-pun di-pasang orang-lah kĕdua-dua batang-nya, dĕngan bĕrhulus bĕrtĕbok bĕrukir awan yang sangat indah-indah pĕrbuntan-nya kaki dua-kedua itu di-pĕrbuat daripada kĕrtas yang *chantek molek*. Sa-tĕlah sampul-lah pada pĕrkataan yang hĕndak bĕrdiri itu, maka tuan imam-pun bĕrsĕlawat-lah dĕmikian bunyi-nya "Allahumma". Maka di-sahut oleh sakalian mĕreka-itu "Salla wa's-salam alai." Maka tuan imam itu-pun bangun-lah bĕrdiri dĕngan mĕmĕngang surat maulud itu, dan sakalian mĕreka yang lain-pun mĕnurut-lah bangun

bérsama-sama, dan dian itu-pun di-pasang-lah, dan pébaraan-pun di-buboh api-nya sértá dèngan kémènyan. Sa-télah itu lalu-lah bérdzikir ménbawa dzikir 'Ash'rasal,' nama pérnulaan-nya. Maka pérèmpuan dèngan suami-nya bérsama-sama-lah bérdiri di-dalam majlis itu hingga sampai tiga kali béraleh lagu baharu-lah kédua itu di-bawa oleh ibu bapa masok ka-dalam ka-tèmpat tidur-nya.

Arakian térsébut-lah pula kesah orang yang maulud itu; sudah habis lagu yang bérdiri itu, dudok-lah pula sambil bérséla-wat sépèrti dahulu juga. Maka angkatan yaani jamuan makanan-pun di-angkat orang-lah daripada halwa lémping kukus bérbagai-bagai bubur sértá pènganan bakar dan sa-bagai-nya. Lépas makan itu bérdzikir pula sa-hingga khatam-lah dzikir itu baharu-lah bérhènti; lalu di-bèri pula jamuan sa-kali lagi, ya-itu dèngan nasi. Maka hari-pun siang-lah, sègala mèreka yang bérdzikir itu-pun pulang-lah; ada sa-paroh tinggal tidur di-situ karna pékerjaan itu bélum lagi habis.

Maka térsébut-lah pula kesah ibu bapa laki-laki dan pérèmpuan itu. Sa-télah hari sudah siang masing-masing-pun bérsiap-lah akan alatan hendak khanduri itu ményèmbèleh kambing ayam itek sértá ménchari ikan dan sayur-sayuran sértá mèngukus pulut sa-puluh atau lima-bèlas gantang banyak-nya dan nasi jawi mèngikut sa-banyak mana jèmputan sa-banyak itu-lah di-tanak-nya oleh hendak khanduri itu.

Hata sa-télah masak-lah sakalian nasi gulai lauk-pauk, hari-pun hampir-lah akan petang; dan sakalian jèmputan-pun datang-lah pula lalu naik ka-rumah dudok bératut masing-masing. Maka hidangan-pun di-angkat orang-lah: yang pértaama dalong, ya-itu képala arwah nama-nya, sértá satu pinggan asuhan yang télah bérisi dèngan nasi minyak dan ayam bulat di-tanam di-dalam-nya. Télah mustaed sa-kalian itu maka bapa laki-laki dèngan bapa pérèmpuan-pun kéluar-lah kédua bérbisan, ménbawa suatu topak sireh arwah dan sa-buyong ayer arwah juga, dèngan suatu pérasapan, datang mèndapatkan tuan imam atau khatib dan lain-lain pégawai, séraya bérrjabat tangan, lalu bérkata, 'Sabaya ini ada bérhajat tuan hendak arwahkan nasi minyak akan Rasul Allah, sall'allahu alaihi wa's-salam.'

Maka tepak sireh dan pérasapan itu-pun di-sorongkan-nya kapada tuan imam itu. Maka sègèra-lah di-sambut oleh tuan imam dèngan bébérapa hormat-nya, sértá ia ménbacha doa

arwah dan tolak-bala, dengan doa selamat lepas hidangan-pun; baharu-lah di-angkat orang pula akan makanan mereka-itu sakalian. Masing-masing-pun lalu basoh tangan seraya makan-lah. Sa-kétika makan, lalu-lah sudah; sakalian-pun kembalikan-lah ka-rumah-nya.

Arakian tersébut-lah pula kesah ibu bapa laki-laki dan pérempuan itu telah sudah daripada menjamu itu dan khanduri itu, maka ia-pun bersiap-lah hendak membawa anak dan ménantu-nya ka-sungai, ya-itu dengan To' Bidan juga. Telah mustaed sakalian-nya, maka masing-masing-pun berjalan-lah pergi ka-sungai, serta sa-puluh limabelas orang yang lain bersama-sama pula membawakan perkakas alatan bagi pekerjaan itu. Apabila sampai ka-sungai, maka To' Bidan-pun tampil-lah mengambil berteh beras kunyit beras basah; lalu di-jampi-nya dan di-taburkan ka-dalam ayer. Lepas itu diperehekkkan pula dengan ayer tépong tawar ka-dalam ayer itu juga; dan kemenyan berjampi pun di-bakar jua. Maka kedua laki istéri yang hendak mandi itu-pun di-surohkan pada suatu tempat di-tépi sungai itu, langsung di-mandikan kedua-nya. Sudah mandi bersuci itu, dibentangkan pula kam puteh di-atas kepala-nya, kedua di-jruskan ayer tolak bala dan doa selamat. Maka mandi ini-pun berbunga ayer mandi juga, dari pada daun nyor jua. Dan pada masa mandi itu dipermainkan bunga seperti yang tersébut pada fasal kahwin; mereka-itu telah tiga kali dipusing-pusingkan serta di-kirai-kirakan oleh To' Bidan.

Hata lepas itu, kam puteh itu-pun lalu diberikan pada To' Bidan. Kemudian Bidan-pun memasang benang pelulut pada kedua-nya lalu di-alin pada suatu chérmin muka, dibuboh dua batang dian yang sudah dipasangkan api-nya ka-muka mereka-itu kedua, tiga kali dikelilingkan; maka kedua-nya di-suroh oleh To' Bidan pandang tépat-tépat kapada chérmin itu, dan jangan dipandang serong takut juling anak-nya kelak konon. Sudah seléuai daripada itu To' Bidan-pun lalu-lah membawa naik kedua mereka-itu ka-rumah; lalu didudokkan kedua di-atas hamparan yang mulia bersanding juga keadaan-nya. Ada-pun mandi itu mandi bangkar nama-nya; jika tiada diperbuat yang demikian menjadi kemaluan sangat-lah pada ibu bapa antara kedua-nya. Arakian maka segala perkakas iatidat orang ménempah-pun sudah-lah disediakan oleh ibu bapa mereka-itu, ya-itu rémpah-rémpah, garam, asam, lada china kering, lada hitam

dua-bélas macham, di-bubohkan ka-dalam talam; bēras sa-chupak, kundur sa-biji, damar sa-butang, ayam sa-ekur dan tepak sireh satu. Tēlah mustaed sakalian-nya, maka ibu laki-laki dan pērēmpuan-pun dudok-lah mēnghadapi To' Bidan dan To' Pawang sēraya mēnyorongkan tepak sireh dēngan sēgala pērkakas yang tērsēbut tadi sērta do kudar sa-pupal (50 sen), ada yang sa-tēngah tiada berduit-pun jadi juga, karna masing-masing dēngan rēsam kēsukaan hati-nya To' Bidan itu, sēraya bērkata-lah kēdua-nya kapada To' Bidan itu 'im-lah To' Bidan dan To' Pawang sireh sabaya mēnēmpahkan anak sahaya ini atas mam-mana kudar yang hadzir sahaya akan mēnjadi tanda pērtarohan diri anak sahaya pērtama tama kapada Allah, wabaa-dahu Rasul-nya, yang kētiga To' Bidan-lah sahaya harapkan mēntaha pēlibara anak sahaya kēdua ini pada masa waktu ia hēndak bersalin kēlak, maka apabila sakit anak sahaya ini hēndak bersalin waktu siang atau tēngah malam dihari ada-lah pēnyuruh s derya dan mēnjempai To' Bidan dēngan To' Pawang, pada masa itu harap-lah sahaya akan To' Bidan dan To' Pawang kēdua-nya bērsama sama silakan ka-mari pula mēnghadapi sakit anak sahaya ini.

Hana sa-tēlah di-dēngar oleh To' Bidan dan Pawang kēdua-nya akan pērkataan ibu bapa laki-laki dan pērēmpuan itu maka ia-pun sēgēra-lah mēnyambut tepak sireh itu sēraya bērkata pula katanya: "Insha'llah taula bērkat mujizat Rasul Allah sireh ini sahaya tēri-ma-lah sērta dēngan sakalian-nya; jikalau tiada apasapa aral sahaya sakit mati, ada-lah sahaya datang mēngadapi anak ēnehe' sakit kēlak; dan jikalau sahaya sakit pētang atau mati, silakan-lah ēnehe' mēnchari bidan yang lain pula. Dan Pawang-pun dēmikian juga kata-nya; mēlainkan sama-sama-lah kita bērsērah kapada Allah dan Rasul-nya. Sa-boleh-boleh-nya minta pēlibarakan daripada bahaya pēlayaran pērēmpuan ini mohonkan sēlumat sējahtēra, jangan-lah apa-apa kēsusahan-nya." Maka To' Bidan itu-pun lalu-lah mēngambil bekas siren itu dēngan isi-isi-nya itu di-tiarapkan ka-atas tikar bērturut-turut, mēnyudi isharat pētua-nya. Maka jikalau masa di-tiarapkan-nya ka-tikar itu, habis sēmua-nya pērkakasan itu bērgugur ka-tikar, tiada tēnggal di-dalam bekas sireh itu: alamat-nya masa bēramak kēlak suatu-pun tiada bērtinggalan; uri bēsar dan uri kēchil bērsama-sama jadi dēngan budak itu dēngan sēlamat nya. Dan jikalau masa di-tiarapkan bekas sireh itu

ka-tikar, ada bërtinggal pèrkakasan sireh-sireh itu daripada salah suatu di-daban tepak itu: maka alamat kapada pètun-nya masa bèranak kèlak ada-lah kèsusahan sadikit ada bërtinggalan uri kèchil tiada-lah bèrsama-sama jadi dèngan budak itu.

Arakian sa-tèlah sudah yang dèmikian itu ibu bapa laki-laki dan ibu bapa pèrèmpuan itu-pun mèmberì suatu talam hidangan nasi dan nasi kunyit dèngan sa-chukup-nya, kapada To' Bidan sa-talam dan To' Pawang sa-talam. Maka sa-kètika lagi hari-pun pètang-lah. Maka To' Bidan dan To' Pawang itu-pun kèmbali-lah masing-masing ka-rumah-nya. Maka sakalian-pun kèmbali-lah ka-rumah-nya. Maka tinggal-lah ibu bapa laki-laki dan ibu bapa pèrèmpuan makan minum bèrsukaan di-situ.

Sa-tèlah datang kè sokan hari-nya, ibu bapa laki-laki itu-pun bèrkhobar kapada istèri-nya hëndak kèmbali ka-rumah-nya. Tèlah di-bèmarkan oleh ibu bapa pèrèmpuan itu, maka masing-masing-pun kèmbali-lah ka-rumah-nya sèmèntara mènanti ehukub bilangan gènap bulan mènantu-nya, sèmbilan bulan atau sa-puloh bulan akan sakit bèrsalin itu, barang apa-apa idam-idaman hëndak di-makan-nya, sa-tèlah di-charikan-nya masing-masing di-bèrikan-nya kapada mènantu-nya itu. Maka budak pèrèmpuan yang hamil itu-pun tiap-tiap jumaat di-suroh oleh Bidan bèrlimau bèsuchi diri-nya. Maka nyer hupong rambut-nya di-suroh minum supaya pangan serat ia bèranak kèlak, yaani jangan kèsusahan masa budak hëndak kèlmur. Maka di-dalarn hal yang dèmikian itu laki pèrèmpuan itu-pun bèrsiap-lah akan kayu api pèdiang-nya tiga atau èmpat ratus kèrat ya-itu kayu yang baik sèpèrti chèndèri atau halban di-buang kulit di-jèmurkan pèrkakas sa-kadar mènanti kètika pèrèmpuan itu hëndak bèranak sahaja. Maka laki-laki itu-pun habis bèrtaroh sireh itu, tiada-lah bèrchukur-ehukur lagi pantang konon jikalau bèrchukur takut putus uri istèri-nya bèranak kèlak. Maka dèmikian-lah pèraturan orang kèbanyakan; adat-nya bèrtaroh sireh rèsam yang daripada zaman dahulu-kala, ada-nya.

Kalakian bab pèri mènatakan adat mèreka-itu sakit hëndak bèranak dan pantang-pantang bèranak itu. Sa-bèrmula maka tèlah gènap-lah bulan-nya pèrèmpuan itu sèmbilan bulan atau sa-puloh bulan, maka ia-pun sakit-lah mèrènyai-rènyai yaani sakit sa-dikit sa-dikit sahaja. Maka ibu bapa laki-laki dan waris-waris-nya, sèrta ibu bapa pèrèmpuan dan waris-waris-nya, sèrta pula lain-lain orang datang-lah bèrhimpun ka-situ

hëndak mêngadapi sakit itu. Maka ada yang sa-tengah méréka-itu mêngangkut ayer di-buboh ka-dalam paeu, dan ada yang sa-tengah mênchari daun kayu rabun sêperti dauz kunyit térés dan duri mêngkuang dan duri bulang. Hata sa-kétika lagi méréka-itu-pun pérgi-lah mêngambil Bidan dan Pawang. Maka sa-kétika lagi ia kédua-pun datang-lah ka-rumah itu. Maka Pawang-pun lalu-lah mēmbuka tanah, mana-mana tēmpat yang baik bumi yang mahu mēnanggung kértau tēmpat bēranak itu, di-jampi-nya kapada sa-bēlah parang puting atau mata bēliong, lalu-lah di-jatohkan-nya kapada bumi itu; maka parang atau mata bēliong itu-pun jatoh-lah tērechabak di-atas tanah itu. Maka kapada pētua mahu-lah bumi itu mēnanggung kētau. Maka di-suroh oleh Pawang itu taroh duri mêngkuang dan duri bulang di-tēmpat itu akan jadi tangkal sakalian shaitan, dan di-suroh-nya pula gantong pula di-buboh gambar orang sēgala itu sērta pula daun tērong asam; kēmudian di-gantong-pula suatu rotan yang bērlengkar yang sudah bērlilit kanya-itu tali agas mana-nya akan tēmpat orang yang hēndak bēranak itu bērpaut. Hata sa-tēlah mustaed sakalian-nya, maka To' Bidan itu-pun lalu-lah mēmbawa orang yang hēndak bēranak ka-tēmpat itu. Maka ibu bapa pērēmpuan dan ibu bapa laki-laki itu-pun sērta sa-kalian orang pērēmpuan yang lain-lain-nya-pun datang-lah bērhimpun bērkōliling dudok di-situ. Arakian sa-kétika lagi budak pērēmpuan itu-pun makiu bērtambah-tambah-lah sakit datang rēsa-nya bērtimpa-timpa sahaja. Maka sa-kétika lagi lalu-lah mēnchelakan, yaani maka Bidan-pun mēnyuroh tēran yaani mēnolak budak itu ka-bawah. Maka To' Pawang-pun lalu-lah sēgēra mēnjampi hujung rambut pērēmpuan itu. Maka tatkala itu datang-lah sa-orang pērēmpuan mēnolak ka-bawah. Maka bidan itu-pun bērkata: "tēran-tēran sēgēra kuat-kuat." Maka lalu-lah di-kuat oleh orang yang mēnurut itu. Hata maka dēngan takdir Allah taala budak itu-pun kēluar-lah daripada pērut ibu-nya dzahir ka-dalam dunia, dēngan sēlamat-nya; lalu-lah sēgēra di-sambut oleh Bidan-nya. Maka kēluar sa-kali dēngan uri tēmbuni-nya; ada kala-nya budak sahaja kēluar, tinggal uri tēmbuni-nya, maka Bidan itu-lah pula mēngurut sērta mēnolokkan kēluar, maka baharu-lah kēluar uri tēmbuni itu, maka ada kala-nya sampai sa-hari sa-malam tiada kēluar uri tēmbuni itu, maka lalu-lah di-tempang oleh Bidan itu yaani di-kérat pusat budak itu, maka

hujung pusat itu di-ikat Bidan kepada paha pèrempuan itu. Maka macham-macham ubat di-bèri minum : minyak yang sudah di-jampi-nya. Maka dèngat takdir Allah tauha habis lèpas sèmuanya. Hata bulak itu-pun mènangis-lah. Maka buharu-lah di-kèrat pusat oleh Bidan itu, tujuh tēbu ikat pusat-nya, jikalau kanak-kanak itu laki-laki pèngèrat pusat sèmbilu buloh di-buat sèpèrti bangun godok, dan jikalau pèrempuan budak itu, pèngèrat pusat sèmbilu buloh juga di-buat sèpèrti bangun chandong.

B

MALAY LULLABIES

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

Barang-siapa bèrpadu èmpang,
 Padu èmping huma di-tèngah,
 Barang-siapa bèrhati mumun,
 Hati yang mumun istana Allah
 Padu èmping huma di-tèngah
 Gèliga di-puncha kain,
 Hati yang mumun istana Allah,
 Masok shurga pannatu'n-nam
 Gèliga di-puncha kain,
 Orang bèrtanak di-bawah sèntul
 Masok shurga pannatu'n-nam,
 Ini lah anak baginda Rasul
 Orang bèrtanak di-bawah sèntul,
 Chèrana bèrsi timah,
 Ini lah anak baginda Rasul,
 Yang bèrnama Siti Fatimah
 Chèrana bèrsi timah,
 Timah di-tèmpa si-Undang,
 Yang bèrnama Siti Fatimah,
 Dia yang pandai mēngarang
 Timah di-tèmpa si-Undang,
 Puehok kundur asam-nya kandis,
 Dia yang pandai mēngarang,
 Budak yang tidur, jangan menangis!

Puchok kundur asam-nya kandis,
 Pina-pina jalan ka-huma;
 Budak yang tidur jangan mēnangis,
 Fatimah tēngah mēngarang bunga.
 Pina-pina jalan ka-huma,
 Orang bērgolok di-dalam padi;
 Fatimah tēngah mēngarang bunga.
 Mēngisi tēngkolok baginda Ali
 Orang bērgolok di-dalam padi.
 Pisau pēnyadap di-hujong galah;
 Isi tēngkolok baginda Ali.
 Hēndak mēngadap Rasul Allah
 Pisau pēnyadap di-hujong galah,
 Minta sadapkan umbi akar;
 Hēndak mēngadap Rasul Allah,
 Hēndak mēminta akan Dzu'l-fikar.

Another of these lullabies runs as follows

Ratib rantau mēlawan tandang,
 Di-sabong orang di-kēdai China;
 Igau rantau tiada di-pandang,
 Laksana sudah tērkēna guna
 Bērēmpat tidur di-pēntas,
 Bērlima dēngan guru-nya;
 Laksana dawat dēngan kērtas,
 Kētiga-nya kalam akan judu-nya.
 Junjong perak gēmala ganti,
 Sauh di-laboh nakhoda-nya;
 Jauh di-mata ingat di-hati,
 Anak di-kawal ayah bonda-nya.
 Tikar puchok tikar mēngkuang,
 Tēmpat dudok raja Mēlayu;
 Ikan busok jangan di-buang,
 Buat pērēnchah daun kayu.
 Anak itek mati-nya lēmas,
 Di-sēmbēleh orang dēngan sikin-nya;
 Hilang bangsa karna mas,
 Hilang budi karna miskin-nya.

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

Bunga merah tinggi di-tambak,
 Tambak bĕrukir taman bĕrawan;
 Sĕri Sultan Raja Perak,
 Asal Iskandar Nushirwan.
 Bunga merah banyak di-taman.
 Sunting dayang masok ka-dalam;
 Di-Makkah Nabi Akhir-zaman.
 Di-Johor Mahkota Alam
 Dari Tanjong mudĕk ka-Bota.
 Singgah bĕrhĕnti di-Bĕrahmana;
 Tuan di-junjong jadi mahkota,
 Mĕnjunjong sipat dĕngan sĕmpurna
 Bĕrahmana tĕbing-nya tinggi.
 Pulau di-tĕngah pasir-nya halus;
 Tuan laksana mas pĕlangi.
 Dĕrja di-tĕntang badan akan haus
 Balu bĕsar bĕratap kajang.
 Istana di-sĕlat di-sabĕlah kiri;
 Entahkan mati gĕrangan abang.
 Ka-mana lagi mĕmbawa diri.
 Zaman raja di-Bĕrahmana.
 Gajah di-chĕlong di-bawah bukit;
 Jikalau ada tuan bĕrguna.
 Mohonkan tolong badan yang sakit.
 Tĕtak sa-ranting buatkan gĕlek.
 Hĕndak mĕnuba sungai Buiman;
 Engku bĕrtĕntang adek beradek.
 Laksana bunga kĕmbang sa-taman
 Hĕndak mĕnuba sungai Buiman.
 Singgah bĕrmalam di-rotan gĕtah;
 Raja ini raja bĕriman,
 Sa-isi alam mĕnjunjong titah.
 Singgah bĕrmalam di-rotan gĕtah.
 Pagi-pagi buka puasa;
 Raja ini raja bĕriman,
 Daulat-nya tĕrdiri sĕnĕntiasa.

C

CIRCUMCISION.

Maka budak itu-pun di-naikkan oleh mudin itu ka-atas batang pisang atau ka-atas karong. Maka sêpit-nya-pun lalu-lah sêgêra di-kémakan oleh To' Mudin kapada dzakar-nya itu tang sudah di-pumpun-kan kulit nya itu tiada terkêna kapada isi-nya. Maka kèpala budak itu di-chongakkan oleh orang tua-tua, tiada di-bêri ia mêmandang-nya lagi. Hata sa-têlah sudah yang dêmikian itu, maka To' Mudin itu-pun sêgêra-lah mêngajar mênguehap dua kalimah shahadat. Maka budak itu-pun mêngikut-lah sêperti pêngajar mudin itu. Maka lèpas itu mudin itu bêrkata pula: "Halalkan darah kamu dunia akhirat." Maka jawab budak itu. "Halal dunia akhirat." Maka mudin itu-pun sêgêra-lah mênampar paha budak itu tiga kali bérturut-turut; maka lalu-lah sêgêra di kèratkan-nya. Maka sa-têlah sudah putus itu, maka luka-nya itu-pun baharu-lah di-tasakkan oleh To' Mudin itu dêngan ubat-nya yang bêrchampur dêngan gula puteh, kèrtas api, minyak nyiur, atau daging. Maka ubat itu-pun di-bubuhkan di-atas puehok daun pisang yang sudah bêrlayur, lalu-lah di-balutkan kapada luka itu. Sa-têlah sudah maka budak itu-pun di-angkatan pèrlahan-lahan ka-tèmpat tikar bantal-nya, tang sudah di-sédiakan di-buboh puehok pisang bêrlayur dan di-buboh pula abu; jikalau sa-kira-nya turun darah kèlak tiada-lah kèna titek itu. Dan sêrta pula budak itu di-bêri mêmakai kain puteh lèpas panjang lima hasta dan sa-hèlai kain batek akan jadi pumjut-nya supaya kèsenangan ia tidur.

Maka sa-kètika lagi lèpas bêrkhatan itu hari-pun malam-lah. Maka bapa kanak-kanak itu dêngan haum kèluarga-nya pun bêrjaga-lah mèlayan budak itu jangan tidur lèsak ka-sana ka-mari; di-pègangkan paha-nya. Maka budak itu-pun tidur-lah bèrsandar dêngan bantal pèrlahan-lahan. Maka jikalau sa-kira-nya tiada orang jaga mêmègangkan paha budak itu, maka di-bubuhkan oleh mudin sèngkang di-tambatkan kapada paha budak itu kanan dan kiri sa-bèlah mènnyabèlah.

Hata datang kèsokan hari-nya, maka mudin itu-pun mènnyuroh siapkan ayer hangat daun mèrsapat hèndak di-tanggalkan kundang budak itu. Maka lalu-lah di-bawa-nya turun ka-nyer pèrlahan-lahan sêrta di-basoh dêngan ayer sèjok.

Télah sudah di-buboh tangkal pémantan térap bérpinta^l itu, maka budak itu-pun di-mandikan, langsung di-dawa-lah naik ka-runah, langsung di-basoh luka itu dèngan ayer hangat itu di-pèrsuchikan di-buboh pula ubat. Maka budak itu-pun lalu-lah di-bèri oleh ibu bapa-nya makan di atas pinggan bérlepas dèngan baun pisang yang sudah bérlayur dèngan lauk-nya ikan daing atau dagirg kèrbau itu sahaja yang boleh. Maka makan itu tiada-lah boleh bértaubah sa-kali-kali, takut lambat baik. Maka sèbab beralas pinggan itu dèngan daun pisang takut luka itu kelak sopak yani puteh.

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

D.

BËTROTIAL VERSES.

The following is the short series of verses referred to on page 25 :

Dari Pauh ka-Pèrmatang.
 Tètak tèngar papan kèmundi.
 Dari pauh sahaya datang.
 Dèngar tuan yang baik budi
 Tatang puan tatang chèrana.
 Tatang bidok Sèri Rama,
 Datang tuan, datang-lah nyawa.
 Datang dudok bèrsama-sama
 Orang mèngambil siput di-lobok.
 Ayer-nya dalam banyak lintah;
 Datang mèmbaik atap yang tembok.
 Hèndak mèngganti lantai yang patah
 Rimba di-bakar mènanam padi.
 Makan bèrbulam buah-nya pètai;
 Jikalau sudah tulus dan sudi,
 Bèrbantalkan bèndul, bértikarkan lantai.

But there are many other sets of such verses; cf. Skant, "Malay Magic," pp. 367, 368; and Snouck Hurgronje, "Achehnese," Vol. I., pp. 318-316.

PAPERS ON MALAY SUBJECTS.

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

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

LIFE AND CUSTOMS.

PART II.

THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF MALAY LIFE.

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

BY

R. O. WINSTEDT, *F.M.S. Civil Service.*

KUALA LUMPUR:

PRINTED BY J. E. WALLACE AT THE F.M.S. GOVERNMENT PRESS.

1925.

PREFACE.

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

LIFE AND CUSTOMS.

THE KAMPONG.

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

Apart from that possible survival of a fenced territorial unit, the *kampung* of the Peninsula is unconfined and straggling, and it is hardly exaggeration to say that the Malay village grows—an organism

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

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

extend the chain and order the houses to be pulled down. Then the merchants who were the proprietors of the ground would offer them money, some a hundred, some fifty and some ten dollars. Such was the practice of the young gentlemen, who would divide the money with the surveyor and adjust the chain correctly and order the houses out of line to be destroyed!"

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

¹ *Pagar sasak.*

² *Pělupek.*

³ Built by a Patani man.

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

In the older settlements, compounds will be planted with a fine variety of fruit-trees mango-steen, rambutan, chiku and so on. Hamilton, writing of Malacca at the end of the seventeenth century, notes

¹ *Gawai-guwar*.

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

Immediately in front of a house is a small open space¹ skirted perhaps with minor vegetation, with chillies, herbs and sometimes a few straggling flowers or an hibiscus tree or variegated medicinal shrubs. There may be a well, or perhaps two—one for

¹ *Halaman*.

drinking, one for washing—fenced or not with palm-thatching or wicker-work, a *sarong* slung over it as a sign of occupation, a bucket folded of palm-spathe at hand. But river, if river be near, will serve for washing and drinking. There will be a floating bathing-house and latrine combined, covered or roofless. Water will be carried home in hollow bamboos¹ or perhaps conveyed by a neat contrivance of hollow bamboo pipes² and rattan lines. Bamboo is indispensable to the peasant's hand: sometimes a large bamboo laid lengthwise across forked props and bored with holes will provide a shower-bath; handy against a tree will be the tall bamboo with which fruit is cut or jerked off the trees; and there are nearly always to be found one or more bamboo shelves on stilts, where fruit and drinks are set for sale and clothes hung to dry.

Unless they find accommodation under the house, thatched sheds will cover, according to locality, the beam mortar³ wherewith the rice is husked, a wooden coffee-crusher, a sugar furnace; and another larger shed,⁴ raised like the dwelling-house on posts, will contain the huge round bark rice-tan.⁵ If the owner be a neat-herd and the district infested with tigers, a hut, raised some dozen feet or more off the ground and approached by a ladder consisting of one *nibong* palm trunk, will afford lofty security to his goats. Perhaps he is religious and lives up-country where mosques are far; he will build a small private chapel,⁶ thatched and barn-like, in his garden. Perhaps his daughter is about to be married or has just been wedded; there may be, separate from the house, a

¹ *Tabong ayer.*

² *Panchur.*

³ *Liang.*

⁴ *Kipok, bérembang.*

⁵ *Kémbong.*

⁶ *Surau.*

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

The compound of a chief may be graced with a summer-house; and that of a ruling raja with a bandstand¹ fenced, in Perak, at time of occupation, with a magic string of fowl's feathers, which not even members of the royal house may pass without payment of a fine of twenty-five dollars to the musicians.

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

"Decoy cock crows and strains his tether,
Crow² the fighting cock in chorus,
The ring-dove coos three notes of welcome."

The pet bird will be caged and hung by the roofed house-ladder, or in the verandah, or on the top of a post; pigeons and doves will flutter in the court-yard or their cotes. Buffaloes and cows have their separate

¹ *Balai angkat-angkat.*

stalls. But many kinds of buffaloes¹ even were "korban" to rajadom of yore.

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

¹ See Appendix I.

² *Bawah rumah: Kelang.*

THE HOUSE.

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

To what prehistoric civilisations are due the grilled floor, the walls of palm, of bark, of flattened bamboo? Probably the earliest historical description of the Malay house is in the graphic Chinese account of Malacca in the fifteenth century; and the Chinese chronicler seems to have been struck most by the same feature that has attracted the notice of modern

travellers, "the perilous elastic gridiron" for a floor. "The manners and customs of the people are pure and simple," he observes, "their houses are built rather high and have no flooring of board, but at the height of about four feet they make a floor of split coconut trees which are fastened with rattan, just as if it were a pig-sty; on this floor they spread their beds and mats, on which they sit cross-legged whilst they also eat sleep and cook here." The high floor raised on piles is a feature that deserves attention in view of a possible Indo-Chinese influence on the Malay race. Colonel Yule long ago pointed out that "the custom of erecting the village dwellings on bamboo posts at various heights above the ground is very general from the frontiers of Tibet to the islands of the Southern Sea. Crawford, after mentioning that the Malays and most of the people of Sumatra, Borneo and Celebes build on piles, while the Javanese, Balinese and some others build on the level of the ground, proceeds to say: 'The distinction has its origin in the different circumstances under which the two classes exist, and their different state of society. The maritime tribes inhabit the marshy banks of rivers and the sea-coast and for the purpose of health their habitations must be raised from the ground: the superior salubrity natural to the well-cultivated countries of the agricultural tribes renders the precaution of building on posts unnecessary.' But some curious facts seem to show that however the difference of practice may have originated, it has now got as it were into the blood and may almost be regarded as a test of race, having often no traceable relation to local circumstances. The Bengali inhabits a marshy country; his villages are for several months of the year almost lacustrine; but I think I am right in saying that he never builds on piles. On the other

hand the Indo-Chinese tribes on his eastern border, as far as I have seen them, all build on piles, though many of them inhabit mountains in place of marshes The Burmese and Karens always raise their houses from the earth, whether dwelling in high ground or low. Even in Java, whilst the true Javanese builds on the ground, the people of Sunda mountain districts, a different race, raise their dwellings on posts."

Again, Raffles describes the Javanese house as having "the sides of walls formed of bamboo flattened and plaited together." Marsden, writing of Sumatra alludes only to walls of bark and of flattened bamboo. Neither of these accurate observers mention two other less primitive types which occur in the Peninsula: the wall of plank and the wall of cane wicker-work.¹ One of them, the wall of carved plank, rough-hewn not sawn, Marsden would certainly have described had he penetrated up-country in Sumatra. Wallace relates how, when he went inland from Palembang, he found "houses built entirely of plank, always more or less ornamented with carving and having high-pitched roofs and overhanging eaves, the gable ends and all the chief posts and beams covered sometimes with exceedingly tasteful carved work, which is still more the case in the district of Menangkabau, further west." The carved plank house—the roof concave, "like the swooping flight of a hawk," with ridge-pole also concave and high at ends, and gables not flush and parallel with the wall but projecting far out and sloping back like the wings of a bird² as they descend—this type occurs in the Negri Sembilan and was introduced directly from Menangkabau. The only other part of the Peninsula where Malay wood-carving is found is in Patani, and there we get carved

¹ *Tépas békurap.*

² *Bérsayap layang-layang.*

wooden gateways and the "kingfisher" *këris*-handle, both decorated with apparently kindred foliated design. Whence did Menangkabau acquire the art of carving? Malays look to Java:

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

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

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

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

Another feature which Malay buildings have in common with those of Indo-China is the tiered roof. It is hardly a prominent feature in the Peninsula but possibly the form of the village mosque may be a survival, and, according to the traditional etiquette of Perak,² the palaces of the Sultan, the Raja Muda and the Bendahara alone may have roofs of two tiers, the houses of lesser rajas and chiefs concave, and those of lesser folk straight roof-slopes. "We find," said Colonel Yule, "in the public and religious architecture

¹ *Hikayat Awang Sulung Merah Muda* ² Cf. Law 96 in "The Ninety-nine Laws of Perak" (Law Part II in this series).

of the more civilised nations of Indo-China and of the Archipelago a propensity to indicate importance and dignity in timber palaces and places of worship by a multiplication of pitched roofs rising one over the other. In Java this ensign of dignity has passed from heathen times to Islam and marks the mosque in the principal villages. There also, as applied to private or palatial residences, the number of these roofs appropriate to each class is regulated by inexorable custom, and precisely the same is the case in Burma and Siam. No trace of such a system remains, so far as I know, in India proper. Yet, judging from the similar forms in Tibét and the Himalayas, from the evident imitation of them in the stone temples of Kashmir and from the sculptured cities in the bas-reliefs of Sanchi, I should guess that the custom was of Indian origin."

Certain carved wooden quail-traps and designs in paper at the back of the marriage dais exactly exhibit the tiered roof with up-curving crockets found in Buddhist *wats*, but Buddhism has left no mark on the buildings of the Peninsula, probably because Kedah the northern State in which traces of an old Buddhist kingdom should be sought, has no more permanent architecture to display than that of the fine cane wicker already alluded to. This, to be sure, shows simple workmanship of considerable merit; the gable ends of its houses elaborated into patterns which are dubbed "the sun's rays," "the star-fenced moon"; the lower walls also having a variety of patterns, "the bat's elbow," "the pumpkin," "the folded blossom," or merely cross or zig-zag lattice: all picked out and painted white and red, yellow and black. As we have seen, the style would appear to have no parallel in the Archipelago and the finest specimens are to be found in the north of the

Peninsula. There, too, in Patani, we find another distinctive feature in a broad gridiron platform at the head of the front house-ladder, and a cluster of houses united thereby to the original home.

The elementary ground-plan of a house is extremely simple. It must contain a place for the reception of visitors, a sleeping place and a place for cooking. In houses of the poorest type these may be all under one roof; the sleeping apartment curtained off perhaps merely by a mosquito-curtain, the cooking place at the back of the one room (as in Banjarese huts) or under an extension of the eaves—that is, in the back verandah. Out of this plan, apparently, the more elaborate types have been evolved. The place for the reception of visitors becomes a long closed front verandah,¹ a short board balcony closed² or open³ projecting at right angles to the centre building on the same or a lower level, or in the house of prince and chief becomes the audience hall. The main building constitutes the sleeping apartments and may or may not be cut up into rooms. A closed back verandah may be added and becomes the women's gallery. The kitchen is separated, behind the house, or 'f close to the river, and by association of ideas if away from it even, on the down-stream side from simple sanitary logic; a raised outside platform tacked directly on the house at a slightly lower level, open⁴ or covered under a sloping pent-roof, when it is known as *pisang sa-sikat* or *sengkuap*; or built at right-angles with a double-roof, when it is called "the suckling elephant"; or,⁵ yet again, in palace and larger houses a separate hut⁶ joined by a covered or uncovered way.⁷ If extra

1 *Sérambi*. 2 *Anjong*. 3 *Bitunda*. 4 *Pilantaran*. 5 *Gajah ményusu*. 6 *Péwanggak*. 7 *Selawar; Sélung*.

sleeping room is required, the unmarried girls occupy an attic¹ reached by a ladder, situate between ceiling and roof, lighted by a window in the gable end. Yet again, if a daughter marries and more commodious accommodation be required, the *anjong* may become an annex of the house, built on to it generally from the kitchen passage and forming another building of equal size.² The house is lighted in front (and behind if at all) by a horizontal aperture running sometimes the whole length of the verandah, and level with the head of a squatter on the floor; and there will be the same aperture or taller barred windows at the sides of the house.³

It is noteworthy that the Malay raja's audience hall, like the cottage, has three divisions: the little hall reserved for members of the family; the large for ceremony—a throne with a Sanskrit name in place of the huge decorated bedstead that often adorns the central part of a chief's house; the front hall for the common fry. Students of origins may wonder if there are not here and in the marriage *balai* of common folk survivals of a guest-house common in many primitive communities and discernible in Acheen in the uses to which is put the *meunasah*. Traces of Indian influence are to be met everywhere in the raja's hall: in the Sanskrit names of a palace, its compartments, its furniture. We find the central pillars called the "raja" and the "princess"; the tall assertive end-pillars reaching to the roof-tree the "Maharaja Lela" after the Malay court Malvolio; the pillars in mid hall the "expectant suppliants"; the corner pillars, distant but important the "eight viziers." Probably it was

1 *Para, pagu* (Mal.) *péran*.

2 *Rumah sa-bandong*.

3 *Tingkap ibu rumah*.

due to the same influence that sumptuary laws forbade certain types of house to commoners. In folk romance there is frequent mention of an upper chamber sacred to the unmarried hero or heroine :

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

and in the "code" of Raja Muhammad Shah, of Malacca, common folk are prohibited from building houses "with an alcove supported on flying pillars not reaching to the ground or on pillars built up through the *atap* roof"—a survival, perhaps, of the dignity of the tiered roof. Degrees of rank were also exhibited in the length of the hall. The palace in the folk-romance of "Sri Rama" had seven spaces between its pillars, that in "Awang Sulong" nine, while the Malacca palace of Raja Mansur Shah had seventeen! In Perak there is supposed to have been a very-precise etiquette. "Formerly the Sultan of Perak's palace had seven interspaces between the pillars, that of the Raja Muda six, that of the Bendahara five, the houses of lesser rajas and of great chiefs four, those of the lesser chiefs and considerable commoners three, and those of other folk two only." The Malacca "codes" give strict rules of precedence in hall. "Whenever the raja gives audience in his hall of state the *bendahara*, the chief treasurer, the *temenggong*, the viziers, chiefs and eunuchs sit on the raised central platform, while all the scions of royalty sit on the right and left of the hall and the young eunuchs among the heralds in the passage. The young captains sit in the side galleries; the select sea captains from Champa have seats on the central platform; and all the young nobles with no particular occupation in the side galleries."

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

Last phase of all, we come to European and Chinese influence operating together. In 1845 Mr. Logan wrote of a Malay at Bukit Tengah in Province Wellesley. "He conducted me along the foot of the hill through a grove of trees to his house, which I found to be quite an uncommon edifice for a Malay, being very neat and having a pleasant little verandah with Venetian windows." "The Sultan of Selangor," writes Sir Frank Swettenham of a time some thirty years ago, "had chosen to build himself a habitation of, for those days, a somewhat pretentious order. The house was raised from muddy ground on short brick pillars; it was built of squared timbers and the roof was tiled." Such buildings are common now and the house of the well-to-do Malay is fast losing native distinction. The change is not to be regretted.

Outside the Negri Sembilan even the houses of chiefs seem to have been poor enough before the days of protection, except where might could hold its own. "A very modest dwelling it was," remarks Sir Frank Swettenham of the house of a Perak princess of the first rank in 1874. "A building of mat sides and thatched roof, raised from the damp and muddy earth on wooden piles, a flight of steps led into the front of the house and a ladder served for exit at the back. The interior accommodation consisted of a closed in verandah and large room and a kitchen tacked on behind." "Mostly *atap*, even the walls, and very dirty," is Abdullah's comment on the houses of the East Coast in 1835. But though it has always been a trait of the Malay character to welcome whatever is new and foreign, he adapts and seldom discards, so that though Chinese carpentry and European models have altered much, bringing improved material and workmanship, larger windows and plank floors, yet they have destroyed little, and the earlier archetype, if it can so be called, abides. There are still types of house no peasant would erect in the proximity of his chief and no chief in the proximity of his raja. In comparatively recent days, in Perak, we find Sultan Ali and Sultan Yusuf regarding with jealous eye the fine house built by the Mantri of Larut at Matang, and though his widow could not well be deprived of the property, by a convenient fiction it was presumed to have devolved as a gift of the State. Sultans and chiefs may build palaces externally renaissance or moresque, but there remain the old primary divisions—the hall for visitors, the central palace with sleeping apartments, and, away at the back, a kitchen. Finally we must not forget that the vast majority of huts are still untouched or touched but imperceptibly by modern influences.

FURNITURE.

The feature that strikes the casual observer on entering a Malay house is the absence of what the European conceives to be furniture; and should he be interested further and discover that the words for chair¹ and book-rest² are Arabic, the words for towel³ table⁴ and cupboard⁵ Portuguese, the words for curtain⁶ bedstead⁷ and box⁸ Tamil, then he will certainly imagine that there is no such thing as native Malay furniture. This impression will be confirmed if the house he has chosen for inspection be that of a school-master or some such hybrid mind and reveal all the horrors of crocheted antimacassars and bentwood Austrian chairs, photos of the owner by a Chinese perpetrator and oleographs of Queen Victoria or the Sultan of Turkey. Yet the Malay hut has furniture as much its own as ours is, though, like ours, built up of borrowings from many ancient sources.

Ascend the verandah, the part of the house proper to the mere male, his gatherings and his pursuits, and the visitor will find himself in a space empty, save for a few shelves or bamboo racks, for the plank or bamboo bed platform of an unmarried son at the further end, for the fisherman's net, the hunter's noose, and the birdcage of rattan hanging from the roof; save, too, for the half-finished trap or basket that lies scattered on the floor to employ the indoor hours of men and boys. Look around at these things and at the household furniture and he is in the midst of a prehistoric civilisation. There is a fable telling how a fairy taught Malay women to copy the patterns of those remnants of nets and baskets which Sang Kelembai left behind when fear of the human race drove him away to the sky's edge. Here is every variety of

1 *Kéruai*2 *Rihal.*3 *Tuala.*4 *Meja.*5 *Almari.*6 *Tirai.*7 *Katil.*8 *Peti.*

article plaited¹ of dried palm-leaf : mats² spread over part of the floor; mats piled aside to be unrolled for the accommodation of visitors; a small prayer-mat³ of Arabic name but home workmanship; the plaited tobacco pouch⁴ or box,⁵ or the bag receptacle⁶ for betel utensils handy for daily use; plaited sacks⁷ stacked in a corner, full of rice from the clearing. They are sometimes plain, sometimes adorned with open-work,⁸ or the interweaving of strips dyed red black yellow, in both of which styles the craftsman's hand, subdued to what it works in, has evolved graceful geometrical designs.

The specimens of plaited palm leaf⁹ work kept in the verandah are often little better than the coarse rough work of the aboriginal tribes, but in the inner room, the women's apartment, there will be articles of more delicate material¹⁰ and intricate manipulation. Perak, Pahang, Patani, Kedah, Kelantan, all produce fine goods. And women store clothes in baskets¹¹ (in Malacca of curious pyramidal shapes) adorned with raised fancy stitches called "the jasmine bud," "the roof-angle," and so on; decorated or debased by the frippery of later civilisations—the addition of coloured paper pasted¹² upon them and the attachment of gold filigree chains or silver bosses. Even here however, in the ordinary way, articles of the most primitive kind will predominate. You may find the women plaiting a pattern like that of the bird-shaped receptacle¹³ for sweet rice which possibly dates from the days of belief in a bird-soul; or wrappers¹⁴ of cocoonut, plantain or palm-leaf wherein to boil rice, triangular, diamond, heptagonal,¹⁵ octagonal¹⁶ in shapes called

1 Anyam. 2 Tikar hampar. 3 Tikar sajadah. 4 Kumpit.
 5 Lopak-lopak. 6 Bajam. 7 Kumpit (open); Sumpit (closed like a sack). 8 Krawang. 9 Mungguang. 10 Pandan.
 11 Kembang or (Malacca) romboh. 12 Kembang gundi: used at weddings. 13 Enggak (Ked.): katang-katang (Perak) 14 Lipat, ketupat. 15 Ketupat bawang. 16 Ketupat pasar or k. telur.

“the country’s pride”¹ “the onion” “the paddle handle,” or pre-Muhammadan models of birds, buffaloes, stags, the crab, the horse, the durian, the dog. Water-gourds may be suspended from a beam in hanging palm-leaf holders.² A *kéris* may be stuck in a palm-leaf holder³ and pinned to the mosquito-net. For the central room of a Malay house is the place where sleep old married folk, men and women, with their children; sometimes on a raised platform,⁴ more often in cubicles formed by mosquito-nets and outer curtains,⁵ or merely by the mosquito-nets. The omnipresent baby hangs from the rafters in a cradle⁶ composed of three, five or seven layers of cloth, according to his degree: that is, after the young probationer has lain for the first seven days of his life on a mat in a rice-strewn tray, and before he descends to the indignity of a rattan basket cradle. In a loft that is lighted by a window or hole in the roof, the unmarried girls spend day and night above their parents’ heads, safe from the invitation of admirers who might else slip love-tokens through the interspaces of the gridiron floor. On the walls of the room may be nailed, perhaps, a tiger’s skull or a wild-goat’s horns, or more probably, a pair or so of mouldering antlers, or rickety pegs from which dangles the daily wear of the occupants; or the less prized daggers may hang there, while spears and an old gun stand in the corner. There may be a tall cupboard⁷ of Portuguese name and Chinese manufacture, wherein will be stored spare pillows, papers and the best crockery. There will be a wooden shelf⁸ or stand,⁹ on which, placed in plates or brass holders, will be natural¹⁰ or clay gourds¹¹ and broad clay water-jars.¹² A clay or brass

1 *Seri nqgru*. 2 *Gantung-gantung*. 3 *Sangkut kéris*. 4 *Gérai* or *gta*. 5 *Trai*. 6 *Bucian*. 7 *Almari*. 8 *Para*. 9 *Kuda-kuda*. 10 *Labu*. 11 *Labu tanah*. 12 *Buyang*.

brazier will be filled with charcoal and incense to accompany religious chantings. In old days the largest light in the house proceeded from resin torches¹ stuck in a roughly carved wooden stand² that was placed on the floor in the central room. Or shells fixed to wooden sticks³ and clay boats were used to hold oil. Later, probably, candles⁴ stuck in coconut shells, and eventually in brass sticks, were employed. Heavy brass lamps of Indian origin, suspended from the chains (that sometimes contain an interesting bird-shaped link), may still be collected in the form, apparently, of lotus cups, from the hollows of whose several petals wicks projected. Brass supplies a number of household utensils, some heavy and thick, such as lamps, bowls, basins; some thin and decorated with florid realistic representations of butterflies, deer, flowers and birds, of which sort trays and large lidded boxes offer example; yet a third kind, fretted with chisel or file, provides glass-stands braziers and betel-trays.

Women and children feed generally in the kitchen, male guests in the verandah, but female guests, and in the absence of guests the lordly male proprietor, feed in the central room, so that writing of its furniture we may conveniently deal with the utensils of a Malay meal in conjunction with that brass-work which has played so large a part in its service. Here we have layer upon layer of civilisations. The most primitive plate in the Malay world is a banana leaf; next a shallow coconut shell⁵ (whose existence of course premises some kind of settled cultivation); and then the wooden platter.⁶ The Chinese in the sixteenth century note that the king of Johor affected gold and silver eating utensils and other

¹ *Damar.*

² *Kita.*

³ *Rumah panjut.*

⁴ *Lilin.*

⁵ *Dasar.*

⁶ *Chapah.*

folk earthenware. Rare specimens of obsolete green celadon¹ ware from Sawankalok in Siamese territory, survive among the old-world treasures of rajahs under the name of "the ware of a thousand cracks." Cheap Chinese earthenware is common everywhere now, but examples of fine early work are extant in large flat dishes used for rice, and an enamelled Chinese curry-tray is occasionally found. Europe has long imported earthenware,² ranging from old Dutch ware or fine old willow pattern to German coffee-cups with the legend *Selamat minum*. The most primitive drinking cup is a half coconut shell³ carved or plain; then came a small silver bowl⁴ modelled upon it; then the European glass, for which a brass stand⁵ is provided. The most primitive jug, as we have seen, will be a dried gourd or a large polished coconut shell⁶ with a hole about three inches across at the top, and both are still in vogue even in palaces, where they will be tied up in a covering of yellow cloth, a string with a golden knob at the end being pulled to close the mouth of the covering: it is also customary to place a plate⁷ of silver or brass atop the mouth of the coconut shell, and to set thereon the small drinking bowl. Next came the gourd of pottery, fitted sometimes with a silver stopper top: being often round-bottomed⁸ and always porous, it is put in a shallow metal basin.⁹ Very rarely a brass vessel of gourd shape, or a brass kettle,¹⁰ or a kettle of Ligor niello ware will be used for cold water; and now also an earthenware jar,¹¹ or a horrible thick muddy-blue decanter¹² of European manufacture. All these vessels serve both to fill the drinking bowl or glass and for pouring water over the

1 *Pinggan retak sa ribu buatan Jin.* 2 *Timbikar.* 3 *Chebok.*
 4 *Batil.* 5 *Kaki glass berpuchok ribong berkrawang banji.* 6 *Galok.*
 7 *Chepir.* 8 *Tidu.* 9 *Bokor.* 10 *Cherek.* 11 *Kendil.*
 12 *Balang.*

hands preliminary and subsequent to feeding. The water of ablution is caught in a large silver or brass bowl¹ or in a vessel² that is employed alike for that purpose and for a spittoon. Trays are of many kinds: there is the flat wooden or lacquer tray,³ high of rim; there is the brass tray, flat and rimmed,⁴ there is the wooden pedestal tray, sometimes very large,⁵ there is the brass pedestal tray for a single cake plate,⁶ and the large brass pedestal tray for a number of saucers.⁷ Pedestal trays are decorated on festivals with an embroidered and bead-work fringe⁸, like the fringe on the marriage mosquito net, of Hindu name and shaped perhaps after the leaf of the sacred peepul-tree. Trays, plates and gourds are protected from flies and dirt by conical covers, embroidered⁹ or made of bamboo¹⁰ cut into concentric geometric and floral patterns dyed red and black, or similar covers decorated with blue green red and gilt paper cut into scrolls. Chinese and European wares are used for coffee services.

Finally, there are tobacco and betel boxes, those appanages of the last course of a Malay meal. Considering the universal habit and ceremony of betel-chewing in the Archipelago and the portability and number of its utensils, it is not surprising to find a great variety of material and shapes, a vocabulary rather vague in its terminology, the name for a wooden article improperly transferred to a brass one, and so on. The most primitive kind are plaited of screw-palm as already noted. Then come small wooden chests,¹¹ fitted with trays to contain the requisites of betel-chewing, shaped like the coffers Malay sailors use, larger at base than lid, rudely carved; one shape

¹ *Batol*

² *Ketua sangku*

³ *Dudu*

⁴ *Talum*

⁵ *Pakar*

⁶ *Simbirap*

⁷ *Pakar, dolang*

⁸ *Dawa budi* (Hindoo).

⁹ *Adu bakas*

¹⁰ *Tudang caju* *Sumpang*

¹¹ *Tepak* (Palembang).

has a drawer that pulls out at the side;¹ one shape² has an ornamental end of wood or silver projecting³ as it is carried under the arm— these last are commonly used for the presentation of betel at betrothal and some Perak specimens have realistic bobbing models of snakes made of wax and fastened dependent from pliant rattan by human hair. Specimens made entirely of gold, or Ligor niello, or silver, of brass or tin, also occur, and then there is only a tray for the betel-vine leaves and in place of the other divisions in the tray we have four tiny caskets;⁴ but there are other specimens, open at the top and taking the form rather of a small, deep tray than of a chest. Commoner in metal, are open salvers,⁵ round or oblong, or round and on pedestals :

‘Betel nut that’s cleft in four,

Lime that’s mixed with scented water;

Tobacco clinging to its stem.”

and gambir are the contents of the four caskets. If the caskets be presented on an open salver, then a metal vase,⁶ shaped like a triangle upside down with its apex cut off, takes the place of the casket’s tray for the vine leaves. The casket⁷ that holds the betel-nut is commonly open, unlike the others; that⁸ containing the lime is round, its sides parallel from base to lid, or it is octagonal, or round and stunted : the other two caskets may be modelled after the seed-pod of the sacred lotus; the lid is often decorated, like waist-belts, with a conventionalised lotus flower pattern. Round boxes⁹ are made for tobacco, decorated with conventional foliated scrolls common in all Malay silver-work, or a box¹⁰ like a huge old silver watch is used. It is caskets and boxes which

¹ *Jorong* (Mangkasar). ² *Puan*. ³ *Sulur bayong*. ⁴ *Chémbul*,
⁵ *Chérana* (Skt.) ⁶ *Kélongeong* or *champélu* (Kedah) sometimes held
by a *mémplai*. ⁷ *Chawan pinang*. ⁸ *Pikapur*. ⁹ *Kap* or
kupi. ¹⁰ *Chépu bétyelugur*, *awan bunga sa-tangkui*.

of all Malay work are the most interesting as representative obviously of very various influences, which too have found their way more than any other articles into European collections and, with an almost tiresome iteration, into museums: like Tennyson's "little flower in the crannied wall," they embody a large problem in a small compass, and could we tell all about them, we should know a lot about the comings and goings of the Malay race. Betel-nut scissors,¹ shaped in the form of the head of a bird or dragon, whichever it be, and in the form of the magic steed, *kuda sēmbani*, exhibit some of the earliest iron work.

Malay life, even in palaces, is essentially simple, and this may serve to excuse transition from the refinements of the table (or rather the floor) to the mere utensils of the kitchen. Also the kitchen, if not in the back of the central room itself, is not far separated; moreover, it is as interesting as any part of the house, and though it is impossible absolutely to distinguish the most primitive utensils from later accretions, more perhaps than any other room it bears traces of ultimate civilisations. There are examples of bamboo work in a bamboo bellows, or rather blower; in a cooking-pot for rice, constructed of a single joint of bamboo, the green cane resisting the fire long enough to cook one mess: in bamboo racks.² There are specimens of bamboo and rattan weaving in hanging plate-holders,³ in stands⁴ for round bottomed cooking-pots, in fish creels,⁵ in baskets⁶ for fish or vegetables, in strainers,⁷ in rice sieves.⁸ There are utensils of dried coconut shell: ladles,⁹ bowls¹⁰ with rattan handles, spoons.¹¹ There is some important carved

1 *Kachip.* 2 *Sulang.* 3 *Saru.* 4 *Lehar.* 5 *Rajut.*
 6 *Raga.* 7 *Tapisan.* 8 *Nyiru.* 9 *Gayong.* 10 *Sikul (Pers.)*
 11 *Sēndok.*

wood-work: a parrot-shaped handle to sweet-rice spoons,¹ spoons with rudely carved foliated handles, oval carved enscrolled blocks² (such as are used also by Dyaks) for crushing salt and pepper, and last, but not least, cake-moulds,³ and a spurred coconut rasper.⁴ In the south of the Peninsula the coconut rasper is decorated with foliated carving like the pepper-block: in the far north, in Patani there is far wider scope in design, probably due to Cambodian influence, and coconut rasps are carved in the form of grotesque beasts, of human figures kneeling prostrate with the spur-scraper offered in uplifted hands; and there too cake-moulds bear the carved impress of buffaloes, elephants, cows, cocks, tortoises, axes, *k'ris*, horses even and pistols, while cake-moulds in the south have only conventional foliated designs.

Considerable interest attaches to the four methods of fire-making once in vogue in the Peninsula, the fire saw, the fire-drill and the fire-syringe, as they have been called, and the familiar flint and steel. The use of the fire-saw is still known to jungle Malays. A branch of soft, dry wood⁵ is taken, scooped out till a small orifice appears in the centre of the hollow; it is notched transversely across the orifice on the outer side and a piece of rattan⁶ passed underneath it and worked to and fro by hand till dust rises through the orifice and presently ignites. Another kind of fire-saw is made from a piece of sharp-edged split bamboo, which is worked quickly to and fro in a notch across a piece of bamboo split in half and filled with tinder.⁷ The fire-drill⁸ consists of a piece of friable wood in which a shallow groove or orifice is cut, the point of a hard stick is inserted and the drill stick

¹ *Sudip*: if large, *chéntong*.

² *Sengkalan*.

³ *Achuan kueh*.

⁴ *Kukuran nyru*.

⁵ *Telampong t'rap*.

⁶ *Rotan saga*.

⁷ *Raboh*

dudar. ⁸ *Punat basong*.

twirled rapidly between the palms of the hands with the action of one whisking an egg or a cocktail, till the dust got from the soft wool by friction smoulders. The fire-syringe¹ is made sometimes of wood, sometimes of tin; its piston of tin or hard wood is bound round the end with cloth, just as the piston-end of a European glass syringe is bound with cotton, and the end of the piston is slightly hollowed to receive tinder; to make the tinder catch fire, the piston is driven smartly into the cylinder and abruptly withdrawn. It has been found rarely in the Peninsula and also in Borneo (where it is called the tin fire-syringe). I am not certain if its use is known in the south of the Peninsula. It is obviously a fairly advanced method of fire-making, and it is said to be commonly found among Indonesian peoples.

For cooking-vessels, there is the earthenware pot and steamer,² and of later use a number of brass and iron vessels, a covered brass rice-pot,³ a large open brass pot⁴ for sweetmeat cookery, a large open iron stew-pot,⁵ a huge iron cauldron,⁶ an open iron frying-pan.⁶ The cooking-place⁶ is an arrangement of stones on which the pots are placed; above it is a shelf¹⁰ on which firewood is laid to dry, and more wood is stacked beside the fire-place. There is a grindstone¹¹ for curry-stuffs and a tiny stone mortar¹² for pounding chillies and other edible pods. In the parlour of the kitchen there will be large earthenware water-jars¹³ and some basins¹⁴ for washing and culinary purposes.

The rest of the house is devoted to middle-age and meals: the best bed-room, in homes where there are daughters of marriageable age, to the apotheosis of youth. Here will be kept the finest furniture, the

1 *Gobek api.* 2 *Bélanga.* 3 *Kukusan tanah.* 4 *Pétiok.*

5 *Géréngang.* 6 *Kanchah.* 7 *Kawah.* 8 *Kuali.* 9 *Tungku.*

10 *Para api.* 11 *Batu giling.* 12 *Batu lisang.* 13 *Timpayan.*

14 *Tiréngang (brass): pisa.*

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

¹ *Pintas kecil.*

² *Papan bertebok awan Jawa atau awan*

Pilembang, bunga bangs, awan larat, etc.

³ *Tikar berlangkat, e.g.,*

pitirana, used by reigning princes of seven thicknesses; puchar, of five used by chiefs like the bendahara, chu of three.

⁴ *Kampok.*

⁵ *Bantal*

su-rugi.

⁶ *Pintas besar or gerai.*

⁷ *Kedah folk, it is said, used*

only this bed platform for the *sanding*, whereas Perak and the southern States, with more delicacy, have a similar platform erected in the central room for that function. The arch over the front of the *sanding* platform is called *puntu gedong*: the inner space *goa*.

⁸ *Di-hulas dengan kertas merah kuning ijau biru unika jenis warna kertas-nya itu; bertebok berawan larat semua-nya ya-stu tebok buang-buangan nama-nya ya-ari yang tebok berawan-stu kertas merah atau apa-apa macham warna-nya dim tanah-nya kertas putih atau perada ketarak atau peradu. Siang; yang sudah di-tebok itu di-pelkatkan di-atas kertas tanah itu.*

⁸ *Langit-langit.*

an oblong hollow pillow,¹ made of white cloth stretched over a wooden frame, its ends adorned with embroidery or silver plates, and on this pillow will be laid a prized *kēris* and two or three round pillows with decorated ends facing outwards. Above it all will tower the triangular pyramidal back² to the dais, decorated with coloured paper, and sometimes exhibiting the tiered roof with upcurving crockets found in Buddhist *wats*, though the pyramidal shape is not, I believe, common in the south. Below the hollow oblong pillow are laid flat³ sleeping pillows, and then comes the bed proper, covered with a mattress, on which are laid two mats, one for bride and one for groom, with embroidered corners and of several thicknesses according to rank; one or more long Dutch-wife pillows⁴ stretch the length of the mats; perhaps a silk coverlet⁵ will be spread. There will be various household articles inside this mosquito-curtain: on the inner wall side of the bed, at the head, between the sleeping pillows and the *bantal saraga*, are kept squat, round-lidded boxes⁶ of Palembang brass or Palembang lacquer, receptacles for clothes and toilet necessaries; and there is a wooden clothes-rack,⁷ carved with upturned crockets, suspended from the mosquito-net or standing in the inner side of the bed.

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

¹ *Bantal sa raja mwan bunga nagasari.* ² *Gunang gunung.* ³ *Bantal pepak.* ⁴ *Bantal gulang; bantal pelok.* ⁵ *Gitar.* ⁶ *Tabuk (Ar.) Bintang (Malacca), Bangking* urn shaped and used at weddings. ⁷ *Sangkut birsulor bayong.*

DRESS.

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

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

Narrow lengths of patterned fabric

Work of Coromandel craftsmen,

Woven part in looms of China,

Part by weavers gilled like fishes;

Stretched, as wide as earth and heaven,

Folded, small as nail on finger."

With marvellous dexterity he contrived to adjust this barbaric plenty to a fair standard of good taste. It is true that he often revels in grandiloquent phrases from Sanskrit, Tamil, Persian, Arabic and so on; they are heirlooms and sound like that "blessed word Mesopotamia" in romance, but they do not command his attention. All the time he is busy peering over his acquisitions with the curious eyes of a naive child, inventing labels for them drawn from aboriginal intimacy with nature. The gold spots on his coat are labelled "the scattered rice-grains" or "bees on the wing"; the patterns on his skirt "the chequer board," "the bamboo spikes," "the jump three stripe"; if his skirt be heavy with gold thread, it is dubbed "the cloth that would sink a junk." His bracelet is oval without and flat within, and he names it "the split rattan" bangle. He welcomes foreign skill, but he insists on having goods conform to his taste: there is a story that Sultan Muhamad, of Malacca, sent a messenger to the land of the Klings to order forty lengths of forty different kinds of flowered cloth,³ and that none of the designs brought suited the messenger's fancy till, at last, he drew designs himself, so beautiful and intricate as to amaze the craftsmen.

¹ *Lēhēh pāngunching Kaabah Allah.* ² *Puncho kilambu saul Allah.*

³ *Kain strauah.*

The Malay has the faculty of criticising as well as the generous faculty of admiration. In "Anggun Che Tunggal" the young hero dresses all in black, but his mother tells him he looks like a flock of crows; changes into complete white, whereupon she likens him to a flock of storks; changes into red, when she compares him with the hibiscus aflame at daybreak; and he only satisfies her by donning garments of contrasted colour. But though he assorts, the Malay never discards. He adopts the jacket, and the old shoulderscarf becomes a head shawl¹ for his women, a waist band for himself, a stole at court, a cordon at wedding ceremonies; he adopts trousers, and the skirt is a useful receptacle of baggage, a handy change at the journey's end, a decent tribute to the dictates of his religion. He has an accumulation of centuries and civilisations in the way of jewellery, the greater part sacred from immemorial superstition; good taste forbids him to flaunt it all, but apports this to his tiny children, that to his unmarried daughters, and only sows with the sack on the occasion of a wedding. Moreover, not all the gold of the Indies has ousted the wrist-string as an amulet, nor till recently the ancient vanity of blackened teeth.² It is this conservatism which has left such a bewildering abundance of material for the study of his dress, and it was this conservatism which led Marsden to write, "We appear to the Sumatrans to have degenerated from the more splendid virtues of our predecessors. Even the richness of their laced suits and the gravity of their perukes attracted a degree of admiration, and I have heard the disuse of the large hoops worn by the ladies pathetically

¹ The following kinds are common: *Kain limau*, *kain tumpangun*; *kain Bali*; *kain Mantak*; *kain pelangi* or *kain Bawa*; *kain bunga chérnqek*; *kain pengiring qu'itu bérzular merah putih kuning*. ² *Dibuboh baja sèpèrti sayap kumbang padang bérkilat-kilat*.

lamented: the quick, and to them inexplicable, revolutions of our fashions are subject of much astonishment, and they naturally conclude that those modes can have but little intrinsic merit which we are so ready to change: or at least that our caprice renders us very incompetent to be the guides of their improvement." In the light of actual fact the concluding sentence seems singularly unfortunate. Criticism has assailed the originality of every Malay garment except the chequer skirt.

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

¹ Tali pisang, btang nanas

² Kain lepas.

³ Kain chokin.

⁴ Sarong.

distinguished from the town mouse by the hang of his skirt. There were modes fashionable at court: for chiefs the "skirt in puffs,"¹ for ladies the "billowy"² tempestuous swell.

The range in material and pattern is wide. To point a common distinction, there are two kinds of *sarong*, the chequer skirt of geometrical design³ and the flowered Javanese skirt⁴ on which figure birds and warriors. Did the chequer skirt accompany the race in a migration from the north? The *kain Champa* is of geometrical draught-board pattern: Patani and Kelantan still produce coarse chequer skirts of vegetable fibre: the chequer style must have been long and firmly established to resist the inroad of Javanese fashion, which succeeded only in capturing the headkerchief. In addition to these, there are two other kinds of material that deserve especial emphasis. There is the material of which Palembang and Batu Bara (and Asahan) produce varieties and which Trengganu imitates with its thin inferior silk; the style of the cloth of gold,⁵ the silk ground almost always a rich red, sometimes having a faint chequer traced in sparse white or blue or black threads; generally plain, and dependent for beauty on small geometrical and floral patterns⁶ interwoven in gold thread, with a mass of gold-thread decoration⁷ at the edge and on the *kĕpala sarong*. There is a Malay saying, "If you are about to die, go to Malacca; if you want pleasant dreams, to Palembang; if you desire good food, to Java; if you like fine clothes, to Batu Bara." Batu Bara silk was and is the wear for Malay nobility on occasions of state, for commoners at weddings: of it not only skirts but trousers, jackets

¹ *Kain kembang*. ² *Ombak bertudun*. ³ e.g., *Chorak damdam*; *tapak chatur*, *lĕlah kĕtupat*. ⁴ *Kain Batĕk*. ⁵ *Kain benang ĩmas*.
⁶ *ĩmas bertabur*, *bĕras patak*, *bunga kembang*, *bunga tunjong*, *bunga kĕrat nasi*, etc. ⁷ *Pĕkat songkit*, *puchok rĕbong*, *jong sarat*.

and pillow-cases are made. The other silk¹ which deserves study, being, so far as I know, peculiar to the north and hardly affected south of Perak, is woven in Pahang, Trengganu and Kelantan, and is found not only in *sarongs* but more particularly in that shoulder scarf which was the forerunner of the jacket: it is of exquisite harmonious sober colours, a blend of reds, yellows and greens, the shape of the pattern, if closely inspected, bearing a distant resemblance to the lime from which it has acquired its name: for that is the best and most typical pattern out of several species, such as the "clove-head," and so on.² There is one kind of silk which combines this pattern with the gold thread ornament of the Sumatran style.³ Yet another kind of fabric,⁴ employed less for skirt than for coat and kerchief, is a calendered silk stamped with design in gold-leaf by means of carved wooden blocks, a kind manufactured in Patani and Pahang. The word for silk is Sanskrit,⁵ which gives a clue to the source of its original adoption, but plain woven silk from China has long been used for the manufacture of some kinds of skirt and scarf. It is stained with aniline dyes to produce the "rainbow"⁶ silk made by Boyanese and in Singapore, now fashionable in place of costlier and heavier stuffs, worn oftenest as a scarf but sometimes as a *sarong* both by men and women. Formerly the cotton *sarong* was either coarse home-spun or, for the higher classes, calendered Bugis tartan cloth, but now the Coromandel⁷ or German tartan holds the field. The flowered Javanese skirt is worn sometimes by men as a loin-cloth with trousers, but, as a long skirt, is considered effeminate except for indoor *deshabille*.

¹ *Kain limau.* ² *Bunga chtagkeh, bunga rumput, biji asam, ulumbar nibong.* *Andak Mesak, masam kilat, ptrang rosak* are all patterns of Trengganu and Kelantan sarongs.

³ *Kain tinggarun.*

⁴ *Kain tilépok.* ⁵ *Sutira.* ⁶ *Kain ptilangi.* ⁷ *Di-géras.*

The Malay certainly went coatless in early historical times; the Chinese chroniclers repeatedly advert to the fact and it is only in their later records that "a short, jacket" is sometimes mentioned. Folk romances devoting lines of ballad verse to picturing the hero's skirt, dagger and head-kerchief dismiss his coat in a few Persian, Arabic or Portuguese phrases¹ descriptive of a foreign cloth, and there has never been any rigid royal etiquette in the matter of coats except in Java, where the garment was forbidden at courts. If Langgasu can refer to the old traditional kingdom of Langkasuka, then the chronicles give a picture of dress in the north of the Peninsula in the sixth century describing how "men and women have the upper part of the body naked, their hair hangs loosely down, and around their lower limbs they use only a *sarong* of cotton; the kings and nobles wearing a thin, flowered cloth (*sĕlending*) for covering the upper part of the body." Colonel Low, who went up the Perak river in 1826, remarks that "the women display a good deal of the upper part of the body, only throwing their upper dress, which is a narrow piece of cloth, carelessly across the breast." Even now Kelantan and Patani men wear no coats, but wrap a long sash about their waists which is often shifted to the shoulders, while the women following a fashion that obtains alike in Siam and in Java, "hitch a cloth round the body under the arms and above the bust,² which falls over the *sarong* to a few inches below the hips, being usually adjusted to reveal the figure as much as possible." In the fifteenth century the Chinese chronicles tell us how the "people of Banjarmasin wore a jacket with short sleeves, which they put on over their heads," and those of Malacca "a short jacket of flowered cotton": the former

¹ *Baju ain'ul-banat, b. sakhlat, b. bĕlĕdu.* ² *Kĕmban.*

statement being the earliest explicit allusion to the *baju kurong*. A coat with short sleeves¹ is the usual garb of princes of romance and may date from the days of the armlet: being worn with trousers of similar name and shortness, it was probably affected for fighting, while the common rank and file wore a straight coat² altogether sleeveless. The "Malay Annals" relate it was Tun Hassan, a great fop and *tēmēnggong* in the reign of Mahmud Shah, who first lengthened the skirts of the Malay coat and wore large and long sleeves, it having been formerly both short and straight, and how Tun Hassan was therefore celebrated in topical verse as requiring four cubits of cloth for his coat. There are, in brief, two styles, the coat open all down the front³ and coats with only a hole for the head to slip through.⁴ Commenting on them as they occur in a Besis saying:

"Who was it made the land Semuyong"

They who donned the round coat became retainers,

And mixed with strangers, the Malays of Bembau;

They who donned the split coat speak Besis."

Mr. Skeat boldly suggests that the styles possibly distinguished those who followed the *adat Tēmēnggong* and the *adat pērputeh* respectively. He remarks that the *baju kurong* is generally worn by Menangkabau Malays of the Negri Sembilan, and he might have added that the Naning regalia include such a coat, whose narrow opening, according to popular belief, will fit none but the *pēnghulu* or his destined successor.⁵ Java certainly would appear to affect the "split coat": Malay wedding garments are

1 *Baju ulang*. 2 *Baju pokok*. 3 *Baju btlah*. 4 *Baju kurong*.

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

mostly derived from Java and the wedding coat is open down the front: but the *baju kurong* has so long been universal among both sexes of the Malays that conjecture as to its original adoption is probably futile. Prior to the introduction of the *kĕbaya*, it was commonly the wear for women, short and reaching only to the *sarong*, or in the Malacca of Logan's day, "reaching to a little above the ankle, its cuffs fastened with buttons of gold and sometimes of diamonds." It is not surprising that feminine vanity soon discarded a style so disastrous to ordered tresses; and the long, shapeless *kĕbaya* of Portuguese name, and for indoors a short open jacket¹ fastened with brooches, are now universally worn by women. Men's coats are variations of the two main types: Chinese, Arabic and European influences leaving their mark, local Brummels and Worths of Johor and Malacca, Kedah and Penang accounting for minor differences of style. The coat double-breasted and tied at the side of the waist with strings, the coat² open down the front with frogged buttons are Chinese. Raffles detected traces of the old Friesland coat in Java; and many now obsolete Malay styles—the collar high at nape of neck,³ the sleeve tight at wrist and buttoned from the elbow down, the tailed⁴ or "winged" coat—all show traces probably of European patterns. The Zouave tunic and the pilgrim's flowing gown⁵ are Arabic. Women have borrowed underwear from India⁶ and lately from Europe. Men have long worn an undervest of linen or silk and now affect the zephyr. Newbold's picture of the Dato Klana of Sungai Ujong in 1833, shows how elaborate the vest would sometimes be: the passage is worth quoting in full. "His dress betrayed

¹ *Baju Jipun*. ² *Baju hanyut*. ³ *Baju kĕpok*. ⁴ *Baju bĕrayap layang-layang*. ⁵ *Baju sadĕriah*. *Jubah*. ⁶ *Chuli*.

a taste for finery, consisting of gaudy red surcoat flowered with yellow; a broad crimson sash encircling his waist, in which were inserted several weapons of the Malayan fashion; a Batek handkerchief with the bi-cornute tie and a plaid silk *sarong*, resembling the tartan worn by Highlanders, descending to the knees; underneath the plaid he wore short embroidered trousers. In the left-hand sash of his close vest of purple broadcloth, lined with light green silk and adorned with silk lace and small round buttons of gold filagree, was a watch¹ of antique shape, to which were appended a gold chain and seals. He wore his hair long, and very obvious it was to two of the five senses that he, when studying the graces, had no more spared the oil than Demosthenes himself."

Trousers² carry their alien origin even in their designation. Apart from the extreme improbability of a primitive race indulging in two entirely different kinds of garment for the nether limbs and from the silence of early travellers, we have the evidence of the chronicles that the people of Langkasu wore nothing but sarongs, and we know that the word is Persian out of Arabic. It is significant that Acheen, the earliest stronghold of Muhammadanism, has always been famous for its patterns:³ a sack-like shape designed, one might fancy, for the nether limbs of a bear, of enormous width and depth of seat, with a three-cornered embroidered piece called the "duck's web"⁴ at the back of the ankles. This pattern dominated the Peninsula, both for men and women of the higher class, till Chinese and European styles ousted it, and

¹ Or was this the watch-like box, *shifu*, for tobacco, commonly knotted to a corner of the *sapu tangan*, which was often thrown over the shoulder: now obsolete. ² *Seluar*. ³ Direct Achinese influence is discernible in Perak in the *selur lam Sayong* (vide p. 80); *lam* being, as Mr. Wilkinson has reminded me, the Achinese word for *Kampoa*: Sayong must be the village, formerly the seat of royalty on the Perak river. ⁴ *Tapak itak*.

the passion for trousers, inspired presumably by Islamic sentiment, took such a hold of the Malay mind that, south of Patani and Kelantan, the man who omitted the garment was considered a craven and Don Juan before the settled days of British protection. A confusing number of styles was in vogue: some were decorated with gold lace;¹ some had gold thread interwoven in the material up to the knee;² some were stamped with tracings in gold paint³ or adorned with inlet pieces⁴ of coloured glass; some woven in latitudinal stripes⁵ of red, yellow, white, black and so on. The "cut" in all cases was Achinese, or founded on Achinese but without the "duck web."⁶ And, indeed, in the Malay world, the only other patterns that are found are Chinese and European and variations of them. Two kinds of scant workaday trews deserve mention: the short, tight Bugis trousers⁷ worn by Malay miners, and the short loose Chinese trousers,⁸ reaching barely below the knee, which are commonly worn in the wet rice-fields.

A very early fashion in belts was a narrow woven band,⁹ with a loop for the *kēris* at one end, to be wound outside the deep waist-cloth; and we also find a band of scarlet cloth, adorned with inlet pieces of glass, with sequins and embroidery. A few decades ago there was common a pouch-belt,¹⁰ the pouch a foot long and two or three inches deep with a slit in the middle; looped at one end, with a string ending in a button at the other, by which it was fastened round the body. Quite recently and still up-country, for ornament rather than utility, was worn a loose hanging belt¹¹ derived, perhaps, from Chinese influence, of woven silver wire¹² or of silver coins, such

¹ *S. pēdēndang.* ² *S. bērchanggal emas.* ³ *S. bērtēlēpok.*
⁴ *S. bērchērmin.* ⁵ *S. ēmpat sa-karup; tigu sa-lampat.* ⁶ *S. Batu*
Bara. ⁷ *S. sampak.* ⁸ *S. kotong, or kutok.* ⁹ *Bēlong.*
¹⁰ *Pēmbēlit.* ¹¹ *Gēndit.* ¹² *Bērtulang bēlut.*

as is worn at Patani weddings and often affected by *ma'yang* dancers. Women have always worn a silver or silk waist-band with a large metal buckle in front, a buckle which was once and for wealthy fops is still a part of male attire. But the waist-cloth of romance, the waist-cloth¹ of princes and warriors in turbulent times was a deep fringed sash, wound round and round the body and capable of resisting a dagger thrust. Sometimes it was the product of Malay looms, stiff with gold or silver thread or interwoven with Arabic texts; sometimes it was an Indian fabric, whose sheen of shot mottled colour, probably, won it a nickname after a snake² and a reputation for being able, if fumigated, to turn itself into its reptile prototype and render its owner's body invulnerable and his house safe from thieves.

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

In this broad sash were thrust betel utensils and an array of weapons. For an invariable item of Malay dress before European regulations were enforced, was one or more often three daggers. Munshi Abdullah relates how, when it was proposed to forbid the wearing of weapons at Singapore, the chiefs complained to Raffles that daggerless they felt naked; and he tells us how, on his visit to Trengganu and Kelantan, he found the inhabitants of those countries all armed with “six or seven javelins, a *kēris*, a

¹ *Bēngkong* (or *sabok*, Jav.) ² *Kain chindai*—from Gujerat C. and S.: “A *Kilewang* wrapped in unmade *chindai*” is enumerated by Marsden among the regalia of Menangkabau.

chopper, or cutlass, or sword, or a long *këris* in their hands and sometimes a gun." The dagger is still a part of court dress and the quality of the mounting a privilege of rank. Princes of the highest rank may have sheath and hilt of gold;¹ others only the long piece of the sheath;² chiefs only the lower half-length of the sheath,³ with ornament of silver or gold cord⁴ above. The Malacca code laid down that "persons not attached to the palace are not allowed to wear a *këris* with a golden handle⁵ weighing an ounce without express permission from the king, except the bendahara and children and grand-children of the king; the penalty being confiscation of the weapon." The fashion of wearing a dagger is almost obsolete in the Protected States and the only enthusiasts in the matter are a few old men to whom the Sultan's permit to carry a *këris* is a visible sign of their untitled gentility. If an offensive weapon is required, the small "pepper-crusher"⁶ the straight *badik* or the curved Arabic "ripper," all of which are easy to conceal, are carried under the coat. But a superstitious reverence for the *këris* still obtains and folk are readier to dispose of its gold sheath than of a rusted blade, which may bring good luck to house and crops. The *këris* has gone. But every peasant tucks into the folds of his skirt a chopper,⁷ which serves, like Hudibras' sword, for almost all those manual purposes of life that require a knife.

If the wearing of weapons has died out, the use of shoes has come in. Shoes and socks are modern additions to Malay attire. In his voyage referred to above, Munshi Abdullah tells how, in 1835, he saw no

¹ *Këris tërapang gabus.* ² *K. tërapang.* ³ *K. pëndok* (Jav.)

⁴ *Tulstuli.* Does Newbold's reference to the "*tali-tali*, a rattan appendage for fastening the dagger into the belt," throw light on the origin of this ornament? The shape would lead one to suppose so.

⁵ *Ulu këchana* (Jav.). ⁶ *Tumbuk lada.* ⁷ *Golok* (Jav.)

shoes in Kelantan on the foot of man, woman or prince, and the description of princely raiment in folk romances never includes any foot-covering. India, by way of Palembang, has furnished a sandal with cross-strap,¹ such as Chetties always wear; China, pattens² with a large bone or silver knob to be gripped by the big toe; Turkey, velvet heelless slippers, worked with gold and silver thread and sequins; Portugal, the name of a boot;³ Europe generally, a variety of wonderful fashions so little understood that there are still many counterparts to the Sultan whom Sir Frank Swettenham describes as wearing sky-blue canvas shoes on stockingless feet. Tamil⁴ and Arabic⁵ names for shoes furnish epithets for royalty which may embody a primitive respect for foot-gear, but have left no special patterns.

Crawfurd would further rob the Malay of the credit of a head-dress, remarking that "the ancient practice of the Indian islanders with respect to the head appears to have been to leave it uncovered, and the Balinese still adhere to this practice." The Chinese chronicles give colour to the theory. I speak under correction, but it is strange that the name for the head-kerchief seems Malay. Of Kedah, if Kalah be Kedah, before the tenth century, the chronicles record that "only functionaries are allowed to tie up their hair and to wrap a handkerchief round their heads"; of Malacca in the fifteenth century, that "the men of the people wrap up their heads in a square piece of cloth." The oldest style known is that "square piece of cloth,"⁶ a form evidently determined by the obsolete fashion of wearing the hair long. The kerchief of heroes of folk-romance is

¹ *Chapal*.

² *Térompa*.

³ *Sipatu*.

⁴ *Chéru*.

⁵ *Kaus*.

⁶ *Téngkolok*.

always "rainbow" silk, probably of Indian manufacture, though nowadays the attribute would signify a famous modern pattern of Boyanese design. But the universal wear for at least a century has been, for chiefs and commoners *batek* cloth; for rajas on high occasions gold-threaded Batu Bara or gold-painted silk kerchiefs. The methods of tying them have been legion and had considerable significance. In Java, in Acheen, in the Negri Sembilan, the origin of the wearer could be inferred from his manner of folding it. In Perak only the three highest officers of state could fold it high on one side and low on the other, "like a young coconut split in halves";¹ only rajas could fold it with one corner erect "like the leaf of a bean";² only great chiefs could wear it down over the poll, "taut as the cover of a pickle pot";³ warriors used the style called "the fighting elephants"⁴ with two corners of the kerchief drawn forward like jutting tusks; commoners wrapped their kerchiefs in the style of "the fowl with the broken wing,"⁵ throwing one end limp over the top. Other fashions have such picturesque names as "the tail of the bulbul," "the beak of the parrot," "the calladium leaf," "the deer's ear," each expressive of the most prominent peculiarities in the folding. Logan has recorded that even in his day the fashions were practically obsolete in Johore and Singapore; and the younger generation is everywhere discarding the kerchief and does not know the names of its styles.

The head-kerchief was supplanted by a succession of cylindrical caps, all ultimately, it would appear, of Arab origin.⁶ There is the light neat cap woven of rotan or fern-stem,⁷ surmounted often by a gold

¹ *Satek mumbang di-belah dua.* ² *S. kachang sa-helai.* ³ *S. gatang perkusam.*
⁴ *S. gajah berjjuang.* ⁵ *S. ayam patah kepak.*
⁶ *Kopiah.* ⁷ *Résam.*

or silver button-ornament on the top; there is the cap¹ "which greatly resembles the Malacca cap in colour, its body is made of close-pressed tree-cotton divided into narrow, vertical ribs by stitching on the lining: on this thin strips of silk or cotton stuffs of various colours are worked together so as to give the impression, when seen from a distance, of a piece of coarse European worsted work; between these ribs is often fastened gold thread, spreading at the top into ornamental designs." The hideous pert Turkish fez is common. A white crocheted skull cap² is affected by the religious. All the foregoing may have a kerchief wound round their lower edge as turban. Commonest of all styles is the natty, low, cylindrical cap of velvet or frieze, sometimes decorated with slashed borders of black and coloured silk. Peasants don, as a sun-guard, a conical-shaped hat³ made of palm-leaf and rotan, like the hats depicted on Chinese tea-caddies but straight from top to brim and not concave. Bridegrooms often wear merely the head-kerchief, but common is a turban-like head-dress, which has, among others, a Persian name⁴ like the bride's fringe. It is a round band, stuffed with cotton-wool, covered with red cloth pasted over with gilt paper cut into patterns, or, in the case of royalty, of gold or bound round and round with gold tinsel: it may have a fine gold fringe⁵ along its lower edge: one end is upturned: an erect aigrette⁶ is tucked above it, from which hang pendants⁷ of tinsel or fine gold filigree. It is worn in Perak by the Raja Muda (and, I believe, by the Sultan) on the occasion of his installation: a fashion which, in conjunction with the

1 *Kopiah Arab*. 2 *Sangkak*. 3 *Tirendak bentan*. 4 *Ditatar*. (How Persian and Arabian influence worked its way into a Court may be seen from Mr. Wilkinson's Introduction to *The Ninety-nine Laws of Perak* in this series). Mr. Skout says it is also called *sigar* in Selangor: in Perak it is *tangkalak bersitang*, in Patani, *pamantil*. 5 *Kida-kida*. 6 *Tajak*. 7 *Rumbay, gunjar, malin, gedabah*.

jewellery of the Perak Court, shows the remarkable continuity of custom inherited by Perak from the usages of the court of the old kingdom of Malacca: the same tradition obtains, of course, in Johore and Pahang, but circumstances have given these countries little opportunity of conserving it intact. The "Malay Annals" are quite clear on the point: "Every candidate for installation got a change of costume; a candidate for the office of bendahara, five trays-full—one containing a coat, one a skirt, one a turban (*dēstar*), one a scarf, one a waist-cloth; sons of rajas, viziers and men of princely rank (*kshatriya*) four trays-full, the waist-cloth omitted; court attendants warriors, three trays-full—namely, skirt, coat and turban. After they had donned this costume, attendants adjusted a frontlet on their brows and armlets on the upper arm, because all candidates wore armlets according to rank: some armlets decorated with dragons, full of charms and enchantments, some jewelled armlets, some armlets with projecting ends, some in the form of a blue ring, some silver armlets, some a pair, some a single armlet."

This passage introduces us to jewellery, which forms a part ethnologically very important in Malay dress, and which may be studied preeminently in the dress of bride and bridegroom. Again the Perak court has preserved tradition. Both sexes wear the dragon-headed¹ armlet¹ as it occurs in Java; both sexes wear a long gold chain of Javanese name² tucked into the waist-band on the left side. Besides these, they wear a number of other ornaments which differ not in character but only in quality from those used by lesser folk. Both sexes, as in Java, wear

¹ *Pantok bérnaga* and *pantok*.

² *Kengkulong*.

an oval buckle,¹ or rather ornament of gold or silver or *jadam*-ware or even brass, according to their rank and means: the older specimens all having conventionalised lotus-flower centres, others the signs of the Zodiac, and some of *jadam* an Arabic text. Both sexes wear hollow anklets² and bracelets³ such as occur in Java; but the bride wears, in addition, peculiar bracelets,⁴ a badge of virginity, whose ends are shaped like the side of a flat triangular spoon. Both sexes wear a breast ornament⁵ worn in Java, consisting of tiers of gold plates, and above it, as in Java, an ornament⁶ commonly worn by children, circular⁷ for male, crescent shaped for female, of gold filigree-work. In place of turban, the bride wears a gold (or gilt-paper) frontlet⁸ upon her brows, like that used both by bride and groom in Java: it is surmounted by a garden of paper blossoms⁹ stuck on nodding wires, and gold flowers are fixed by golden hair-pins¹⁰ on the top of her chignon. Both sexes wear a variety of rings, some plain and dubbed after their shapes, the "sated leech"¹¹ (on the index finger of the right hand), the "elephant-foot bezel"¹² (on the little finger of the same hand: some set with stones and called, for example, "the garden of fire-flies"¹³ on the ring finger. The bride also wears a ring remarkable for a ruby-eyed filigree gold peacock¹⁴ perched in place of a bezel: a ring which is always worn along with a "protector"¹⁵ for the long finger-nail of leisure that looks like a glorified cheese-scoop. "They wore a girdle of gold and golden rings in their ears," we are told of the

¹ *Pindang* ² *Kitachong* ³ *Gelang kama bertunggal bertukwang berpahat tiruc biraaku keluang dua tingkat* ⁴ *Gilang biraudu*
⁵ *Dokoh* ⁶ *Agok* ⁷ *Bunga Kamhong* ⁸ *Klat dah tyandek*
 Mal.) ⁹ *Bunga ketar* ¹⁰ *Porkok tanggul, tumang standok*
¹¹ *Chinchen perhat kinyang* ¹² *Ch. tapak gajak* ¹³ *Kunang-kunang sa kabun* ¹⁴ *Miak* ¹⁵ *Channgul* (vide "Malay Magic," p. 46).

kings and nobles of Langgasu. At the foundation of Palembang both sexes were adorned with ear-rings but now the bride only wears ear-rings,¹ round, the size of a penny, a badge of virginity, and these are giving way to small drops² and pendants.³ The bridegroom's dagger⁴ may have a golden sheath and gold or ivory haft: for is he not a king for the day?

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

The bride wears necklaces other than those already cited, but they are of foreign origin and comparatively modern: the Manilla chain,⁵ to which allusion is made in the "Sejarah Melayu;" a chain named after a Persian coin;⁶ a necklace of oval beads, usually⁷ of gold, but called after Arabian coral;⁷ a chain with tiny casket containing an Arabian amulet.⁸ Among the heirlooms of the Perak sultanate is "a very strange breast ornament⁹ for adorning the front of a woman's dress; it is made

1 *Subang*. 2 *Subang gantung*. 3 *Orlit*. 4 In *Palani* he wears the *Tajong* or 'kingfisher' hilted *kéris*. 5 *Rantai Manilla*. 6 *Rantai dirham*. 7 *Mérjan*. 8 *Azimat*. 9 *Kanching alkah*.

up of six dragons: the two upper dragons approach each other with their heads and tails while their bodies curve outwards; between their heads is a fish; below them are two dragons stretching downwards parallel to one another; below these, two more dragons crossed. The whole ornament is made of a sort of mosaic of poor gems. It is not Malayan, and it has an Arabic name.

The trail of Chinese and European influence, tiresome as mediocrity, is over all Malay ornament now that the feudal age with its patient unpaid craftsmen has passed and fearful respect for rank has given place to a democratic ostentation which would have been quashed by *kēris* and fine of old. Women and children, both boys and girls, wear necklaces, bracelets, anklets and rings with their best clothes, but the oldest ornaments are dying out, except that children still wear the *aqok* and a fig-shaped "modesty-piece," fastened by a string, where the sculptor from similar motives places a leaf." Men's jewellery consists, now, of gold coat buttons, watch-chain and rings; for which the poorer substitute iron, silver, pinchbeck or brass, while the severe and the poorest wear no jewellery at all, excusing poverty of attire with a wealth of religious conviction. The *kēbaya* has brought into fashion a set of three brooches,² sometimes studded with brilliants, oftener with rubies or cornelians, two of them circular, one heart-shaped. Tiger claws, mounted in gold, are a favourite ornament. The ear-rings now commonly worn are tiny studs,³ drops⁴ and pendants.⁵

Ladies daub their faces and the faces of their children with a white⁶ or yellow⁷ paste which takes

1 *Chaping*. 2 *Kēroung*. 3 *Kērah*. 4 *Subang gantung*.

5 *Anting-anting*; *tauqe* (Chinese and bean-shaped); *orbit*, of diamond and attached behind the lobe of the ear. 6 *Bidak*. 7 *Borih*.

the place of the European lady's puff-powder and, like that, finds excuse in alleged cooling properties. Both sexes once affected blackened teeth¹ in preference to the white teeth "of a dog"; but the dog and better taste have now won the day, though it is still usual for girls to have their teeth filed down to a uniform level. The bride's nodding artificial flowers, the bridegroom's floral pendants, the blossoms stuck behind the ear of the candidate installed in office, all bear witness to a time when the use of flowers was usual. In the "Malay Annals," we are told, as the mark of a dandy, that he wore over the ear a nosegay of green *chämpaka* blossoms. Folk-tales often allude to the ear posy, a symbolical present between lovers. Probably it is to the severity of Islam that we owe the entire discontinuance of this pretty fashion for men and the fact that flowers in hair are considered the sign of a light woman. In the north of the Peninsula women still wear jasmine in their chignons, and *munshi* Abdullah tells how he saw women of Kelantan decked with garlands of flowers down to the knee, strung in beautiful patterns such as were never heard of in Malacca or Singapore.

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

Apa guna bërambut panjang.

Kalau tidak bërani mati!

Isolated instances may still be found, though Muhammadanism and European example have made shaving, or at least short hair, the rule, as also

¹ Vide "Malay Magic" pp. 352-300, and for the Malay locus *cinnaecus*, Ht. *Awang Sulang Merah Muda* (pp. 15 and 67), edited by A. J. Sturrock and R. O. Winstedt.

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

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

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

¹ *Lipat pندان or lintang sangkut*. ² *Sanggul siput*. ³ *T'ranggul bernama nasi s'kebat, ya-ani bubat dan leras, gan-ang.* *Sanggul kibang.*
⁴ *Sanggul nona, if in front, S' agam mang'gram, if on top of the head.*
Other fashions are *sanggul Séran, sanggul toda lambong.*

⁵ *Sanggul bernama tujuh lipat,*
Tujuh lipat, simblan kulai,
Ular berbilit naga berketahi,
Anak rambut runting pilai;
Ekur rambut kera berpuntai.

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

This is an account² of the dress of rajas, chiefs, gentry, *sayids* and their descendants of various degree, of rajas' slaves and of the common folk, both male and female. A great *raja* would wear red silk trousers, with a chevron pattern in gold thread running up each leg from the bottom, fastened at the waist by a piece of thinner cloth sewn on the top of the silk trouser and by a cord. His coat would be short-sleeved and have one gold button at the throat; his skirt be of Bugis silk; his waist cord of gold thread with fringed ends wound outside the skirt, nine cubits in length. In that cord he would thrust a *kêris* mounted with ivory hilt, the entire scabbard and fittings

1 *Nyur gading.* 2 For the Malay original, see Appendix pp. 79-82.

being of gold. His head-kerchief would be of silk, decorated with tiny gold patterns, or embroidered with the Creed in Arabic characters: it would be tied in the fashion called "the young coconut split in halves": that is, it would stand up on the right side and lie smooth on the left, one end jutting out prominently. He would wear a short-sleeved silk inner vest with a fine pattern in white, yellow and black, like shredded ginger to look at. The Raja Muda and the Raja Bendahara would affect trousers adorned with gold braid, inset pieces of coloured glass and sequins round the bottoms. Their skirts would be decorated with tiny patterns in gold. Their waist-bands, in length ten cubits or eleven with the fringes, would have a large mottled snaky pattern. Their *kris*s would be sheathed in gold only half way up the scabbard, and above have gold cord ornament. Their jackets would be (?) short-sleeved, and their skirts of medium length. Their head-kerchiefs would be tied in the fashion called "the single bean-leaf": that is, three of its points would be brought forward and one stand erect. The Raja Muda's dress would be all yellow. The four great chiefs and the eight great chiefs and members of their families would wear trousers woven in latitudinal stripes of four colours; coats with "winged" skirts, collars high at the back, and one gold button at the throat. As for the sixteen lesser chiefs and the thirty-two lesser chiefs, the old men wore any kind of cylindrical cap if they favoured it; trousers of silk or cotton, of the Achinese pattern, for which Kampong Sayong was famous, the bottoms of the trousers decorated with sparse gold thread only as far as their calves; a full skirt of Batu Bara silk or chequered Peninsular pattern; a silk waist cloth of the "lime" pattern, without or with gold thread interwoven; a head-kerchief of fine Batek cloth, tied either in the style called "the bowl with the broken wing," with one end lopping over in front, or taut over the skull in the style called "the pickle-pot cover"; if they preferred the cylindrical cap, it was of fern-stem, or embroidered with the Creed, or of Arab fashion. All headmen wore trousers long, or of Chinese pattern but narrower at the leg; jackets with only a slit for the head, one button at the throat, and wide sleeves; or jackets of the Teluk Blanga style, that is, with collar, three buttons and three pockets; inside the coat skirts with a tiny bee-like pattern; they affected Batek head kerchiefs tied in the style of "the pickle-pot cover," or else cylindrical Arab caps.

Sayids dressed, some like headmen some like pilgrims returned from the Haj; their descendants wore trousers of Batu Bara silk with the "duck's web" ornament at the ankles; white coats open down the front, with five buttons and three pockets; skirts of Palembang silk; black cylindrical hats of fern-stem or head-kerchief of Batek cloth tied taut in the "pickle-pot lid" fashion. Court attendants dressed in similar style, but all who had free entrance to the palace would wrap their skirts outside their coats. On the left side of their waist-bands they thrust a *kèris* sheathed in yellow wood with a gold-cupped ivory haft, the nose of the haft pointing to the left too and the haft itself wrapped in a kerchief of cloth of gold. Commoners wore Chinese trousers; a coat open down the front and folded across, with one button at the throat; tartan cotton skirt; a head-kerchief of Batek cloth from Semarang looms, two of the ends pointing towards the back of the head and a piece of them covering the nape of the neck in the style known as "the sitting hen." Old folk wore a cap twisted of screw-palm leaf wound round with white or coloured cloth, their coats, trousers and skirts of coarse white linen. Princesses wore silk cloth-of-gold trousers of the Achinese shape, with the "duck's web" flap at ankle and full silk skirts; their jackets were short, of satin flowered in various colours, red, blue, purple or with gold thread; they had a slit for the head to go through and sleeves that were tight at wrist, the hem round edge of neck and sleeves being set with gold ornaments; they wore a waist-buckle to fasten their skirts; their shoulder-scarves were of cloth-of-gold of various patterns, or silk of various patterns, or Batek cloth, or Siamese silk; their skirts were cloth-of-gold from Batu Bara, silk of fine patterns, silk from Palembang, or silk with tiny embroidered flowers tied in the style called "the rolling wave": that is, wrapped round from the right-hand side and fastened on the left. All women dressed alike except that it was forbidden the common sort to imitate the dress of princesses and ladies. Court attendants could enter the presence with the ends of their shoulder-scarves hanging loosely down, but other women were strictly forbidden to do so and had to remove the scarf from their shoulders, gathering two ends of it in their hands before them. For gold ornaments: first there were jacket buttons, then a ring of fine decoration like "the blossom of the coconut

palm a ring with bezel as heavy as an elephant's foot, gold **and blossom** for the hair and gold or silver tinsel flowers, gold hair-pins, gold earrings set with rubies or one or more diamonds, or gold filigree ear-studs; hollow tinkling anklets of gold or silver called "the sleeping lanterns." Virgins wore a solid bracelet with spoon-like ends of gold or of alloy with gold ends; large round filigree earrings set with a ruby or a turquoise; a gold bead necklace. Boys wore a waist-belt of gold or silver cord; gold bracelets, flat within and oval without; round anklets of gold or alloy; a round gold filigree pendant set with one stone, attached to a gold or silver neck-chain with bean shaped fastening; they also wore a gold bead necklace. Little girls wore the spoon-end bracelets; a crescent-shaped gold filigree pendant; a necklace of gold coin-shaped filigree discs or a gold chain, and a gold bead necklace; they wore small round earrings set with one stone. Their garments were like those of their elders, but the children of common folk might not dress like the children of princes, above that station to which it had pleased God to call them.

FOOD

It is related of a mediæval Malay embassy to China that the Emperor asked what food Malacca folk were fond of, and on getting the preconcerted reply—"Kangkong, not cut, but split lengthwise," set a dish before them which they proceeded to eat deliberately, taking them by the tip of the stalk, lifting up their heads and opening wide their mouths so that they might thus obtain a full view of the Emperor without offence to court etiquette. The device was not elegant, but it is hardly an exaggeration of what the European conceives Malay table manners to be: the shovelling of gobbets by dexterous greasy fingers to an up-turned mouth; the unclean civility of transferring in the aforesaid fingers spiced morsels to his guest's plate: the belch as a concluding grace

in the ritual of a peculiar courtesy. Again, the ordinary view of Malay food is exactly reflected in the sententious phrases with which that chartered admirer of European habits, Munshi Abdullah, turns up a methodical nose at the fare of his unsophisticated brethren of the East Coast: "I saw all manner of vegetables and vegetable condiments in the market, and spiced condiments and curries, but stinking stuffs predominated: fish-stock preserve, salted durian, dried fish, salted cockles, vile smelling jungle pods, and many kinds of condiment made of fish, and rank fish-paste, and sea-weed, and tree-shoots. What I did not see was respectable food, like meat, dripping, eggs, butter and milk."

It is only fair to look at the matter from the other side too. Perverse, perhaps, as the Egyptian of Herodotus' pages, the Malay looks at the white man's silent consumption of victuals as an act of animal gluttony, and prefers to sound repletion in his host's ear with no uncertain note. Unlike our great unwashed, he is most punctilious in the ablution of hands and mouth: originally he may have been satisfied with his fingers from poverty of invention; but when knives and spoons have been within reach for centuries, he has refrained because, while it is possible to keep his feeding hand from all defilement, it is hard to supervise the uncertain destinies of a spoon. It is true that in common with "the Burmese, the Kasias, the Nagas of our Bengal frontiers and even the Chinese, and on the other hand the Javanese, the Balinese and the races of Sumatra," he exhibits an unholy aversion to milk and a depraved liking for stinking fish-paste, but were some cataclysm of nature to add to the zoology of his clime grouse and pheasant and sleek milch kine,

he might develop a taste for high game and gorgonzola and he would certainly become addicted to milk and beef: on the pilgrimage he learns to appreciate the flesh-pots of Arabia, and in his own towns he falters after the Western ideal with the help of margarine and tinned milk of the Milkmaid brand! He cannot be accused of insular prejudice: the Chinaman, the Indian, the Javanese, the Arab, the Portuguese, the Dutch have all added recipés to his repertory of dishes.

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

¹ *Rojak*.

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

highest favour that could be bestowed on a subject from a prince's hand, or rather mouth. But the younger generation no longer admires the red saliva, the teeth-blackening effect, and so has discarded betel for "Cycle" cigarettes and the Burma cheroot: perhaps a more liberal diet and the cultivation of a more sensitive palate has hastened its disuse.

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

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

Malay cooks differ as to how exactly this consummation is to be attained: some advocate some dislike stirring with spoon, but the general principle is to put the rice into an earthen vessel, with enough water to cover it, let it simmer over a slow fire, taking off all impurities with a flat ladle and removing the fire from under the pot when the rice is just short of burning. To an epicure well cooked rice is the alpha, just as well-spiced condiments are the omega, of good curry. Unfortunately for European taste, at marriages and festivals the Malay cook will try

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

Take any edible vegetable leaf or fruit, and potatoes. Peel or slice them as the case may be, rejecting those that have been eaten by slugs. Clean and wash in a strainer several times. Mix a few dried prawns, one pepper seed, and an onion sliced; grind all together. Take the milk of a ripe coconut. Put the aforesaid vegetables and spices into an earthen vessel, close the lid and place it on the fire. If the⁵ vegetables taste saltish, plunge a burning brand into the pot and the salt taste will vanish.

1 *Nasi minyak* or *nasi samin*. 2 *Nasi lemak*. 3 *Nasi kunyit*.

4 In Malacca there is a kind called *chênchalok* made of shrimps only. Another common paste is *pikasam*, made of crushed and salted shell-fish. *Bêlachan*, is called by the Burmese *ngape*, by Javanese *têrasi*, by Siamese *kape*. 5 *Sayur masak lemak putek*.

Or¹ put in some chillies, and use dripping or oil in place of coconut milk. Or² use for spices pepper, turmeric, onion, garlic, fish-paste and dried prawns. Or³ pound coriander, carraway, turmeric and pepper, and fry onions and garlic with your vegetables. And so on, and so on, in a number of distinct ways. A safe rule in all Malay curry dishes is: never stint your coconut milk; a rule the observance of which differentiates the Malay from the Madras curry.

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

Take your fish or fowl and clean and prepare them. Grind up together the spices—namely, pepper, an onion, garlic, salt, fresh turmeric: chop fine a little *lengkuas* (*alpinia galanga*), a little citronella grass, shred a little ginger. Put all the spices with the fish or fowl. Pour in coconut milk. Add one or two acid limes (*asam gelugur*). Cook in a clay vessel to the boiling point.⁴

Prepare your fish or fowl. Shred onion, garlic, pepper, ginger; crush two or three pieces of turmeric. Put these spices with the fish or fowl and pour in coconut milk. Fry some shredded onion crisp. Put spices, coconut oil and fried onion into an earthen pot and cook to boiling point. Add two or three

¹ E.g., *sayur rebah bangun*.

² E.g., *sayur tétong masak lemak*.

³ E.g., *kachang parpu masak kari*.

⁴ *Masakan lemak*.

acid limes. Remove from the fire as soon as boiling has made the liquid thick.¹

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

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

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

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

¹ *Masak kalia.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

Another species of condiment is the pickle.

Take limes, cut them in quarters, not severing them till the quarters fall entirely apart; salt them and keep them in an earthenware vessel for two or three days; then dry them in the sun till they look half baked. After that bottle them. Fry mustard seeds in *bijan* oil till they expand; after which remove from the fire and allow to cool. Put shredded garlic and ginger into your bottle and pour in your mustard seed and its vinegar. Invert your bottle every day or so, so that all the limes may be moistened, but never open it till juice has begun to flow from the limes.

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

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

There are two kinds of pickle: the cooked, just described,³ and the cold,⁴ which consist of limes, mangoes, *b'limbing* and so on, alternately salted and dried in the sun daily for a fortnight. There are yet two other sorts of condiments: one⁵ dry without coconut milk, one⁶ cooked in sugar: both of which, like pickles, can be kept for months. I will content myself with the recipe of a condiment delightful to those who have a sweet tooth. It can be made of jack-fruit, brinjal or pineapple. Despite Captain

1 *Achar limau.* 2 *Achar rebong.* 3 *Achar.* 4 *Jérok.*
5 *Séranding.* 6 *Pichali.*

Hamilton's opinion, no one who has tasted the pineapple of Malaya will endorse in full Charles Lamb's praise of the pine: "she is almost too transcendent; a delight if not sinful yet so like to sinning that really a tender-conscienced person would do well to pause; too ravishing for mortal taste, she woundeth and excoriateth the lips that approach her; like lovers' kisses, she biteth; she is a pleasure bordering on pain from the fierceness and insanity of her relish." The sorry jade of the Peninsula borders more often on pain than on pleasure, but hear how she may be corrected and rendered innocuous, a chaste relish on a tiny plate.

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

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

Most Europeans will go as far to avoid Malay kickshaws as they will to taste a Malay curry. There is much excuse and some little prejudice in the matter. What could the European *chef* do, if he were deprived by nature of milk and butter, and by religion of

lard? and if instead of flour he had to depend mainly on sweet glutinous rice? It is impossible here to set down a tithe of the confectionaries in use. A few only of the commoner sorts can be given.

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

¹ *Gandar ktsturi.* ² *Lemping beras.* ³ *Pangut.* ⁴ *Onde-onde.*

⁵ *Lemping sagu.* ⁶ *Wajak.* ⁷ *Dodol.* ⁸ *Lempoh.* ⁹ *Siri kaya Bombay.* ¹⁰ *Apam.*

coconut milk and flavoured with salt;¹ of sago-flour kneaded with dripping² and so on. Palatable is a crisp macaroni-like biscuit³ made of flour and water. There is a thin wafer⁴ biscuit with a Dutch name, made of rice-flour, sugar and coconut-milk, kneaded to a paste and held over embers in a pincer-like iron, imprinted with floral pattern. Hard tasteless jellies are made of a species of sea weed. Malacca especially is famous for some agreeable preserved fruits.⁵ Cakes and sweetmeats are served in various fancy patterns, whether it be glutinous rice cooked in *pandan* wrappers or sweetmeats prepared in moulds; and these patterns rejoice in marvellous names. Those curious in æsthetic nomenclature may be left to unravel the form of such patterns as "the three virgins in one room,"⁶ "the smiling Sarifa and the laughing Saiyid," "Radin Inu passing on horseback," "the widow shrieking at midnight." Only the impertinent will detect reference to a nightmare quality in the cates.

¹ *Kueh sirabai.* ² *Kueh bangkit.* ³ *Roti rinja.* ⁴ *Kueh Blanda.* ⁵ *Halwa (Ar.)* ⁶ i.e. a trefoil pattern.

APPENDICES.

I.—KAMPONG.

KENYATAAN KAPADA SEGALA RAYAT TANTERA ISI NEGERI SEMBILAN.

DARI HAL KERBAU PANTANG LARANG.

Hai mēreka-mēreka sēkelian rayat tantēra isi Nēgēri Sēmbilan :

Titah Duli Yang Maha Mulia mēmbuangkan istiadat yang tēlah jadi pantang larang fasal kērbau-kērbau.

Bahwa di-bēri tahu kapada sēkelian mēreka-mēreka tēlah di-mērdēhekakan kērbau-kērbau pantang larang dan tiada di-milek lagi kapada tuan kērbau itu dan atas sa-barang jēnis rupa kērbau-kērbau itu mēnjadi harta kapada tuan yang mēmpunyai dia tiada-lah tērpulang pada kēadilan ya'itu Duli Yang di-Pertuan.

Di-dalam Balai Istana Bēsar,

Sēri Mēnanti.

Kapada 8th March, 1904.

Ahwal maka ini-lah nama-nama kērbau yang larang pantang ka-pada rayat pada masa yang tēlah lalu :

1. Kērbau jantan badol, ya'itu ujung tandok-nya ka-bawah lōpas daripada tēlinga-nya.

2. Kērbau jantan sampaian kain, ya'itu lurus tandok-nya ka-kiri dan ka-kanan, atau pun salah suatu kēdua-nya.

3. Kērbau jantan sinar matahari, ya'itu mēngadap tandok-nya ka-hadapan atau hitam badan-nya, kēpala-nya merah atau tandok-nya.

4. Kērbau bungkal ganti, ya'itu ujung tandok-nya sa-lama-lama-nya sēpērti sa-biji buah.

5. Kērbau bungkal ganti, ya'itu bulat ujung tandok-nya kadang-kadang jatoh bungkal-nya tētapi bērganti balek.

6. Kērbau changgal putēri, jangkir atau kuku-nya lēntek atau bōrkalok.

7. Kērbau buloh sa-ruas, ya'itu kuku-nya tiada pēchah.

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

II.—THE HOUSE.

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

(2). "The State hall in a modern Malay Court in the Peninsula consists of a long building oblong in shape, down the centre of which runs a long raised platform (*sĕri Balai*) reserved for the use of rajahs and sayids. The space which surrounds this platform is called the *pĕsiban*. The whole building is called the *Balai rong* or *Balai bĕsar*: it is usually joined to the palace at one of the narrower sides and a door from the interior of the palace communicates with it on that side; it has a number of pillars (*tiang Balai*) placed round it at regular intervals supporting the roof, but it is not walled in and is open to the air on every side except that on which it adjoins the palace. The broad verandah (*sĕrambi*) which encompasses the *sĕri Balai* is reserved for the use of chiefs and gentry who are not of royal blood When any ceremony, such as the circumcision or marriage of any of the raja's relatives, is about to be celebrated, a temporary building is erected at the end of the *Balai rong*, which is situated farthest from the palace, running at right angles (*mĕlintang*) to the main *halai*."—See Clifford and Swettenham's Dictionary, under *Balai*.

III.—DRESS.

REGALIA AND HEIRLOOMS OF THE PERAK SULTANATE.

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

Seychelles—ex-Sultan Abdullah, the Mantëri, the Laksamana and the Shahbandar: these articles were (I believe) all lost. Another sword of State—that of the Bendahara—is also said to have been lost. The rest of the Crown properties are still in the Sultan's possession.

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

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

The Sultan has to wear these five things and to sit absolutely motionless while the band plays a certain series of notes a certain number of times. Each series is called a *man*. The Sultan fixes the number of *man* that he can sit out, but the number should not exceed nine or be less than four. Any movement on the Sultan's part at this time would be extremely inauspicious. The most important of the regalia is the sword of state known as *chura si-manjakini*. It is worn with a chain slung over the shoulder. The sword is associated with the spirit of the kingdom (*Jin Kërajaan*) who is apt to press upon it at the time of installation. To satisfy the widow of Sultan Ali who insisted on this detail the present Sultan put a little pad on his shoulder to prevent it being injured by the weight of the *Jin*, and His Highness states that he did feel a curious pressure on three separate occasions at his installation. The Malay tradition about this sword *chura si-manjakini* is that it was the sword of Alexander the Great and that it was used by Sang Sapurba to kill the great serpent Sikatimuna which infested the land of Menangkabau. On that occasion the sword got terribly notched, and the notches—according to the story—can be seen to this day. But I must add that several Malay dynasties claim to possess this sword and that the Perak sword is not notched. It is a fine, light blade—probably a Damascus blade—of good workmanship, with a hilt of gold and a scabbard of cloth-of-gold: the hilt has no guard whatever, the upper portion of the hilt is covered with Arabic lettering and the lower portion has a rough surface made to resemble shagreen. I have no doubt whatever

that the sword is neither European nor Malayan; its make is distinctly traceable to Syrian or Arabian influence, but of course the hilt may have been actually made in India or Persia. The Arabic inscription has not been deciphered; portions of it, at all events, are Koran texts. His Highness said that a local pundit had inferred from the Arabic that the sword had been used at the Prophet's great victory of Badr. But the lettering is modern Arabic and not the Kufic character that was used for some centuries after the battle of Badr.

The *rantai bunga nyiur* is a very pretty chain but has no special interest. The armlet (*pontoh bĕrnaga*) is in the form of a dragon coiling round the arm. The *kĕris pĕstaka* (also known as the *kĕris tĕrjewa lok lima*) has a sheath covered with gold, the gold being adorned with very minute thread or filigree work; it is a very beautiful object but has no history or tradition attached to it.

The only point worth noticing about these three last items is that similar articles enter into the costume of every Malay bridegroom. The armlet, the chain and the *kĕris* are appurtenances of every king; the sword *chura si-manjakini* and the seal (*kayu gamat chap halilintar*) are the special distinction of the "line of Alexander." The seal in question is a small silver seal with a piece of wood passing through the handle. The original piece of wood—the *kayu gamat*—has rotted away and has been replaced by a new piece. The inscription on the seal is *Sĕri Sultan Muhamat Shah Dzil Alah fi'l Alam* (the Illustrious Sultan Muhamad Shah, God's shadow on Earth). The seal *kayu gamat* is mentioned (under the name *kayu kampit*) as the seal of the Great Alexander in the "Malay Annals" of A.D. 1612. The word *kampit* in Sanskrit seems to mean "seal" just as the word *chura* means "sword," so that these two traditional properties of Alexander are obviously traceable to Hinduism. But as the original wooden seal has rotted away we have no guide to what the *kayu gamat* really was. The royal armlet worn at an installation by the Raja *Pĕrĕmpuan* is known as the *pontoh ulan adi* and is only a small replica of the Sultan's armlet. One of the "dragon" and the other is by contrast the "little snake" (*androphis pictus*). The two betel-boxes borne behind the king and queen are known as the *puan naga taru* and the *puan naga*, respectively. The

fittings are of gold. The royal talisman (*māsika embun*) is said by tradition to have been given by To' Témong, a great Upper Perak giri-Sémit to Mudzafar Shah the first Sultan of Perak. It has always been reputed to possess the most marvellous medicinal properties. His Highness sent it to England for examination and it was pronounced to be a ball of glass. It is very slightly smaller than a billiard ball. The Malays still maintain that it is "petrified dew," and even His Highness is unwilling to accept the prosaic explanation given him by the people in London. Nevertheless this "petrified dew" illustrates a point that was brought very emphatically to my notice in this examination of the Sultan's heirlooms. The objects to which special value was attached by the old Perak Kings were either articles of gold and gems or strange foreign things that might be of little real value but were prized because the Perak people did not know what they were and could produce nothing like them. A ball of glass left by a casual stranger in an Upper Perak village some 300 years ago would be a source of endless wonder to the people and would become the subject of innumerable stories.

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

There is a handsome covered bowl (*mundam*) resting on a platter: these things are made of gold and there are some stones set along the edge of the bowl; the work is Malayan and the

reputed date is about 1700 A.D.¹ There is a *kēris* said to have been made by His Highness's own father, the Bendahara Alang Iskandar: this *kēris* (known as the *kēris Bali Istambul*) possesses a sheath of the most beautiful wood that I have ever seen. There is a small *kēris* the very blade of which is made of gold: this is ascribed to a Sultan who lived about A.D. 1700. There is a very curious waist-belt made up of sixteen plates, each plate being of a sort of niello or cloisonné. It is certainly not Malayan. There is a very strange breast ornament (the *kanching alkah*) for adorning the front of a woman's dress. It is made up of six dragons: the two upper dragons approach each other with their heads and tails while their bodies curve outwards; between their heads is a fish; below them are two dragons stretching downwards parallel to one another; below these again are two more dragons crossed. The whole ornament is made up of a sort of mosaic of poor gems; it is non-Malayan. There are two large platter-tables of silver. These are in regular use at the Sultan's meals. There is a very fine gold-topped betel-box made of the rare Ligor niello work with its fittings all of niello.—*From an account given by Mr. R. J. Wilkinson on information supplied by the kindness of H.H. the Sultan of Perak.*

PERAK WEDDING COSTUME.

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

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

Silk trousers, with a pattern of gold trees, a foot and a half deep at the bottom, a piece at the back of the ankle shaped like a 'duck's web,' a cord down the seams; ¹ *cost* of the style called

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

sēdārmēlka, adorned with tiny patterns in flowered gold and silver and patterns in Portuguese gold-leaf; a long skirt, heavy with gold thread; a turban, bound with gold, decorated with brilliants and fringed with pearls and all manner of beads; a gold diamond-studded aigrette, with filigree pendant; a waist-buckle of gold repoussé work or studded with diamonds and rubies; a circular gold ornament, hung by a chain round his neck; a gold breast-plate of nine tiers of plates; a gold collar that came out of the sea; armlets with dragon-heads on each upper tier; gold bracelets with perforated zigzag pattern raised in two index-finger of his ring hand a gold ring, called "the sated leech"; and on the little finger a gold ring with heavy bezel called "the elephant's footprint"; a diamond ring on the little finger of his left hand and a ring with three stones set in the pattern called "the garden of fire-flies"; on the fourth finger a sheath of ivory haft in fretted gold cup, the cross-piece of the in gold set with diamonds and brilliants, the stem threaded with all manner of jewels, a piece of gold-shoulders silk wrapped round the top of the *kēris*; across the a scarf of thin silk adorned with gold thread, brought he of each arm (like the cordon of an order). Thereafter with in state on a pandan mat of nine layers covered All the eunuchs, heralds, chamber-women and pages sit before him carrying the regalia and awaiting the mandate of his royal parents to start on the wedding procession. A golden fan is held before his face.

As for the dress of the bride—First of all, an old wise woman sets to work to dispel all evil influences: Portuguese thread of several colors is tied at the bride's neck; two candles are stuck before a tripod; sacrificial water is sprinkled; saffron rice is strewn; ropes of glass are made and waxes seven long hairs and then clips them (the man makes and waxes seven long hairs and then bride or the woman). Now the end of the hairs fall towards the it is a sign of a hair remaining move after the clipping, fell straight as has been deflowered, but if the clipped tresses a maiden.) If the stumps do not move, then she is dressed and that, her front-hair and her eye-brows are arranged in three curling hair at the back of her neck is the tail of a sparrow's tail. Her hair is done

into a roll. She is invested in bride's dress: silk trousers of Achinese cut, gold threaded at the bottom, and with the 'duck-web'; a gold threaded silk skirt of fine, small pattern; a crimson jacket stamped with gold-leaf with quilted collar, the edge of collar and wrists adorned with jewelled gold work; a scarf of cloth-of-gold or of the lime pattern interwoven with gold and with heavy gold-threaded border; a crescent-shaped pendant ornament; twelve tiers of gold breast-plates; a bead necklace of gold; nine rows of gold bean necklace; a long chain tucked into the waist-band; a Manilla chain of five rows; three rows of a necklace of gold coin-like discs; fine Arabian belt; on each arm four rows of solid gemmed gold bracelets with spoon-like ends; on each upper arm a gold armlet with snake's-head ends; hollow gold anklets; a large, round gemmed gold earring; on the index-finger of the right hand a plain, thick, round gold ring; on the little finger of the right hand a ring set with rubies and other precious stones; on the little finger-nail of the left hand a nail-guard surmounted by a jewelled filigree peacock; rings set with small rubies on every finger; on her brow a gold gem-studded frontlet; and above her chignon gold jeweller's flowers. When all is ready, the bride is seated on a golden mat and fanned by her maidens so that she may not swelter under her excess of clothing.

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

First of all, ill-luck has to be dispelled and hair frizzed. Then the groom is invested in pilgrim dress: white drawers, small at the ankle; a jacket of coarse white embroidered at neck and wrists; a short, long-sleeved vest in front, with three buttons; a Cashmere waist-band with a plaited knot; in front a tight sleeveless under-vest; a white tied in the Medina style, above it being wound round a Cashmere shawl decorated with pearl bead lace, and a gold-paper aigrette. A short curved Arab dagger with hilt and silver sheath, is stuck in the waist-band. When he is donned, of expensive fine material. Then the groom is seated on a mat of seven thicknesses, with embroidery in the presence of pilgrims and the pious and he must wait till the hour of evening prayer is past before he goes in procession with drums and fencers prior to the departure. For Sharifas, first of all, evil influences are to be

case of princesses, their short front hair is brushed down and fringed, their tresses are combed and oiled and scented with ambergris. Then they are dressed in drawers of Arab pattern; a long jacket; a face-veil; a head-veil with shredded gold; a long shawl with gold fringe; on each wrist a gold bracelet fastened with a screw; gemmed pendants in the ears, two rows of gold chain round the neck; a ruby ring and rings with various gems on the index-fingers, and the little fingers and the ring-fingers of both hands; tinkling tiered hollow gold anklets. Kohl is drawn along the lower edges of both the eyes. When all is ready, etc.

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

PAKAIAN ZAMAN DAHULU.

Pēri mēnyatakan pakaian Raja raja dan orang Bēsar-bēsar k Baik, Saiyid-saiyid, Inche-inche, Wan wan, Shari, dan t Miur dan yang pētēmpuan pula, anak Raja, anak orang anak orang Baik Sarifa, Siti-siti putēri pathun mai anak a anak inang ayer kaki ayer tangan raja sarta pula orang banyakan itu

bērmula: ada-pun pakaian raja bēsar-bēsar itu bērsēluar gal sutēra batang merah bērpuchok rēlong bēnang ēmas luar itu sa-bēlah mēnyabēlah bērtongkah bērtali pula: ang bērbuah ēmas sa-biji; berkain Bugis sutēra: ggang tali bētong bērbēnang ēmas bēramibu-rambu sēmbilan hasta bērbulang luar. Maka di-sisipkan g bērulu gading bērpēnongkok ēmas urai, sampir mpai ka-buntut-nya sēmuanya ēmas; di-kēnakan bērtēlēpok dēngan bēnang ēmas atau tēngkolok ah Arab, ikatan solek bēlah mumbang yaani ttinggikan di-sa-bēlah kanan rata sa-bēlah kiri rupa-nya itu puncha tēngkolok itu kēluar. -nya baju pēndek lēngan nama-nya sutēra

bêragi aneka jénis ragi-nya itu sêperti rupa hiris halua ragi-nya puteh kuning hitam. Maka Raja Muda Raja Bëndahara bêsuluar pédéndang berbénang émas sêdikit bérchérmin dan buboh pula kélip-kélip di-kaki-nya itu; kain péranak télêpok; bérikat pinggang kain chindai jantan panjang sa-puluh sa-bélas dêngan rambu-rambu-nya; bérkêris pëndok yaani pëndok itu sarong-nya sahaja di-salut dêngan émas dan bértuli-tuli émas pula; mémakai baju alang kain alang. Maka bérténgkolok alang bérsolek daun kacang sa-hélai, yaani mëlintek ka-hadapan kêtiga-nya, suatu puncha keluar têrdiri sêperti sa-hélai daun kayu sahaja rupa-nya. Bahawa pakaian Raja Muda kuning sémua-nya. Dan pakaian orang bêsar-bêsar émpat dan orang bêsar dèlapan sêluar 'pa' sêkurap (? émpat sa-karap) dan inche'-inche' wan-wan bakul jadi orang bêsar itu: maka baju-nya sayap layang-layang kèpok tinggi tertebing, buah émas sa-biji. Akan-akan pakaian orang bêsar énam-bélas dan orang bêsar tiga-puluh dua itu, jikalau yang tua-tua bérkopiah mana-mana kêsukaan hati-nya: maka sêluar-nya itu 'lam Sayong' pesak bérsongkit ragi rinek-rinek kaki sêluar itu hingga bêtis-nya sahaja, sa-téngah sutéra dan sa-téngah bénang; kain kèmbong kain Batu Bara atau kain Mesah sutéra; bérikat pinggang kain limau atau kain ténggarum bulang luar kêris têrsisip; téngkolok-nya Batek lasam halus sêperti kértas bangun ikatan téngkolok-nya itu solek bérnama ayam patah kèpak lingkup sa-kali sahaja puncha ka-hadapan; atau ikat gétang pékasam: jikalau bérkopiah pun kópiah rêsam atau kópiah bértékak kalimah Arab atau kópiah Arab. Dan pênghulu-pênghulu nai sêluar-nya sêluar panjang atau sêlar gadok baju kurong tangan bêsar buah sa-biji atau baju bérkèpok Têluk Bêlanga buah tiga biji tiga saku-nya; bérkain bulang dalam kain-nya kain chorak anak lèben; bérténgkolok Batek ikat-nya gétang pékasam atau kópiah Arab. Dan pakaian saiyyid sêperti pakaian haji yang sa-téngah pakaian pératuran pênghulu-pênghulu itu juga dan pakaian Sharif Mègat Amir, sêluar pasang Batu Bara sutéra bértapak itek di-kaki sêluar itu bértali, baju-nya kain puteh gunting banyut kanch. sa lima biji tiga saku-nya, kain-nya kain Munto' kópiah rêsam hitam atau bérténgkolok batek Bêtawi ikat gétang pékasam. Dan pakaian anak kanda anan anak dêmikian juga tètapi kain bulang luar ya'itu orang bêsas ka-dalam tiada bértégah tiada bérilarang. Dê'likian ju

béntara-béntara raja itu pakaian sa-rupa belaka. Maka di-sisipkan sa-bilah kēris di-sa-belah kiri-nya ya'itu kēris sa-pukul bēsarong dan bērsampir kayu kamuning ulu-nya gading bērpēnungkok ēmas; bahwa kēris itu-pun changut ulu-nya sa-belah kiri juga dan sa-helai rainal sutera yang bērtaburkan bēnuang ēmas di-simpaikan di-ulu kēris itu. Shahadan lagi pakaian orang yang kēbanyakkan pula pakai seluar gunting China baju pesak sa-belah bērbelah dada bērbuah sa-biji kain-nya pēlōkat bēnuang mantah; tēngkolok-nya Batek Sēmarang puncha kēdua-nya ka-bēlakang sa-kērat pula mēnudong tēngkok-nya ayam mēngeram nama-nya, dan yang tua-tua kopiah-nya mēngkuang lepar di-lēngkar di-buat sa-ukur-ukur kēpala-nya di-balut dēngan kain putih atau kain bēragi-ragi di-jadikan kopiah-nya sērta sēluar baju kain kēmbong-nya kain putih bēlachu ya'itu kain putih kasar. Maka ada-pun pakaian raja-raja bērēmpuan itu bērsēluar pasang Acheh sutera bērbēnuang ēmas di-kaki-nya bērtapak itek pula kain kēmbong-nya sutera puhalam baju-nya baju kain sitin yang bērbunga-bunga bērmacham-bērmacham ragi-nya; ada yang merah, ada yang biru, ada ungu biji rumēniya, ada yang sitin bērbunga batang ēmas. Maka baju kurong tangan bērlēngsar ya'itu tangan kēchil dan baju itu singkat bingga bawah pēnggong labuh-nya itu sahaja. Maka di-buboh-nya bunga baju pula dari-pada tēngkok sa-hingga ka-dada-nya dan ujung tangan-nya kiri dan kanan: maka ada pun bunga baju itu ēmas bērkarang: bērpēnding ēmas pula pēngikat kain itu dari luar: bērsēlendang kain jong sarat atau kain chēlari bērbēnuang ēmas sēperti hiris halua atau kain duri nibong sutera puchok-nya bēnuang ēmas atau kain limau tēnggaran atau kain tiga sa-lumpat atau kain bēras patah atau kain bunga chōngkeh atau kain Bali atau kain Champa atau kain pēlang-pēlangai atau kain batek sēh R. g atau batek kēmbong kain pērai China hitam merah biru ungu kuning putih. Maka ada pun kain kēmbong-nya pula kain masōli kain tēnun Batu Bara kain sutera pualam halus nipis chorak-nya rinek-rinek ēmpat, kain Pēlēmbang dan kain pēranak tēlōk: nama ikat kain-nya itu ombak bēralun ya'itu rputar dari-pada kanan pērmati-an-nya di-sa-belah kiri. Maka lah pakaian sēkēlian pērēmpuan tiada di-tēgahkan yang adi kētēgan an hanya-lah bagai adat sēperti pakaian raja-raja yang bēsar-besar anak baik tiada boleh di-pakai oleh orang kkan za an dahulu kala. Maka apa-bila To' Bēntara

përempuan mèmakai, ia pun bërjalan ka-tengah Istana puncha sèlëndang-nya itu di-lèpaskan ka-bawah tiada pula di-simpan puncha-nya karna ia orang dalam: maka jikalau orang pèrèmpuan yang bukan orang dalam tiada boleh di-lèpaskan puncha kain sèlëndang itu ka-bawah tégahan yang bèsar kapada istiadat mèlainkan kain sèlëndang itu apa-bila masok ka-dalam istana tiada boleh di-taroh di-atas bau kanan lagi, di-jatohkan dipunpun puncha-nya yang kèdua-nya taroh ka-hadapan baharu-lah mêngadap.

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

PAKAIAN PENGANTIN DI-DALAM PERAK.

(I). *Dari hal p̄raturan istiadat pakaian P̄ngantin put̄ra Raja yang b̄sar-b̄sar itu:*

Mula-mula di-putuskan k̄rajaat oleh To' Pawang yaani m̄m-buang pilak j̄mbalang-nya; di-buboh b̄nang P̄rtokal kapada leher-nya k̄mudian di-buboh-nya pula dua batang dian kapada ch̄rmin muka s̄rta di-p̄rehekkkan ayer t̄pong tawar di-taburkan b̄rteh b̄ras kunyit di-k̄rat d̄ngan gunting s̄dikit rambut-nya; l̄pas itu baharu-lah di-andam dahi dan k̄ning di-k̄rat ekor pipit di-t̄ngkok-nya b̄randam b̄rekur pipit juga dan sa-ḡnap jari-nya pun sudah di-buboh-nya himai kapada kuku-nya. Maka pada k̄tika sudah kahwin b̄ndak di-sandingkan itu, maka p̄ngantin yang laki-laki itu-pun di-b̄ri oleh sida-sida b̄ntara m̄makai sa-l̄ngkap pakaian yang indah-indah: s̄luar b̄rchanggal sa-hasta batang em̄s di-kaki-nya, b̄rtulang b̄lut b̄rtapak itek; baju s̄d̄rm̄lkah b̄rt̄lepok d̄ngan em̄s b̄rpahat b̄rbunga-bunga di-s̄lang d̄ngan perak b̄rpahat; di-t̄ngah bunga itu di-buboh t̄lepok p̄rada t̄rbang; kain panjang; kain jong sarat b̄rb̄nang em̄s s̄mua-nya; t̄ngkolok b̄rs̄ring (d̄star) yang b̄rsalut d̄ngan em̄s b̄rtatah d̄ngan p̄rmatan intan s̄rta pula b̄rambukan mutiara dan manikam pancha ragam; tajok malai em̄s intan di-karang; p̄nding s̄ms b̄rpahat atau p̄nding b̄r-p̄rmatan intan b̄rs̄lang d̄ngan d̄lima; agok, dan dokoh s̄mbilan tingkat; rantai k̄ngkelong sa-lapis yang datang dari laut; pontuh b̄rnaga di-l̄ngan kanan dan kiri; gelang kana em̄s b̄rtunjal b̄rk̄rawang b̄rpahat t̄rus b̄rsiku k̄luang dua tingkat; k̄ronchong em̄s b̄rk̄rawang; chinchin em̄s pachat k̄nyang kapada t̄lunjok kunan; dan chinchin tapak gajah kapada k̄lingking kanan; chinchin intan di-k̄lingking kiri dan chinchin p̄rmatan tiga kunang sa-kabun di-jari manis-nya; k̄ris t̄rapang b̄rulu gading b̄rp̄nongkokkan em̄s b̄rpahat t̄rus sampir b̄rsalut d̄ngan em̄s b̄rtatahkan intan pudi manikam b̄rsalut d̄ngan s̄ms b̄rtatahkan p̄rmatan b̄rbagai warna. Maka di-simpai pula bungkus sut̄ra b̄rb̄nang em̄s di-ulu k̄ris t̄rapang itu b̄rkain ch̄lari b̄rtabur b̄nang nas di-buatkan kindang-kindang (sayap sandang) di-k̄nakan pada bau-nya itu. Sa-t̄lah sudah lalu-lah di-dudokkan nas p̄t̄eran̄ yang k̄mason di-atas chiu s̄mbilan langkat b̄rulas d̄ngan kain sut̄ra yang k̄kuningan b̄rp̄njuru awan / akat di-hadapi oleh sida-sida b̄ntara inang

pêngasoh kanda dan manda budak kundang sakalian-nya berjawatan perkakasan Kerajaan sa-kadar ménentikun titah ayahanda baginda sahaja hendak berangkat berarak langsung bersanding itu serta pula di-dindingkan suatu kipas emas berpancha logam ka-pada muka pengantin itu. Arakian, maka terasbut-lah pula kesah istiadat peraturan alat pakaian pengantin putera raja besar yang perempuan pula. Maka mula-mula diputuskan kerajat oleh To' Bidan yaani membuang pilak jambalang-nya lalu-lah di-buboh-nya benang panchawarna ya'itu benang Pertokal kapada leher-nya. Kemudian di-buboh pula dua batang dian kapada chérmin muka: sudah di-perobek ayer tépong tawar maka di-tabur berteh beras kunyit; rambut-nya di-ambil oleh To' Bidan itu tujuh helai di-sapu dengan minyak lilin lalu-lah di-kérat-nya. Maka jikalau rambut itu jatuh ujung-nya kapada pengantin itu atau pangkal rambut yang tinggal itu mengakar yaani bergérak lepas di-kérat itu-lah alamat tiada isi rumah-nya yaani laksana kuntum bunga angšana sudah terdahulu di-séring oleh kumbang méngambil madu-nya; dan jikalau tiada yang démikian itu tatkala di-kérat To' Bidan itu betul ia jatuh mélintang di-hadapan-nya dan rambut-nya-pun tiada bergérak; maka insha'llah taala berkat putera orang tua-tua, maka itu-lah alamat tiada rujid isi rumah-nya chukup léngkap sakalian-nya. Sa-talah sudah itu lalu-lah di-andam dan di-turunkan rambut-nya tikam kundai serta pula di-raminkan gande dan di-andamkan pula kéning-nya itu dan di-turunkan anak-anak rambut di-téngkok-nya méléntek walis berkérat ekur pipit dan berandam téngkok-nya. Baharu-lah di-sanggul lipat pandan. Maka di-béri pengantin itu mémakai seluar pasang Aceh sutera berbénang emas di-kaki-nya bertapak itek; kain sutera berbénang emas kain bernama kain duri nibong; baju késumba murup gunting séroja bertélépok dengan pérada terbang berbunga buah emas berpérmata intan dari leher baju hingga ka-ujung tangan-nya kanan dan kiri, kain seléndang jong sarat atau kain limau bertebur dengan benang emas berpuchok bersongkit dengan benang emas juga, agok dan dokoh dua-bélas tingkat mérjan bergélugur; rantai berchémok sambilan lar rantai-nya; rantai kéngkalong sa-lapis; rantai Mayila lima la dérham emas tiga lapis; séni-séni kanching alkah sa (di-ikat di-pinggang di-atas pénding) gélang berudu pérmata intan empat tingkat sa-bélah méngébalah; pun'

lidi kapada lengan kanan dan kiri; keronchong emas ka-pada kaki-nya; subang emas permata intan; chinchin pachat kenyang di-telunjuk kanan; chinchin permata delima berselang manikam di-kelingking kanan; changgal merak emas bertatah intan di-kelingking kiri-nya dan chinchin permata delima ikat kunang-kunang sa-kabun sa-genap bari-nya; kilat dahi emas yang bertatahkan pudu manikum ka-pada dahi-nya; tutup sanggul yang ke-emasan berbunga si-sit yang bertatahkan intan berselang pudu di-kena ka-atas kepala-nya pengantin perempuan. Hata sa-telah mustaed sakalian-nya, maka pengantin itu-pun lalu-lah di-dudokkan oleh isteri raja-raja yang tua-tua di-atas petrana yang keemasan sambil di-kirap oleh sekalian dayang-dayang biti-biti perwira dengan kipas berpuluh-puluh supaya jungan hangat sudah terkena pakaian yang teramat banyak itu.

(II). *Dari hal Pengantin tuan-tuan Saiyid atau Sheikh dan orang yang sudah menjadi Haji. Maka ada-lah seperti aturan yang sudah di-sebutkan, ini pula pakaian-nya :*

Pertama-tama di-putuskan kerajat juga dan andam seperti keadaan pengantin lain-lain. Kemudian lalu-lah di-beri memaka, pakaian haji; seluar putih kecil kaki gantung Arab, baju geramjun putih jarang rupa benang-nya serta pula berbunga di-dada dan di-ujong lengan; anteri geramsut terbelah dada dan tangan-nya laboh berbuah tiga biji; ikat pinggang kain Kashmiri puncha permata berbuku bamban ka-hadapan-nya; sudariah baju singkat tiada tangan hingga ka-ketiak sahaja keramsut Hindi; serban puncha panjang dua hasta di-belalang hilit Madinah; di-atas serban besar, kain putih atau kain Kashmiri itu di-bubuh pula berenda dengan manek di-kerang atau mutiara di-kerang; sa-keliling serban itu di-labohkan tajok perada yang berawan-awan pula. Di-sisipkan pula sa-bilah jamas berulukan emas dan berkarangkan perak kapada pinggang-nya. Di-kenakan pula jubah kain angguri yang mahal harga-nya. Maka pengantin itu-pun lalu-lah di-dudokkan di-atas chiu yang tujuh langkat berpénjuru tékat bersulam di-hadapi oleh sekalian haji dan lebai serta pula waris-nya itu sa-kadar menanti soud ketika was sembah yang asar hendak berarak dengan rebana zakir dan sa-keliling tempat itu; kemudian baharu-lah di-sandingkan syuhanda benda-nya itu. Hata, maka tersebut-lah pula pakaian yang perempuan ya itu tuwa saripah itu. Maka pertama di-putuskan kerajat-nya juga seperti peraturan

pengantin putera raja yang besar-besar. Maka di-andam serta pula di-turunkan tikam kundai rambut-nya itu; di-sikat dan di-minyak di-buboh bauan ambar kasturi. Baharu-lah di-béri memakai seluar gunting Arab; baju Meshru laboh gëramsut; mèrgok; mènuarah; mèliyah laboh bërambu-rambukan akan batang émas bèrehahaya rupa-nya; gélang émas bértunjal pérbuatan maghrib dua-dua sa-bélah kanan dan kiri; arlit pérmata zamrut bèreselang dengan pudu manikam ka-pada tilingu; rantai émas mayang mængurai ka-pada leher-nya dua lapis; chinchin pérta-tama délima dan pérmata ulam, pualam, pèsparagam, kapada jari télunjuk kanan dan kiri, dan jari kélingking kanan dan kiri, dan jari manis kanan dan kiri; bëranchong émas atau perak bèrpahat dua tingkat ka-pada kaki-nya bèrgenta pula. Maka di-kénakan pula bèresifat ahf bèrehelak kapada bibir mata-nya di-sa-bélah bawah kédua-nya. Sa-telah mustaed sékélian-nya, maka pengantin itu-pun lalu-lah di-dudokkan oleh istèri orang yang ulam di-atas chiu tujuh tingkat yang bértékat bèrpénjuru suji timbul sèpèrti émas baharu di-pahat rupa-nya sèrta pula di-hadapi oleh anak dara-dara pan janda-janda sékélian sambil mængipas pengantin itu karna télalu hangat sa-kadar mènantikan saud kétika masa bèsanding sahaja lagi.

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

Maka ada-pun sa-rupa belaka sahaja sèmuanya sékélian mængikut pakaian pengantin putera raja-raja yang kéchil tiada-lah bèrebéh dan bèrkurang sa-kadar mana-mana kèsukaan hati-nya; tiada sukakan téngkolok alang itu boleh ia memakai dèstar (téngkolok bèsèring) yang sèpèrti pakaian pengantin bab yang pérta-tama itu tètapi di-pèrbuat-nya kain merah di-isi di-dalam-nya dengan kabu-kabu di-jahit-nya, kèmu-dian di-tèlepok-nya dengan pérada yang sudah bértèbok bërawan pula sèrta bèrpuchok rëbong kapada sa-bélah mènnyébèlah puncha téngkolok itu. Maka di-muka téngkolok itu di-buboh-nya bèrsumbang émas sa-bélah dan mènnyébèlah. Kèmu-dian di-kèna pula tajok perak gèrak gèmpa atau bunga mèlur di-gubah atau bèrtèh di-chuchokkan kapada rotan karangan sèpèrti bunga juga rupa-nya. Maka dèmikian-lah di-dalam istiadat kapada zaman dahulu kala; sampai ka-pada zaman ini-pun dèmikian-lah juga

tetapi ada perbuatan-nya juga seperti adat ini dan sa-tengah terkadang-kadang tidak karna istiadat sudah menjadi resam; kebanyakan pula suka mengikuti bab yang kedua pakaian haji kahwin anak dara atau berkahwin janda, ada-nya.

NOTES.

The wedding dress of lesser rajas, male and female, as also that of commoners, differs only in quality and not in kind from that of great rajas; and the difference is due rather to purse than royal prerogative, because bride and groom are *raja sa-hari*, royal for the day. As a matter of fact, only scions of the Perak house, for example, are in a position to obtain the use of, and wear, the *pontoh* and *kengkalong* and the gold-bound *dastar* in place of the *baju seldermelkah* (a *pedang seldermelkah* is also mentioned) and the *baju seraju*, other rajas wear, men the *baju alang* and women the *baju kurong*; for the *gelang kana* are substituted *gelang belah rotan berpahat berkawat telur ikan* or any gold bracelets available: a *keris pendok* (see p. 44) or a *keris* merely with wooden scabbard, or nowadays no *keris* at all is worn. For the Persian *dastar*, lesser rajas wear the headkerchief (e.g., *tengkolok alang sutera hitam bertelapak perada terbang semua-nya*) and one may wonder if we have not here an instance of what Mr. R. J. Wilkinson notices in his *General Introduction to the "Ninety-nine Laws"* in this series: namely, how Sultans and the common folk welcomed Saiyids and their interference, but the old aristocracy looked askance at them. The Costume of divorcees, widowers and widows, on re-marriage, was somewhat subdued. Men would wear the *baju bertapak* as worn by old datos; a sapphire ring; a plain *keris*; women perhaps a waist-buckle of *jadam*, silver inlaid with a composite black metal; bracelets of black shining wood, with fretted gold or silver ends; plainer rings and plainer silks. This account of wedding costume applies in all intrinsic particulars to Pahang and Johore also, but not probably to the Negri Sembilan, and there are a few differences in the northern States.

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

THE BAJU.

(I). *Baju anggerka*, a long overcoat or surtout. Ht. Abdullah; (The breasts overlap; it is of an Arabic pattern, *Pij.*) *B. bajang*, a kind of swallow-tailed coat, *Sej. Mal.* *B. mēskat* or *bēskat*, a coat with an ornamental collar worn at wedding (which crosses over the chest and is bound by a girdle, C. & S.)? From Muscat (R. O. W.) also = (Eng.) "Waiscoat." *B. pesak sa-bālah*, a double-breasted *baju* (or *B. tutup imam*, L.). *B. sēroja* (Skt.) a coat with a quilted collar. *Sej. Mal.* (? with embroidered flowered pattern, cf. *tikar tēkat sēroja* Maxwell's Sri Rama. R. O. W.) *B. sika*, a Bugis coat with tight sleeves slit at the ends. *B. tanggong*, a buttonless *baju*. *B. tēkwa*, a long, tight, sleeveless coat, said to be of Bugis origin (worn next the skin by men and women, C. & S.). *B. tēratai*, a coat similar to the *B. sēroja*. *B. top*, a loose *baju* with very loose sleeves, worn by women only. *B. ubor*, a coat with hanging collar.

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

(III). *B. sikat* (? *sikap*), reaches to the waist, is loose, open and buttonless, has sleeves terminating a hand's breadth above the wrist and a *nia* or collar two or three inches high. *B. chara Linga*, sleeves fit close to the arm, reach to the wrist, and have a loose slit cuff down to the knuckles (? Arabic and worn by hajis). *B. tangan kanching*, a long gown reaching to the ankles, open in front and with buttons at the cuff; only worn by the old men when they attend the mosque or on occasions of ceremony. *B. bastrob*, a vest worn beneath the proper *baju*, fastened in front by the row of buttons of gold or jewels, without collar or sleeves; worn by people of station and wealth. *B. kurong chikah mungsang* (? *chēka musang*), has a stiff collar with buttons, much worn in *Medah* (? with

tight sleeves and waist and a full skirt). *B. basket* (? *bĕskat*), has a wide additional piece of cloth on each side: one of these lappets is fastened by a row of strings within the other below the armpit on the right side, and the other fastened in a similar manner over the preceding on the left side below the armpit. It has a collar about two fingers' breadth board. Much worn by Malacca Malays, who appear to have adopted it from the Klings, as in other Malay countries it is not generally used. *B. Pĕndipan* or *bĕrsinjab*, (?) the name given to any coat, when the borders are lined with silk.

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

TROUSERS

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

HEAD DRESS.

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

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

JEWELLERY.

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

(1). Rings. *Chinchin bĕrapit*, a ring with two stones; *ch. bindu*, with one stone; *ch. chap*, a seal ring; *ch. ikat balai*, a ring set with a square flat stone; *ch. ikat Bĕlanda*, or *ch. ikat Eropah*, a ring with a stone set in open filigree so as to permit of the sides being seen; *ch. kĕrcĕta*, a plain gold ring with a round surface; *ch. limasan*, a ring set with one stone the surface of which is cut like a pyramidal roof; *ch. Mahar*, the seal of the State; *ch. patah bĕram*, or *ch. susah hati*, a puzzle ring; *ch. peler itek*, *ch. pintal tiga*, a ring of three strands; *ch. seken*, (shake-hands) a ring with clasped hands in gold; *ch. wafak*, a talismanic ring with horoscope engraved on it.

(IV). *Chinchin ikat Bĕtawi*, a ring set with three jewels at a distance from one another; *ch. garam sa-buku*, a ring plain set with one stone; *ch. patah sĕmat*, a plain ring with ridged outer surface; *ch. pĕrut lintar*, a round ring; *ch. tanam*, with stones deep inset; *ch. potong tĕbu*, a ring with outer surface in sections; *ch. kĕlĕring*, a ring with removable stone.

COURT DRESS.

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

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

FOOD.

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

(2). *Nasi-nya bĕras Sungkai* *ikan-nya lawang di-gulai dĕngan daun paku*, *pĕkasam ikan lokma*, *tĕmpoyak-nya tĕmpoyak maja*, *ayer-nya ayer Batang Padang*, *sireh-nya sireh Chikus*, *kapur-nya kapur Sungai Tĕrap*; *siapa makan-nya tiada tĕringat ia pulang ka-nĕgĕri-nya lagi*. So runs a Perak saying.

PRINTED AT THE
FEDERATED MALAY STATES GOVERNMENT PRESS,
KUALA LUMPUR.

PAPERS ON MALAY SUBJECTS.

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

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

LIFE AND CUSTOMS.

PART III.

MALAY AMUSEMENTS.

BY

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

KUALA LUMPUR:

PRINTED BY J. R. WALLACE AT THE F.M.S. GOVERNMENT PRESS,

1925.

PREFACE.

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

R. J. W.

LIFE AND CUSTOMS.

CHILDREN'S GAMES.

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

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

In these quaint tags of old folklore we find one reason that endears the play of children to the anthropologist; in the wide range of some toys and games we get a second reason. When the members of the "Haddon" expedition visited Borneo they found that the local Dyaks could beat them easily at the game of cat's-cradle. Personally we fail to see what precise ethnological inference is to be deduced from the dire result of this international match; failure in such a contest must be admitted to cast a serious reflection on European prowess in infantile arts, but this may be due to the European habit of putting away childish things on the attainment of manhood. At all events, we may take it for granted that the game of cat's-cradle is widespread. So, too, is the use of the bull-roarer, a weird instrument, the noise of which is used by Papuan magicians to warn women away from their initiation ceremonies. The bull-roarer has been found in the Malay Peninsula in the form of a toy. But here again inference is dangerous. The wide range of tops and kites and the diffusion of a relatively modern game like chess should put us on our guard against rash ethnological conclusions. Then there is the pellet-bow. The pellet-bow is used as a weapon in Further India and only as a toy in Malaya. Is it in this country a discarded local weapon or an imported foreign toy? We cannot say. Conversely, the blowpipe, which is a weapon in Malaya, is only a toy in Nias. Must we conclude that the blowpipe ousted the bow in Sumatra while the bow ousted the blowpipe in Nias? It may be so; still, we cannot speak positively. The most unfortunate feature about this branch of anthropological research

is that it supplies us with no solutions to the riddles in which it is so rich. Though a happy hunting-ground for the theorist, it is a bewildering labyrinth for a student of cautious temperament.

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

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

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

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

Much of this formula is meaningless or inapposite, but the coincidence in sound must be more than accidental. What was the original text? And what did it mean? So too in counting-out to select the principal figure in a game¹ a curious old set of

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

numbers is used sometimes. In Perak the first ten numerals are :

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

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

- | | |
|--------------------|-------------------|
| (1) <i>sende</i> | (6) <i>nabi</i> |
| (2) <i>duande</i> | (7) <i>mai ki</i> |
| (3) <i>patali</i> | (8) <i>pa'poh</i> |
| (4) <i>patande</i> | (9) <i>sun'pa</i> |
| (5) <i>nalan</i> | (10) <i>duwe</i> |

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

Children's games are also interesting for a fourth reason : they reflect to some extent ideals of education and culture. Even the Malays themselves see this. In a political pamphlet against the Dutch, an Achehnese leader referred to the toy weapons of his boys and to their love of playing at soldiers as evidence of the warrior-spirit innate in his fellow-countrymen. Public opinion in Perak encourages some pastimes and condemns others. It condemns certain infantile diversions because they involve pinching and slapping and dull a child's delicacy of touch. It sets its face against the strange "suggestion" games in which a boy is hypnotised into unconsciousness of his surroundings. Yet the hostility of parents to these amusements may represent modern ideas; the ancient world must have tolerated or

encouraged a different spirit to have allowed these pastimes to become so widespread and popular. Finally, children—even grown-up children—are mimetic and show by their mimicry the features that strike them as remarkable in whatever they imitate. When the officers of a European regiment are depicted as a pompous colonel, an obsequious major, and a fat "padre reading a book," we may infer that the existence of army chaplains rather startled the Malay mind. When we find that the "padre reading a book" is turned into ridicule we know what verdict the Malays pass on a profession that suggests to them a fish out of water. Similar deductions may be drawn from many other local diversions.

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

of stick is pinned on to represent the backward curve of the horns and if a nose-ring and a piece of rattan is passed through one end of it: a buffalo of this sort can be drawn round and round the house at the heels of his little master. A hobby-horse is represented in Perak by a coconut-frond of which the outer end is left bushy to typify the horse's tail while the other extremity is bare save for two upturned pieces of leaf that represent the ears. But even a toy like this is a riddle to us, for riding is not indigenous to this country. The Malays of ancient Perak had neither horses nor roads. Did they bring over the hobby-horse from Sumatra? Did they copy it from Indo-China? Or is it a new invention, the outcome of the last few years?

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

Ikan kekek—ma'nilui-lui.

Gelama torak—ma'nilai-lai.

Nanti patok—ma'nilui-lui.

Pulang sama—ma'nilai-lai.

¹ A number are given in Appendix I.

² See "Life and Customs, I.—Incidents of Malay Life."

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

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

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

*Ayun tajak, buaikan tajak,
Tanah Pilembang, tanah Jawa,
Ayun budak, buaikan budak,
Budak di-timbang dengan nyaua.*

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

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

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

The first games played by children are also of a very primitive type. One infant tickles another: the child that stands the tickling longest is the winner. There are two such tickling-games. Pinching adds two more to the list. Knocking the fists together supplies still another game, while a form of slapping provides one last form of diversion to children of a very youthful age. The following account of one of these amusements¹ gives a fair idea of the type.

This game is played by any number of boys. They sit down in a circle. One of them holds out his hand, palm downwards, when the skin on the back of

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

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

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

Rangkai-rangkai pəriok

Pəriok dari Jawa;

Sumbing wadikit tərantok

Tərantok di-liang para.

Ayoh nenek, ayoh nenek,

Rumah kita nak runtok,

Entah ka-hulu entah ka-hilir,

Rak-rak-rum!

"The house is falling, the house is falling; crash, bang, boom!" At these words the children let go their arms and bring down the structure with a slap against their sides. In the other mimetic game, *pong-pong along*, an egg (represented by a child's fist) is "broken" at each round, the breaking being suggested by the conversion of a closed fist into an open hand. The little fists are placed one above another at the beginning of the game, while the players sing:

*Pong-pong along,
Krinting riang-riang,
Ketapong ma' balong,
Minyak arab, minyak sapi,
Pèchah telur sa-biii!*

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

*Pèram-pèram pisang,
Pisang masak sa-biii,
Datang bari-bari,
Di gunggung bawā lari.*

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

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

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

*Long-lang burong jawa,
Minta tabek, anak raja lalu;
Ayam puteh m'ngandong t'lar
Ayam hitam m'mbawa anak.*

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

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

*Patpat siku rembat,
Buah lalu dari belakang;
Buta p'chak mata m'lihat,
Siapa dapat ia m'lompat.*

While he is repeating this he slips the "ticket" surreptitiously into the hand of one of the players. At the last word of the formula the recipient of the ticket is expected to dash away from the line and put himself out of reach of the others. If he is touched by his neighbours before he can get away, he has to resume his place in the ranks. If he escapes untouched he goes a little way off and awaits the next item of the game, the selection of his steed.

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

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

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

The game of hide-and-seek is found in three distinct forms, one of which has already been mentioned because of the folklore attaching to it.

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

The other two varieties are known as *chĕkap-chĕkup puyoh* and *ibu anak*. In the former the players hide themselves within a given radius of a tree or stump that serves as a goal or place of safety. It is the seeker's business to catch some player before he can reach this goal from his hiding place. In the game of *ibu anak* there is not even this amount of concealment. The players station themselves only at different places within a certain distance of the tree.

or stump, and at a given signal they make a dash for the goal while the *ibu* or goal-keeper tries to intercept them. It is interesting to note that there are no formulæ associated with the harmless varieties of hide-and-seek. With the inauspicious *main hantu rusa* it is different. Before the seeker or *hantu rusa* starts to search for his companions he has to leap about and utter the following meaningless words: *te-ta moler-moler, sang pëningkul, la-ugor, la-ugor, ghau-ghau; tanjang tindak, tur-jang datang, ghau-ghau*. Doubtless the formula varies slightly from place to place.

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

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

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

But the strangest Malay amusements are those in which a boy is led by some sort of hypnotic suggestion into believing himself an animal. They are the more

interesting because of the formulæ with which the metamorphosis is effected. A link between the true suggestion-games and the ordinary games of blind-man's buff and hide-and-seek may be traced in the pastime known as *main tikam sêladang* or *main sêladang*. In this "wild-bull" game the player is only supposed to act the wild bull; he is not supposed to feel like one. He goes down on all fours in the centre of a marked space while the other boys stand around and exchange the following questions and answers:

Q. *Tam-tam-kul*

Why this basket?

A. To carry charcoal

Q. Why charcoal?

A. To whet my spear.

Q. Why a spear?

A. To spear the wild bull.

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

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

Sang gêlisang,

Pasang bunga lada,

Kalau datang hantu musang

Ayam sa-ekor pun tiada.

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

*Chok glichok,
Gali-gali ubi,
Di-mana layu bongkok
Di-situ masang mējadi.*

After this the player is said to become possessed and to be quite unconscious of his humanity; he chases the others, climbs up trees, leaps from branch to branch, and so far forgets himself as to run the risk of injury by venturing on boughs too frail to bear his weight. In the end he is recalled to his senses by being addressed repeatedly by name.

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

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

This form of amusement, though popular among children, is said to be dangerous to the "goat," owing to his habit of butting against walls and posts when in a state of trance. Some of the elder boys are generally told off to see that accidents are prevented. Other suggestion-games (in which the player becomes

a peacock or an elephant) are recorded from Acheen. In Perak all the hypnotic diversions are disliked by parents.

Elder boys and young men like to take part in such games of strength and skill as are played with appliances—tops, marbles, kites, balls or quoits. Of these amusements the best known to Europeans is the Malay football, *sepak raga*, which is played with a rude light ball of plaited rattan. It demands a good deal of skill. It is a game for some ten or fifteen players who stand about in a circle and keep the ball in the air with a sidelong blow from the foot. Mr. A. W. O'Sullivan once saw a party of ten Province Wellesley Malays "keep the ball up 120 times without once allowing it to drop." They kick it upwards with the ball of the foot; and skilful players in so doing often bring the foot up level with the breast, a feat quite impossible to the ordinary European who can make nothing of the game." But *sepak raga* is losing its vogue. It is being replaced by the European game of football, which possesses the excitement of having the players divided into sides. So much is *sepak raga* losing ground that in a list of Perak games compiled by a Malay for the purposes of this pamphlet it was not even mentioned.

Another game, known as *main porok*, is played with a rude quoit made of a piece of coconut-shell with its edge rounded off and with a hole knocked through its centre. Standing with his back to the

† At the sports on the occasion of the opening of the Federal Council in 1909 the winning *sepak raga* team kept the ball up 36 times consecutively, but in practice when they were not nervous they are said to have done it over 400 times. A kick at the first rebound is permitted. Some Malays object to the game as irreligious on the supposition that the slayers of Husam and his family played *sepak raga* with the heads of their victims.

target and with his quoit between his feet, a Malay boy with a skilful jerk of his right foot may send the quoit rolling in the required direction with a reasonable degree of accuracy. In the game of *porok* the players divide into two sides and draw on the ground two parallel lines at an interval of between twenty and thirty feet. On one line they lay the quoits of one side as targets; on the other they station the players of the other side. The boys are expected to hit their opponents' quoits with their own in the manner already described. Each boy is allowed three shots. If he fails he may be permitted to take his quoit between his feet and jump backwards till he succeeds or fails in making a clean hit at his adversary's *porok*. Should any members of the side fail to make hits the other side gets its innings. Should they all succeed a second test is applied. The players have to walk backwards and with heads thrown back till they think that they are in the vicinity of their adversaries' line. Then they have to lift their quoits over their heads and drop them on their opponents' quoits. The first side to be successful in both tests is declared the winner of the game. *Porok* is difficult to play, but practice makes perfect.

Marbles¹ are well known in the Peninsula, even in places where European influence has been very slight. Games played with them possess in some cases elaborate rules and curious technical terms that may throw some light on the history of the importation of these European playthings. In some cases marbles are only a substitute for a native plaything of the same type, such as the candle-nut or some small hard fruit. Games like *tuju kĕpala* and *tuju lubang*, for

¹ See Appendix III.

instance, may be played equally well with candle-nuts, marbles, or coins. In the first the players draw a long straight line on the ground and stake nuts on it. They then stand at the end of the line and take shots at the stakes with their playing nuts or *tagan*. A player who hits a nut wins it and all the nuts between it and himself. In this way the game goes on till the stakes have all been won. In *tuju lubang* the stakes may be placed in a hole, and the player whose ball falls nearest the hole may be allowed to take the pool. But further complications are very common. Games that are played with marbles exclusively are known as *main goli* or *main jaka*. They call for sharpness with the tongue as well as with the eye and fingers, since the players have to repeat certain words when certain things occur—*e.g.*, when a marble is hit by another. Unreadiness or inability to do this before his opponent may deprive a player of the benefits of a successful shot.

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

¹ See Appendix IV

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

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

Malay kites are of many shapes and go by many names. The best known in Perak are the "hawk," the "peacock" and the "pomfret"—so called from their general outline. They are flown in the rice-

¹ *Sorodocarpus borneensis*.

fields during the dry season between the harvest and the sowing. They are made of a thin stiff paper¹ on a bamboo frame and may be of very large size; they are very well balanced, usually tail-less, and sometimes provided with a little automatic wind-instrument that gives out a humming sound. A good deal of pride is taken by a Malay in the adornment and general coloration of his kite, many fancy patterns being known and used in the larger settlements, especially where foreign influences prevail. Is the kite itself foreign? The paper of which it is made is certainly alien to the country; but, as a primitive kite made of leaf is met with, the argument based on paper is not conclusive. All over the East fighting between kites is common pastime, the object being to cut an opponent's string and so deprive him of his plaything. In Malaya kite-strings are sometimes dipped in glue and coated with powdered glass to give them an unsportsmanlike advantage in this kind of contest.

There are also many toys² that are not associated with any particular game. Among them we may reckon a whole armoury of miniature weapons: the bow and arrow, the pellet-bow (to which reference has already been made), the blowpipe, the sling, the throwing-stick, and various types of guns. The little blowpipe used by Malay children is made of a slender bamboo³ that has very long internodes; it may be used for killing large insects, small reptiles such as lizards, and even little birds such as the pretty sunbirds of Malaya. The projectile is either a small pellet of clay or a sharp unpoisoned dart ballasted with leaf or pith. The Malay sling is an ordinary catapult of rami fibre; it hurls stones or *durian*-seeds to some

¹ *Kertax jeluang*.

² See Appendix V.

³ *Ochlandra ridleyi*.

considerable distance. The throwing-stick has a cleft at one end from which a *durian*-seed can be projected by a sudden jerky swing. Toy guns are of all sorts. One, the *bēdil chēnērai* (so called because its projectile is the hard fruit of the *chēnērai*), works by atmospheric pressure. It is a sort of air-gun, a piston working in a bamboo-tube. Another, the *bēdil batang payong* (made of rusty umbrella-tubing), is a true firearm, the ammunition being Chinese cracker-powder. It is dangerous, especially to the child who fires it, and is unpopular with parents. Other toy-guns of a very effective character are made by utilising the springiness of a bent-stick working along a slit in a bamboo barrel. Some of these have a catch that is released by a trigger, by way of making the resemblance to a real gun closer.

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

In the game of hut-building, children imagine themselves men building a house. During all the proceedings they talk as men usually talk on such occasions. Some of them are left near the site of the proposed building, clearing the place and cooking for the party that is to return from the forest with wood, etc. Sometimes actual eatables are cooked, but more often earth and leaves are put in coconut-shells placed on the

fire in imitation of real cooking. Then they tackle whatever material they have and erect the house. Being a small hut the work presents no difficulty, especially as little neatness is required. The posts are of bamboo, the walls and the roof of *pinang* or *pisang* leaves, the former being woven like *atap bërlam* while the latter retain their natural shape. Sometimes the hut is so small that only two or three children can be accommodated at a time, but this is easily remediable. they arrange that it shall be occupied by each in turn so that every one will have the opportunity of enjoying the sitting in it. Sometimes the model house is imagined as a grand big building. They decorate it with flowers, and if it is too small to hold a child they make use of it in another way. Its completion is nearly always followed by a marriage between two dolls. This celebration is entrusted to little girls, who manufacture the dolls themselves from rags and cotton. They imitate the way in which a real bridegroom is escorted, and go so far as to beat drums and gongs and fire crackers. The house is then assigned to the married dolls, which are represented as being the children of members of the party.

DANCES.

A casual glance at the dances and dramas of the Malays might lead us to infer that they all came from abroad. The *wayang* is Chinese; the *bangsawan* is a copy of our own comic opera; the *ronggeng*, *gambok* and *joget* come from Java; the *boria* was brought from Hindustan; the *kathrah* and *main dabus* are traceable to Arabia; the *ma'yong* and *mëndorah* are relics of the old kingdom of Ligor. Indeed, we might go further and extend this theory to most local amusements—chess, draughts, cards, the Indian game of *rimau kambing*—all these things are foreign.

Search as we will we seem to find nothing but 'alien' elements in the chief pastimes of the Malays of to-day.

Yet this foreign origin of Malay entertainments is the last thing that we should expect. Take dancing, for instance. The aborigines of the Peninsula are keen dancers; the Indonesians of Sumatra and Borneo show the same trait; the classic civilisations of Java and Cambodia raised dancing to the position of a fine art. If national tastes are to count at all we have to remember that the Malays seem predisposed to amusements of this type—they flock to see anything, be it a Chinese *wayang* or a performing bear—and no great function (such as a royal wedding or a chief's installation) is considered complete without its due accompaniment of dramatic and terpsichorean side-shows. Are we then to infer that all this is a matter of acquired taste and that the Peninsular Malays have nothing that is really their own in the long list of local entertainments? Or may we conclude that foreign forms of amusement have supplanted the original plays and dances of the Malays themselves?

To some extent it is the old story of the professional and the amateur, of the specialist and the jack-of-all-trades. Not in Malaya alone has the modern cosmopolitan artist with his band of trained performers driven out the morris-dances and maypole-dances of the village-green. Now and again at some

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

old-fashioned wedding in a sleepy hamlet of Perak or Pahang the European guest may be privileged to look upon the time-honoured entertainments of the people; but for the most part he sees nothing of the sort. A Malay chief would consider himself shamed if he regaled his guests with amateur performances of a bucolic type, when it is open to him to engage a pair of fashionable nautch-girls or a strolling company of *ma' yong* players. Our age is the age of the specialist, a being for whom the old Malay world had no place. Then we have to reckon with the puritanism of Islam. Modern Malay opinion is averse to a respectable grown-up girl or married woman treading a measure with a member of the opposite sex, or indeed to her performing in public at all. It allows children to dance, but it would condemn severely any father who brought up his child to the ill-famed trade of a nautch-girl. This puritanism has driven into the background the old non-professional dancing of the Malays and has replaced it by foreign entertainments, the invention of Javanese or Cambodian courtiers for the amusement of their long-forgotten kings. We are left to wonder what has become of the old national dances, what they were like, and where they may yet be seen.

The old order is changing before our very eyes. The European game of football, for instance, is acquiring a popularity that the national *sepak raga* never possessed; but football has not put an end to *sepak raga*. Football has become a fashionable game for the gilded youth of the country; *sepak raga* is relegated to the position of hide-and-seek, blind-man's buff, tops, kites, marbles, and the other amusements that are tolerated in children and are condemned as

childish in people of riper years. The pastimes of children constitute a sort of lumber-room into which the diversions of their elders generally end by finding their way. To the student of ethnography this lumber-room offers a rich field of research, and it may help us to learn a great deal about the old-world dances that have been replaced by the nautch-girls of Java and the trained singers of Arabia and India.

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

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

The girl then rises and dances in her turn, replying in a coy and shy manner that provokes her partner to further expressions of tenderness. The performance is in excellent taste throughout, but it suggests by its language a dance for adults rather than for children. It seems to imply that there was a time when mixed dancing was permitted by public opinion, and the sexes associated more freely than they do under the present Muhammadan régime. It also tells us something of the period of transition. When Islam put an end to mixed dancing it had to tolerate the ceremonial imitation of mixed dances on occasions such as weddings when Malay custom insisted on the observance of the old formalities. It is precisely on such occasions that the ancient dances of the Malays are to be seen. This dance—*tarek papan*, *sorong*

papan—is a marriage-dance; but a still more convincing example is the performance known as *main gubang* that may not be given at all unless it is given in the presence of two dolls dressed up as bride and bridegroom.

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

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

* * * *

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

And so on to numbers higher than ten if the delay is necessary. Meanwhile the girl lying shrouded in the cloth is believed to be slowly losing consciousness and

¹ See Appendix VI.

to become possessed or revived by the spirit of the dance. Rising as if in a trance she picks up one of the palm-blossoms, holds it at arm's length and treads a measure with it, causing its stalk to sway in unison with her own movements and repeating in her turn the verses that she has just been hearing. After a time, when recalled to consciousness by the cessation of the music, she retires to her place, leaving the dance to be taken up by another performer.

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

Another curious old-world ceremony is the harvest-dance that forms part of the procedure of gathering in the rice. The performers are a band of some fifteen or twenty young children, both boys and girls, who carry winnowing-sieves and other tools of the harvester. The troop is invited forward by an old woman taking up her position on the threshing-screen and singing to the children, who respond by dancing and putting questions for the old lady to answer in verse. When the spectators are weary of the dancing and singing the performance is brought to an end in the following very curious way. The girl-leader of the children's chorus sings a verse that purports to be a charm "making all things brittle."² Having done so (doubtless with the idea of making the threshing easier) she leads her band of

¹ See Appendix VII.

² Pérignon.

dancers to the screen by way of testing the efficacy of the magic. The children tramp and stamp on the screen; and when a lath has shown its brittleness by breaking, the charm is supposed to have done its work and the dance ends.

Again we have the war-dances¹ in which the fighting-man of a village mimics the passes, steps and strokes of a duel to the death. Even at the present day a performance of this type may be followed with breathless interest by the seniors among the spectators; it recalls to them the old wild days when the *kris* was more than a curio. To the European and to the younger generation of Malays the dance is unintelligible; it is based on a system of fencing so highly specialised as to be unreal. In any case, it is hardly likely to continue to exist when the use of the *kris* has been abandoned; and even if it does drag on a dishonoured existence as a game for Malay boys, the *main silat* will never preserve in its new form the curious wealth of technicalities associated with the national weapon of the country. The war-dance is nearly dead; the country-dances are dying, it is doubtful whether these ancient pastimes will survive another generation. Let this be our excuse for recording them before they pass away.

Not that Malay dancing appeals to everybody. "A couple of women shuffling their feet and swaying their hands in gestures that are devoid of grace or even variety"—such is Sir Frank Swettenham's contemptuous description of the *ronggeng*, the best known dancers of all. But we need not be quite so hasty with our verdicts. The *ronggeng*, as Sir Frank admits, has an undoubted fascination for Malays.

¹ *Mintakak*, *main silat*.

She has more. She has attracted the attention of great artists at home, the very last men to be interested by the crude performance defined in "Malay Sketches." A picture of a *ronggeng* girl has been painted by Sargent; another figures on a panel in the house of Alma Tadema. The merits of this form of dancing must surely be greater than Sir Frank's account would lead us to believe; but the explanation is simple. Here in the Peninsula we never see the *ronggeng* at her best.

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

The public dancing-girl of Java, known in the Sunda districts as a *ronggeng*, is the historical successor of the nautch-girl attached to the ancient Hindu temples of the country. From her earliest youth she is trained for her profession. So seriously was this training regarded that the Dutch East India Company established schools and diplomas for these girls and turned their dances into a source of revenue. The life of a *ronggeng* is not the life of a vestal; but she is a dancer first and a wanton afterwards. Such things are possible in Java where Hindu ideas survive

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

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

"They danced five or six dances each lasting quite half an hour, with materially different figures and time in the music. All these dances, I was told, were symbolical, one of agriculture with the tilling of the soil, the sowing of the seed, the reaping and winnowing of the grain, might easily have been guessed from the dancers' movements. But those of the audience whom I was near enough to question were, Malay-like, unable to give me

such information. Attendants stood or sat near the dancers and, from time to time, as the girls tossed one thing on the floor, handed them another. Sometimes it was a fan or a mirror they held, sometimes a flower or small vessel, but oftener their hands were empty, as it is in the management of the fingers that the chief art of Malay dancers consists.

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

Sir Frank inferred the Javanese origin of this dance from the fact that the musical instruments that accompanied it were foreign to the Peninsula. This inference is correct. The *budak joget*, or girl-dancers of the Pahang court, are only a far-off imitation of the great bands of ballet-girls that entertain the wealthy princes of Java. The Sultan of Jogja possesses a ballet of some thirty or forty dancers, all children of good families and all between thirteen and eighteen years of age. These girls' dance only on state occasions, in splendid dresses and to the accompaniment of a most elaborate band of musical instruments. They have to undergo a long preliminary course (from the age of six or so) before graduating for this ballet; so that if we allow for the girls in training and the musicians, we can understand that the upkeep of an institution of this sort would be too much for the finances of any poor Peninsula prince. The minor princes of Java keep ballets of seven dancing-girls,² who are rather less elaborately dressed, trained and accompanied. A long way after these come the four *budak joget* of the Sultan of Pahang. Still the *budak*

¹ *Belaya*.

² *Skrump*.

joget do receive some training in their youth; and the impression made by their performance upon its European audience may help us to be more charitable to the ideals of Indonesian dancing.

To turn for a moment to the technique of the art, the Malay distinguishes between the step-dancing,¹ the undulations of the fingers and arms,² and the swaying of the body.³ While the European limits his attention to the first the Malay attends to all three, but chiefly to the second. The specific name for the arm-movement has been chosen to be the generic name for the art—a choice that shows very clearly what the people think of the relative value of the three items. To the expert the rhythmic waving of a waltz-girl's arms and the movements of her fingers are full of meaning; he has a special term and a special explanation for each undulation. The dancing of the Javanese *ronggeng* is quite classical in its simplicity; but the years of training that it exacts from its exponents should put us on our guard against confusing simplicity and ease.

Two *ronggeng* dance at a time, each being dressed in the simple costume of everyday life and holding a scarf or kerchief between her hands. The performers take it in turn to sing humorous or sentimental verses, sometimes addressing each other and sometimes turning their wit upon the audience. It is permissible for male members of the audience to join in the dance with one or other of the *ronggeng*²—a feature that accounts largely for the popularity of this form of entertainment in the Peninsula. There is another dance of the same sort, the *gambak*, which is a *pas seul*, but it is very rare in British Malaya. It is only

¹ *Tandak*.

² *Tari*.

³ *Leak*.

effective with a trained dancer; and the Malay nautch-girl does not answer to that description. At the end of a *ronggeng* or *gambok* dance it is usual for the performers to give an exhibition of their skill by bending over backwards and picking up coins between their teeth. This acrobatic detail is really a test of the fitness of the dancer for her work; it is the hall-mark of her training, so to speak. As art it is out of place, like the tuning-up at an opera. We do not want explanations to show us how the training is done.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ See Appendix IX.

A good account of the local branches of the great Muhammadan mystic schools¹ has yet to be written.² The most important orders that are found in the Peninsula—the *Satariah*, the *Samaniah*, the *Kadariah*, and the *Nakshibandiah*—look askance at the *dabus* dances. The order that controls these performances is that founded by Ahmiad Rifai, a Moslem saint and mystic of the twelfth century A.D. It has decreed that no *dabus* dance may be held except in the presence of a *khalifah* or delegate of the founder; nor can any one be a *khalifah* unless he can trace his spiritual descent from teacher to teacher back to the great Ahmad Rifai himself. These delegates of the founder claim to have his power of working miracles and to be able to heal any wound self-inflicted in the cause of religion. Here we must leave the matter. A *dabus* performance is not a dance in the usual acceptance of the word; it is a representation of frenzy by men who may be either conjurors or fanatics. When it is the former it is a fraud, when it is the latter it is a pitiful sight that can only please a man with a taste for the morbid.

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

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

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

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

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

the anniversary of Kerbela is a day of mourning and all sectarian virus has been taken out of the *boria*. In place of the hymn to Husain the leader sings a commonplace verse to introduce his party; for instance (in the *boria china Canton*):

*Kami sakalian china Canton,
Dari gunung gua turun,
Datang ka-sini mahu turun
Héndak pèrgi ka-pèrang Jipun;*

or in the *boria anak habshi*:

*Habshi ini Habshi lama,
Habshi champur muda lèruno,
Habshi bèrmain sa-lama-lama
Habshi bèrjalan ka-mana-mana;*

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

MUSICAL PLAYS.

Malay drama has failed to reach any standard of excellence. In the Peninsula it comprises three classes of plays: the comic opera or *bangsawan*, which is quite modern; the *wayang kulit* or shadow-show, which is very ancient; and the *ma'iong* and other dance-dramas of the old kingdom of Ligor. Each has its own good points. The *bangsawan* is amusing; it gives us some capital mimicry of types of men, well known in Malaya, such as the Chinese rikisha-puller, the Malay police-constable, the Sikh watchman, the Bombay pedlar and the Jafna-Tamil

clerk. The very ancient shadow-play appeals to antiquarians and has been celebrated in many papers read before learned societies. The *ma'yong* has interest of another sort. Too primitive for the average Englishman yet not primitive enough for the anthropologist, it merits attention as a picture of the childhood of dramatic art. For the Malay theatre was never a novelty that came full-grown into the world; it developed out of the dance. The recreational dance, the dance that was a pretty sight, the mimetic dance, the dance that represented a great historic event—these were the four stages that made ready the way for the drama. In the end, when the drama did come, it came as a variant or improvement of the dance, it could not copy nature and break altogether with the past. Convention fettered it on every side, fixing the number of players, the music, the costumes, the parts to be played, and the heroic *epos* from which the plots were to be taken. It left nothing to the discretion of the actors, except the topical "gags" with which a Malay clown raises a laugh among the audience.

The Thespis of the *ma'yong* was a certain man (named *Jmakam* in some versions of the legend) who lived in the jungle and learnt the play from the aborigines. He taught it to others of his own race, fellow-exiles in the forest, until at last they became word-perfect and descended to the villages as exponents of the new art. There they created such a furore that "men left their dinners half eaten and rushed, spoon in hand, to learn the meaning of the strange music of the *ma'yong*." That is one account. Another and more sophisticated story ascribes the discovery to a certain Shaikh who wandered about

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

The home of the *ma'yong* is in the north—in the regions once covered by the old kingdom of Ligor. This ancient State is the great mystery of the Peninsula. As far back as 400 A.D., we have old Chinese records that tell us of a powerful kingdom of "Langgasu" or Langkasuka, which seems to have filled up the north of Malaya, stretching from sea to sea. A thousand years later we meet in the Javanese story of the great war of 1377 A.D. the last mention of Langkasuka as an independent contemporary

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

Let us then depict the *ma'yong* as best we may. The company is made up of four chief players, a few supernumeraries, and a band of some dozen musicians. It plays in the open air, under a shed, but without a raised platform or stage other than the simple matting that convention allows to the dancer. The music is given by a pair of big drums, a pair of gongs, a native flute, a small kettle-drum, some castanets, and a staccato instrument with a wooden keyboard. These instruments, along with the masks and costumes of the actors, represent the whole equipment of the *ma'yong*.

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

¹ He also plays the part of the *peian* or clown.

by some meaningless formula such as the following: "Rēni ma-rēni, ti-ti-ti-ti, rēni-ma-rēni, ti-ti-ti-ti, rēni ma-rēni." After some conventional verses he ends by inviting the spirits to return each to his own home and not trouble the dancers and musicians with faintness or dizziness:

*Asal sirih pulang ka-gayang,
Asal pinang pulang ka-lampok,
Ségala panjak pēngantin-ku¹ jangan binasa,
Gie' puléh sédia-kala!*

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

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

The first scene opens with the *pa'yong* or "jeune premier"² coming forward and introducing himself to the audience. He is dressed as a young prince according to the ancient fashions of the northern Malay States: long wide trousers, a loose waistcloth of rich material, a short tight coat, a headdress of stiff-cloth with an aigrette, a belt, gold nail-protectors on both hands, a rich assortment of bracelets, and a

¹ This word does not mean "bridgroom," but the player of a certain instrument.

² In some companies this part is played by a girl dressed as a man.

scarf flung over his left shoulder. He also wears a *këris* and carries a curious wand. Dressed in the manner described, he dances and sings before the audience, and when he has been sufficiently admired he tells his hearers that he is off to find a companion for a journey in quest of a lovely princess-bride. Then follows the meeting with this companion, his *fidus Achates*, the *përan* or jester of the play. This meeting is invariably a comic interlude, a scene of vulgar humour, in which the pair quarrel and fight for the better amusement of a simple audience. "Take care, you are blinding my ears, you are deafening my eyes"—such is a specimen of a joke at a *ma'yong*. Ultimately, when the jesting begins to pall upon the spectators, the two boon-companions go off on the best of terms and leave the mat free for the next scene of the play.

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

When the *pa'yong* and *përan* have left the scene the heroine-princess (*ma'yong* or *putëri*) makes her first appearance. She is attired in a sarong spread out in the "billowy" pattern, a tight blouse (of which the hanging folds are tucked away under the skirt),¹ a tight girdle with or without a big jewelled buckle to emphasise the slenderness of her waist, a long

¹ In the north the breasts are often left uncovered.

scarf trailing over her shoulder, and a rich assortment of bracelets, brooches, chains, rings, and jewelled nail-protectors. When she has been on the stage long enough to allow the spectators time to recover from the sensation that so gorgeous an apparition would make in a Malay village she treats them to a song and a dance, takes them into her confidence and assures them that her one desire in life at the present moment is to go on a picnic to a distant pleasure-garden attached to one of her father's country-seats. After this she departs in search of her old nurse who may be able to help her to realise this wish. The old nurse or *mu' inang* is the feminine counterpart of a clown.¹ She chaffs the princess unmercifully and is answered with great tartness, to the amusement of the audience, but she yields in the end and carries off her protégée to interview the king.

The next scene is quite different. It represents the pathos of beauty in distress. The girl is refused permission to leave the palace. She weeps; the nurse supports her with prayers and jokes; and at last the pair get what they want out of the indulgent father. Away they go on their journey to the pleasaunce in the forest. The scene is now supposed to change to the country garden of the king. Prince and clown are the first to arrive by mere chance at this auspicious spot. The prince rhapsodises on the loveliness of it all; the clown turns the rhapsodies into ridicule. After a certain amount of this type of humour the prince and the jester perceive that two ladies are coming in their direction. They disappear at once into the nearest thicket leaving the place clear for any newcomers. Watching their opportunity they wait

¹ This part is played by a man dressed as a woman.

till the ladies are disporting themselves in the river and then come forward and take possession of the dry clothes on the bank. This embarrasses the bathers. After a time the princess sends the duenna to open negotiations. This scene is the playwright's opportunity; it confronts the clown with his feminine counterpart. Greek meets Greek; jest is parried by jest; the fun becomes fast and furious. At last the two parties arrange a truce, the clothes are returned, and the prince is introduced to the princess. The play then becomes sentimental with love-scenes, poetry and an undercurrent of parody and jest from the ever-irreverent *ma'-inang* and *p'ëran*. In order to bring matters to a crisis the clown comes forward with a miraculous love-charm with which he guarantees to win for the prince the heart of any lady in the world. The prince sanctions the experiment, and in a twinkling the princess has fallen in love with the clown, and the duenna with the prince. Complications follow; the prince is furious and thrashes the clown unmercifully amid the frantic plaudits of the audience. In the end, all is put right, so as to show in the final tableau the happy young couple receiving from the indulgent old king the Malay equivalent of "Bless you, my children."

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

by single examples of the different plots. We will explain why collation or comparison is necessary.

If an enquirer were to purchase from an actor of a *ma'yong* the copy of a play such as the *Gajah Dangdaru* he would get a story written mainly in the third person. The Malay playwright works on very simple lines; he borrows his plot from some cycle of local legend well-known to his hearers and then brings into the story a number of topical jokes and songs. He keeps to the outline of the tale, but fills up the details in the way that he thinks best. In course of time certain definite songs, dances, tunes, jokes and recitative passages come to be connected as old favourites with the *Gajah Dangdaru* and are given regularly at every performance of the play. The rest of the libretto varies with each troupe and has no special value. The interest of the *ma'yong*, such as it is, is centered in the constants: the outline of the story and the small details that are fixed in form. To study the rest is to study the vagaries of individual actors.

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

So, too, if he takes the old songs and recitative passages that time has embedded in these tales he is met again by traces of alien speech and influence. He finds that the very names of the chief parts—*ma'yong*,

The principle of the *wayang kulit* is simple; it consists in passing certain leather figures before a bright light so as to throw the silhouettes upon a large cloth screen. The screen is between the player and the audience. The following details may be added. The figures are cut out of hide, parchment, or cardboard, and are fastened to long thin slips of wood by which they are manipulated. The lamp (which has its light concentrated on the screen for obvious reasons) is a hanging light, so that its gentle quivering motion may be imparted to the silhouettes on the screen and give them a more life-like appearance. Vegetable oils are used in preference to mineral oils as they are said to give less smoke. When not in actual use the puppets are stuck up on pieces of banana-pith so as to be ready to hand. These puppets are of rough design in many cases; but the Ligor figures are carefully painted and are very artistic when compared with the Java forms. An orchestra is employed to play tunes appropriate to the incident depicted on the sheet; one tune for dances, another for battles, etc. Two men work behind the scenes: one recites the story while the other manipulates the figures. A magician recites propitiatory charms and burns incense before every performance both in the Straits and in Java.

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

“An old man appears weeping for a long-lost son, and moves to and fro for some time bewailing his loss: the showman speaks each figure's part and alters the tone of his voice to suit the age of the speaker; a second figure comes on, representing a young man armed with a *kēris*, who endeavours to pick a quarrel with the first-comer, and the conversation is witty and

characteristic, eliciting roars of laughter from the lookers-on; a fight ensues and the old man is wounded; he falls and cries out that were he a young man or if his lost son were present, his adversary should not thus triumph over him. In his conversation he happens to mention his son's name; the young man intimates that his name is the same; an explanation ensues, and it ends by the old man discovering in his late adversary his long-lost son. The old fellow weeps and laughs alternately, caresses his son frequently and declares they shall never part again; the scene ends by the youth shedding tears over his late inhuman conduct, and he finally walks off with the old gentleman on his back.

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

This account gives a very good description of the show as it appears to the spectators; still, it has to be supplemented on some points. In the Straits the stories depicted in these shadow-shows are taken usually from the Panji legends; in Java they are borrowed from the Ramayana and Mahabharata. But there is no very strict rule in the matter, and the form of some Malay literary works (such as the *Hikayat Sang Samba* of the Mahabharata *epos*) makes it quite clear that they were written in the first instance for use with a *wayang kulit*. Great legendary epics like the story of Panji in Java, the legends of Rama and of the Pandawas in India and the Homeric tales in Greece are episodic; they are split up into a thousand minor incidents of which each may be made into a complete story in itself. A performance of the *wayang kulit* may go rambling on for weeks. The spectators know this. They do not

want to see the end of the *epos*; they know the general outline already and are only interested in the episodes, the interludes, the digressions, and the humorous gags introduced by the players. The same is true of musical plays like the *ma'yong*. The spectators come late or leave before the end of the piece without giving the actors any grievance. What have they to stay for? They have sampled the skill and wit of the actors, the beauty of the ladies, the sweetness of the music, the grace of the dancing, the gorgeousness of the dresses—what more do they want? They know how the play is going to end; and they consider that no one except a glutton would insist on partaking of every item in a week-long bill-of-fare. The Malay is not a glutton; he is only a gourmet with a big appetite in matters theatrical.

However, to return to our *wayang kulit* where, as everything is stereotyped and made easy for us to understand, we can recognise all the characters at once by their profiles. Seeing a face with the nose and forehead in one long straight line—the forehead too receding and the chin too weak for European taste—we know at once that its possessor is one of the gods or heroes of old Java. But if we see a snub-nose and an irregular profile, then it is our business to hiss, for the face is that of some villain or evil spirit, some child of damnation who has come to circumvent the happiness of the hero and heroine. With clues like this it is impossible to go wrong or to applaud the wrong people. Then again, most people are interested in physiognomy. The narrow fox-like face, the thin arching lips, and the long almond-shaped eyes of the Javanese god represent ideal of self-mastery, of

asceticism, and of indifference to all mundane things. The big teeth, the beetling forehead and the coarse sensual mouth of the demon suggest the strong terrestrial appetites that are absent from the unearthly features of the gods. Yet the divine ideal is unsympathetic. In a far finer way the Greeks produced the same effect by depicting a cold perfection that was disdainful because of its very superiority to all human weakness. There is nothing kindly about the face of an old Greek or Javanese god.

A very human element in these shadow-shows is represented by the two clowns, *Sĕmar* and *Turas* (or *Chĕmuras*). These characters keep up a running fire of disrespectful comment on the ways of the gods, heroes and demons, and prevent the play becoming monotonous. The quality of their humour is not over-refined, but the mere sound of the hoarse talk of *Sĕmar* and of the squeaky replies and cockney accent of *Chĕmuras* is enough to set the whole audience in a roar. Incidentally these two characters furnish a great religious enigma. Coarse and contemptible as he is, *Sĕmar* is identified in many of these plays with *Sangyang Tunggal*, "the one and only God." One explanation is that the great divinity had a weakness for assuming the kind of incognito in which he was least likely to be recognised, but this theory will hardly serve to explain his being subjected to the filthy practical jokes that *Chĕmuras* plays upon him. Nor is there anything very refined in the local tradition that *Chĕmuras* was incarnated out of the dirt on the body of "the one and only God." There is no doubt, however, that such traditions are widespread.

Take the *Hikayat Sang Samba*. This Malay romance is an adaptation for the use of shadow-shows,¹ and its original is the beautiful Kawi poem known as the *Bhauma-karya*. It deals with an episode in the Bharata War. In the last scene the forces of the great earth-demon *Bhauma* (the *Maharaja Boma* of the Malays and the Antæus of the Greeks) have been crushed in battle and their leader has been slain by the monkey-god Hanuman. But the victory has been bought dearly; Sang Samba, the hero of the play, and the great Arjuna lie dead on the field of battle. In some old legends they are brought to life again by the water of life sent down for the purpose by the supreme god Siva (*Bĕtara Guru*). Not so in the *wayang kulit*. Siva refuses to revivify Sang Samba. The heroes of the Mahabharata are in despair; the disconsolate widow of Sang Samba is preparing to immolate herself upon the body of her dead husband, when with startling suddenness the unexpected happens. Semar, who has been the butt of the earlier part of the story, turns himself suddenly into Sangyang Tunggal, the one and only God. He runs amuck in heaven, overthrowing god after god—Indra, Yama, and even the great *Bĕtara Guru* himself—and forces Siva to surrender the water of life that he has withheld hitherto. What is the explanation of such an ending—the buffoon overcoming the most holy divinity in Java!

The *wayang kulit* of Ligor is associated with the legends of northern Malaya² and has no connection with the Panji cycle or with the Mahabharata. The

¹ The narrator of this tale speaks of himself as *dalang*.

² Including the Rama stories.

orchestra, too, is made up of Indo-Chinese instruments. But the *modus operandi* is much the same in Ligor as it is in Java, and the character of the amusement offered is also the same; the cycle consists of twelve tales beginning with the story of Rama.

At the present time the *bangsawan* (or modern musical comedy) is the most popular form of theatrical entertainment in the country, unless perhaps we except the European circus. The *bangsawan* came from India, and is European in character. In its own way it is a very interesting production. It proves clearly enough that the Malay actor can be an excellent mimic with a keen sense of humour and a good eye for the ridiculous. The comic scenes at a *bangsawan* are well worth the applause that they arouse. On the other hand, the singing is poor, the dresses are gaudy, the scenery is inappropriate, the dialogue is devoid of literary value, and the elocution is bad. A captious critic might take exception to the plots also, and complain that "Hamlet" is made ridiculous as a comedy in which the part of the ghost is played by a clown. The impresario of a *bangsawan* cares nothing for such criticism; he is determined to give his audience their money's-worth of fun, whether the play be "Romeo and Juliet" or "Ali Baba" or "Genevieve of Brabant." Yet, with all its novelty, the *bangsawan* is convention-ridden. It is at its best when it introduces a strong realistic element—coolies, rikisha-pullers and other characters whom the actors mimic to perfection. But it is afraid to cut itself adrift from romantic legend altogether, or to give us an original play with a local setting. The violation of precedent would be too serious to contemplate.

So the incongruity of local scenes in classical surroundings is bound to continue. Needless to say the *bangsawan* does not open with any incantations or invocations of the tutelary deities of the country, unless the complimentary presentation of addresses and garlands to a Resident-General or other guest of the evening can be considered to partake of that character.

The vogue of the *bangsawan* is due largely to the success of one particular company, the "Wayang Kassim," or "Indra Zanibar." Established about twenty-five years ago it met with relatively little success at first. But it persevered. The manager was a man of ability who developed certain features of his show till they placed it far ahead of all others in popularity. Not that there was anything novel in his methods. He attracted excellent comedians, encouraged them to jest on the topics of the day, improved the scenery and accessories, and chose his actresses with a keen eye for beauty. Certainly he gave a good entertainment to his patrons, and turned his theatre from a wandering troupe of actors into a town-company with a permanent building of its own. But it is doubtful whether the success of the *bangsawan* has been of any real service to Malay drama. It is in most cases a tawdry show; and the host of imitators of the Wayang Kassim possess very few of the merits of the company that they copy. It should be added that the word "Zanibar" in the official name of the Wayang Kassim is a version of certain Dutch words meaning "sun and moon," and that the show owes a great deal to experience gained in Java and to actresses recruited in that island-empire of the Dutch.

INDOOR GAMES.

Although the Malays are great gamblers they owe their indoor games to foreign influence. Their ancestors lived an outdoor life, discouraged callers, and did their gambling in the form of bets at cock-fights—at which indeed they staked everything. What Malay has not heard of the fate of Pa' Kadok who lost all his property through betting excitedly against his own cock? Nowadays, however, as the cock-fights have gone, they are being replaced by foreign indoor games. Of course gambling among Malays is prohibited by law, but Enactments cannot eradicate a historic trait. In the days of native rule in Perak the right to license gaming-houses was a perquisite that went with the office of Raja Muda. Such a right brought the Raja Muda a considerable income, if we are to judge it by the fact that the gaming rights in a single village were let in 1875 for \$100 per mensem. On a great occasion, such as a royal marriage or an installation, the money that changed hands may be estimated at from \$20,000 to \$50,000. The games at which money is lost or won by the modern Malay are usually games of the crude Chinese type, amusements that call for no skill if played fairly and can be understood without difficulty by any beginner. Foremost among these pastimes is the Chinese *poh* in which a die is hidden under a metal box and the gamblers stake on the face that they believe to be uppermost. This game has no antiquity and no interest, so far as Malaya is concerned.

Local chess is more venerable and more interesting. A full description of its intricacies cannot be given here,¹ but the following general

¹ See Appendix X.

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

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

the names of the pieces in Java and in the Peninsula respectively :

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

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

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

The game known as the "tiger-game" or as "the tiger and goats" is of South Indian origin as appears from the fact that an identical game is described in Herklots' book on the manners and customs of the Muhammadans of the Deccan; it is also met with in Acheen and in Java. It is played with nuts or fruit-pips or small stones used as counters. The figure for the game (which resembles our "fox and geese" in general character) is drawn in the dust on the ground and is rather elaborate in pattern. A full description is given in Snouck Hurgronje's "Achehnese."²

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

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

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

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

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

Card-games are common in Malaya and are played either with European cards or with Chinese cards. They are pure games of chance as a rule and call for no skill whatever. Bridge and whist are not popular; "patience" is unknown.

The following are illustrations of Malay card-games:¹

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

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

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

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

COMBATS OF ANIMALS.

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

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

introduced into sport an element of local and even international rivalry through the practice of pitting the best cocks of different districts in matches one against the other. Moreover, it appealed to man's wilder instincts, to the joy of battle and the lust of blood. Cock-fighting is not to be dismissed as a mere unwholesome spectacle, a brutal contest between two lean and lanky fowls: the cocks stood for more than that. Even in our own national games one critic gazes in rapture on a national hero where another man only sees "a flannelled fool at the wicket or a muddied oaf at the goal." The golfer with his lost ball and the cock-owner with his dead cock represent achievement rather than futility and failure, they have gained their end even if it is at the price of their instruments. Their reward has been in the thrill of the game itself, a thrill that cock-fighting gives in a very marked degree. The old Malay boasted of the prowess of his cock, discussed its merits with the appreciation of a connoisseur, backed it with every dollar that he was worth, trained it with all the joy of anticipated triumph and watched its successes with an excitement that was almost delirious in its intensity. Left in the end with a mortgaged holding and a slaughtered bird he could still look back to many happy days of glorious life when he and his cock had been heroes of the hour. To such an enthusiast, cock-fighting was a many-sided delight, a compound of varied pleasures, like the multiple taste of the *durian*. And if the modern critic sneers at such enthusiasm as worthy only of a better cause, he should allow for the weakness of human nature

and remember the words of the cynic who said that there is no happiness for any man of brains in our modern Singapore unless he consents to bury those brains in a golf-hole.

Not that cocks were the only creatures which could be induced to fight and die in the interest of old Malay sports. Combativeness is common. Buffaloes, bulls, rams, quails, mole-crickets, the little fish called *puyu-puyu*—all these animals have enough of the gladiator instinct to allow of their being butchered for a show. Still, when everything else had been tried, the cock remained the king of fighters. At long intervals some ostentatious prince might honour a distinguished guest by arranging a fight between a tiger and a buffalo or bull, a royal spectacle that ended generally in a fiasco. At his best, in his own forests, the Malayan king of beasts is an overrated champion when compared with the buffalo or with the gaur; indeed, it is not long since the horns of so prosaic a combatant as the government stud-bull at Kuala Kenering were found to be adorned by pieces of the fur of a tiger. Away from his proper haunts the tiger slinks into the background and declines to fight boldly for his life. The last local exhibition of a contest between a buffalo and a tiger (which occurred some forty years ago at Johore in the presence of the Duke of Edinburgh) ended in an easy triumph for the buffalo. In the north of the Peninsula, when buffalo is pitted against buffalo, a better combat may be seen. Interesting owing to the surprising strength and energy of the animals, it gives a moment of breathless suspense while the two duellists charge one another.

with a rapidity that we would never have associated with their ungainly form, but unfortunately the interest is not kept up after the first onset. The weaker animal realises its inferiority almost at once and seeks to withdraw from the unequal struggle so that the issue is no longer in doubt. A contest between bulls is even less exciting. They charge with less violence, interlock their horns, and turn the combat into a mere game of push, till one or other animal makes up its mind to run away. Moreover, the high value of buffaloes and bulls makes it undesirable that they should be injured by any eagerness to fight to a finish. Mole-crickets and fighting-fish are certainly cheap, and possess all the pertinacious valour of the cock, but they lack individuality. They resemble each other too closely; they cannot be petted and made much of; they are not suitable subjects for the skill of a trainer and are wanting in all the human traits that endear the cock to his master. After all there is something singularly human about the crow of a wounded fighting-cock in the hour of its victory, and the Malays love and understand it. Even the defeated bird that crows lustily as though it has won is not without its Malay imitators. In fact, the cock has become a symbol of honour, the indefatigable fighter who rejoices in war for its own sake, and refuses to accept defeat.

The Malays recognise many breeds of fighting-cocks. They differ mainly in the matter of colour and are accounted lucky or otherwise according to the markings on their plumage. It is difficult to say why a fiery red cock, wasp-like with its long yellow legs, should be looked upon as invincible in war; but the experts tell us that it is so and their advice must be

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

The training of the cock for a contest is a very simple matter of washing and massage; and the selection of a champion, though it calls for expert knowledge, may be regarded as settled from the moment that the cocks have been definitely "betrothed." But the trainer is still very far from

the end of his troubles. He has to select a lucky time for the duel. Every day of the calendar is divided into five parts, and every one of these five portions of the day is regarded as being under the control of its own presiding genius, a Hindu divinity who rules the destinies of the hour. Each of these five divinities—Maheswara (or Siva), Kala, Sri, Brahma and Vishnu—favours a special colour. Siva favours pale yellow, Kala a brownish black, Sri white, Brahma red, and Vishnu green or blue. It stands to reason that a black cock has very little chance of success if it attacks a white cock at an hour when Sri is in the ascendant. The trainer has therefore to select a time when he cannot be handicapped by a malignant Goddess of Fortune. Nor can he easily find out what divinity is in the ascendant, for the old Hindu calendar is based on a week of five days and has no exact parallel in the Moslem month. Even when he has arranged this matter to his own satisfaction he has other mystic forces to reckon with. He has to allow for Seven Ominous Times presided over by the Seven Heavenly Bodies, each with a favourite tint of its own. The beneficent assistance given by Sri to a white cock may be quite undone by the malignant hostility of the planet Mercury favouring a black opponent. Then again there are the Signs of the Zodiac, the luckiness or unluckiness of the Moslem days and months, the quaint old Indonesian calendar of the *Rĕjang*, and the exact position in the heavens of the *Rijalu'l-ghaib* or invisible spirits who bear the coffin of Ali suspended between Heaven and Earth. All these influences have to be allowed for. The auspicious time for a cock-fight may be made a matter

for the most abstruse astrological calculations. Last of all there is the very real danger of an unsportsman-like opponent burying a charm or talisman within the sacred soil of the cock-pit. The discovery of a trick of this sort generally ends in a free fight between the partisans of the cocks, it is as bad as cheating at cards, according to Malay notions of morality.

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

the time of which is regulated by a rude sort of water-clock. As soon as a bird refuses to continue the fight it is pronounced the loser. The following rules, given by Newbold, are interesting :

1. The winner takes the dead bird.
2. If a drawn battle, each takes his own.
3. No person but the holder shall interfere with the cocks after they have been once set to, even if one of them run away, except by the permission of the *juara*. Should any person do so and the cock eventually win the battle, the owner shall be entitled to half the stakes only.
4. Should one of the cocks run away and the wounded one pursue it, both birds shall be caught and held by their trainers. Should the runaway cock refuse to peck at its adversary three times, the wings shall be twined over the back and shall be put on the ground for the adversary to peck at; should he too refuse after it has been three times presented, it is a drawn battle. The cock that pecks wins.
5. The stakes on both sides must be forthcoming and deposited on the spot.
6. A cock shall not be taken up unless the spur is broken, even by the trainers.

"The beauty of the sport," says Sir H. Clifford, "is that either bird can stop fighting at any moment. They are never forced to continue the conflict if once they have declared themselves defeated, and the only real element of cruelty is thus removed." Opinions may differ on this point. It is obvious that the cruelty is greatest in the case of a plucky old fighting-cock that will not own to defeat. It is the coward that suffers least. The victorious bird described by Sir Hugh—"draggled and woe-begone, with great patches of red flesh showing through its wet plumage,

with the membrane of its face and its short gills and comb swollen and bloody, with one eye put out and the other only kept open by the thread attached to its eyelid"—surely possesses a grievance against the owners for whom it fought. It pays a high price for the pleasure of repentance and may have revised its first opinions about the beauty of the sport. The author of "In Court and Kampong" is much fairer to cock-fighting when he admits its cruelty but compares it favourably with the fox-hunting of our English shires. The name of sport can indeed be used to cover a multitude of hideous cruelties.

Sir H Clifford's book "In Court and Kampong" contains some vivid descriptions both of cock-fighting and of bull and buffalo-fighting. The author of that book, who sees with keener eyes than the average spectator and understands more, is able to describe an interesting sight where the casual looker-on would be only bored. These contests make no appeal to the average European, whatever they may make to the Malay. Moreover, they are becoming things of the past. When Raja Lumu of Selangor came to Perak to be installed under the name of Sultan Selaheddin Shah he brought with him an array of fighting-cocks that kept the local cocks employed for months. In those days every cock had its history and its roll of victories to lend interest to further struggles. Nowadays all is different. At the installation of the Raja Muda of Perak in 1908 a well-known officer from the wilder parts of the country brought down a train of bulls and cocks to try conclusions with the cocks and bulls of Kuala Kangsar. The result was not an unmixed success; the larger animals lacked training and practice; while the cocks of Kuala

Kangsar were a miscellaneous assembly of roosters that could neither crow nor fight. The glory of these combats has departed.

Elaborate as is the lore of cock-fighting in the Peninsula it is probably only a fragment of a still more complicated art that had its origin in Java. Its principal developments are the classification of fighting-cocks and in the extraordinary system of fortune-telling to which it has given rise. The same elaboration is not to be traced in the fights of any creatures other than cocks; but even there Java has the honour of giving us a wider range of combats. Wild pigs were even used for fighting, as well as goats, rams, bulls, buffaloes, ground-doves, quails, and mole-crickets. Probably the use of artificial spurs is to be traced to Java, while the cock-fights without spurs and the combats of fighting-fish may have been due to the influence of the old Indo-Chinese kingdoms of the north, for the fighting-fish, at all events, are indigenous to Indo-China; they represent a species that is not found in the south.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS.

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

Excursions are a common form of Malay amusement. Sometimes a hunting-trip, sometimes an expedition to gather shell-fish or turtles' eggs, sometimes a fish-drive, supplies the ostensible excuse for the picnic, but its real object is sport for sport's own sake. The well-known *mēnggōlunchur*, made known to fame by Sir Frank Swettenham, is a picnic

to a natural water-chute on the River Dal near Kuala Kangsar. It is said to have been invented by a former District Officer of Kuala Kangsar who was the first to see the possibilities of the chute as a combination of aquatic sport with curry-tiffins. Pastimes of that type are about as Malayan as the curried dishes themselves; still the *menggëlunchur* appeals to Sultans and Chiefs in these happy days when a man may enjoy himself without putting forward any utilitarian excuses for his pleasure. Travel also is popular among Malays. No doubt, it enlarges the mind; but developments of that sort are not what the native traveller has in view. He treats the journey as a prolonged excursion and laughs away the petty hardships that it involves. And, after all, this love of outdoor amusements and of a fresh-air life is one of the healthiest features in the Malay national character.

In the province of intellectual recreation the position is less promising. The modern Malay reads books where his ancestors listened to rhapsodists; but present-day education rarely carries a native boy to the point at which reading becomes a pleasure, and it is very doubtful whether the ancient minstrels ever earned enough money to pay their way. A hearty welcome and a good dinner represented the most that they could expect for their services. The fact that vernacular newspapers are longer-lived than they once were, points to the growth of a taste for reading even though the growth may be slow. Meanwhile native scholars are few. Most of those whom we meet are eccentrics who write pedantic poetry lamenting the dismal doom of persons condemned to live like orphaned strangers in the midst of an uncongenial

world. A few Malay dilettanti exist, who are devoted to hobbies like local customary law or ceremonial or genealogy or history or folk-lore. Happy is the European student who discovers one of these mines of information! Men with religious hobbies are common enough, but they take their pleasures sadly; and although they enjoy long prayers and the salutations of pious persons in the market-place, they would be horrified to have their occupations included under the profane heading of amusements. Still more common are lovers of witty conversation, of unwritten literature (if we may be pardoned the expression), of epigram, proverb, fable, riddle, and the smart sayings of famous raconteurs. Every Malay is something of a gossip; he has no affection for stern and silent men.

Careless and light-hearted the Malay certainly is; a lover of gaiety, women and song; but even his worst enemy would hardly accuse him of being self-indulgent. He is temperate, whether consciously or not. He does not eat to excess and is rarely corpulent. He has been known to drink, but never nowadays to be a drunken sot. He gambles, but only on special occasions. He may smoke opium; but it is usually in moderation. It is quite a mistake to suppose that the modern Malay is being corrupted by civilisation, by European spirits, by Chinese opium, by prostitution and by the vices that mining camps and sea-port towns have set up in his midst. Let any doubter read the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu* with its stories of the drunkenness and profligacy of the old Malacca Kings, or the East India Company's record of the potations of the Sultans of Acheen and Johor, or Goudinho de Eredia's condemnation of the ways of Malay women, or Admiral Matelief's description of Sultan Alaedin and his

court of inebriates, or Captain Hamilton's account of the iniquitous Sultan Mahmud II. Or, again, to come to more modern times, let him read Abdullah's story of his voyage to Kelantan and of the women who came down to the ships, or the unpublished diary of the murdered Resident of Perak with its constant references to the opium-smoking and profligacy that disgraced Malay court-life in the seventies; or indeed let him question any of the eye-witnesses of the conduct of the Perak Chiefs in the days of Sir Hugh Low. Time has thrown a glamour over the past; but in face of this host of eye-witnesses it is impossible to urge that modern civilisation has corrupted the Malay. The very converse is the truth: it has purged him of much of his old grossness. Present-day critics will find much to mock at in the modern Malay youth with his dandyism, his shiny shoes and the rose-tinted spectacles that are intended to play havoc with the hearts of maidens: he typifies a time of transition, a hobbledehoy period that has lost the careless charm of childhood without attaining the full-grown dignity of man. Popular criticism is always indulgent to the wicked and merciless to the ridiculous; it will not spare the modern Malay even though he may have shed his grosser vices without losing a love of freedom and of healthy exercise that may lead him on to a wholesome manhood in the end. A study of old Malay records leads to a fairer and a truer judgment; it encourages us to forget the trivial absurdities of the present when we remember the immense advance that has been made upon the past.

APPENDICES.

I.—NURSERY RHYMES.

(1)

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

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

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

(2)

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

(3)

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

(4)

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

(5)

Rumah che' Baiduri,
 Tiang limau purut,
 Chinchin pēnoh jari,
 Hutang bērsēngkarut.

(6)

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

(7)

Kētam bērdayong,
 Rama-rama bērkēmudi;
 Kēmbangkan payong,
 Anak raja turun mandi.

(8)

Oi indok moh,
 Kita ka-Mēlaka,
 Mēmbuka pēti gēwang,
 Mēngambil jarum mas,
 Mēnandingkan Si-Lunchat,
 Chut-chat, chut-chat!

(9)

Oi indok, si-timbong gayong,
 Nak ku-panjat, duri nya banyak,
 Nak ku-tēbung, bēliong sumbing,
 Nak di-tunu, takut sangat—
 Harimau jantan bēranak kēchil.

(10)

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

(11)

Hēnchang-hēnchut tali kēchapi,
 Kēnyang pērut suka hati.

(12)

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

(13)

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

(14)

Géling-géling sapi,
 Bérhulu télingu-nya;
 Di-mana Kéling mati?
 Di-hulu hénua-nya.

(15)

Tong-tong todak,
 Sembahyang jambu-jambu;
 Ka-mana pérgi hudak?
 Ambil ayer sa-labu.

(16)

Raja Ratu di-Mélaka,
 Putèri Dang dari Jambi;
 Bukit batu chérmin mata,
 Nyiur pinang habis mati

(17)

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

(18)

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

(19)

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

(20)

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

(21)

Anak badak tampong,
 Chuchu badak raya;
 Anak orang kampung
 Pandai tipu daya

(22)

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

(23)

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

II.—CHILDREN'S GAMES.

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

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

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

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

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

The formula that precedes the tickling runs as follows :

*Gênggam-gênggam mëlukut,
Mëlukut dalam gantang,
Dalang tikus mondok,
Mênguasap di-bawah batang.*

The child that holds out longest is the winner.

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

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

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

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

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

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

IX. *Sapu-sapu ringan* — For boys. The children begin this game by taking their seats in a long line with sarongs tucked up to the knee and legs stretched out. They then swing their arms forward in unison and sing:

*Sapu-sapu ringan,
Kẽlimbong gayong-gayong,
Datang si-katong
Mẽmbawa buaya kudong
Kudong kakẽ kudong tangan
Sentak pẽlok tangan sa-bẽlah*

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

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

*Dong dong pak,
Pẽkam labi-labi,
Apa kẽna hidung simpak?
Di-tẽkam babi tad;*

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

X. *Langlang huring jawa* — See text pp 9-10

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

*Tẽbang-tẽbang sũnbu kuala sewa,
Ikat junjong, awal-awal hudang ganti;
Sa-kopak, dua kopak, awal dewa denah.*

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

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

The challenger then addresses them individually.

*Tëbang-tëbang Pa'-Punggur,
Pa'-Punggur mati akar;
Che' Ali ka-padang bërtudongkan daun,
Su hari ta'-ku-pandang, sa-rasa sa-tahun,
Akar apa ini?*

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

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

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

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

The "flower" is thrown from side to side, the horses and riders standing in opposite rows. When everyone has caught it in turn the whole line of horses trots over to the other side

and exchanges places with the opposite line. If the flower is caught three times in succession by every member of the party the horses cross and recross three times to mark the event. This is called the *mandi kuda* or "bathing of the horses."

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

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

XVII. *Chġkup-chġkup puyoh*.—This is one of the "innocent" forms of hide-and-seek. A certain spot—usually a tree-trunk or post—is made the goal or *ibu*, and one of the players is told off to guard it. He shuts his eyes while the others conceal themselves within a given area round him. At the cry of *kudak* he starts off in search of the concealed "quails" and they have to get to the goal before he catches them. The first boy caught is the pursuer or goal-keeper for the next round.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

XXV. *Main lul*.—See Skeat's "Malay Magic," p. 499.

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

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

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

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

"In one form of the game any player who misses the ball has to place a forfeit in the middle of the playing-ground (*gflanggang*), usually a handkerchief or cap which he happens to have with him. This may be won back by scoring for a certain moderate number of times without a miss, but a man who is playing badly is sometimes left with nothing but his sarong

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

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

"There is a Chinese variant of *sepak raga* in which a shuttle-cock (*ekor ayam*) is used (J. R. A. S., XXXI, 68). It is not commonly played by Malays though popular among the smaller boys at this (the Kuala Kangsar) school "

XXIX. *Main awai*.—Mr O'May writes :

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

XXX. *Main gayau.*—Mr. O'May writes:

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

"The scoring is as follows :

"If a player knocks down with his first kick—

- (1) The nearest *gayau* ... 100
- (2) The second *gayau* ... 1,000
- (3) The third *gayau* ... 10,000

or with his second kick—

- (1) The nearest *gayau* ... 1,000
- (2) The second *gayau* ... 10,000
- (3) The third *gayau* ... 100,000

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

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

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

"The game is very popular."

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

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

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

The opener of the game now squats on his heels over the hole at one end and shoots his marble at the hole at the other

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

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

- (i) *Sēmua chukup* (the rules are complied with).
- (ii) *Sa-jěngkal raja, masok lubang ta'-korek, sok ta'-ulang, tiga kali raja, ta'-otek, tiga kali otek raja, ta'-idar, ta'-jaka, ta'-idar pinang, ta'-idar punggong, tampan kuis, mantëri kědua raja.*
- (iii) *Sēmua ta'-raja, jaka idar, jaka sapu, idar punggong, idar buah idar pinang, sa-jěngkal ta'-raja, tiga kali otek ta'-raja, sok ulang, masok lubang ta'-raja, mantëri ta'-raja.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Tiga kali otek raja : "if you play slowly three successive times I win the stroke."

Ta'-idar : "you must not move out of position"—i.e., "you must shoot at my marble from where your marble lies."

Ta'-jaka : "my marble must not be moved (by the stroke that hits it)."

Ta'-idar pinang : "the *pinang* (marble) must not be moved.

Ta'-idar punggung : "you must not squat in an unauthorised attitude."

Tampan kuis : "if my marble is stopped by another in its course after being hit I may jerk it away to a distance."

Mantëri këdua raja : "if my marble is hit and then another is hit I win the stroke."

Sëmua ta'-raja : "I stop your winning the stroke."

Jaka idar : "I may move your marble."

Jaka sapu : "I may move your marble and sweep the ground to improve my stroke."

Idar punggung : "I may squat in any attitude I like."

Idar buah idar pinang : "I may move any marble I please."

Sa-jëngkal ta'-raja : "though after being hit your marble remains within a span's length of mine you don't win the stroke."

Tiga kali otek ta'-raja : "though I may have hit you three times successively and slowly, yet you don't win the stroke."

Sok ulang : "though I shoot from a hole near your marble (you don't win the stroke)."

Masok lubang ta'-raja : "though after being hit your marble rolls into a hole you do not win the stroke."

Mantëri ta'-raja : "a cannon does not win the stroke for you."

There are, of course, many local variants of these rules.

The Malay boy holds his marble in the curve formed by bending round his left forefinger against his thumb. He shoots it by inserting his right forefinger behind it and pressing forward.

IV.—MAIN "SEREMBAN."

(BY RAJA ABDUL AZIZ AND DAENG ABDUL HAMID.)

There are six kinds of *sērēmban*: *s. raja*, *s. jala*, *s. chupak*, *s. kfling*, *s. angkut*, and *s. kuis*, which are all played with the shells of a kind of shell-fish called in Malay *kērang* and sometimes with little nuts, but two of the above forms of *sērēmban* (*s. raja* and *s. jala*) are played with shells only.

S. raja and *s. jala*.—The boys, five or six in number, who desire to play, sit down in a circle and at the commencement of the game every one of them takes out his shells, puts them on his palm—say each boy puts 20 shells—and flings them up to a height of about one span from his hand. While the shells are thus in the air he turns his hand palm-downwards and some of the shells then drop on the back of his hand, and after the second fling he catches them with his hand. This part of the game is called *bērāslam*. As a rule the boy who has caught the most shells becomes the first boy. Now he takes all the shells which have been used by the players in *bērāslam* and puts them in his hand. Then he flings them up and finally catches them with his hand, as is done in *bērāslam*. After this he takes one of the shells for his *taqan*, which he flings up to a convenient height, and while it is thus flying in the air picks up the scattered shells one at a time and then catches the *taqan* before it touches the ground. If the shells be two or more in a group he has to take them up altogether, and if one of them is left or while picking up the shells one at a time he touches any one of those lying near the one he wants to take, in both these cases he is said to be *backeha*—in which case he has to stop with what he has got and let the player at his right-hand side play the remaining shells, and if he only leaves one shell the next player has to *tinging*, which is like what is done in *bērāslam*, but in the former there is only one shell while in the latter there are more shells to deal with. The player is required to *tinging* three times successively as quickly as he can, then if he succeeds, he may take the shell and become the first boy in the next round. There is a little difference between these two kinds of *sērēmban*. In playing *s. raja* the shells that can be picked up are those

that lie bottom-upwards while in the other it is only the shell that lie with the hollow parts upwards that a player is allowed to take.

S. akupak.—The difference between this *sērēmban* and the above two is only this: in playing this form of the game a player does not put the shells in one hand but in both hands and catches them with both hands too. As for the rest it resembles the above two in every respect.

S. kēling.—In playing this *sērēmban* a player must on no account leave three shells unpicked, nor is he allowed to pick up three at a time, otherwise he is said to be *bachaha*, similarly if only three shells drop on the back of his hand.

Sērēmban angkut and *s. kuis*.—In both these games no *tagan* is used. In the former a player with the shells on the back of his hand picks up the scattered shells one by one, but while so doing care must be taken not to let the shells on the back of his hand drop, and not to touch any of those lying near the one he wants to pick, otherwise he will be *bachaha*. In the latter a player with the shells on the back of his hand does not pick up the scattered shells but draws them one by one towards him with his forefinger. The shell he is thus drawing along must hit one of the others or he will be *bachaha*. When he has taken all the shells he flings up those on the back of his hand and then catches them with his hand.

V.—MALAY TOYS.

- I. KITES (*layang-layang* or *wau*). See text, pp. 19, 20.
- II. TOPS (*gasing*). See text, pp. 18, 19.
- III. TOY GUNS (*bēdil* or *sēnapang buloh*). See text, pp. 20, 21.
- IV. TRAPS. Malay children are very fond of simple traps for catching birds, fish and small animals. The best known are the *sērēkap puyok* for catching quails, the *lapun punai* for snaring green pigeon, the *tangkal kētam* for crabs, and a variety of cage-traps known as *jēbak*. Trapping is the subject of a separate pamphlet of this series.

V. SLINGS (*ali-ali*). The *ali-ali* is the common catapult. The missile is a *durian*-seed.

VI. TOY BEETLE (*kumbang*). This toy is made of *katong*-palm seed or *pérak*-seed. The seed is perforated by two converging holes so that two apertures are visible on one side and only one on the other. By passing a string through this and then twisting it and allowing it to unravel, the "beetle" revolves very rapidly and emits a humming sound. A game can also be played by making two beetles "fight"—i. e., knock one another till one or other breaks up.

VII. TOY BUFFALO (*kərbau pèlèpah nyiur*). This is a rough suggestion of a buffalo (see text). It is drawn along the ground by a string through its nose. Other toys of the same sort are the *kèreta tèmपुरong* and the *itek ayer*.

VIII. WHIRLIGIGS. These are known as *bulang-baling*.

IX. TOY BOWS. These are known as *panah*.

X. PELLET BOWS. These are known as *tèrbil*.

XI. RICE-PIPE (*bangsi*). The simplest form of this rice-pipe is made by splitting the extremity of a rice-stalk (at the point where it is closed), then inserting another piece of rice-stalk and blowing into it. The vibration of the split strands makes a loud noise.

XII. COCK-FIGHTING (*sabong, main taji*). There are a childish imitations of cock-fighting. In one game a calladinnu-leaf is fastened to a bamboo "spur" and serves as the armed cock. An opponent comes along with a similar "cock," and the two are thrown at each other till one leaf is cut to pieces by the spur of its opponent. In another game, a bamboo "spur" (*taji*)—really a square-pointed dart—is stuck through a *durian*-seed and serves as a "cock." Strings are attached to the *durian*-seeds and the "cocks" are whirled at each other. The seed that first has a piece sliced off is pronounced the loser.

VI.—WORDS SUNG IN THE "BLOSSOM" DANCE.

(See also Skeat's "Malay Magic," p. 647.)

Ku anggit, mayang, ku anggit,

Ku anggit pokok méngkuang;

Ku panggil, dayang, ku panggil,

Ku panggil turun sa-orang.

- Ku anggit, mayang, ku anggit,
Ku anggit dahan tua;
Ku panggil, dayang, ku panggil,
Ku panggil turun bërdua.
- Ku anggit, mayang, ku anggit,
Ku anggit di-pohon saga;
Ku panggil, dayang, ku panggil,
Ku panggil turun bërtiga.
- Ku anggit, mayang, ku anggit,
Ku anggit pokok mersapat;
Ku panggil, dayang, ku panggil,
Ku panggil turun bërempat.
- Ku anggit, mayang, ku anggit,
Ku anggit pokok dëlina;
Ku panggil, dayang, ku panggil,
Ku panggil turun bërlima.
- Ku anggit, dayang, ku anggit,
Ku anggit pokok kërënam;
Ku panggil, dayang, ku panggil,
Ku panggil turun bërënam.
- Ku anggit, dayang, ku anggit,
Ku anggit di-pohon chuchoh;
Ku panggil, dayang, ku panggil,
Ku panggil turun bërtojoh.
- Ku anggit, dayang, ku anggit,
Ku anggit diatas lampan;
Ku panggil, dayang, ku panggil,
Ku panggil turun bërlepasan.
- Ku anggit, dayang, ku anggit,
Ku anggit tiap-tiap bulan;
Ku panggil, dayang, ku panggil,
Ku panggil turun sëm bilan.
- Ku anggit, dayang, ku anggit,
Ku anggit di-pohon buloh;
Ku panggil, dayang, ku panggil,
Ku panggil turun sa-puluh.

Ku anggit, dayang, ku anggit,
 Ku anggit di-pokok empélas;
 Ku panggil, dayang, ku panggil,
 Ku panggil turun bérésabélas.
 Etc. etc.

VII.—THE BANDAN DANCE.

The following are examples of verses sung in the "Bandan" dance :

Duri di-hadap daun jélatang,
 Turun luruh cangkat di-daki;
 Mari mēngadap Bandan datang.
 Ini-lah ayer pembasoh kaki.
 Ayuhai Bandan Suri!

Bérsunting bunga batang mēnjélai,
 Bunga jatoh, batang di-lempar;
 Silakan Che' Bandan naik ka-balai.
 Makan-lah dahulu siren sa-kapur.
 Ayuhai Bandan Suri!

Di-ambil budak chépat berlari,
 Permainan orang zaman dahulu;
 Lépas itu bangkit mēnari,
 Jangan-lah pula ségan dan malu.
 Ayuhai Bandan Suri!

Lébat bunga gandasuri,
 Mari di-sunting téjok malai;
 Boleh-lah Bandan pandu mēnari,
 Tétapi jangan malu dan lajai.
 Ayuhai Bandan Suri!

Bunga di-karang tiada bértali,
 Tali térap tali yang layang;
 Bandan hēndak mohon kēmbali,
 Téngah kasoh bérohampur sayang.
 Ayuhai Bandan Suri!

VIII.—A DESCRIPTION OF A HATHRAH.

(BY MR. R. G. WINSTEDT.)

The boys costumed as women wear long velvet gowns, crimson pink pale blue, ~~also~~ with tinsel; on wrists and feet bangles and anklets; on their heads turbans said to be of Persian pattern a foot high, very gardens of gilt-leaved pink-blossomed paper roses and crowned with black ostrich feathers. . . . Prostrate, their flowery turbans touching the floor, their hands clasped before them, the boys kneel in a row. Drums clash, the chorus of musicians roar out Arabic words; the boys rise slowly, the play of drooping hands lifted one above another, one above another, giving the idea of climbing and ascent. Then follows a dance by the two chief actors; gliding backwards in a narrow circle, close by one another, heads and feet moving in unison, arms held out now at full length with fingers always drooping and now resting on the hip. Others join them. First, they bend low so that all the quivering flowery turbans touch in their midst, then with one hand on hip and the other stretched out at full length towards the centre of the circle they fall outwards and backwards from the waist up, till they look like opening petals of a single exotic flower. The dance over, they kneel slowly down, and their hands rapidly dropping one over the other, one over the other, are like nothing so much as a falling chain of blossoms.

A comic interlude was introduced in the shape of a small chubby boy dressed in white European tropical clothes and a broad-brimmed foolish straw hat. And to show the versatility of Malay talent, I may add that among the many movements of the actors was a dance after the fashion of an English polka.

IX.—THE DABUS DANCERS.

The verses sung by these frenzied dancers are punctuated by cries of "Allah," "Ya Shaikh Abdul Kadir Jailani," etc. A tabor is beaten to accompany the cries and the singing.

Sailillah Těngku Saiyid Alam,

Bukit zamān, kubur aulia;

Di-tuntut bėsi yang tajam

Hėndak mėnawar—.

Allah!

. . . bēsi yang bisa,
 Saillillah Tēngku Saiyid Alam,
 Mēriam patah—
 Allah!

. . . rayut lari;
 Pērang tidak bēbērapa hari,
 Musoh belut didalam nēgēri.

X — MALAY CHESS.

(MA H O ROBINSON.)

The game, known as *mam chatur* (Skr. *chaturangga*) and *mam gajah* in the Malay Peninsula, was undoubtedly introduced from Arabia. It is difficult to say whether the game as played by the Malays more resembles the ancient or the modern form of European chess, it is extremely interesting nevertheless, as as the following notes, illustrating its peculiar modifications, will show:

The board, *lāh chatur* or *papan chatur* (Arabic *lah* which means a slate, a writing board, a tablet, a d. Malay *papan* a plank, a board) is of sixty-four squares, but with the squares all of one colour usually the natural colour of the wood used. The squares are marked by cuts in the board and for some reason which the native himself is unable to explain, two diagonal cuts joining the opposite corners are always present on every Malay chess-board.

The pieces, *bunah chatur* thirty-two in number are as a rule very clumsily made with a *parang* (chopper) from soft wood. One occasionally comes across a turned set, the writer is the fortunate possessor of an ivory set, over half a century old, which originally belonged to Raja Abdullah of the State of Selangor, an old warrior of well nigh fourscore years. The men are not always of different colours, a daub of lime generally serves to distinguish the white from the coloured. How the Malay can be satisfied with such a slight distinction in a game of intricacy is the first thought that comes to mind when one sees two men squatting on a verandah with a board between them and a crowd of interested admirers who are not at all

particular as to the rules of the game which concern them. The writer is not aware of any standard for Malay chess-men; Mr. J. B. Blount, in his article on Malay chess published in the *Singapore Free Press* a few years ago, stated that the pieces are, or should be, practically similar to ours, with the exception of the rooks which are generally flat like draughtsmen. This has not been the writer's experience; the sets in general use are very confusing and it is difficult to describe the shapes of the pieces without illustrations. The king and queen are identical in shape, the queen being about half an inch shorter; the bishop (elephant) and knight are not unlike the above-mentioned pieces in design but with longer necks and diminished in size in proportion to their value. The rook (chariot) is always flat like a draughtsman with a little knob on top. The pawn is a tiny cylindrical piece with a top knot. When not in use the pieces are placed in a net, very much like a lady's shopping net but made of finer string with half inch meshes, and hung on a nail in the hut.

From the above it will be seen that the pieces in European chess can easily be used for the Malay game; in fact the writer has always found that the Malay is only too pleased to play a game with his boxwood set, as the marked distinction in the pieces is welcomed by him. And now we come to some interesting points where Malay chess differs from the European form of the game.

At the commencement of a game the queen, instead of being placed on her own colour, is stationed at the right hand of the king, this probably explains the reason why the board is uncoloured, or that there is no necessity for a coloured board. All book knowledge of the European openings is therefore useless in the Malay game, but one gets accustomed to this great difference after a little practice, and a man who plays a fair European game will generally find that the strongest Malay he meets comes off second best.

The king (*raja*) moves one square at a time in any direction. Castling is effected in various ways in different parts of the Malay Peninsula and Straits Settlements; the recognised method in Selangor is to move two squares whether a piece intervenes or not, but not in conjunction with one of the rooks. This is permitted even if the king is in check. The king may also,

PRINTED AT THE
FEDERATED MALAY STATES GOVERNMENT PRESS,
KUALA LUMPUR.

PAPERS ON MALAY SUBJECTS.

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

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

MALAY INDUSTRIES.

PART I.

ARTS AND CRAFTS.

BY

R. O. WINSTEDT, *F.M.S. Civil Service.*

KUALA LUMPUR:

PRINTED BY J. R. WALLACE AT THE F.M.S. GOVERNMENT PRESS.

1925.

CONTENTS.

| | |
|---|----|
| CARPENTRY | 1 |
| BOAT BUILDING | 8 |
| MAT AND BASKET MAKING | 17 |
| POTTERY | 23 |
| METAL WORK (I) TIN, BRONZE, COPPER, BRASS | 26 |
| (II) IRON | 32 |
| (III) GOLD, SILVER AND NIELLO | 44 |
| SPINNING, DYEING AND WEAVING | 57 |
| GOLD-MAKING | 69 |
| EMBROIDERY | 71 |
| LACE | 75 |
| APPENDICES | 77 |

PREFACE.

Put bluntly, colloquial criticism on the objects of Malay art resolves itself as a rule into the verdict "rotten Malay trash" or into the eulogy "ripping Malay stuff" according to the prejudice of the speaker. I have endeavoured to be a little more discriminating; though I am aware that a wider survey of oriental art might have led me to be more severe in my judgments. Malay carving, for example, considered comparatively were almost insignificant. To the collector I should be inclined to say that silk weaving represents the highest and most uniform level of excellence attained; followed by the very rare best work in precious metal, whose signal merit (and limitation) is a chaste narrowness of range in design. It is not altogether easy to choose a good *sarong*, and to be infallible in the selection of Malay silver-work requires a special education or such happy intuition as few possess.

When one comes to the question of encouraging these native arts and crafts, one is confronted as it were with the problem how to put back the clock of the centuries. It may be consolation to remember that not only Malaya is burdened with the problem but India too has to bear with the procrastination of eastern craftsmen, the curse of aniline dye and in addition the tendency to produce hybrid trash for the market. The consideration of all this, it has been well said, should disillusion "those who think a resolution of the Government or an application of political economy will revive the native crafts straight off and produce a flourishing trade. It is true that many of these difficulties may be gradually overcome

by patience, time and occasionally by the influence of particular sympathetic and genial individuals, but they are difficulties nevertheless and should rather sober expectation than discourage intelligent effort, and should leave us content to be making slow progress, so long as it is in the right direction." But then are our efforts in that direction?

I have wherever possible either seen the technical process myself or got careful accounts from native observers but I am very greatly indebted to articles in various journals from the pen of Mr. L. Wray. I have to thank Messrs. A. Hale, Boden Kloss, Charlton Maxwell, H. C. Robinson and R. J. Wilkinson for reading each some or all of the chapters and suggesting corrections and alterations, and Mr. Rigby for the loan of books.

R. O. WINSTEED

MYTANG

MALAY INDUSTRIES.

CARPENTRY.

I REMEMBER how some years ago, before I had tried to cultivate an eye for such minute detail as an iron nail, a planed surface or other ethnological distinctions, I was visiting the home of a Malay chief of the old school and ventured to praise the substantial character of his timber house. "Yes," he replied, "built of course by a Chinese carpenter. We Malays try all trades and are perfect at none. Each of us is herdsman, fisherman, hunter, boat-builder, carpenter as chance invites; and the foreign specialist comes along and beats us." I went away musing on the almost pathetic fate of children of the pastoral age surviving down to a century when the forces of industrialism have invaded their land. The old chief's instances may be supplemented out of the experience and reading of the most casual student of Malay life. Only in quite recent years and with the endeavour to prohibit the planting of dry hill rice can the pastoral be said to have left behind the nomadic age. House-building, the alpha of Malay carpentry, is still of so primitive a kind that migration is easy. Does a peasant plant *padi* on the hills or in a swamp he moves from his riverside clearing and builds a fresh hut on the spot for the season. It will be of the simplest type. Posts and cross-beams are of round untrimmed timbers, ifatural knots or forks being picked to form crutches, and the whole frame is lashed with rattan. For flooring there are round bamboo joints and across and above

them are laid bamboos opened and flattened¹ by notching the joints and by being put to dry in the sun under the pressure of weights; or in more substantial dwellings *nibong* trunks² split into four are employed. For walls and roof, broad palm-leaves are dried and stitched with split rattan one above the other like feathers on a bird's wing or thatching³ is made by stripping the leaves of the *nipah* palm from the mid-rib, doubling them over a stick⁴ rather more than a yard long and sewing them into that position with rattan,⁵ the prepared *atap* being sewn on to roof or wall so as to overlap one another close together if the hut is to be permanent, some inches apart if it is to be merely temporary. Or walling may be constructed of bamboo treated like the flooring laths and then threaded in and out, one strip vertical one transverse interlaced⁶ as for fencing; or it may be made of sheets of bark⁷ such as are twisted into rice-bin and howdah; or of pandan leaves trimmed and stitched into the smooth ribbed matting⁸ that forms a covering for native boats. Types of the most primitive house-ladder, as it is found also in Dyak houses, survive in notched *nibong* trunks that lead up to jungle huts (and to high goat shelters) "the wonderful light scaling ladders to which the Portuguese allude in their wars with Acheen" Marsden surmises; and up-country in ladders made of a couple of crossed sticks fastened between two parallel uprights. Strips of thatching will be left unfastened along their lower edges to form at once the window⁹ and its shutter: and strips will be stitched on to a light frame-work of bamboo or on to a few long laths to form a rickety door. The *kampong* house has more

¹ *Pelupuk*. ² *Bilimbang*. ³ *Atap*. ⁴ *Mengkawan*. ⁵ *Bemban* or *rotan*. ⁶ *Sasak*. ⁷ *Kulit terap*. ⁸ *Samir*, single; *kayang mingkuang*, double. ⁹ *Tangkap stak*.

care expended on it, but in type it is identical with house in orchard or rice-field. And till the last decade or so, the prince's palace was only a copy of it on a large scale. If a peasant moves, it is he and his sons and neighbours that erect the new house. If a prince disliked dwelling in a place haunted by the ghosts of defunct ancestors, it was equally a simple matter to have a new palace and village built some miles down-stream and to convey thither wives and children, followers and shop-keepers, Malays, Chinese and Klings, the young delighted at the change, the old shedding tears at leaving familiar haunts. The men of one hamlet would build the central hall the men of another the kitchen, the men of yet another the front hall of audience: a court official or some Javanese or Bugis adventurer would do the carving. Every man brought his adze and chopper. High functionaries were the foremen, working on a plan sketched in outline by their royal master over betel-nut at a special assembly of chiefs and followers. The carpentry was rude, but criticism was keen and the high functionaries had a parlous time. "You'd scamp it, would you, Bendahara?" said Sultan Mansur Shah, when he discovered one of the cross-beams of his new palace to be a little small and dark in colour. A Sultan of Perak, famous for his strength of mind, so plagued his Bendahara at the building of a new palace with exacting instructions that the unhappy man tendered his resignation, which was accepted, and in his stead was appointed a "man of presence and understanding and of the royal house," a consummation royalty possibly had held in view from the beginning of its tantrums. The pastoral age, with its lack of competition and absence of trained technical skill, did not make for progress in handicraft, but the ethnologist may be glad,

because it was conservative and preserved faithfully usages nearer the beginning. The palace erected down the Perak river by *Marhum Kahar* that saw the expulsion of a line of commoners from the office of Bendahara was in its main features a good example of that style of house which as has been suggested would seem peculiar even now to Kedah, Perak and the north of the Peninsula, a type showing considerable advance in craftsmanship but found alike in humble huts and with more elaboration in the houses of chiefs. The walls are of very superior wicker-work¹ plaited of the outer covering of leaf-stalks of the *bértam* palm, decoration being attained by varying the pattern in the plaiting in a dozen or so different ways, called for example, "cross," "diamond," "the bat's elbow," "the sand-piper's footprint"; by arranging vertical strips so as to show the outside of the leaf-stalk, and transverse to show the inside or the contrary way, thus securing a pattern in two harmonious shades of brown; by colouring the different strips white, black, yellow, blue, red. The panels of wicker-work windows and doors in this kind of house have wooden strips² nailed outside to confine and frame them. Pegs are used in place of rattan lashing. In the far north in Patani and Kelantan, and again in Negri Sembilan, we get the house of plank and square timbers hewn and planed with adze; it is decorated often with chaste foliated carving, coarse as one would expect from the rough tools but on that account all the more effective.

The same craft that goes to building the house is applied to the production of hunting and fishing traps, the loom and such agricultural implements as the hand pestle and mortar for crushing rice, like

¹ *Tepas teranyam, tepas bterapat.* ² *Selimpat, klatam; nku keluang; tapak kedidi* ³ *Berturap* ⁴ *Kumbi.*

that existing among the Dyaks, and the lever pestle worked by pressure of the foot; and to the manufacture of that rough furniture which has been seen elsewhere to correspond with the kinds of house. It is not a craft adapted to ornamentation in little, and carving, for example, is found at its best in the house. You cannot decorate cherry-stones if your tools are an adze and a chopper. The parrot-shaped haft to the Malay chopper even is of very simple design and execution, coming under that class which Pitt-Rivers diagnosed in his classification of savage weapons. "In many cases we find Fijian clubs have been converted into the forms of animals' heads and in all such cases we see by grouping a sufficient number of forms together that those which are in the shape of animals' heads have not been designed for the purpose of representing the animals' heads but their forms have simply been evolved during the numerous variations which the weapon has undergone in the process of development, and when the idea of an animal's head suggested itself, it has merely been necessary to add an eye or a line for the mouth in order to give them the resemblance in question." "The helves of Malay axes or hatchets," Mr. Skeat remarks, of the north "were frequently carved to represent a human face, in some cases even the teeth being visible. This face was said to represent that of a demon and recalls some Polynesian types of ornament."

We meet with nothing in the nature of cabinet work till we come to the making and ornamentation of dagger sheaths, a craft which may have got its note from Java, considering that Java has given its name to an almost universal type of haft. The craftsman is nearly always a court retainer, perhaps some poor dependent of the *raja* class. For this work, the

choicest materials are employed: for hilt¹ and base,² ivory, fish-tooth, satin-wood, ebony, horn; for cross-piece,³ yellow satin-wood⁴ chosen for its veining and turning a rich brown with age, which, however, is not so esteemed by Malays as the royal yellow of the fresh cut wood; for stem,⁵ *sēna* or *sēroyan*. There are superstitious objections to ivory and horn but they are pressed only by the poor who cannot afford luxuries. The parts are sawn and rasped with tools that have no particular significance and whose names are the substantives of their functions:⁶ the drill⁷ is worked with a bow. The glue⁸ used for joinery is the curd of buffalo-milk: it is squeezed, formed into hard cakes and dried, and when required for use moistened with milk and mixed with quicklime. The completed sheath is polished with skate skins or rough leaves and varnished with a mixture of camphor and vegetable gutta that gives it the gloss of French polish. Even in recent years fashion has dictated changes in the shape of hilt and sheath and as the wearing of weapons has become merely ornamental their mountings have become prettier and less strong and serviceable; the hilt small, the stem narrow, the cross-piece thin and dainty with ends cut at a swagger angle. Perhaps the hilt had its origin in a crooked knot of wood which practical rough fighting specimens still resemble. But we can hardly hope to discover the idea that led to its evolution into the "fevered Javanese" (if that nickname rightly define the intention of the shape) crouching huddled with cross-arms and a faceless hooded projection⁹ that has been supposed to be derived from the python. In Patani we find in its stead a hilt called "the kingfisher"¹⁰

1 *Ulu*. 2 *Buntut*. 3 *Sampir*. 4 *Kēmuning* (*murraya exotica*).
 5 *Batang*. 6 *Kat*; *pérokoh*; *ekur buaya*. 7 *Jara*. 8 *Pérkat*.
 9 *Changut*. 10 *Ulu pékaka*.

that if it has developed from the *Jawa dēmam* (though the only resemblance in normal specimens lies in a suggestion of the crossed arms of the Javanese type) bears small likeness to it now for the casual observer : and it may be due to comparatively recent imitation that some specimens have shorter "beaks" which would seem to show the progress of transition from the hood-like projection into a long nose; for a nose it is rather than beak and the row of carved teeth below it, the eyes and foliated cheeks with embryo tusks (the whole often picked out with gold) make it far more like an anthropomorphic figure¹ than a kingfisher. The cross-piece of the Patani sheath bears a strong likeness to the Javanese type, which describes almost a semicircle and is characterized by long up-sweeping curved ends. This Javanese shape is not affected elsewhere in the Peninsula: the ordinary cross-piece and stem being somewhat like a hatchet head in appearance or if the ends of the cross-piece are trimmed and curved, it is not a bold sweeping curve and the piece resembles the section of an orange after which Malays name it. Other daggers, the long *kēris* and the "pepper-crusher" have everywhere foliated carving to their hilts, and the "pepper-crusher" sometimes has a parrot-head elaborated from that of the chopper-hilt. Bugis swords and occasionally *kēris*es have a "cockatoo" hilt. The making of sheaths is still practised in the vicinity of courts but the work is mostly poor and orders are few and far between: if Malay cabinet work is to survive, it must look for scope in other fields; the *kēris* is almost as obsolete as the walking sword and the next generation must see the craft of sheath-making extinct.

¹ There is a rudely carved Pahang betel pestle in the Taiping Museum with an anthropomorphic handle (of a very different type).

BOAT-BUILDING.

Bamboo and rattan furnish many of the utensils of the upland garden and homestead, and they provide hunter and fisher with trap and snare and the dweller on the higher reaches of a Malay river with his means of navigation. For up-stream above the rapids there are used only rafts, made of bamboos each some thirty feet long, lashed with rattan, cut off and fixed square in front and of tapering unequal length behind. Two or three layers of bamboo will be lashed one above the other for heavier burdens or for greater comfort; the even front ends pierced athwart and fastened together by one long wooden peg. Atop and amidship in the better-made rafts will be a platform raised a foot high on shorter lengths of bamboo and protected by a palm-leaf covering. Polers standing in front and astern manipulate long bamboo poles, and paddlers squat in front. In smooth reaches progress is slow; in rapids, however difficult, it is fairly safe even without offering and invocation that the raftsmen make to the spirit whose narrow rock bound home of troubled waters is to be invaded, calling upon him to open its maze "like the palm blossom a ship from its sheath, like the snake that unwindeth its coils." Below the rapids, the raft will be sold to folk who have to go far a forest for bamboo or who welcome a ready-made floating bath-house. For in the smooth lower reaches the raft is supplanted by the dug-out.

Anthropologists have speculated how the primal savage must have been carried away in great floods perched in safety on the trunks of forest trees and how with that memory and the sight of split reeds or bamboo floating buoyantly down-stream he got his

idea of that almost universal type of primitive boat, the dug-out. There can be no doubt, they tell us, that the agent first employed for hollowing it was fire.

Folk-tales give us many glimpses of the dangers and difficulties that beset the Malay boat-builder with his primitive beliefs and his primitive tools; how he has to go for days up hill and down dale in search of a tree trunk large enough; how, when at last he discovers some huge father of the forest whose foliage "sweeps the clouds above and the earth below," it is found to be inhabited by hostile jins that before felling can proceed have to be expelled with sprinkling of rice-water, smoke of incense and the assistance of jins in the service of the magician. Or perhaps some kind fairy spares him the heavy task of felling, pointing his way to

"Sacred wood in the upper marshes;
Tree trunk wreathed with shoots of screw palm;
Coiled about with magic dragons;
Axe nor adze had done the felling,
'Twas the lightning--nay an earthquake
That had shaken its foundation."

Anyhow, when a trunk of hard wood of the required length of the boat but much less in diameter than the intended width has been obtained, it is hollowed by means of fire, roughly shaped and planed with an adze. The hull may then be left to soak in water. Presently ember fires are lit along and underneath its sides and into the hollowed centre is poured water, which gradually swells the inside while the fire contracts the outside, till the width is increased and the sides expand to admit thwarts being placed under

1. *Kayu merbau sedang sakti,
Tumbuh di-ulu payu mahang;
Yang di-lengkong mēngkuang puteh
Yang di-lengkong naga sakti;*

*Tidak tumbang berbēliyong,
Yang di-tumbok kalilintar;
Tidak tumbang berhalilintar,
Yang di-gonchang gempa gēmuroh.
From "Anggun Che' Tunggal."*

projecting ledges¹ (cut along the inside just below the gunwale), so as to prevent the contraction consequent on drying. Sometimes this opening process is further helped by the lashing of timbers transversely below and above the hull, fastening their ends together with rattan and then straining them to serve the purpose of a press by leverage of wooden handles put into the rattan lashing: sometimes the whole business from the very beginning is done with adze alone, the builder considering that the drying of the sap by fire shortens the boat's life: sometimes two boats may be "dug-out" of one large trunk, a small within a large, wedges being driven in to effect the separation. "All vessels of the dug-out class," Pitt-Rivers observes in his essay on *Early Modes of Navigation*, "are necessarily long and narrow and very liable to upset: the width being limited by the size of the tree, extension can only be given them by increasing their length. In order to give greater height and width to these boats, planks are sometimes added at the sides and stitched on the body of the canoe by means of strings or cords, composed frequently of the bark or leaves of the tree of which the body is made. In proportion as these laced-on gunwales were found to answer the purpose of increasing the stability of the vessel, their number was increased: two such planks were added instead of one, and as the joint between the planks was by this means brought beneath the water-line, means were taken to caulk the seams with leaves, pitch, resin and other substances. Gradually the number of side planks increased and the solid hull diminished, until ultimately it dwindled into a bottom-board or keel at the bottom of the boat, serving as a centre-piece on which the sides of the vessel were built. Still she was without ribs or frame-work; ledges on

¹ *Tembuku.*

the sides were carved out of the solid substance of each plank by means of which they were fastened to the ledges of the adjoining plank and the two contiguous ledges served as ribs to strengthen the boat; finally a frame-work of vertical ribs was added to the interior and fastened to the planks by cords. Ultimately the stitching was replaced by wooden pins and the side planks pinned to each other and to the ribs; and these wooden pins in their turn were supplanted by iron nails."

Malay boat-building well illustrates the truth of this sketch, though some of the steps in evolution are no longer commonly to be found. Rattan cords, for instance, have given way to wooden pegs in building strake upon strake, but are still used to stitch on the movable single plank or in-board wash-strake that is employed when it is desired to heighten the freeboard of a small dug-out¹ and increase the carrying capacity of that bamboo grill flooring which is almost parallel with the gunwale. Another such survival is to be found in a common form of wash-strake in sea-going canoes, "formed of a strong lacing of split bamboo withies and filled in with palm-leaf, the whole held in position by lashing to knees brought up from the boat's ribs:" it is light and allows the boat to be easily righted if it has been capsized in a heavy sea. Again, despite the introduction of iron nails, conservatism has clung almost universally to the use of wooden pegs. Mast-stays are of round rattans: and the anchor a fork of wood in which a stone is fixed. But to give in detail the building up of the Malay boat—

First prepare your keel-piece, either dug-out² or rarely of the European pattern.³ Then get ready

¹ *Sampan slit*.

² *Sagur*, for boats: *serempu* for *tongkang Melayu*.

³ *Lunax*.

ribs,¹ knee-pieces² and the side planking that is to come immediately above your keel pieces—garboard strake³ it is called in nautical phrase; which unlike the upper strakes⁴ of planking must at all costs be of hard durable timber. Have by you wooden pegs⁵ or nails of all sizes; bark⁶ for caulking and a mixture⁷ of pitch and resin. Then place your keel piece on stocks⁸ and shore⁹ it up straight and level with side props. Fit the ribs, approximately one every two feet apart in boats, one every four in larger vessels, near bow and stern fit a rib¹⁰ consisting of one forked piece of timber, to which the ends of the strakes of side-planking may be pegged fast, or in case of larger boats two or three such forked ribs. Warp¹¹ the strakes of planking for the curving sides of your boat, fixing them in the required position by means of posts rattan lashings and levers, and lighting fires along them inside; plane off the sooty surface from each plank and cut a projecting ledge along its edge to fit into a similar edge on its neighbour plank—perhaps because the smooth dug-out is the original model, all real Malay craft are carvel built as opposed to the clinker type in which planking overlaps in ridges. Bore holes in the ledges for wooden pegs and again in those places where the planks are to be pegged on to the ribs. The ribs must never be as high as the top strake of your side-planking but must be elongated by having knees scarped on or dovetailed into the side of them. The ends of the strakes are pegged fast to stem and stern pieces of hard-wood called the "crocodiles"¹² and outside these are nailed a false stem and stern.¹³ The knees that serve to elongate the ribs must all be

¹ *Gading-gading* for *Awate*, *Kong* for *lanqana*. ² *Tapak*. ³ *Apt*
lumpang. ⁴ *Papan timbau*. ⁵ *Parak*. ⁶ *Kulat gilam*. ⁷ *Gala-*
gala. ⁸ *Galang*. ⁹ *Sokong*. ¹⁰ *Chabang*. ¹¹ *Layar*
¹² *Buaya buaya*. ¹³ *Lingg*.

cut down level. On the top of them in large vessels will be nailed a gunwale¹ of flat planks to form a foot-way for the sailors; in boats merely a light false gunwale² or wash-strake of hard wood or *nibong*. Outside the upper strakes, below the gunwale, are nailed two rubbing-strakes³ the breadth of a "banana." Next, horizontal timbers⁴ stretching from stem to stern are nailed to the inside of the ribs, many in larger vessels, in boats one only on each side, to support thwarts⁵ and flooring. In sailing vessels thwarts⁶ with holes are employed to support the masts. Flooring will stretch from stem to stern, except that in boats a bailing-well⁷ will be left amidships and in vessels one amidships and one astern in front of the cabin. One or two plug-holes must be bored to let out water when the boat shall be dragged ashore. Lastly, every join and crevice has to be caulked with oakum and pitch or bark and resin.

The next thing is to launch the hull on the water. It has been business enough to drag the dug-out keel-piece from its home in forest depths painfully by means of elephant or buffalo down to the stocks by the water-side. But that task has no such superstitious reverence attaching to it as the dragging of the hull down the sand to the water. The magician is again to the fore, sprinkles the boat with rice water and makes incantations and offerings. Folk-tales tell how some barks were only to be launched with one strand of a princess's hair for hawser, others only if seven pregnant women were laid down as rollers, and how the women would come out of the ordeal unscathed! The hull launched, rigging, rudder, mast and top hamper are adjusted. The Malay rudder is clearly derived from the paddle. In river

1 *Lepet-lepet.* 2 *Kubing.* 3 *Pisang-pisang.* 4 *Sinta.* 5 *Sangkar*
bidang. 6 *Bam.* 7 *Timba ruang.* 8 *Mata kakap.*

dug-outs, the paddle held "on the quarter" serves for rudder as in a Canadian canoe: in big fishing-boats, a large paddle "slung at the head on a stout upright and held at the neck by a rattan lashing." Most Malay boats are propelled by the paddle, the oar being found only with decked hybrid vessels, and the paddle is handled as in a Canadian canoe: the salmon stroke of Siam, China and the gondolier being alien and practically unused. For boats working up-river, poles are employed.

The sail in the real Malay boat is of the most primitive square type and made of matting. I cannot do better than borrow Mr Warrington Smyth's expert criticism of it. "A boom along the foot of the sail is almost as necessary as the yard¹ which spreads the head of the sail. The Malays, by the simple expedient of tilting the sail forward so as to bring the tack right back to the deck, have long converted this square-cut sail into the most powerful of lifting sails on a wind. The dipping lug is set taut along the luff by a spar bow-line² fitting in a cringle³ the lower end of which comes to the deck abaft the mast. The yard being too light to stand alone by the wind is invariably controlled by a vang.⁴ The unhandiness of the dipping lug in tacking is felt to the full with this sail, owing to the stiffness and weight given to it by the material of which it is made and the boom along the foot; and the operation is such a long one, that the anchor is often thrown over while the manœuvre is gone through with the two big sails . . ." A mast is always tall and light and there are never more than two.

A river-boat, to be propelled by pole and paddle, will be covered in from stem to stern with gracefully

¹ *Andang-andang, p'ruan.*

² *Tombak sayang.*

³ *B'kas tombak*

sayang.

⁴ *Lalai.*

curved palm-leaf awning. A sailing boat will have a palm-leaf covered compartment at the stern.

Such in its essential features is the real Malay boat, in origin and in ultimate development a canoe. Mr. Warrington Smyth has pointed out a practical reason for the survival of the original dug-out form in the shallow bars which make it impossible for deep-bodied boats to obtain shelter: and in the racing tides and baffling winds, which make imperative a boat to be easily propelled by paddles. "The Malay soon found that a long light craft, having plenty of accommodation along its sides for paddlers, was by far the best adapted to the navigation of these waters, and had the sailing vessel at its mercy nine times out of ten: moreover, the lack of the freeboard suitable for manual propulsion was not a serious danger in a locality where heavy weather is so little known . . . As the centreboard and the lee-board are not found, the paddle retains its importance for working to windward."

Malay boats, though all essentially of the canoe pattern, have many minute variations and a number of confusing names. Mr. Clifford speaks of a Kelantan river-boat, called the grasshopper's head, and adds that, "needless to say, it resembles anything in the world more closely than it does the head of any known insect." It may be presumption to question the testimony of eyes so experienced as Mr. Clifford's, but I am inclined to wager on the analogy of the universal Malay faculty for descriptive nomenclature that the Kelantan Malay has up his sleeve a species of insect not included in Mr. Clifford's study of entomology. Anyhow, many a Malay boat is named after the style of its figure-head: the "dragon" boat,

the "crocodile" barge, the "cock" boat, the "horn-bill": and nearly every part of a boat has some picturesque phrase descriptive of its characteristic note:

- ¹ "Mast-stays white as cords of silver,
 Bulwark-rail like civet's bristles,
 Rudder hanging large like bees' nest,
 Gallery laths like snakes uncoiled."

White-painted oars, moving in time, remind the Malay of the flash of the wings of "a flock of doves." A sail set at right angles to his boat sets him thinking of the "skate-fish stretched out to be toasted."

Local variations are common. The Pahang boats are often gaily painted. Kedah,² Selangor³ and Malacca⁴ even can show differences in their fishing boats.

And of course foreign influences have produced many variations of the real Malay type; influences patent in the very names of the hybrid crafts--"schooner," "pinnace," "cutter," "ketch." India, China,⁵ Portugal,⁶ Holland,⁷ England have all left their mark, occasionally in rudder and transome sterns, often in rig and sails. The rudder pivoting on metal fastenings, a pintle⁸ dropping into a gudgeon,⁹ though modern and European, has earned the nickname of "loin-cloth"¹⁰ as opposed to the Malay paddle type, which is called the "kicker."¹¹ "The Malay more than any other oriental," says Mr. Warington Smyth, "has adopted the jib or

¹ *Témbelang nya nama perak berlapis*
Dayong nya nama jar lipan,
Tépi bernama pagar ténggalong,
Kémudi bernama lébah bergantong,
Dandan bernama sawa méngampoi
 (Skeat's "Malay Magic.")

² *Sampat kumbang* (Ked.) ³ *Kakap ptram* (Sel.) ⁴ *Nadu* (Mal)
⁵ *Tangkang.* ⁶ *Bérandu, balok, lancung, kumar, pasta, tendu.*
⁷ *Bom, ukuchi.* ⁸ *Kokol pantun.* ⁹ *Kokol bitina.* ¹⁰ *Chawat.*
¹¹ *Kémudi epak.*

three-cornered stay-sail. This essentially modern product of Western Europe he has adopted, not only on large traders but on the sea canoe (*kolek*) of Singapore, in which also the old Malay lug has been altogether discarded, especially for racing purposes, in favour of the sprit-sail . . .” And again, “It should be remarked that for some trades involving long voyages and calls at deep-water ports, the advantages of big-bodied craft are fully recognised by the peninsular Malays and that between Singapore and Siamese ports, for instance, fine vessels of two hundred tons built on European lines are frequently to be met with. They are rather nondescript craft, often with overhanging clipper stems and deck-houses galore. The masts are very light and crooked-grown spars; the rigging and gear aloft make up in quantity what is lacking in quality. They are generally rigged with two nearly equal-sized masts and bowsprit on which from one to three jibs are set. The main-sail and fore-sail are either Chinese lugs or on the European fore-and-aft plan, the gaff being a standing spar controlled by vang and the sail being set by hauling out along it and taken in by brails to the mast, topsails being used. The sails are of light material, when they are not, as in the case of regular Chinese or Malay lugs, made of matting; and they seldom set very flat.”

MAT AND BASKET MAKING.¹

Basket and mat making must always have been part of the Malay's daily occupation. His house is made of bamboo, split, dried and wattled, or of wicker-work of palm-leaf stalks. His fishing traps are contrived of strips of split bamboo laced parallel² to one another with cane.³ If he catches an animal

¹ Cf. "Life and Customs" Part II. pp. 20, 21, 27. ² *Jatin*. ³ *Kotan*.

in the jungle and desires to bring it home alive, he looks about for a large bamboo, splits it open down to a joint, splays out the split pieces fan-shaped, interlaces them with cane, pops his animal inside, and then laces up the one opening with cane. If he wants to carry bananas to market, he uses a large conical basket¹ slung over the shoulder, of laced parallel canes or woven in open-work,² of *běmban*³ and strengthened with cane; and for smaller parcels, he will carry in his hand an open-work *běmban* bag with rattan slip-cord⁴ to close its mouth. He will hang his plates in a rack of looped⁵ cane-work and have a stand of similar workmanship for his cooking-pots. If he were a man of means, he would once carry his parcels in a squat round basket⁶ and wear on his head a cap of closely woven fern-stem, though nowadays he prefers a Gladstone bag and a *topi*. In the rice-field are used open baskets regularly woven of dried strips of leaves of the common screw-pine,⁷ such as is also employed for the coarsest matting. Malays produce some of the best work of its kind in the whole world, and experts speak enthusiastically of "the infinite variety of technical processes and their combinations, including root-work, stem work and leaf-work; bark-work, bast-work, skin work and spathe-work; loomless weaving under many names; coiling in great varieties; besides winding, lacing, braiding, netting knot-work and joiner-work."

"Fine mats" are cited among exports from Johor by Chinese chroniclers writing three hundred years ago. The task begins in the jungle, whither old women go to cut the green leaves of the screw-pine.⁸ They cut bundles of the leaves, bring them home, lop

¹ *Ambong, jaras.* ² *Mata punai.* ³ *Clinogyne grandis.* ⁴ *Jerut.*
⁵ *Ranim*; perhaps of European origin. ⁶ *Kudai bėrkėrawat*, i.e., of
 ream with rotan to strengthen it. ⁷ *Mėngkuang (pandanus atrocarpus)*
⁸ *Pandan.*

them an even length and strip off the thorns from the spines of the leaves. After that the leaves are dried over an ember fire, split by means of a piece of wood with metal spikes fixed in its end¹ (like a horse-comb) into strips of the breadth required: a hollowed bamboo or piece of wood² is drawn firmly down each strip to press out all moisture or the strips are tied together and pounded in a pestle. The strips are folded into short bundles and soaked in water for three days, and after they have been dried a "pretty greenish-grey white" they are again pressed and polished with a piece of bamboo to prepare them for the plaiting. Then the plaiting begins. There are three chief methods of adornment; in mats, open-work and the interweaving of strips dyed red, black, yellow, which latter produces graceful diaper designs; in mats, and especially in baskets, the plaiting of raised fancy stitches, called the "rice grain," "jasmine bud," the "roof-angle," and so on. For the dyed work, it is noteworthy that the coloured strands are interwoven, and not, as with the exceedingly fine Batak work of Sumatra, super-added and threaded into interstices of the plaiting; also that in the north of the Peninsula there prevails, in pouches and other small objects, a debased colour scheme where crude greens, yellows, blues and reds are employed. All coloured work is practised mainly in jungle hamlets, perhaps because in towns it is not easy to acquire the vegetable used for colouring.

Of the process of the most elaborate "mad weaving"³ as it is called, Mrs. Bland has written the best and fullest account. "The construction of baskets is complicated," she writes, "and much more tedious than many people imagine. It starts from

¹ *Jangka*. ² *Pilurut*. ³ *Anyam gila*.

a star of six strands¹ and this produces twelve strands, for the weaving is done with both ends of every strand used. The whole basket is built up by the continual interweaving and crossing of the inner and outer strands and there is no foundation of warps round which to weave, as in English baskets: it is built up continuously round and round by weaving as in knitting a stocking. To the first star of six strands are added six more strands, round these are woven twelve more, then twelve more and so on till the size required is achieved. A six-sided shape is thus produced. The added strands are woven in always two at each corner, *buku*, or *susoh* as Malays term it, and the full mad stitch² is achieved after the second round. The strands that go from left to right form the weaving strand.³ The weaving strands over and under which the other strands are pulled and folded are used for determining the size of the baskets, 'How many stitches?' the Malay will say when you order a basket. The crossing strand⁴ and the warp strand⁵ are the only other names possible to mark the distinctive action in 'mad weaving.' When the size is determined on and woven, a piece of split rattan is inserted and the sides of the basket next made, and in the weaving the rattan is completely hidden. The strands of the leaf of the screw-pine are glossy on one side only; so the Malays, by carefully turning their work, arrange that the basket shall be glossy both inside and out. The sides are woven round without any adding . . . The height achieved, another strip of rattan, covered with *məngkuang*, is inserted: a basket ready for this second rattan has an edge that resembles a cutlet frill. The strands are then all worked back again, that is slipped over their respective

¹ *Pusat bilanak.*

² *Mata.*

³ *Duan anyam.*

⁴ *Duan silang.*

⁵ *Duan betul.*

duplicates till the bottom centre of the basket is reached (when they cross each other for strength and are cut off invisibly): for this tedious process the Malays use an inserter¹ of wood and brass, which resembles very much the prickers used by the American Indians in their basketry.

"The pretty designs are made by twisting the strands between thumb and forefinger. This produces a raised ornamental twist which is very attractive. The ornamentation starts from single stitches called the 'rice-grains,'² and a star of six such stitches called the 'flower of *Minusops lengi*,'³ and the hexagonal built round that star (by stitches joining the end of the star together) called the 'bud.'⁴ These simple patterns are worked into large and small triangles and diamonds⁵ The edging round all baskets is called the 'flowery belt.'⁶ Lids are made in a similar manner and of the same number of strands as the bottoms, only woven slightly more loosely.

"The women make and sell their basketés in nets' of five baskets, each basket fitting into another very nearly—there should only be the difference of two strands between various shapes and forms—square, long, oval, triangular and diamond-shaped. All are built up in the same way, starting with a six-sided basket, but with added strands to bring it to any other required shape. This is an art by itself, and many who can make hexagonal baskets cannot make other shapes; so that the hexagonal are the cheapest, fifty cents extra being asked for the fancy shapes. The long and the square are the most difficult. The women also make a basket in tiers, one on top of another, the lid of the lower basket making also the

¹ *Playteip.* ² *Béras gering.* ³ *Bunga tanjong.* ⁴ *Bunga*
kuntum; b. bulat. ⁵ *Puchok rébong; potong baji.* ⁶ *Bunga*
péndang. ⁷ *Susun.*

bottom of the next, and so on. Another shape is a tiered cone.¹ They also make very coarse large ornamented baskets, which are much bought by Europeans for carrying clothes. It takes a month to make a 'nest' of very ordinary weaving, while a fine 'nest' takes from three to four months to complete, and this means daily steady work. For the ordinary hexagonal nests they earn from two dollars and fifty cents to three dollars, and for a fine one from four to five dollars.²

Mrs. Bland shows that the industry is in a flourishing condition, that there is no fear of its extinction, but much of deterioration and hurry in workmanship, owing to increased demand.

Another art allied to *pandan* weaving is that of making dish covers. Sometimes they are actually woven by the "mad-weaving" method. Sometimes leaves of the rough screw-pine are dried, stretched into thin sheets, soaked and cleaned, twisted and sewn together into a conical shape like that of Chinese hats on old tea-caddies—this forms the inside lining of the cover to be made. Then the white inner sheath of bamboo is taken, torn thin, dried and placed across the bottom of a clay pot that has been inverted over embers and heated; having been so warmed, it is rubbed lightly or thoroughly with a bundle of "dragon's blood"³ according as a dark red or light red colour is required. Other strips of bamboo sheath are stained black. The red and black strips are cut into open-work patterns and stuck over the *měngkuang* lining, the background which shows through the open-work patterns being of plain white bamboo sheath or pieces of red, white, green and gilt

¹ *Tudong gēlok*.

² \$1 = 2s. 4d.
bērijā

³ Hence the name, *tudong*.

paper or cloth. The black pieces are cut into straight strips¹ that divide red and white triangular panels.² The outer edge is woven *pandan*.³ This kind of cover is made in the Dindings.

POTTERY.

The potter's wheel was unknown during the stone and bronze ages, and Malay pottery is interesting especially from the fact that the potter's wheel is still unknown, except in embryo,⁴ although it has been familiar to their neighbours in India and China from time immemorial. In place of the use of the wheel, the whole process is done by hand.

Fine stiff clay is procured, dried, pounded, sometimes sifted even, because good clay means few breakages in burning; then mixed with water and kneaded and beaten now and again for several days. In some parts, it is said elephant's dung is mixed with it when cooking-pots are to be made, but as a rule it is left pure. The potter, generally an old woman, takes a lump of kneaded clay, places it on a plantain leaf or a wooden or earthenware plate, works it gradually with her fingers, revolving it in the process into a shape roughly resembling sometimes the base, sometimes the body of the vessel she contemplates making; leaving the upper rim of the section thinned and bent inwards to facilitate a join. When, after a few hours, the first section has hardened a little, another roughly moulded lump is built on to it; and

¹ *Bendul*. ² *Pintu gidong*. ³ On the pattern called *leang pari*.

⁴ A wooden turn-table is found, "consisting of two pieces of wood cut out of a tree trunk, the lower of which has a central peg on which the upper revolves; but it was only used to turn round slowly by hand as is done with the ordinary wooden disc."

so on, one section being adjusted to the others till the whole is completed. Shaping and welding is done by pressure of the fingers of the left hand from the inside of the half-wrought vessel and by patting the outside with a wooden bat and stroking it with a knife-shaped piece of bamboo which is wetted from time to time. Rough edges, caused by the joining of the sections, are trimmed by the bamboo knife. If the vessel is to be round-bottomed, it is left to harden a while, then inverted and the outer circumference of its base pared down with the bamboo knife, after which the potter blows into it down the mouth till the flat bottom swells out into the shape of the natural gourd; or instead of blowing she may make a hole in the centre, distend the bottom with her fingers to the required shape, and then close up the hole. The surface of every vessel is burnished by means of a piece of smooth stone or brass. Decoration is effected by welding ribbons of clay on the surface of the vessel to form raised ribs, by tracing lines with the point of the bamboo knife, by impressing simple patterns from carved wooden stamps. After being dried the vessels are burnt in a wide shallow pit, pieces of wood being piled beneath between and on top of them, set on fire and left to burn out: a layer of earth is occasionally spread over the wood and the jars. The clay of some districts burns a terra-cotta colour, of others a bluish gray; if a black colour is desired, burnt jars are buried hot in a mass of *padi* husk or smoked over the fireplace. Resin is often employed to glaze the bottom of water-jars.

Technically Malay pottery is poor and negligible, but like most wares that keep simply and closely to natural forms, it can show some graceful shapes; jugs and jars for the most part being modelled on

the gourd and the coconut shell. Like so much Malay work, artistically it steals an adventitious charm from its amateurishness, its absence of uniform precision in form and patterning, its escape from monotony of colouring by what laborious ineptitude would condemn for flaws of clay and burning. It has been made in all parts of the Peninsula and there are local differences of shape. In Pahang and Negri Sembilan, especially at Kuala Tembeling (which, I am told, is the head-quarters of the art), we find vessels bearing stamps of superior decorative quality, sometimes spouted and having often as the *motif* of their form the short arc rather than the rounded almost circular curve. Kedah, that home of several important variations, has been credited with a rather ornamental type of water-jar decorated with running scroll patterns in which swimming fishes appear, of a darker red than the band that serves for background; but as the variation in colouring might lead one to suspect, the jars are actually of Tamil make. There are also water-jars coloured a dull brownish black and stamped deep to look like florid wood-carving; they are said to be in common use at ceremonies in Malacca, but I have been unable to discover the place of their origin; and to my mind the work smacks of vulgar sham.

Already the potter's art is merely a survival. Agricultural shows have stimulated native interest, it is true, and there are still kampongs down the Perak river, at Sayong and Pulau Tiga for instance, where one may see old women at work in little palm-thatched sheds under the shade of fruit trees. But alas! their wares are no longer indispensable; the hideous common blue glass decanter is ousting the gourd; Indian hardware has usurped the place of the indigenous clay cooking-pot. As a survival, however, the art

may linger, may even flourish in remote districts; it is easy to learn and affords some trivial earnings to old ladies whose fingers are innocent of the superior skill required for knitting in multi-coloured Berlin wool caps and socks for the infant cradled in a tropical clime.

METAL WORK.

TIN, BRONZE, COPPER AND BRASS.

The only metals that have been mined by Malays in the Peninsula are tin and a little gold. The Chinese chroniclers, writing at the beginning of the fifteenth century, record how "tin is found in two places in the mountains in Malacca, and the king has appointed officers to control the mines. People are sent to wash it and after it has been melted it is cast into small blocks weighing one *kati* eight *tahil* or one *kati* four *tahil* official weight; ten pieces are bound together with rattan and form a small bundle, whilst forty pieces make a large bundle. In all their trading transactions they use these pieces of tin instead of money." The same chronicles relate how about that time tin was among the articles of export from Johor and Pahang also. The Dutch established a post on the Perak river for collecting tin in 1650, and despite several massacres maintained their interest down to the end of the eighteenth century: the duty they paid filled the coffers of *Marhum Kahar* and enabled him to buy such luxuries as cannon. Hamilton, writing at the end of the seventeenth century, remarks how Perak "produces more tin than any other country in India," and towards the end of the eighteenth century its annual output of tin was estimated at five thousand *pikul*, rising to nine thousand *pikul* for the first half of the new century; the bulk of it won by Malay

miners in Kinta, Batang Padang and at a few places on the Perak river. In Klang and Selangor also mining was done, though on a lesser scale. Twenty years ago in Kinta there were some three hundred and fifty private Malay mines according to Mr. Hale's calculation, "all for stream tin washed out of the river-bed sand." For Malay mining was a very simple business, an occupation to be pursued by men, women and children after the rice-fields ceased to demand attention. "The galleries, stopes and shafts of the old mines at Selinsing in Pahang, work of a race that must have possessed no small degree of mechanical skill," the large pits "fifty feet across and twenty feet deep" found, for example, in Kinta and Batang Padang and popularly ascribed to the Siamese, are certainly not Malay.

The working of a Malay mine belongs rather to the province of magic¹ than to the province of mechanics. Two primitive methods are practised, one² suited to hilly, the other³ to flatter land. A Malay mine, worked at Kampong Sēnudong on the western slope of Bujang Malacca thirty years ago, was thus described by a French miner, M. de la Croix: "Small canals are brought from the river and run at the foot of the different cuttings, the ground cut down and thrown into these canals and dressed as in a sluice-box, the height of the face being ten to fifteen feet; when the ground has been stripped to the level of the water, it is divided, into small rectangular lots thirty feet long by fifteen wide, round which the canals are made to circulate. These lots are ultimately worked out but not to a greater depth than five feet below the water-mark The great fault with Malays

¹ See Skeat's *Magic*, pp. 250-270 (quoting Hale's Article). A superstition I have not seen recorded is that on a mine the dead rise unless they are tied securely with rattan at neck, waist and ankles to a house-pillar. ² *Liris*. ³ *Lumbong*.

lies in the inability to organize a draining system that will carry away the surface water.' The canals carry off all the light soil, while the ore sinks down in the channel to be lifted thence and washed and cleaned in hand trays.¹ The simplest form of this kind of mining consists merely in washing² tin or gold from the sandy bottom of ore-laden rivers, an occupation of which Rawa and Mandehling women especially seem fond.

The other method is to dig pits from which the ore-laden soil is lifted out in baskets and washed in wooden troughs; a method still more handicapped by the primitive procedure of baling out surface water in baskets.

The clean ore was smelted in clay furnaces³ built in the shape of a truncated cone, with a hole on either side and supply hopper to feed the slag, the charcoal and or being put in the top. A most interesting form of piston bellows⁴ was employed for blowing up the charcoal fire. 'A peculiar forge-bellows entirely different from those employed by Hindus or the Chinese is found in form absolutely identical in Arakan and Burma, in Sumatara, in Java, in the Philippine Islands and in Madagascar. The description of this bellows, as given by William Dampier at Magindanao, applies absolutely, I believe, to its form in the other countries named: 'They are made of a wooden cylinder, the trunk of a tree, about three feet long, bored hollow like a pump, set upright in the ground, on which the fire itself is made; near the lower end there is a small hole in the side of the trunk next the fire, made to receive a pipe through which the wind is driven to the fire by a great bunch of fire feathers fastened to one end of the stick, which closing up the inside of the cylinder drives the air out

¹ Dulang. ² Bilanda. ³ Rilas. ⁴ Kambu.

of the cylinder through to the pipe. Two of these trunks or cylinders are placed so high together that a man standing between them may work them both alternately, one with each hand.' ”

“Old Malay ingots,” Mr. Wray observes, “are of many shapes, and a considerable amount of trouble has evidently been taken in forming some of the patterns from which they were cast, though some have been formed by making a shallow depression in the casting-sand, into which the fluid metal has been poured. A common shape is a more or less conical cylinder, the upper part of which is six to eight sided or decorated with a simple scallop pattern. Nearly cubical lumps of tin are also of frequent occurrence; they are slightly tapered to allow of the pattern being easily withdrawn from the casting-sand. Some curious ingots have been collected in Lower Perak of the same shape as the Pahang tin-money—that is, like the mortar used by Malays for husking rice, only solid in the centre and with four small knobs projecting on the bottom. Another form is an obtuse-cone, broken up into eight sides by raised ridges running from apex to base. Some of these ingots were cast in piece-moulds, probably made either of baked clay or of a soft red stone which is now sometimes used for making the moulds in which are cast the tin chains that are attached to the circumference of cast-nets. Piece-moulds are now never used in casting ingots—they are always cast in sand, from wooden patterns.” Perhaps all these ingots were forms of coinage.

Rude models of elephants, tortoises and crocodiles were cast like the ingots, in sand after wooden patterns, or in piece-moulds of soft stone. Pahang

had the peculiar currency of tin "hat" money cast in brass moulds; Kelantan, Kedah and Trengganu round tin pieces with a round hole in the middle, sets of seven or nine being cast in moulds in the shape of a tree, a fact which Mr. Skeat surmises "may possibly give fresh meaning to the 'shaking of the pagoda-tree' which was formerly so familiar a phrase with Englishmen." The piston of the fire-syringe and of the betel-nut mortar is sometimes of tin. But the most advanced and ingenious work is the casting of jointless tin chains for fishing nets in moulds that consist of four separate pieces of brass, each piece attached to a wooden handle by means of which it can be fastened to or removed from its fellows; one series of links having been cast, the mould is opened and reversed so as to enable a second row to be cast through the first, the combined series forming a chain of solid unsoldered links.

Tin is used occasionally for inlaying wooden articles like sticks and dagger-hilts. "The design is cut into the wood, care being taken that it is slightly undercut; it is then covered with clay and dried; molten tin is next poured in through a gate which has been left for the purpose; when cold, the clay is removed and the surface of the tin filed up and polished."

Tin was of course employed along with copper (in the proportion of one to nine) for the manufacture of bronze articles such as a rare spear-head or dagger—a bronze dagger was presented by the *waris* on the return of the sword of office of the deceased *panglima Kinta* a few years ago. Of bronze, too, are the best Malay cannon, some censers, trays and bowls. Goldsmiths' chisels have been found made of a hard yellow-white bronze consisting of tin and copper "in the proportion of three or seven; not

wrought, but cast in a chill mould and finished by filing and cutting." A mixture of tin with five per cent. only of copper, and antimony, also have been used for the manufacture of betel trays and boxes.

A few antique pots and basins are made of hammered copper. But the bulk of household utensils are of brass. All bronze, copper and brass work has a Sanskrit name to its metal, though *gangsā*, the word for bronze, is little known and *tēmbaga* is applied to all the alloys with the attributes "yellow" and "red" to distinguish them. Articles are cast by the *cire perdue* process, a process obviously developed from casting simply in sand; and the Malay terminology of the art is distinct enough to deserve study. The article to be made is moulded rudely in clay and the clay mould covered with wax of the thickness desired for the metal. This wax layer is, of course, carefully moulded to the shape and thickness of the article to be cast; after which it is coated with alternate layers of fine sand and clay. When the sand and clay has dried, the mould is heated and the wax allowed to pour out through a gate left in the encircling clay. There is then a cavity formed by the melting and outflow of the wax model, a cavity of the exact shape and size of the article to be cast. Into this cavity melted metal is poured through the gate by which the wax has been allowed to flow out. When the mould has cooled, the outer shell is broken and the rough metal article is turned on a lathe to smooth its surface. "The Malay lathe is always a simple affair, and in one form of it the work is made to rotate in alternating directions by means of a cord which is attached to a flexible rod and passes round part of the work on the lathe to a treadle. When the treadle is pressed, the string is pulled and the work rotates in one sense, while the flexible rod becomes

bent; the treadle and cord are then released and the bent rod straightens itself, driving the work in the opposite sense. This appliance has also been in use in Europe." Several varieties of work exist. Some articles, of which we have examples in water-jars, bowls, basins and lamps (the exact counterpart of lamps found in India), are thick and heavy. Some, like trays and large lidded boxes, are thin and patterned with worthless florid realistic representations of butterflies, deer, flowers and birds, out-put for the most part from Palembang, which for centuries has been famous for its ware. Others, again, have petty fretted patterns chiselled or filed, such as may be seen in glass-stands and betel-trays manufactured in Penang and Singapore. Trengganu alone of native states would seem to have manufactured any quantity. The Chinese chronicles allude to copper, ironware and gongs as articles of import into Pahang in the fifteenth century. Brass-ware is certainly of foreign origin, mainly Indian touched with European influence; it is only in Borneo that we get Chinese influence producing fine types of gong and kettle. The brass-ware of the Peninsula deserves little attention on æsthetic grounds.

IRON WORK.

"There is the clearest possible evidence of animistic ideas about iron. For the sacred lump of iron which forms part of the regalia of more than one of the Sultans in the Peninsula Malays entertain the most extraordinary reverence, not unmingled with superstitious terror: it is upon this lump of iron when placed in water that the most solemn and binding oath known to those who make use of it is sworn; and it is to this that the Malay wizard refers when he recites his category of the most terrible

denunciations that Malay magic has been able to invent. It is possible that there may be in the Malay mind, at all events, some connection between the regalia and the more general use of iron as a charm against evil spirits. For the various forms of iron which play so conspicuous a part in Malay magic, from the long iron nail which equally protects the new-born infant and the rice-soul from the powers of evil to the betel-nut scissors which are believed to scare the evil spirits from the dead, are all alike called the representative symbols or emblems of iron." Now anthropologists have pointed out how this reverence for an object like iron probably arises when a rude tribe is first brought into contact with it and regards its wonderful properties as miraculous. And Colonel Yule has suggested with fair cogency that, taken along with other evidence, the feather piston-bellows demonstrates not only a connection between the Malay race and the people of Indo-China, but the use of iron prior to the Malay emigration from its original home.

The art of the Malay blacksmith may be respectable from its antiquity, but is not of superlative merit: it has produced no blades to equal the temper of Dyak swords, for example, and is fast falling into desuetude. "The Chinese blacksmiths at Malacca," wrote Newbold nearly a century ago, "manufacture immense numbers of Malayan implements of agriculture, adzes, hoes, spades, choppers, not only for the Peninsula, but also for the opposite coast of Sumatra." The art of *këris*-making, which alone superstition would confine to a Malay craftsman and which even rajas were not ashamed to profess in the old days, has for some years become practically extinct. In Perak a few choppers are made at Sungai Siput, and there are two or three old men at Kuala Kangsar who can at a push make a

kéris, but that is all: the foreign specialist has everywhere ousted the native amateur blacksmith. The passing of his craft, at any rate in the Peninsula, where the making of daggers has never acquired fame, is nothing much to lament, unless one regard it as a symptom of the industrial change inflicted in a few decades on a mediæval civilisation.

A palm-thatched shed, a clay furnace, a charcoal fire, piston bellows, some anvils fixed to wooden logs, a board to fend his bare shins from flying sparks, pincers, hammers, chisels and files; the stock in trade of the Malay blacksmith is ordinary and simple. But "the European cold and hot setts used for cutting off pieces of iron are replaced in the Malay smithy by a tool¹ that is simply a cold chisel, but fixed in a long wooden handle from which the chisel projects at right angles, and in use the head of the chisel is struck with a hammer, while the handle merely serves to hold it in place."

Of agricultural tools manufactured, one may infer that the adze² is the most ancient. It bears a close resemblance to the celt; shaped like a small spade with a square tang³ which is inserted at right angles in a socket of hard wood and bound with rattan⁴ at the end of a handle,⁵ curved, bending back near the blade, about two feet long and encircled round the grip with pieces of light wood.⁶ It can serve as adze, axe, chisel or plane.

Every Malay carries a knife which has an identity of form running through its particular divergencies, whether it be of Rembau or Patani or Perak make, whether it be small as a pocket-knife or large as a sword. "The back may be straight or

¹ *Lepa*.

² *Bélong*, large; *patū*, small; *rimbas*, large and adze-like.

³ *Puting*.

⁴ *Rekat*, *remat krawat* (C. and S.).

⁵ *Pitrah*.

⁶ *Likut*, *bocong gabos*.

with a concave curvature; it never has a convex curvature. The edge similarly may be straight or with a convex curvature; it never has a concave curvature." These words will serve equally well as a general description for the Malay knife as for the Dyak. The class may be divided broadly into two species, the one¹ sheathless, having a blade broadest and heaviest at point, or rather end, for it has (with few exceptions) a transverse slanting blunt termination; the other² sheathed, worn at the waist, having a blade broadest and heaviest in the centre, or rather just beyond the centre, with cutting edge convex and curving to a sharp point at tip of blade—it is the former species which bears, perhaps, an essential resemblance to Dyak knives and has the same generic name. Nearly every state, Patani, Kedah, Perak, Selangor, Rembau, affects some slight difference in the shape of its local blades; but most of the small knives used for the daily purposes of life can be referred to one of the above species³ with the exception, of course, of such highly specialized agricultural instruments as the semi-circular blade⁴ set in a piece of wood and used for cutting the ears of rice one by one not to frighten the rice-soul. But the study of agricultural tools belongs rather to the province of husbandry than to a paper on iron-work, and can only be handled adequately with the aid of illustrations.

A Malay enthusiast on weapons will give one a fearful and wonderful list. He will include in it a discus⁵ with a Sanskrit name, Persian knives and scimitars,⁶ the mace,⁷ and so on and so on—all the

¹ *Perang* (also Dyak word). ² *Golok* (also Javanese). ³ E.g.,
contrast *chandong* *lempang janda* with *pisau* wall. ⁴ *Tuai*. ⁵ *Chaktra*.
⁶ *Samsir*, *khanjar*. ⁷ *Chakmar*.

armoury of his romantic literature, which itself is foreign. It is safe to say that if any of these were ever made by Malay smiths, they were anomalies; inferior copies of imported specimens. Even such a common knife as the little curved "cock's tail feather,"¹ probably had an Arab model²; the small straight one-edged dagger,³ still worn in these days when weapons have to be hidden from prying policemen, is said to have been derived from the same source, though made by all Malay smiths. The fine blade,⁴ sometimes straight sometimes curved, that is a cross between the *kēris* and a sword, is of Bugis manufacture. The sword,⁵ if ever made locally, is certainly of foreign origin, and at any rate, as we are writing rather from the point of view of the student of metal-work than from that of the student of weapons, a short survey of those more familiar weapons in which the art of the Malay blacksmith shows at its best will suffice. Even here the smith of the Peninsula has little to boast of. The long *kēris* and the "pepper-crusher,"⁶ from the carving of their hilts and their great vogue in the Negri Sembilan, would appear to come directly from Sumatara: the *kēris* from Java. It is idle to speculate whether its blade represents a dragon form and owes its shape to the piety of a tribe of *naga*-worshippers, or has been evolved merely on the model of the horns of butting animals, or found the later superstition to sanction the earlier utilitarian origin of the shape; whether, again, its continued vogue was due to superstitious respect or not rather to its peculiar fitness for warfare in a country of tangled cramping forest. Anyhow, the names of its

1 *Lawi ayam.* 2 *Jembinh.* 3 *Hadak.* 4 *Bundang.* 5 *Pilang.*
6 *Tumbok lada.*

mountings,¹ its court prestige, the names of its shapes, the great respect for Javanese and Bugis blades, the greater number of varieties of Javanese damasks and their more definite nomenclature in that country² are all clear evidence at least of its place of development. Even in Patani, where the *këris* has some points that at first sight might appear anomalous, closer inspection will reveal affinities with the Javanese sheath; a Javanese name for the smith³ and Javanese names⁴ for the best known patterns. It is difficult to hit on any satisfactory methods of classification, unless we merely classify blades as of damasked steel or the modern plain steel; as of so many curves, or straight⁵—the latter being the fashion for the light court dress *këris*. The Malay will prize a *këris* for its maker and name it after him; for its age and blood-stains; its grace of shape and grace of damask; its lucky measurements and lucky damask marks. Why one pattern of straight *këris* should be called the "black fighting-cock with white markings";⁶ another straight and trowel-like, "the cake spoon"; another plain with five sinister trailing waves, "the deadly vampire,"⁷ may seem "miching mallecho" to the uninitiated, but will present little difficulty to those accustomed to the Malay aptitude for far-fetched simile. And the diffident may take comfort in the thought that the simile is often so far-fetched, of such old-world aboriginal origin that it is forgotten or overlooked even by Malays themselves, who try to explain it by inventing marvellous anecdote. For instance, the first well-known Laksamana of Perak is said to have seen a monkey sitting on a branch over

¹ See "Life and Customs Part II" in this series, p. 44. ² See Raffles' "Java." ³ Pandai. ⁴ Pandai sari. ⁵ Sapuhul.
⁶ Jalak jantan. ⁷ Sudu belang. ⁸ Zangwayar bisa.

a fish-trap at the mouth of the Bidor river, a piece of rubber in his paws that looked like an unfinished *kēris*; seeing the Laksamana, the monkey dropped the rubber, which turned into a *kēris* that the Laksamana named "the swinging monkey."¹ The story is ingenious, but study the tail of a monkey and you have a better peg on which to hang the simile. It may be futile to attempt to determine the exact significance of many damasks as of many shapes, but people are apt to waste a good deal of time and money on *kēris*-collecting without perhaps realizing the principle of selection and preference. Any mark that might have come on the blade by extraordinary means, as by pressure from the fire-proof fingers of some miraculous smith;² or again, by what we should call accident, but what the primitive mind would take to be magic work of the living steel³ and to show its sympathies;⁴ any mark which could be construed to resemble some natural object or the initial of the name of Allah would enhance the virtue and value of the *kēris*: and the verdict of some famous smith or some famous fencer, and the success of their arms, would dictate to fashion the proper position of the mark on the blade. We may find it difficult, for example, to explain why marks like a "fish-navel,"⁵ "a cucumber seed"⁶ or a "grasshopper's legs"⁷ should be expected to bring luck: we may doubt the modern Malay's explanation of the respect for the "mountain"⁸ damask as the aesthetic appreciation of his ancestors for the aloofness, power and beauty of

¹ *Blok bəraya* ² *Kēris pichit*.

"natural" corner under the cover-piece.
cry for blood. ⁵ *Pusat bittanak*.

³ E.g., *bərəh dəya*, a rough

⁴ E.g., *retak split* at the point

⁶ *Biji simon*.

⁷ *Kaki*

bitalang. ⁸ *Panar gunung*.

high places : we may prefer to believe simply that any mark remotely resembling a natural object was revered as the marvellous revelation of unknown power. But in any case, when we come to the *Alif* mark and the *Lam* mark, the process of Malay thought is obvious and indisputable.

"And at point the sacred letters,
Symbol of the name of Allah,
Alif lam that greet the dying."

The method of producing damask in a blade is the most complicated branch of the smith's work—except indeed in Trengganu, where subtle knaves wash and file on the surface of plain steel a pattern that soon comes off. The *badek* and the "pepper-crusher" and the spear,² even the *golok* and the *parang* are frequently damasked, but the art is most often and most carefully practised in the manufacture of the *kris*. I must borrow, as well as I can without illustrations, an account founded on a description taken down by Mr. Skeat.

The smith begins by making a pile of short bars, alternately thick and thin; the two sets said by the Malay smith to be of different metals, one³ set made by cutting up and forging down a rod of wrought iron, the other⁴ by straightening, for example, the blade of a sickle. Microscopic examination did not bear out the smith's story and revealed merely a series of layers "of common wrought iron differentiated by no peculiarities of structure or composition and only

¹ *Lam jalalah di-tuntong, Pamur alif tēdiri sendiri-nye.* ² There are two species, *lambang* broad-bladed, *tombak* almost squaroid and narrow-bladed, used at court especially. ³ *Bāi sui* (Skeat). ⁴ *Bāi pamur*.

marked out by the line of very imperfect welds¹ between the layers, which play a most important part in the formation of the damask pattern." But Mr. Skeat's description agrees with that of Newbold, who speaks of *běsi pamur* imported from Celebes and Java mixed in the proportion of one to three with the iron of old hoops and nails or sort of iron brought from Billiton and then welded into a flat bar which is split into two. Possibly native tradition, founded on a misconception that the damask patterning is due not to impurities and imperfections in the welding of bars but to the use of different kinds of metal, demands the employment of iron from two different sources. Anyhow the pile of short bars, each alternate bar of iron from a different source, is heated, welded together in rough primitive fashion and drawn out to the same length. The long bar so formed is again heated and is then bent ("in the plane of the welds, so as to show on the flat of the scroll laminæ standing on edge and welded together") into a scroll that looks like a row of capital 'S's running one into and below the other, smaller at the bottom of the bar, bigger at the top. Two such scrolls are used for each *křris*. Next, steel² is forged into three strips of the shape of the two prepared scrolls, the central strip thicker than the others to form the body of the blade. Two small pieces are cut from the laminated bar of which the scrolls have been made, and bent into the shape of two large 'U's to form the damask across the thick base of the blade. Finally, all the pieces are hammered and welded together—in centre a flat bar of steel; on either side of it a flat strip of thin steel; outside

¹ *Siar*.

² *Błai baja*.

the flat side of each strip of thin steel (at the end which is to form the thick base of the blade) a 'U piece' of laminated iron. "No better treatment could be designed for the purpose of opening the welds and spreading the individual layers and at the same time driving the steel into the interstices from above and below; at the temperature of working, the steel is softer and more nearly fluid than the iron and will therefore force its way into any opening that may occur." When this pile has been welded, it is carefully forged down to the length and thickness required to produce a blade of lucky measurements. "The haft is then formed by notching the edge of the blade close to its base and gradually drawing the portion between the notches down to the form of a thin spike which is intended to enter the hilt. The next step is the production of the waves of the edge. Where these are small and numerous, they are produced by grinding and filing, but where they are fairly long they are made by forging. In this operation the entire blade is bent alternately to one side and then to the other; this is done by supporting its ends upon two anvils and holding its edge up while it is struck with a hammer. But the bending is localized at each successive spot required, by first heating the blade and then cooling it with water, leaving only that part red-hot where the bending is to occur. Each wave thus represents a separate operation of heating and bending. When the waves are finished, the *këris* is driven into the ground for about two-thirds of its length and thus held firmly while the 'chin' of the blade is formed. Two notches are cut in one edge of the blade, the notches are filed out and the small tongues of metal left are then

¹ *Kuku gajah.*

bent" into curves. "The cutting edges are roughed out with a file, the blade being held in 'V' blocks: in this operation the thick central portion of the blade is carefully left untouched. The next step is to heat the haft and twist it in a way which is believed by Malays to give it a better hold on the hilt. Then the collar or guard is welded on the blade at the haft end. This collar is made of a piece cut off from the end of the blade in the rough state and therefore consists of alternate layers of steel and laminated scroll; the piece is forged to the proper shape, punched to receive the haft and notched on the under side so as to form a sort of 'mortice and tenon' joint with the blade when pushed down upon it; some indentations are also punched on the sides of this collar and it is claimed they cause the pattern to appear more clearly at a later stage. The blade being now completed is hardened by first heating in the forge and then quenching in water, the temper attained being a mere matter of accident or guess-work. The blade is then ground to its final shape on a grindstone hung in a frame; the stone is driven by a string which is pulled and released in such a way as alternately to wind and unwind itself on the spindle of the stone. The outer layer of steel is entirely ground away and a pickling or etching process brings out the pattern by attacking and corroding the steel while leaving the iron untouched." This etching is done by means of a mixture of boiled rice, sulphur and salt, with which a hollow bamboo is filled and the blade laid in it for several days, till the damask has appeared on the surface; the edges of the blade being protected the while by a thin coating of wax. After that the blade is soaked in coconut milk or pineapple juice for several days; cleaned with lime-juice and, in cases of obstinate rust

spots, with charcoal and finally rubbed with arsenic. The blade is then ready, in all the beauty of watered damask and deadly curves, to excite the criticism of the connoisseur or the admiration of the teller of tales.

"Seven-waved the *këris* he carried,
Blade and cross-piece one unjointed;
Forged of parent primal iron,
Crushed with hammer, sifted after;
Fragment broke from Adam's stave,
Chip of steel from Khorassan.
Would you clean the blade in water,
Choose the river's upper reaches:
Would you clean the blade with acid,
Take it to an inner chamber.
If a month ago a stranger
Went and carried off his bundle
Stab the spot his feet have trodden,
He shall die before its magic:
If a month ago the swimmer
Hied from out some Bugis river
Stab where'er his ripples eddied,
He shall die before its magic.
If its point has drawn a blood-gout,
Let one drop but trickle earthward,
For a year the rice-crops wither;
Let one drop but trickle seaward,
For a year no fishes sport.¹

The *këris* is a fine type of dagger, marred technically by the difficulty its makers experience in getting hard steel and the fact that the etching and cleaning of the damask is so liable to ruin the sharpness of the edges.

Malay ordnance is of alien invention and extremely poor in execution. Its manufacture has probably been discontinued for years now, and I cannot do better than quote Newbold, who lived in more disturbed times. "Malays manufacture ordnance

¹ *Ht. Awang Bulong Merah Muda. Cf. "Malay Literature II," pp. 22, 23.*

at Trengganu in the Peninsula," he observes, "at Gressek in Java; at Menangkabau; and formerly there was a foundry at Acheen. The following five descriptions of guns are most in use—namely, *mōriam*, capable of carrying a six-pound shot; the iron *rëntaka*; the *jalu rambang*, with a muzzle about as large as that of a blunderbuss; the *ekur lotong*, a small gun to which is attached a long curved appendage, resembling the tail of the monkey, set on at the button of the breech; and the *lelah*, whose ordinary range is about four hundred yards, though some will carry a thousand yards with an elevation. *Lelah* are often loaded with leaden or tin slugs and placed on swivels in outposts at an angle of their stockades so as to command two faces; the *lelah* is made generally of brass (sometimes of iron) with a calibre varying from one to three inches. . . . Their match-locks, of which the *istinggar Mēnangkabau* is most esteemed, are long unwieldy heavy pieces; the barrels are formed by twisting a flat bar of tough beaten iron round a rod of the same and beating it into a consistent hollow cylinder. European pieces with locks are most preferred and now commonly used instead of the match-locks. Muskets, blunderbusses and rifles are often found in their hands. The barrels of the blunderbusses are frequently made by themselves, with muzzles in various fantastic forms such as the mouth of a tiger or snake, and mounted with European locks."

GOLD AND SILVER.

All the known styles of Malay gold and silver work are represented in the Peninsula—*repoussé*, filigree, niello, inlay.

Of these, *repoussé* is the commonest, most broadly distributed and employed for most articles. It is

found with certain traits of identity throughout the Archipelago, in Java, in Sumatra, in Borneo. It owes many of its patterns to Indian influence—the conventional lotus flower, the leaf of the sacred fig, and so on—but there is not a technical term that is foreign for metal, tool or pattern, so that there would seem to be no reason why it should be inferred to be Indian in origin. Indeed, it must be something more than coincidence that foliated pattern of the same chaste restraint and conventional character is the note of Malay wood-carving. That several influences have made themselves felt was only to be expected, and these divers influences may be seen in the two styles of lime-box in the betel set, the one type squat octagonal, always of silver, the other tall, straight-sided, circular, often gold-topped; or again, in the difference between the watch-like round style of tobacco box (that is tied in the corner of the kerchief) and the Negri Sembilan octagonal type of the same article. And it is very hard to allocate the different types. An article may be collected on the Perak river, for instance, where Sayong and Bandar, both famous for their arts, were places strongly infected with Bugis influence and Kota Lama was an Achinese centre. The small bowl is clearly modelled on the half coconut shell and bears round its brim primitive incised patterns zigzag, key, and so on. Possibly one shape of betel casket has been modelled after the seed-pod of the lotus, the top in imitation of the natural *corolla*. Large covered bowls have a jingling open flower of cut silver petals for handle, which reminds one rather of the tops of Buddhist minarets. Modern European influence is discernible in betel and tobacco boxes hinged and on feet. And it is perhaps noteworthy that a large round slightly oval-topped box (identical in shape with Burmese specimens) has

apparently a Dutch name.¹ Squat deep spoons are founded on Chinese models. Javanese influence must have been great and is to be looked for in gold work, gold having been a royal prerogative in that type of kingdom which came by way of Palembang to Malacca and thence spread in the Peninsula to Perak, Johore, Pahang. For specimens we may take waist buckles, the *dokoh*, anklets, armlets, *këris* sheaths, all of which have specialized Javanese names, though doubtless there may be divergence from the pure Javanese types. This influence is no mystery, but is recognized by Malays themselves in such stock patterns as the *awan Jawa*. Malay foliated pattern is highly conventionalized and chaste; the Javanese pattern tends, perhaps, to be slightly florid and a shade more realistic.

It is unfortunate that the largest collection of silver in the Peninsula, that of the Taiping Museum, fails of being representative because there is hardly one big article typical of Malay work (which is distinguished not by zigzag but by concentric bands on the round tops of caskets) and because so many of the small betel-caskets exhibit just the defects of Malay silver and nothing more. For that Malay silver has its defects is indisputable. Its quality is not that of faultless execution: it is to Japanese silver work what Crivelli is to Raphael. Its beauty lies in a naive convention of design and in a naivety of execution, which charms by its revelation of an artist's individuality where flawless stereotype would leave one cold. The artist, whom his civilization makes also a rice-planter, an amateur carpenter and so on, is not a professional intent only on his art, but rather a gifted amateur pursuing his craft by fits

¹ *Kopi*. It is sometimes called *chëpu*. The uncertainty as to name shows its foreign origin.

and starts and at leisure. "When you engage one of them," writes Marsden, speaking, of course, of Sumatra, "his first request is usually for a piece of iron hoop, to make his wire-drawing instrument: an old hammer head stuck in a block serves for an anvil, and I have seen a pair of compasses composed of two old nails tied together at one end. The gold is melted in a piece of a *pèriok* or earthen rice-pot, sometimes in a crucible of their own making of common clay. In general they use no bellows, but blow the fire with their mouths through a joint of bamboo, and if the quantity of metals to be melted is considerable, three or four persons sit round their furnace, which is an old broken *kuali* or iron pot, and blow together." Obviously the border line between childlike naivety and childlike incompetency is very fine. The Malay craftsman crosses it easily enough unless his interest and enthusiasm be aroused. Writers on Indian art advert to "the tendency of all Indian craftsmen to leave their work crooked in line and unfinished in joints, to spoil a carving by allowing an ugly knot in the wood right in the centre, and so forth." There is the same trouble with the Malay. Hinges, screws, chains, soldering the fit of a lid—it is inconceivable that so good an artist could not compass such work if he set his mind to it, but the Malay has never been expert at such trifles yet. And he seldom or never does his best work on a small article. A craftsman who showed any unusual skill would not be left to execute villatic orders (which from the nature of old Malay rule were bound to be insignificant) but would be translated to the retinue of a chief, where he would be set to do work above the average, heavier, bigger, elaborate; and probably for dear life, on the rare occasions when his chief's interest was aroused, he would be doing the best he

could. The ordinary *kampong* does not contain silver-lidded bowls, kettles, or gold-sheathed daggers any more than the English cottage contains Sheraton side-boards and Dresden china; only the rich, or rather the powerful, could indulge in them. Moreover, very few Malays could afford to accumulate; old families were always giving place to new, for one thing; and when Chinese work was a fashionable novelty a family would not add specimens of it to a collection, but send their old Malay stuff to the melting-pot. Collections, till recently, hardly existed: articles were made for use at feasts, at weddings, at circumcisions, and not for the show-case. These are all facts which seem worthy of notice, because so few people appear to recognize them. They grumble at the price of large articles, overlooking their rarity and their weight, which is commonly about thirty dollars. Proud of escaping the Scylla of smooth Chinese imitation, they fall blindly into the Charybdis of rough prentice workmanship and, content that it is real Malay, triumphantly announce that they have paid dollar for dollar weight whereas rumour has it that oneself is spoiling the market by offering fifty cents more. And after all, it is something to escape the Scylla of Chinese imitation, as collectors, looking back to their early experiences, know. For the collecting of Malay silver work is a trying business as well as tedious and futile for all but the enthusiast who will devote some study to it, can wait if need be for years and has a fairly long purse. The beginner generally starts by ransacking Chinese pawnshops and buying specious imitations, too thin of shell, too neat and smooth of pattern, too finicking in workmanship for the real article. Later finding his error, he looks out for travelling Malay dealers: and they too, recognising the tyro,

attract him with bargains, which their older customers have rejected for months as of poor workmanship or doubtful origin. When anything good is brought, probably he fails to discern its worth. Surely the silver bowls he has seen in so-and-so's cupboard were very different from the dealer's specimen, black with tobacco and betel juice, dented of lid, dog-eared of rim! Surely this gold dagger-sheath in two pieces, its base broken off, a gem missing, the gold of the base inferior in colour and quality to the gold of the sheath, is very different from the neat, perfect specimen in so-and-so's case. He does not know that it took his friend days to bring the bright gloss on his silver bowl, soaking an object that looked as black as a saucepan lid in tamarind water or ammonia and brushing it with soap-suds. He did not see his friend's sheath before the goldsmith resoldered its parts, burnished it afresh and set a fresh stone in place of the missing gem. Even when he is well advanced in guile and can detect a fraud and recognize the artifice of genuine merit, he is not yet at the end of his troubles. He will buy an admirable specimen. He thanks his star that no further expenditure in that particular line will be required. Alas! after a week or so, a month or two, his dealer brings something which throws the old specimen, excellent though it be, into the shade, or exhibits a type of pattern sufficiently different to be indispensable to any collection aiming at completeness. Friends, too, will distract him with good advice, some urging him to burnish, some praising dirt and blackness; and he will not feel sure enough of his ground to answer boldly that good silver work does not require the adventitious aid of dirt and betel juice, and that Malay *repoussé* silver, however cleaned, does not shine hard and glittering like a

looking-glass, but wears a bloom as of frosted dulness. But one could expatiate on the joys and sorrows of the collector for ever.

For the process of *repoussé*. The craftsman first melts his gold or silver, as the case may be, in a clay crucible over a charcoal fire till it run fluid, when he adds a resinous substance to clear its colour. He chooses a mould of iron-stone or earthenware approximate in size and shape to the article in the making and pours in the melted metal: having previously oiled the mould so that the metal will not stick. As soon as the metal is cold, he removes it from the mould and gently hammers it on an anvil, large or small according to the size of the article, till the latter is thin and smooth and of the desired shape: for which operation the metal will be softened now and again by being reheated and then plunged into water. Next he fixes the prepared article upside down on a lump of melted rosin, taking care that there are no hollows between the rosin and the metal. For this process he employs a variety of chisels according to the decoration contemplated. Most of the pattern is wrought thus from the back of the thin metal, but finishing touches are given from the front; and in case of some of the finest work done on thick metal, like the border running round the side of a large heavy bowl for example, only the pattern in highest relief can be wrought from the back, and all niceties have to be chiselled from the outside or front.

As common as *repoussé* is a kind of filigree which is found on the neck pendant, the peacock-crowned cheese-scoop finger-ornament, the obsolete big round earring, the base of *këris*-sheaths, the ring mounting of *këris* and spear, the bosses applied to the tops of betel caskets and large round silver boxes. Here

again occur concentric rings. Within each ring is what Marsden calls floral, but what is rather foliated pattern bearing no resemblance at all to the pattern of *repoussé* work and so conventional that its resemblance to foliage is discernible but remote. This pattern is made of raised gold (or silver) wire, fine as cotton and twisted like cotton in strands. And it is, as it were, from a decorative point of view pinned down by tiny pin-heads of gold, or "fish-eggs" as the Malays name them, which are sometimes enlarged and wrought in the shape of very tiny conventional flowers. Filigree is commonly jewelled with one or more poor stones. It would seem to have come immediately from Sumatra, and Raffles states that "the Javans do not as a rule work gold into those beautiful filigree patterns common among the Malays of Sumatra." Marsden describes the process at length and observes that "there is no manufacture in the Malay Archipelago that has been more admired and celebrated than the fine gold and silver filigree of Sumatra." It is further noticeable that whereas gold filigree is found, in casket bosses especially, throughout the Peninsula, silver filigree, the existence of which would show the manufacture of filigree to be a common everyday business, is found, mainly in the Negri Sembilan. Anyhow, it is apparently a lost art in the Protected States and I must content myself with giving Marsden's description of the process. "Their method of drawing the wire differs but little from that used by European workmen. When drawn to a sufficient fineness, they flatten it by beating it on their anvil, and when flattened they give it a twist like that in the whalebone handle of a punch-ladle by rubbing it on a block of wood, with a flat stick. After twisting they beat it again on the anvil and by these means it becomes flat wire with

indented edges. With a pair of nippers they fold down the end of the wire and thus form a leaf or element of a flower in their work which is cut off. The end is again folded and cut off, till they have a sufficient number of leaves, which are all laid on singly. Patterns of the flower or foliage in which there is not very much variety, are prepared on paper, of the size of the gold plate on which the filigree is to be laid. According to this, they begin to dispose on the plate the larger compartments of the foliage, for which they use plain flat wire of the larger size, and fill them up with the leaves before mentioned. To fix their work they employ a glutinous substance, made of the small red pea with a black spot ground to a pulp on a rough stone. This pulp they place on a young coconut about the size of a walnut, the top and bottom being cut off. After the leaves have all been placed in order and stuck on bit by bit, solder is prepared of gold filings and borax moistened with water, which they strew or daub over the plate with a feather and then put it in the fire for a short time, when the whole becomes united. This kind of work on a gold plate they call *karang papan*: when the work is open, they call it *karang tirus*. In executing the latter, the foliage is laid out on a card or soft kind of wood covered with paper and stuck on, as before described, with the paste of the red seed: and the work when finished being strewed over with their solder is put into the fire when, the card or soft wood burning away, the gold remains connected. The greatest skill and attention is required in this operation, as the work is often made to run by remaining too long or in too hot a fire. If the piece be large, they solder it at several times. When the work is finished they give it that fine high colour

they so much admire, by an operation they term *sipoh*. This consists in mixing nitre, common salt and alum reduced to powder and moistened, laying the composition on the filigree and keeping it over a moderate fire till it dissolves and becomes yellow. In this situation the piece is kept for a longer or shorter time, according to the intensity of colour they wish the gold to receive. It is then thrown into water and cleansed. In the manufacture of *baju* buttons they first made the lower part flat, and having a mould formed of a piece of buffalo horn, indented to several sizes, each like one half of a bullet mould, they lay their work over one of these holes, and with a horn punch they press it into the form of the button. After this, they complete the upper part. The manner of working the little balls, with which their works are sometimes ornamented, is as follows: they take a piece of charcoal and cut it flat and smooth; they make in it a small hole, which they fill with gold dust and this melted in the fire becomes a little ball. The price of the workmanship depends on the difficulty or novelty of the pattern. In some articles of usual demand, it does not exceed one-third of the value of the gold; but in matters of fancy, it is generally equal to it."

These two methods exhaust what is commonly known as Malay silver and gold work. There is also an unimportant method of inlay, in which silver or gold wire is inset in an iron ground. It is used sometimes to ornament spear heads and I have seen it employed in the Kuala Kangsar Art School for the decoration of a stick handle. Very rarely iron betel-scissors are inlaid with some elaboration: Sir Frank Swettenham's *British Malaya* illustrates a fine specimen from Kuala Kangsar, and the Perak

Museum contains scissors so decorated in the shape of the *kuda sëmberani*. *Kërises* are sometimes inlaid with gold or silver Arabic lettering.

But by far the most interesting work in silver, next to *repoussé* and filigree, is a kind, or rather two kinds, of ware that must be called, though improperly, niello. The one¹ is made by filling with enamel or pitch a silver or brass pattern obtained by the *repoussé* method. The scroll-like patterns show no affinity with Malay design and sometimes Arabic lettering is found in the decoration: the articles come from Sumatra and the art is most popular in the Negri Sembilan, whence most specimens are brought into the market. It is an art employed mainly for the decoration of waist buckles. The pitch forms the body of the design; the silver, veins in a blue-black ground. Specimens are found, something like it in appearance but belonging to the class of inlay mentioned above, where the base is a black oxydized metal, in which a pattern is chiselled out and gold is carefully inlaid in the recesses, the oxydized metal being then hammered so as to fix the gold firmly in place. Overlooking the fact that the body is black oxydized copper, observers have incorrectly described the space between the gold lines as "filled with black enamel, which is melted and subsequently polished, leaving the design in gold and the ground² of polished black enamel."

The most ornate of all workmanship in silver is the niello² of the north of the Peninsula—a branch of art which though practised now only at Ligur in Siamese Malaya is done by Malay craftsmen who, according to the local tradition, are survivors of a body of exiles brought thence from Kedah during the wars. The articles wrought are conspicuous not only

1 *Jadam.* 2 *Chutam.*

for the grace of their pattern but for grace of shape too. Even the contour of the bowls is different from the half-coconut-shell contour of the ordinary Malay bowl. Spouted water-kettles with pivot handles and pyramidal lids are common. The lotus form predominates: it is the *motif* in large water-bottle stands, in bud-shaped slender vases, in pedestal dishes: but it is not found in the decoration, of which there are two species; one consisting of a delicate formal leafy tracery the other of a bolder patterning in which are introduced snakes, squirrels, deer, mythical figures. The best account I have seen occurs in Mr. P. A. Thompson's "Lotus Land." "From the twelfth or thirteenth century A.D.," he writes, I know not on what evidence, "the art of making nielloware flourished at Ligur, the modern Nakawn Sri Tamarat, and lasted until the middle of the eighteenth century. This ware is made of silver. The vessel is filled with cutch and the pattern is traced upon it with a graver. The ground is then hammered down, leaving the ornament in low relief. Then it is inlaid with niello, which brings the ground up to the level of the ornamentation, so that the outer surface of the vessel is smooth and the designs appear in silver upon a black ground. In the oldest pieces the ware was left in this state, but later it became the fashion to gild the silver so that the outer surface was black and gold. In some of the best examples both gilding and the natural colour of the silver are employed in the designs with great effect. The interior of the vessel was always left plain and the reflex of the design shows through upon it. The black ground or niello filling was prepared by melting together in a crucible lead, silver, copper and sulphur. The resultant black mass, consisting of metallic sulphides of the three metals, was powdered and

fused into the hollows of the vessel, using borax as a flux. A similar method of decoration was practised in Persia, whence it was introduced into Russia, and in Italy the art was known as early as the ninth century A.D. In these countries, however, the pattern appears to have always been engraved in the metal, whereas in Siam it was hammered. Favourite figures on the old bowls were the mythical monsters Rachasi and Kochasi, who long ago lived on the earth, but when they saw men rode the horse and the elephant they became afraid that they too would be ridden, so they fled to the Himalaya fairy-land. More modern pieces were generally covered with a formal leafy design and less and less of the black background became visible. Niello ware is still made to a very limited extent, but the patterns have become coarser and the gilding is in larger masses than in the old work."

Apparently it is the craftsmen who wrought this niello ware that have also produced some silver-gilt work adorned with coloured enamel dots and leaves, sometimes with fine effect but oftener tawdry.

Niello is a very beautiful ware, but the gilding lends it an element of sham and impermanency; the plain silver interior contrasts incongruously with the gilt outside and the designs, exquisitely graceful as they are, lack the chastity of what in its finer examples is perhaps the crown of Malay art in metal, *repoussé* silver work. Not in niello, not in delicate microscopic filigree, but in the best *repoussé* only result stands commensurate with effort, sufficient, neat, and beautiful.

It looks as if the hungry generations have trodden down niello and filigree irrevocably into the limbo of forgotten arts. *Repoussé* silver-work is done still and we lend it the helping hand of subsidy and of our indifferent approval. Will it survive? By all

historical analogy its demise cannot long be delayed if the work is pursued on present lines. What European would adopt the profession of goldsmith, if it consisted in making snuff-boxes for a few eccentric collectors? Yet we expect the Malay to work with all the zeal of his ancestors at producing betel-boxes, spear-hasps and drinking-bowls, which are now hardly more part of the furniture of his generation than snuff-boxes are part of ours. Conservative connoisseurs may decry change; but, humanly speaking, the only chance for Malay silver-work is, if we can suggest to the smith that the patterns of his huge obsolete waist-buckles would serve admirably for the back of hand-glasses and hair-brushes, that he should make cigarette-cases instead of betel-caskets, watch-cases instead of round tobacco boxes. The difficulty is that we have got to find a certain market for his wares, and to convince him that he can get this we must prove to him that there is a constant demand for them among his own countrymen. As yet there never has been such a demand: for his craft was perfected under a feudal system.

SPINNING, DYEING AND WEAVING.

Spinning is almost, if not quite, a thing of the past now; but formerly various fibres—pineapple, plantain, palm, as well as cotton—were spun into thread. The process of separating cotton fibre was performed by means of a small wooden hand-mangle, consisting of two rollers, whose revolution in opposite directions ejected the hard seed. The next thing was to divide the clinging fibre, and this was effected as in India, by means of a bamboo bow,¹ which being

¹ *Bussar*.

twanged over a pile of it drove the soft fluff into a separate heap. The fluff was then rolled out and one end of a roll attached to a spindle and spun into thread by means of a spinning wheel. The completed thread was wound off the wheel on to a winder¹ and later removed thence and stretched taut between two horizontal hanging bamboos, where it was brushed and starched with rice-paste. After that operation it was ready for dyeing.

Formerly vegetable dyes were always employed of necessity. Raw Chinese silk was purchased, bleached with a lye made of water and ashes of the husk of the durian, or silk-cotton, or of the fruit-stalks of the coconut-palm; rinsed and dried. Colouring matter was prepared by an infusion of bark or leaves: for red, sticklac;² for yellow, turmeric, or the root of the *kědèrang*; for blues and blacks, indigo leaves or mangrove bark. Purples and violets were got by the admixture of sticklac and indigo; greens by admixture of turmeric with an infusion of chips of *kědèrang* or shoots of the young *rambutan*; grey by just dipping in indigo; orange by just dipping in sticklac. Lime was used to darken blues and yellows; immersion in fermented coconut milk to darken purple and black. A solution of alum in water and the acid fruit of the *asam gèluaur* fixed the colours. Different countries used different dyes according as they were inland or on the sea; Raman, for want of mangrove bark, had to be content with indigo leaves. Vegetable dyes were not supplanted all at once. Probably local scarcity of bark or leaf may have been the thin end of the wedge: the trouble in producing secondary colours and pure tones must have helped; at Sitiawan Mr. Wray found sticklac and turmeric in use for the production of reds and yellows, aniline dyes for green and blue. The

¹ *Leks.*

² *Malos.*

natural depravity of man did the rest, and from the æsthetic point of view the essential beauty of much Malay silk has departed. Apparently it was not taste, but lack of the means to sin, as Mr. Wray suggests, that saved the weaver of old from colours that sear the eyeballs of the elect: if further evidence were needed, it lies before us in the fact that taste is the product of quarters where foreign influences prevail and home fabrics are hardly worn. "You are fair my dear: why do you affect light-coloured shawls? Why not wear rich greens and reds?" I overheard a Malay lady of the old school say to a girl from the Colony. "Am I a red-crested green jungle parrot?" was the reply.

Whether¹ the thread is home-made or bought European the skein² has to be wound on to a spool³ to be inserted in the weaving shuttle⁴ of hollow bamboc closed at one end. This is done by slipping it over a large loose cylindrical wheel or winder⁵ revolving on a pivot against a wooden upright fixed in a heavy stand, and attaching one end of the thread to a fibre or rattan spool fixed transversely at a little distance from another cylindrical wheel,⁶ which is turned by a handle and revolves the spool rapidly by means of a driving cord. For laying the warp, the weaver employs a couple of parallel beams placed on the floor and having fixed in them a number of long upright wooden pegs; the parallel beams are connected in the centre by means of a sliding beam at right angles to them; and the whole⁷ represents as it were a squat capital "H," of which the cross stroke can be drawn out to any length; it is always drawn out to the desired length of the warp. Above it from the roof there is suspended

¹ The whole process of unravelling (*gombak*) the thread is called *mjnera*. ² *Unting*. ³ *Buloh pilling*. ⁴ *Torak*. ⁵ *Buing*.
⁶ *Kahat* (Hind.) ⁷ and

horizontally an oblong rack¹ about four feet long and a foot wide, the long side of the frame being bored at equal distances to admit the insertion of spools on which thread has been wound. Thread is drawn down from these overhead spools, carried to and fro between the parallel beams on the floor and dropped at each end, one inside and the other outside the upright pegs alternately, so that the threads cross each other midway: threads of different colours are chosen from the different spools according to the pattern desired for the warp. The requisite number and variety of threads having been laid, the warp is ready for mounting on the loom.

The Malay loom is practically identical with the English hand-loom. Throughout the Archipelago, in the Peninsula, in Sumatra and in Java it would seem to be neater and better made than the loom used in India: and the weaver, instead of sitting in holes dug in the ground, sits on a raised flooring or on a cross-bench, her legs stretched out under the web. In the Peninsula, it is the northern states, Patani, Kelantan, Trengganu, that are famous for their weaving, and in the southern states the craft has only been carried on by immigrants from the north or by immigrants from Sumatra. There are some few differences in the technical terms, and the Peninsular loom is far more handy than the frameless, treadleless loom described by Marsden and illustrated in Hurgonje's book on the Achinese. "One end of the warp being made fast to a frame, the whole is kept tight and the web stretched out by means of a species of yoke, which is fastened behind the body when the person weaving sits down. . . (The beddles) cross each other up and down to admit the woof, not from the extremities as in our looms nor effected by the feet.

¹ *Pingam*: (ant. *Panjani*, Hind.)

but by turning edgeways two flat sticks which pass between them.¹ The description does not fit the loom used now in the Peninsula nor does it fit the Batu Bara loom, which differs but slightly from the northern loom. The weaver of the Peninsula works sitting on a bench fitted to one end of the loom frame,² with the warp, across which the woof³ is to be interwoven, extending away from her horizontally in the Batu Bara pattern, slanting downwards from her in the loom of the northern states, the latter looking to give a better command over the work. The further ends of the warp thread are wound round a yarn-beam⁴ or transverse board fixed in grooved side-posts⁵ that hold it vertically or slantingly according as the loom is the Batu Bara or Peninsula pattern. The yarn-beam may be drawn forward or backward by means of ropes running along the sides of the frame in Batu Bara looms, or in the Peninsula looms by the neater contrivance of a transverse bamboo⁶ tied parallel to it by sliding movable strings and fastened taut to the frame end by only one rope in the centre; this latter contrivance making the process of moving the yarn-beam to and fro simpler. No yoke is required behind the weaver's back to tauten the web, the nearer end of which is fastened on a transverse cloth-beam fixed securely in the outer wooden frame and the further end by means of yarn-beam and rope just described. One or more transverse laths⁷ are pushed in and out the threads of the warp to keep them in order: or a large weaver's sword⁸ inserted if it is desired to use special shuttles⁹ for gold thread. And the warp is

¹ Both hand and thread looms are used by the Dyaks and the former are said to turn out better woven cloth (Lang Roth, vol. II, p. 50).

² *Akik* or *bik*.

³ *Pakan*.

⁴ *Pagan gulong*.

⁵ *Paseng*.

⁶ *Kayu pênarek*.

⁷ *Biléban: gúligin*.

⁸ *Bilera*.

⁹ *Chuban*.

controlled by means of a pair of heddles¹ or vertical frames (a double pair may be used for complicated patterns) each of them carrying half as many loops made of white unbleached thread as there are strands in the warp. The strands of the warp alternately miss a loop in the one heddle and pass through a loop in the other; pass through a loop in the one heddle and miss a loop in the other. The heddles depend from bars across the upper frame of the loom by means of strings, one see-saw wooden yoke² commanding them both and moving up at one end and down at the other like the beam of a pair of scales, as the weaver presses down one heddle or the other with her feet by means of two treadles³ or cross sticks which hang attached from each heddle by cords. The lowering of one heddle lowers every alternate strand and raises the other, a passage thus being left for the shuttle over one set and under the other set of strands. That heddle being allowed to rise and the other huddle being pressed down, a return passage is left for the shuttle over those threads of the warp⁴ which it passed under and under those threads which it passed over before. The threads of the woof are pressed by the weaver towards her and into position by a comb⁵ suspended in a vertical frame⁶ from a cross-bar on the top of the loom frame, and on the fineness of this comb the quality of the texture depends. As the cloth is woven, it is wound round the cloth-beam.⁷

The colour scheme or pattern of Malay fabrics is secured in various ways. Tartan, chequer and stripe patterns result merely from the arrangement in warp

¹ *Karap.* ² *Chamang* (Perak), *kuda-kuda* (Batu Bara). ³ *Jajak karap.* ⁴ *Lonsan.* ⁵ *Sisir* (Batu Bara); *sikat*; *jantra.* ⁶ *Glamp.*
⁷ *P'isa.*

and woof of the dyed thread. These are the simplest patterns. Did they accompany the race in its migration from the north? The *kain Champa* is of draught-board pattern and Patani and Kelantan still produce coarse tartan skirts of vegetable fibre; the tartan must have been long and firmly established to resist the invasion of Javanese fashions, which succeeded only in ousting the tartan head-kerchief.

Then there is another style, which would appear to be peculiar to the north, and hardly affected south of Perak; which is found not only in sarongs, but more particularly in that shoulder-scarf which was the forerunner of the jacket. Parallels to the technical process are to be found in the dyeing of Dyak textiles,¹ and, according to Raffles, in the dyeing of coarse yarn curtains in Java. The silk so dyed and woven in Kelantan, Trengganu, Pahang, marks the perfection of this kind of work and is evidently the product of a high civilization. Its colours are a rich blend of reds, yellows and greens, the shape of the pattern, if closely inspected, bearing a distant resemblance to the "lime," from which it has acquired its name. As a rule no gold thread is interwoven. I cannot do better than quote Mr. Wray's description of the work as he saw it done by a Kelantan Malay. "The patterns are produced by a process of tie and dye, but unlike the Indian method, it is the warp threads before weaving which are tied and dyed and not the woven cloth. . . A frame is constructed of four pieces of bamboo tied together with rattan or string so that it can be taken to pieces easily. The silk is wound on this frame till there is judged to be sufficient for the warp of the intended cloth. It is then separated into distinct bundles of perhaps

¹ Ling Roth's "Natives of Sarawak, B. N. Borneo" (vol. II, p. 20).

one hundred threads each and these bundles are tied at either end of the frame; where a strip of the same pattern is repeated in the design, larger bundles of threads are required for that portion than when it only occurs once. Then the covering up with waxed thread for narrow bands of colour and with strips of banana stem for broad bands is begun, the thread or banana stem being bound tightly round the bundles of silk-thread in such a way as to expose only the portion of warp that is intended to form the ground colour. Two strings are then threaded through the loops of the bundles (in place of the bamboo frame which is untied) so that the position of the bundles may remain the same during the process of dyeing. The ground portion having been dyed, the parts which are to be, say, blue are unwrapped. These are next dyed, and so on until finally the white parts are untied. By this method the whole of the threads for the warp have a pattern produced on them. They are then put in the loom and woven in the ordinary manner with a woof of threads of the ground colour. The effect of these *kain limau* cloths is very charming and harmonious and a great deal of their beauty is undoubtedly due to the woof being of the ground colour, so that each portion of the pattern is mixed with their colour, whereby all crudity of tint is avoided."

The tartan and "lime" would seem to be the only two patterns to which the Peninsula can perhaps lay claim as distinctive of its civilizations, though there are many others now made in it. Of these others, by far most important is the style of the cloth of gold for which Batu Bara and Palembang are famous; for not only are there many of these Sumatran weavers in the Peninsula but their work is imitated closely in the looms of Trengganu, though the silk

is thin and of inferior quality : sometimes gold thread ornament is superadded on the lime pattern. "For the most part," Mr. Wray writes, describing the technical process, "gold thread is only applied to the woof, though occasionally a few strands are laid in amongst the warp, so as to produce longitudinal lines of gold in the cloth. When simple straight transverse lines or bands are desired, the gold thread is used in the ordinary way in the shuttle, but where detached floral or other patterns are required, separate bobbins of gold thread are used and the thread is inserted where required as the weaving progresses, one bobbin being used for each line of flowers or other adornments : as many as thirty or forty bobbins may be used for the weaving of one width of highly ornate cloth." In this style, the silk ground is most often a rich red, sometimes having a faint chequer traced in sparse white, blue or black threads, generally plain and dependent for beauty on the small geometrical and floral patterns interwoven in gold thread with a mass of gold thread decoration at edge and on the *képala sarung*.

What is obviously an imitation of this is made in Patani and Pahang by a process of gilding, similar to one employed in the Punjab. The name for the gold-leaf is Portuguese. "The cloth, which is usually of some dark-coloured indistinct plaid, is starched and then polished by laying it on a piece of hard smooth wood¹ and pushing a cowry shell, attached to a strong wooden spring, over it. . . . The upper end of the spring is attached to the rafters of the house-roof. . . . A number of wooden stamps, with portions of patterns carved on them, are used by covering their surface with a gummy substance and impressing them on the cloth. Gold

¹ One informant states it is waxed.

leaf is then laid on the sticky impressions and when the gum is dry it is dusted off except where it adheres to the pattern. It is then burnished with a cowry shell. . . . The cloth cannot be washed. The whole process is very similar to the gilding of book-binding." The effect is good, though the work cannot stand beside the woven cloth of gold either for beauty or for service. The 'polished' cloth suggests a Bugis origin.

Last and latest of the processes practised in the Peninsula is a method introduced apparently at a recent date into Singapore by Boyanese craftsmen and thence copied by nimble imitators of Trengganu. Its fabrics¹ are gaudy and meretricious and, like most things with those attributes, exceedingly popular. Being an easier and cheaper process and of lighter, more comfortable texture, and its colour scheme giving scope for the use of every hue of aniline dye, it is, alas, supplanting the richer and clasher *kain limau* on the heads and shoulders of the fair. It also is made by a process similar to one found in the Punjab. "The silk is spread on a table having a padded top. The pattern is imprinted in outline only by means of carved wooden stamps; the stamp is pressed on a pad of wet rag impregnated with red ferruginous earth brought from Kling shops (*khaci*), such as is used by Hindus for making their caste-marks. The stamp, having been charged with colour, is rubbed on a stiff brush which is fastened with its bristles upwards on the tray containing the pigmented pad. The stamp, after brushing, is applied to the cloth. The stamps are small, containing only a single flower or a portion of a border, and considerable judgment and skill is required to build up the pattern with them. The outline thus formed in rather pale-red

¹ *Kain pitang* or *kain Jawa*.

lines which wash out in the subsequent process. The cloth may be single, but usually several thicknesses are tacked together at their edges and are done at once, the upper one alone having the outline printed on it. The outlined cloth is given to women who prepare it for the dyers. A good deal of the pattern is produced by stitching the cloth firmly together in puckers, and larger spaces which are intended not to take the dye are tied up tightly in pieces of the skin of the leafstalk of the banana, the workers of course being guided by the outlined pattern which has been printed on the cloth; the tied cloth is then given back to the dyers who immerse it for a short time in the dye for the ground colour (usually yellow, green and red). The cloth is then allowed to dry, the tying and stitching undone and all the threads pulled out. It now presents the appearance of a coloured cloth with a white pattern on it. It is next stretched on a short-legged wooden frame and patterns in different coloured dyes brushed in in free-hand on the white spaces left and some on to coloured ground. It is then ready for sale."

Finally, though it is not practised by Peninsular Malays, it may be not out of place to quote Raffles' description of the art of painting *batek* cloth, and by doing so to summarize all the branches of the art of weaving and dyeing known to the Malay race. Several kinds¹ of *batek* skirt are popular in the Peninsula which can be identified by pattern, texture and smell. "White cloths are steeped in rice-water to prevent the colours from running," Raffles tells us, "and when they are dried and smoothed (calendered) commences the process of the *batek* which gives the name. This is performed with hot wax in a liquid state, contained in a small and light vessel either of

¹ *Batek lëam, batek gërech, batek kalangan; batek Jawa.*

copper or silver holding about an ounce and having a small tube of about two inches long through which the liquid wax runs out in a small stream. . . . The different patterns are traced out on both sides of the cloth with running wax. When the outline of the pattern is thus finished, such parts of the cloth as are intended to be preserved white or to receive any other colour than the general ground are covered in like manner with the liquid wax and then the piece is immersed in whatever coloured dye may be intended for the ground of the pattern." The patterns are painted or printed into the white spaces thus left.

If we adopt the standard of comparative criticism, Malay weaving is the most beautiful, unique and valuable of the industries considered in this pamphlet, and since, at least for women, the skirt is hardly likely to be supplanted, it should not be hard to make it a live flourishing industry. Have we adopted any practical steps to show the Malay that it can be self-supporting and that it can give us fabrics without peer for colour and pattern! Are we not inclined to be conservative where we should be liberal in our views, and liberal just where we should be most conservative! I speak under correction, but if Europe can give us a hand-loom capable of producing textures as fine in less time than the Malay loom can produce them, let us by all means welcome and support it: the Malay will not be backward to accept. Then instead of maintaining one complacent old lady dozing over her loom with the indifference that comes of undisputed sway, let us stimulate the rivalry and intelligence of pupil and teacher by having exponents of all methods of weaving and dyeing, even Javanese women to teach the art of painting *batek* cloth. Let us, instead of turning the weaving mistress into an old age pensioner, show her

that it is the stuff as much or more than the weaving that commands a living wage, that it takes no longer to produce a silk *sarong* than to produce a cotton one, that silk is after all cheap and a month's work on a silk *sarong* will bring her twenty dollars, and a month's work on cotton only as many cents. Above all, in every Government institution instant dismissal should be the penalty for using aniline dyes and indulging in colour schemes crude and violent enough to break the comb of the loom. If the Malay can get to know that he should be proud of his vegetable dyes and that fabrics coloured with them can command a price, race respect may be left to do the rest. Circumstance, fate if you like, may be against him, but he and we shall have done our best.

CORD-MAKING.

The jungle Malay has many ingenious substitutes for cord and rope. He will plait strips of green hide to fetter the newly-trapped elephant; he will use rattan for binding together the timbers of his house, for the stays for his boat, the leading-cord in his buffalo's nose. He will make rope of a black fibre¹ for driving fish, of pineapple fibre for fishing lines; and his children will use string of fibrous bark² for their spinning tops. Cotton spinning, as we have seen, is practically an extinct craft: but rough cord-making is still practised by fishermen. Mr. Wray has described two methods. "In one a slender stick is fastened into a pear-shaped piece of hard wood and in the other a piece of tin is cast on the end of it. The stick is the spindle and the wood or tin is the whorl."

¹ Tali ijok, i. vilap.

² E.g., tali kulit serap.

These implements are whirled by placing them on the thigh, which is held in a slanting position, and rapidly pushing the open hand downward along the thigh, a rotary motion thus being given to the spindle." Mr. Wray further speaks of a "much more complicated apparatus used in Pahang, a very ingenious contrivance for twisting three strands at one time by pulling a cord backwards and forwards." As a matter of fact, the apparatus is not confined to Pahang: it is found, for instance, in the Dindings also. It consists of a heavy lidless and bottomless box¹, with three revolving sticks² athwart and inside it, about eight inches apart, their ends piercing and projecting a few inches beyond the sides of the box. To each of these three ends a strand is tied and carried away from the box a little farther than the length of string desired over some squat "telegraph posts" so to speak, with three reels³ each to keep the strands apart; the further ends of the three strands being tied together to a lump of wood that is sometimes fitted with wheels so that it may draw near as the strands are twisted and shorten in length. The three thwart sticks are controlled by a cord tied round each of them and so arranged about a bamboo thwart beyond, that pulling to and fro keeps the thwarts revolving always in the same direction and twists the strands attached to their ends. In the case of rope, the completed cord may be doubled by hand, three double strands tied as above described and the process repeated again. Completed rope will be tanned with bark, before it is used for lines or netting.

¹ *Penggerek.*

² *Kayu pnyering.*

³ *Kilai.*

EMBROIDERY.

It is related of Turner the artist that on the occasion of his giving a dinner, when his housekeeper said she had got a leg of lamb and asked him what else she should order, he replied, "Another leg of lamb, I suppose, if one is not enough." The Malay has evolved his costume on the same simple lines; "Another skirt, my dear," we can imagine the primitive Malay male replying to the primitive Malay belle, when she asked him what she should wear as an upper garment: and his decision ruled down to quite recent times, so that it is no wonder to find that the Malay lady has little inclination for plain sewing—happy the oriental woman that she has not inherited a legacy of toil, due partly to climate but largely to lack of taste and neatness in design. For the pleasure of fancy-work, on the other hand, she exhibits both aptitude and liking. Embroidery¹ of various kinds is employed to adorn the fringe of the mosquito curtain at marriages, pillow-ends, the small ceremonial napkins referred to on every page of the *Malay Annals*, which are thrown over betel-nut utensils at court and at betrothals, over a raja's drinking bowl and over the shoulders of court attendants. The invariable use of embroidered cloths at court, as well as the Sanskrit name of the curtain fringe, probably points to an Indian origin for the art: and the Chinese chronicles of the tenth century tell us how kings of Sumatra with Indian names wore "flowered silk adorned with pearls," used "canopies of feathers and embroidered curtains." Many divers influences, however, must have been at work to produce the modern styles of embroidery. Chinese art must have long made itself felt: the chronicles tell

¹ *Tikat, sulam; suj*

how an emperor, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, sent kings of Malacca "velvets, silks and gauzes embroidered with gold," "suits of clothes embroidered with dragons, and one suit with *kilins*." Antique belts of scarlet cloth and silk trousers are still to be found beaded and with inlet discs of coloured glass, adornments that distinguish embroidered Chinese banners also. They are the exact counterpart of garments described in folk-tales at least three hundred years old; of Awang Sulong's trousers, for example :

"Round the feet, a hundred discs,
Round the waist, a thousand patterns;
Little gores with little discs;
Larger gores with larger discs."

Very rarely a woman's shoulder-scarf may be seen, the ends woven plain and decorated with silk embroidery. Nowadays, however, embroidery is hardly ever used for the adornment of garments, but is reserved for the aforesaid appurtenances of court life. At the marriage of a raja of standing, as much as five hundred dollars will be expended on embroidered articles, on the long sleeping mats for him and his bride, their round pillows and their flat pillows, the fringe on the mosquito curtain, the fringe on the stand for their drinking vessels, the ceremonial sitting mats, their praying mats, the conical dish-covers¹: the cost of material alone probably reaches three hundred dollars at least. The art would seem to flourish at its best at Bandar on the Perak river and at Kuala Kangsar: and the workmanship of their mats, which will find Malay purchasers

¹ Called *adai-badai*.

at as much as two hundred and fifty dollars for a single specimen, is the admiration and envy of other countries at industrial shows. It is the one art above all others for which Perak can claim now to be distinguished and in which the present generation can boast of excelling the work of its ancestors; and it is fine enough to challenge rivalry in any country: the patterns are chaste, the colours rich and well assorted, the workmanship exquisite.

As I have said, various kinds exist and a single decade will see one fashion ousted and another reinstated. Till lately embroidery in raised relief, perhaps a novelty from Europe, was the fashion in Perak, commanding in price half as much again as the old flat surface embroidery, which I understand is now in vogue once more. It is impossible to lay one's figure accurately on the home of styles so mixed and many. The earliest type may have been that where patterns cut in different coloured stuffs were hemmed neatly on to a ground material.¹ The precious metals, as we have seen, were employed in place of lace, and in the bo-leaf fringe *repoussé* silver plates are commonly inset in the leaves. Sequins and discs of coloured glass from China would naturally succeed to these. A trashy substitute with poor folk is gilt paper patterning, the edges secured by stitching. The mosquito curtain-fringe, purses, and often watch-pockets and slippers, are covered with bead-work, all but the first clearly showing Chinese influence. Napkins, pillow-ends and mats are decorated mostly with embroidery in silk, or (apparently in modern times only) in raised² gold thread. For the method of this raised work: the

1 *Tibat bertampang.*

2 *Suji timbul.*

uniformity of running pattern is ingeniously secured by drawing one section on a piece of paper, folding it several times against uncut paper and then cutting through the folded papers so as to give the design in duplicate or more as required: the open-work scroll thus obtained is placed on a larger piece of paper, where the rest of the pattern has already been drawn in free-hand, and used to guide the drawing of the uniform foliated scroll in its place within the larger design. The paper in its final shape is cut into open-work, the open spaces to be the plain background and the paper scroll remaining to be the embroidered pattern. The open-work pattern is then tacked on the material, which has been lined with canvas and stretched on a wooden frame which it is anathema for male-folk to touch—"let not the axe venture near the embroidery frame," runs a Malay proverb. In the case of raised embroidery, the pattern is cut in cardboard and line pattern is secured by stitching one or more piece of *rotan sęga* fined down into cord by being pulled through holes punched in thin iron, large to small successively. Gold thread is never stabbed through the material, but carried to and fro on a winder and stitched across the surface of the pattern by means of a needle and coloured thread.

The old simple foliated and conventional Malay patterns are admirable; and what service Europe has done the art in the way of material and craftsmanship, it has, alas! more than counteracted by introducing the bane of crude realism in design. Realism, however, is to be found chiefly in horrid samplers and on trifles like slippers: the large embroidered mats and pillow-ends are untouched and extraordinarily fine.

LACE

Lace requires little notice. It is manufactured in Palembang and in the Peninsula at Malacca. The word for it¹ is Portuguese, and the Malay name for the small lace edging² now made is merely descriptive of anything notched and zigzag. Technical terms for the pillows, hobbins and so on employed by the workers do not help us at all to the history of the art, being the ordinary Malay terms for similar objects no matter what their use: "the bat's elbow" for vandyke or chevron pattern, "the leech's stomach" for bar stitch, "the lotus blossom" for flower pattern, "the water-course" for interspaces, are very common descriptions of designs in weaving, carving and silver work. Letting alone its Portuguese name, it is obvious, from the nature of Malay dress, that lace is exotic and alien to the genius of the people.

The art would seem never to have been of much account, and now it has deteriorated into making a niggling silk lace edging of no delicacy of tissue and of colours mixed without taste or restraint: an edging detrimental to the neatness of the veils and handkerchiefs on which they are sewn. "Fifty years ago," writes Mrs Bland, "really fine cotton pillow lace was made in Malacca and worn by chiefs and hajis on coats and trousers, and it may still be seen occasionally at weddings, but with the use of European clothing has more or less disappeared. The present generation are content to use nine to nineteen hobbins, while their grandmothers and great aunts used fifty to one hundred or even more. Moreover, they have lost all their patterns, all their fine hobbins and even their pillows. The white ants have

¹ Renda. ² ~~Butu~~.

consumed them all . . . They never seem to have made white edgings; all their white laces being insertions joined together for trouser borders."

Mrs. Bland further adds, "The pillow¹ is of the simplest description—a rough wooden sloping stool, padded with cloth and stuffed with sawdust . . . The bobbins² are made of wood, horn or ivory . . . The patterns³ are pricked out in paper . . . The most common stitch is the fastening stitch⁴: it does not resemble the torchon 'half stitch' or 'whole stitch,' but seems to be original."

1 *Bantal* 2 *Bunak* 3 *Achuan* (or *stempel*) 4 *Ikatan*:
other stitches or sections of pattern, from foot of the lace to the top
given are *puchak* or *kipas*, *bunak sirih*, *ikatan kipas*, *penyambut*, *pirat*
lintah, *tali ayer*, *kaki*.

APPENDICES.

I.—THE HOUSE.

DARI HAL MEMBUAT RUMAH.

(1). *Pärkakas*.—(zaman dahulu; bëliyong, përpatil.) Gërgaji parang, g. tangan. Këtam jantan, k. bëtina, k. lis, k. chuchi, k. përapat. Pahat kuku, p. këchil, p. bësar. Kapak. Pëngorek. Banchi tarah tiang. Bënanng arang.

(2). Pachak tiang aëri. Lima batang tiang itu. Tiang aërambi gantong tiga batang: tiang aërambi sama naik tiga batang. Buboh rasok. Buboh gëlëgar. Buboh lantai. Buboh bëndul. Buboh jënanng pintu. Buboh alang di-atas këpala tiang. Buboh gulong alang panjang. Buboh tunjok langit. Buboh tulang bumbong. Ruloh kasau jantan. Buboh pënindeh kasau jantan. Buboh kayu panjang. Buboh anak kasau këchil. Pasang atap. Pasang rabong përapat. Buboh tebar layar. Buboh jënanng dënding. Buboh rëmbat. Buboh jërëjak dinding. Buboh dinding. Buboh samir apit dëngan nibong. Bawah rumah buboh pënyambut. Buboh tongkat. Atas rumah sëkat-sëkat buat bilek. Di-bawah alang buboh pëlari tikus. Buboh pintu. Buboh tangga.

(3). *Mëmbuat atap*.—Tëtak nipah di-rintis daun bësar-bësar-nya. Sudah rintis, chari nibong gigi bëlalang sa-tëngah masak sa-tëngah muda. Buat mëngkawan panjang tëngah lima. Këmudian di-bëntok daun nipah di-atas bëngkawan; sëmat dëngan bëmban atau rotan lalu jëmur.

II.—BOATING TERMS

Below I give lists of words proper to boats and yachting:

(a). A list of words, whose meanings are to be found in Mr. Wilkinson's Abridged Dictionary, (b) a list of words taken from other sources, notably from the same author's large Dictionary and from MS. accounts of boating taken down by him and kindly lent to me, and also from the list at the end of Mr. Warrington Smyth's Article. I have not included words given in foot-notes to my text. Words marked with an asterisk are not real Malay, but 'lascar' terms.

(a). *Amban*, *andakkan*, *andohan*, *anggol*, *angkok*, *angin* (q.v.) *anja*, *apil*, * *aria*, *aris*, *atong*; *bĕranda*, *bedar*, *belok*, *bom*, *bubutan*; *chachi*, *chanda*, *chandit*, *chanting*, *chĕkar*, *chĕlaga*, *chĕmat*, *chĕpu*, *chiau*; *dandan*, *daman*, *dayong*, *dogang*, *duga*; *ĕmpul*; *gandong*, *gebeng*, *gĕgua*, *gĕladak*, *gĕladir*, *gĕlĕmat*, *gĕliong*, *gilis*, *gubang*; *jalak*, *jĕgong*, *jĕrambah*, *jĕrobong*,* *jib*, *jongkong*, *jongor*; *kakap*, *kalas*,* *kapi*, *katir*, *kĕlat*, *kĕlĕpat*, *kĕlĕndara*, *kĕlikir*, *kĕliti*, *kĕlulus*, *kĕlower* (Dutch) *kĕmpang*, *kĕpoh*, *kĕtiap*, *kĕrakah*, *kehel*, *kiap*, *kimbul*, *kolek*, *konq*, *kotak*, *kuku*, *kumai*, *kurong*; *labĕrang*, *labuh*, *langkup*, *lauchang*, *leper-leper*, *linggis*, *liu*; *magun*, *mereng*, *mota*; *oleng*, *ongkak*; *pal*, *palkah*, *pakal*, *pantok*, *pating*, *payang*, *pĕngapoh*, *pĕdeua-kan*, *pĕnchalang*, *pĕruan*, *pĕrum*, *pelang*, *peper*, *pias*, *pĕlau*, *rĕlang*, *rĕmbat*, *riang*, *ris*; *sadak*, *sadau*, *sangkal*, *sanggal*, *sauh* (q.v.) *susang*,**takal*, *taul*, *tĕmberang*; *undak*; *wangkang*, *wet*.

(b). *Ambat*, the breadth of a sail as measured by the bolt-rope *aniang-anjing*. (1) small nooses at the bottom of a boat's stays, (2) the stick at the end of the rope opposite the *chucki*, (3) tack-ring for sail fixed in *chabang guling*.

Angkul-angkul.—(1) metal ring for setting up stays to or belaying tack of sail both fore and aft, (2) the ornamental 'bit' across the stem of the *kolek* only, with crab's eyes lashed in position.

Arang-arang, the ring to which the stays of a ship are fastened.

Babar, spread (of a sail).

Bantal, rest, support.

Bam, cross rudder-head, thwart supporting mast—*bari* (S'pore).

Bĕlibat, a double-headed paddle.

Bĕkas pĕngumpil, crutch for steering paddle.

Bĕngku-bĕngku (*kajang*) crutches or solid forks for supporting awning, stepped in joints of bamboo.

Birai, a thin sharp boat-side as distinct from broad gunwale.

Bĕrmat, a one-masted sailing boat.

Buah bĕrĕmbang, truck or cap at top of mast.

Chabang guling, horizontal fork bow and stern gunwale piece.

Chadak, sloping of masts (Selangor).

Chadi, outriggers.

Chauas, an oar used on a raft.

Chämpëlong, a long paddling canoe (Sumatra).

Chupur, hole for mast.

Dangok, to be high aground stern only floating.

* *Dapëras*, a rope fender for protecting the ship's side.

* *Gai pëlang jib*, bowsprit stays.

Gaing, a false keel not extending along the whole length of the true keel, a sort of shallow fin-keel of wood.

Gandar, shank of anchor, shaft of oar.

Gula, rattan grommets or oar loops.

Jëmpu-jëmpu, ensign-staff step

Jërubong, *jërubong*, *bumbong*, matting awning for goods on deck.

Jëréba, to lay a ship on its side (for caulking).

Jilak, store-room in the bows of a native boat.

Kalok paku, figure-head

Kan, the ornamental balustrade of the *dandan*.

Kapa, a sort of very temporary gunwale

Këladak, a locker (Kedah).

Këladau, cable-bits extending across bows on which cable is wound.

Këtam këmudi, a peculiar oval block with two holes in it used with paddle rudder.

Layar, (see Abridged Dictionary) and *layar batang*, a triangular sail like a lateen sail, in Pahang the commonest form of Malay rectangular sail, *layar bulu ayam*, a kind of balanced lug with short well-peaked gaff and long boom; *layar gawai*, a top sail; *layar pëngapoh*, top sail; *layar pënyorong*, a mizzen sail; *layar puchok jala*, a 'shoulder of mutton' sail; *layar top*, a lug sail; *layar sëmandëra*, a sprit sail; *layar sokong*, a stay sail; *layar apit*, a batten lug; *layar tanjong* = *l. batang*.

Lëpar, horizontal poles on which ends of *këjang* rest, supported on *tupang*.

Liang kumbang, limber holes, spaces left underneath the ribs for the passage of water to the boiling well.

Linting, *pëlinting*, (Sing.) the name given to a short wooden bar upon which the oars of a Malay boat are placed.

Mantil, a rope to hold the sail when it is lowered.

Mata kĕtam, short sticks with knobs on them, thus resembling a crab's eyes on stalks fitted into the *angkul-angkul*.

Murah, the lower fastening of a sail.

Papan tĕrapit, the strake next to *apit lĕmpang*.

Papan pĕlangkah, the strake next to the *papan tĕrapit*.

Papan guntong, or *papan siar*, the top strake.

Papan lapek sauh, bow-sheets on which anchor is stowed.

Pĕrapat, indented line.

Pĕrimpin, rope edging of luff of sail.

Pompang, fishing-boat of the *sampan kotak* type (Kedah).

Sabang, a small triangular sail permanently attached to the mast and rolled round it when not in use.

Sĕlisir, lockers for clothing (Kedah).

Siku-siku, little pieces joining the thwarts.

Simpir mĕrak, gallery on a native ship.

Subang babi, false stem taking ends of *rubing*.

Sudu itek, the upper portion of *tangkup bĕlakang*.

* *Tabur*, a square sail; the second measuring from top of mast. *i.e.* under the top-gallant sail.

* *Tabur, bara*, ditto on main of full-rigged ship.

* *Dol*, ditto on the foremast.

* *Kĕlĕmi*, ditto on hind-mast.

Tali anak, the lashing which holds cable to shank.

Tali anja, peak halyard.

Tali anggok, bob-stay of jib-boom.

* *Tali bara gai*, main tack.

Tali hidong, a halyard near the mast.

Tali changking, peak halyard (hauling part).

* *Tali tĕrengkit gai*, foretack rope used with boom of foremast.

Tangkup bĕlakang, the wooden piece to which rudder is affixed (*papan tutup muka*).

Tangkup huluan, bowhead = *papan tutup muka* (S'pore).

Tĕlĕtai, the slats of the *rubing*.

Tĕmbatu, fore and aft battens of out-rigged bow gallery.

Tĕrĕngkit, square sail between the lowest yard and the deck.

Tĕrĕngkit dol, lowest square sail on foremast.

Tĕrĕngkit suwai, the foresail.

Tiang tupang, the foremast.

Tiang gapil, the mizzen.

Tongkan, movable hatch at bows; the next is *gegas*, the next *bari*.

Tuli, little cross-bar inside bows to which a cord is attached.

Tupai-tupai, cleat, a piece of wood fastened to mast thwart or gunwale for belaying ropes.

Umbang, lie moored between two cables, one attached to the shore, one to an anchored buoy.

III.—DARI HAL MEMBUAT TIKAR.

Lépas itu di-lagang pula yaani di-mulaí ménganyam tikar itu, démikian péri-nya. Maka di-ambil méngkuang yang sudah sédia itu kadar dua urat di-palangkan satu di-atas satu dan di-ambil pula dua lagi di-pérbuat démikian itu juga lalu di-kémbarkan kapada palang yang pértama tadi dan di-lipatkan hujung palang yang kédua itu supaya ménindéh palang yang pértama guna-nya ménahankan supaya jangan ia bérsut kasana ka-mari pada masing-masing palang itu ya-itu sangkut pérdah pula nama-nya. Démikian-lah di-pérbuat-nya bérganti-ganti; lépas satu satu pula: kira-kira sa-hasta lébeh kurang panjang-nya lagangan itu di-anyam-nya-lah sadikit-sadikit pada sa-bélah yang tiada bérsangkut pérdah itu supaya mélebarkan daging tikar itu sértá jangan ia bengkok-bengkok. Sa-télah panjang-lah lagangan-nya itu maka ada sa-paroh-sa-paroh méreka di-pakai-nya sétar nama-nya ya-itu sa-batang kayu di-pérbuat-nya nipis dan sama rata potong-nya sa-olah-olah kayu *rule* juga tétapi tiada bulat sépéerti *rule* itu dan panjang-nya kira-kira énam atau tujuh hasta guna-nya mémbetulkan lagangan tikar itu. Maka ya-itu-lah di-léttakkan di-atas tikar yang bérlagang itu séntiasa sa-hingga lebar-lah bidang tikar itu di-anggarkan tiada boleh ia bengkok-bengkok lagi baharu-lah tidak di-pakai sétar itu. Maka ada-lah bérbagai-bagai anyam itu ada yang suka bértampok pinang dua lapis dan ada yang sa-lapis térkadang-kadang tidak langsong pula. Tétapi jikalau tikar gulong itu dapat tiada héndak-lah bértampok pinang baik sa-lapis atau dua lapis; mélainkan tikar hamper atau tikar bangkar itu tiada-lah di-pérbuat bértampok pinang hanya anyam ményéladang sahaja. Maka tampok pinang itu di-téngah-téngah dan

di-kiri kanan-nya hendak-lah di-apit dengan kelaarai nama-nya. Ada pun dudok-nya tampok pinang itu pada hampir tepi tikar itu kira-kira sa-jengkal atau sa-pelempap daripada tepi-nya; dan jika dua atau tiga lapis tampok pinang itu di-sa-belah dalam daripada yang di-tepi itu-lah lagi sa-kira-kira sa-pelempap atau lebih jarak-nya antara satu dengan satu. Sa-telah lepas daripada anyam tampok pinang dan kelaarai itu lalu di-anyam pula kadar sa-pelempap atau sa-jengkal menyampaikan ka-tepi-nya lalu di-lapis yaani memamatkan anyam tepi-nya dengan melipatkan hujung rambu anyaman yang sa-dêrun kahadapan dan yang sa-dêrun ka-bêlakang lagi itu hendak memamatkan-nya di sisipkan pula sêrta di-potong rambu-rambu-nya sa-hingga habis. Maka kepala-nya itu sêntiasa-lah juga di-pêrbuat pada masa menganyam-nya dari mula-mula lagi ya-itu ada tiga jenis pêrbuatan kepala-nya itu ya-itu satu pantat siput nama-nya, keduâ lègu, dan kêtiga puchok rêbong. Maka buchu tikar itu pula ada dua macham satu berpênjuru bêtul sahaja suatu lagi bêrchangap dua pula.

IV.—METHOD OF COLOURING *KERIS* AND OTHER BLADES WITH ARSENIC.

By L. WRAY.

The blade being clean, there are two distinct ways in which the solution of arsenic may be applied to it. These are known respectively as *masak* and *mêntak* or *cracked* and *raw*. *Warang masak* must be done at night, and if there is any wind blowing, under a mosquito net. The arsenic is prepared in the following way for colouring two *kêris* blades. Take 12 cloves, 15 pepper-corns, six bird peppers, one nutmeg and a piece of the root of a red-flowered climber called *akar chêraka* (*Plumbago rosea*), of the size of half a nutmeg. Grind up all these, put into a cup and add the juice of one lime and a half and allow to stand. Strain through a piece of cloth and to the fluid add about half a drachm of powdered arsenic: the reddish-coloured crude arsenic sold in the bazaar is preferred by some and the white by others. The mixture is then put into a small cup or shell *kulit kêrang* which has a temporary wooden handle made of a split stak with a sliding ring of rattan fixed to it, and is held over a fire

and the contents allowed to boil until the mixture is reduced to about one-half and becomes almost of the consistency of cream, when it is removed from the fire. The blade is then taken by the shank in the left hand and the hot mixture of arsenic applied to it with the fingers of the right hand. It is worked and rubbed all over it, in the same way as the lime-juice was applied before to clean it, more of the mixture being added from time to time as required and occasionally a little coconut milk. If all is well, the blade will be seen to darken slowly in places and the damask come into view. The rubbing is continued till portions of the blade are nearly black. This takes from about thirty to forty minutes. The milk of a coconut whose shell is just beginning to darken is put into a basin and the fingers are dipped into it and slowly the arsenic is washed off. After it is all removed, the blade is rubbed for some ten minutes with the coconut milk and is then dried with a cloth and afterwards gently rubbed with a tuft of the fine shavings of a piece of dry bamboo. This dries and at the same time slightly polishes the parts of the blade that have not been darkened with the colouring mixture, particularly those thin bright lines of steel known as *pamur perak*. A good blade will now show all the tints and gradations of colour from a fine black to pure white. The final operation is giving the blade a slight coating of coconut oil. This is rubbed on sparingly all over it and then wiped off again as far as possible. This makes the blade brighter and also serves to protect it from rust. The second method known as *warang mentah* is performed as follows. The blade having been cleaned in one of the ways already described, is dried and put out in the sun to warm. A lime is taken and carefully peeled, a piece is cut off with the blade, and some of the juice squeezed out on to it. With the finger is dipped into the dry powdered arsenic and rubbed on; more lime-juice and arsenic are taken as required, and the rubbing with the fingers is continued, and towards the end of the operation a little coconut milk is added. During all this time the blade is kept in the sun, as the warmer it is the sooner the deposit of arsenic takes place. When it is judged to be dark enough, more coconut milk is added and the arsenic is gradually all washed away. The darkening goes on for some time after the removal of all the arsenic. When quite finished, the blade is dried with a cloth, rubbed with bamboo shavings, and finally dressed with a little

coconut oil. The time taken to *warang* a *kéris* by this method varies with the nature of the steel and the heat of the sun, from 20 to 40 or even 60 minutes. The result is, in appearance, the same as that obtained by the other method, but it is said not to protect the blade from the rust efficiently.

The edges of inferior blades, or those whose edges will not darken properly, are carefully rubbed over with the juice of a young betel-nut, or of the shoot of the coconut palm. Wherever these fluids touch the blade it will become quite black; veinings may also be traced on it with them. Again, parts that are intended to be white are sometimes coated with wax before the arsenic is applied, to protect them from its action. These are, however, hardly legitimate processes, and are only used to give inferior blades the appearance of better quality ones, like the sham colouring that is given to common gun-barrels in imitation of the real Damascus barrels.

Yet another way of colouring blades has been described to the writer, though not actually shown in operation like the two preceding methods. The blade is cleaned and is then rubbed with the following mixture: coconut-milk, black pepper, bird pepper and arsenic. This preparation is not boiled and the colouring is performed in the day in full sunshine.

When it is wished to remove the arsenic from a blade, lime-juice and fresh crushed sreh leaves are rubbed over it. Lime juice by itself or other real acids will not remove the coating of arsenic, and may therefore be used to clean and brighten up an old blade that has previously been coloured, the blade being afterwards washed in coconut milk and dried as already described.

It may perhaps be of interest to mention here that a very excellent preparation to preserve the blades of weapons is made by dissolving best white wax in spirits of turpentine or benzole. The wax should be cut up into thin shavings, put into a bottle, and just covered with the solvent. The bottle may then be stood in hot water until the wax has dissolved. When cold, the mixture should be of the consistency of cream. When using benzole as the solvent, the greatest care must be taken not to bring a light anywhere near the bottle during the time it is being heated by immersion in hot water. The cream is to be lightly applied to the blades and well rubbed in with a piece of flannel. When dry the blade presents a dead surface; and

the beauty of the damask is in no way interfered with. Vaseline and other oils make the blade look shiny, and they rapidly turn yellow and brown and afford very little protection against rust. They also have the added disadvantage that they make greasy marks on anything they come in contact with.

V.—BRAZIER'S TERMS.

- Arapan*, a wooden stand for cleaning charcoal.
Chatokan, an iron tool with a bent end.
Chlĕpok, placing wax in a wooden mould (*also*, sound of a man sinking in deep mud.)
Chur, to pour molten brass into a brass mould.
Dedaran, a tool with a wooden handle and iron end.
Gang, a brazier's chisel: *g. mapar* (cf. *papar*), a flat-ended chisel.
Galmar, an iron tool for cleaning a vessel.
Gĕlĕgar, the process of drying and kneading wax.
Gogol, a long-handed chisel.
Larasam, burnt clay that is removed from a mould.
Malit, to scrape wax off a mould.
Nunusan, the molten wax that flows out of the clay mould.
Orong-orong, a round stick.
Padu, weld together.
Parat, to pour molten brass into a mould abortively when a fresh model in wax has to be made.
Pĕrapin, the baked shell (*antak*) that is discarded.
Pindun, lathe stand.
Tapai, the clay mould enclosing the wax model.
Tĕlĕnan, the cleaning frame used by a coppersmith.
Ragup, a kind of pincer.
Undan-undan, a sort of projecting post against which a coppersmith presses a pot when working at it.
Urian, a brazier's mould after use.
Walasan, lever for working, (1) brazier's bellows, (2) turning lathe.
Landasan, *pĕnyĕpit*, *pĕnyukat*, are used.

VI.—GOLDSMITH'S TOOLS.

Andas; pëmukul; pënyëpit api dapur; pënuang (tëmpat tuang ëmas); kui (bëkas masak ëmas); kikir bëlah rotan, kikir bulat, kikir tiga sagi, kikir nipis, kikir nipis kasar; pënyëpit këchil; ragam; pënyëpit pulas, pënyëpit alip, pënyëpit ëmas, pënyëpit bulat; pënotok (tëmbaga gangsa achuan); pëngunus (tëmpat tarek ëmas lobang këchil-këchil); pisau meja potong ëmas; gërgaji këchil mata halus; bësi këchil pahat bunga ëmas; pëmukul këchil pahat bunga; tali bësi buat ikat barang ëmas; sëtëgil (bësi chungkil barang-barang); dëral (pëngorek lubang ëmas); sëkurap (buat barang subang); kërok (kikir burok asah bagi tajam boleh kikir apa-apa barang); sërkal, potong buat gigi; pisau potong gigi sikat ëmas; sanglanting (bësi bulat gilap bagi kilat); tangkam kërabu (bësi bulat têngah ada lubang, panjang boleh pëgang); gërgaji bësar boleh potong barang bësar; sëtëgel bulat; sëtëgel nipis; sëtëgel tiga sagi, sëtëgi biji timun. Hëndak sëpoh-garam champur tawas sëndawa. Emas muda hëndak bagi merah, masak asam merah bëlerang tusi.

VII.—SILVERSMITH'S TOOLS.

Këlubong atau hëmbus; landasan bësar; landasan tinggi përgunaan pada sarong-sarong dan lain-nya; landasan këchil përgunaan pada barang yang bulat sëtëgi chëmbul; tukuluan bësar, tukuluan sëtëng tukuluan këchil; tukuluan kayu mëtëngtukkan barang yang sudah bërbunga supaya tiada binasa ukiran-nya; sëtëpit arang; kikir këchil; ragam; sëtëpit këchil atau gërdu; gunting bësar; gunting këchil; bigar yaani tali ayer pëmbulat atau buntar, jangka guna-nya mëtënyamakan tëtëpi; paudam yaani damar bagi tëtëmpat hëndak mëtëngukir; sëtëpit chunam; kui; pënyugi tëtëmbaga atau bërus; pënyugi bulu; pasir halus atau amang bijeh. Pahat gëlong yaani pahat batang awan atau tali ayer yang lëngkong; pahat tali ayer; pahat batang awan; pahat këtanahan; pahat bunga sëtëmbok; pahat bulat bësar; pahat bulat këchil; pahat kajar atau pahat pëtëmotong.

VIII.—NAMES OF CHARACTERISTIC PATTERNS ON GOLD AND SILVER ARTICLES.

Kéronchong berkérawang; agok awan Jawa, agok karangan telur ikan bekas tengkal awan larat; dokoh awan larat; pinding emas berpahat bunga kundur; chinchin tapak gajah awan bunga sa-tangkai dan telur ikan; bantal bulat awan bunga kundur; bunga baju bunga sa-kuntum; subang emas karangan telur ikan awan bunga sa-kuntum bunga kêtar ya-itu bunga kembang sa-tahun; changgal merak awan larat, batil perak awan bunga sa-tangkai; chépu perak bergelugur awan bunga; chépu berkérawang bunga pahat terus; daun budi awan bunga kayu; mērgan bergelugur; cheper perak berpuchok rēbong; bantal perak awan jambangan; gunong-gunong perak sumpit beras berpahat bunga simpur.

IX.—DARI HAL MEMBUAT TALI PENGAIL

Mula-mula beli benang mentah, pilih sa-urat-urat kalau putus hubong; kemudian ruing ya-itu pusing. ambil sa-urat-urat ruing itu kembang buat dengan bambu, pakai tali di-hujung bambu. Pusing ruing itu pula. Sudah humpun puncha betul-betul, pemasak di-rahak kembar benang itu berapa yang suka hendak pakai yang boleh kuat tali itu; puncha itu buboh di-chekreh, pusing, sampai sering satu kemudian kembar jadi tiga. Pusing pula. Sudah siap tali, chari kerisek kulit nyiur; gosok bagi licin. Kemudian samak dengan kulit bakau jadi-lah sawan tali. Ambil kembali kēhil lengkar-lengkar simpan taroh.

NOTE.—This describes string-making by means of the spinning-wheel.

X—BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Bland, Mrs., *Malacca Lace*, Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, Straits Branch, No. 45, 1906.

Bland, Mrs., *Notes on Basket-making*, Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, Straits Branch, No. 46, 1906.

Rosenhaim, W., *Notes on Malay Metal-work*, Journal of Anthropological Inst., Vol. 81, p. 101.

Skeat, W. W., *Second Report on Cambridge Exploring Expedition to the Malay Provinces of Lower Siam*.

Skeat, W. W., *Silk and Cotton Dyeing by Malays*, J.R.A.S., S.B., No. 33, 1902. *

Skeat, W. W., and H. Warrington Smyth, *Boats and Boat-building in the Malay Peninsula*, Journal of Society of Arts, May 16 and October 10, 1902.

Yule, Colonel, *Notes on Analogies of Manners between the Indo-Chinese Races and the Races of the Indian Archipelago*, J. Anth. Inst., 1879.

Wray, Leonard, *Dyeing and Weaving at Sitiawan in Perak*, J. Anth. Inst., Vol. 32, p. 153.

Wray, Leonard, *Kain pëlangi*, Journal F.M.S. Museums, December, 1906.

Wray, Leonard, *Suji Timbul*, Journal F.M.S. Museums, December, 1907.

Wray, Leonard, *Malayan Pottery of Perak*, J. Anth. Inst., Vol. 33, 1903.

Wray, Leonard, *Native Arts and Handicrafts*, Lloyd's 20th Century Impressions of British Malaya.

Wray, Leonard, *On the Malay Method of Colouring Këris and other Blades with Arsenic*, Perak Museum Notes, No. 3, 1904.

Mason, Otis T., *Vocabulary of Malaysian Basket-work: a Study on the W. L. Abbott Collections*. From the Proceedings of the United States National Museum, Vol. 35, pp. 1-51. Washington, 1906.

PAPERS ON MALAY SUBJECTS.

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

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

MALAY INDUSTRIES.

PART III

RICE PLANTING.

BY

G. E. SHAW, *F.M.S. Civil Service*

KUALA LUMPUR:

PRINTED BY J. E. WALLACE AT THE F.M.S. GOVERNMENT PRESS.

1926.

GENERAL EDITOR'S PREFACE

THE printing of this monograph on rice planting terminates the issue of the "Papers on Malay Subjects" published by direction of the F.M.S. Government as the outcome of the proposals explained in the preface to the first pamphlet, "Malay Literature, I." The series is now complete; and a special "Committee for Malay Studies" has been appointed by the Government to deal officially with future work on the same lines.

The Committee's scheme may be outlined as follows :

The less technical portions of the "Papers on Malay Subjects" (as the edition of each pamphlet is exhausted) will be revised and reprinted for the use of Cadets working for examinations and as an introduction to advanced studies.

The more technical portions will be rewritten and expanded into a series of monographs for the use of Government Officers and others requiring detailed information on special subjects.

Whatever Malay historical records now exist in manuscript form will be edited and published so that they may be made available for reference. The publication of some of these records has been taken up already by the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

The publication of the best Malay literature, whether modern or classical, prose or poetry, will be taken up by the Committee until a representative series of texts has been issued for natives and others interested in the subject.

The preparation of "Readers" and other elementary text books for the study of the Malay language will also be undertaken.

R. J. W.

MALAY INDUSTRIES.

RICE PLANTING.

I.—PRELIMINARY.

A DETAILED description of the routine of padi planting is to be found in the 30th volume of the Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. This is the best preface to any remarks on padi cultivation in the Peninsula. As other and more lucrative branches of agriculture are so much in evidence at the present time in this country it is perhaps necessary to explain that enquiry into Malay methods of rice cultivation is desirable chiefly because this branch of agriculture possesses a special attraction for the natives of the Peninsula. "They are strongly attracted to agriculture," wrote Colonel Low in 1836, in his "Dissertation on the Soil and Agriculture of Penang,"—"the unmaritime Malay could not exist without his *bëndang* or rice field, and to the preparation of it every other passion for a while gives way. His enthusiasm in the work is such that a positive and greater gain could hardly bribe him from it. Beyond this Malayan agriculture is deficient in method and always falls short of the fullest productive point."

In Malay communities, as they existed in the Peninsula until forty years ago, there was, outside the Settlements, little or no trade in agricultural products. Agriculture, such as it was, did not go very much further than was required to supply the actual necessities of life for the agriculturist.

Rice being the first of these necessities it is natural to find that a rude ritual has been elaborated and that various arbitrary rules have been framed for the

guidance of the padi planter. Even if it is difficult to appreciate many of these rules some measure of interest must attach to all of them, inasmuch as it is impossible to make any profitable attempt to stimulate enterprise in the industry without some knowledge of the customs and superstitions which attend it.

If his harvest is bad the Malay is prone to attribute failure to one of two main causes. It is either *sayup piama* or *sayup saladang*—that is to say, he blames the weather and the consequent delay in planting, or he blames the holders of adjacent lands for not clearing and planting simultaneously. It was probably to meet the need for order and simultaneity in planting operations that the office of *pawang padi* came to be recognised: padi planters found it necessary to set some authority above themselves and by following the direction of that authority in all matters relating to cultivation to ensure a certain degree of cohesion.¹

This office is generally a hereditary one, or nearly so, and devolves with certain symbols of office in the same family. The pawang is guided in his calculations by various rules: he has his own particular "*taep*" which embodies all the custom and ceremonial which he has picked up from those who taught him his trade, supplemented by any additional rules which he may be prompted to devise for himself. Some of these "*taep pawang*" have been committed to writing but no one edition appears to have obtained any pre-eminent reputation. Different rules are found in different localities. The reasons for some of these rules are easily seen; others are surrounded with so

¹ Vide the 12th of the Ninety-Nine laws of Perak. The customary honorarium of the pawang was 10 gantangs of padi from each *kilamin*.

much hocus-pocus that it would appear to be impossible to obtain any idea of the reasons which underlie them. The rule, for example, which forbids a man, when working with the *tajak*, to cut his own shadow, may be attributed easily enough to a proper appreciation of the ill-effects of the sun's rays on the spine, but what explanation can be found for the search for the *tongkat mandah* or for many other of the *səmangat* ceremonies?

II.—THE CALENDAR.

In former days the most important duty of the *pawang padi* was to determine the correct time for commencing padi planting operations. It is, of course, impossible for Malay agriculturists to make use of their calendar of twelve lunar months for the purposes of a calling that is intimately connected with the changes of the seasons. Nevertheless, the ordinary Malay cultivator, if asked when rice is sown, will invariably reply that it must be done in some particular lunar month. Dr. Snouck Hurgronje, in his work on the Achehnese, notices this peculiarity, which is the more remarkable as the Achehnese, in addition to their lunar calendar, have a very elaborate method of determining the solar year. "It is customary in Malacca," says Muhammad Jafar (in his description of padi cultivation which has been referred to above), "to plant padi once a year, the time usually falling between the months of Zalkaedah and Zalhejah." These lunar months now roughly correspond with the months of December and January, when, of course, no Malacca Malay would ever think of planting padi. The fact is that Malays, though they have not a very full knowledge of their reasons

for doing so, make use of many devices for ascertaining the seasons of the solar year : they express themselves at the moment in terms of the lunar year merely because it is more convenient for them to do so.

In Perak and Kedah it appears to be customary in most of the rice-growing districts to ascertain the correct time for beginning agricultural operations by observation of the Pleiades (*bintang kětika* or *bintang tujuh*). When at 4.30 a.m., or thereabouts, a few grains of padi slip off the palm of the hand, the arm being outstretched and pointed at the constellation (*tatang bēneh*), or when, the arm being so directed, the bracelet slides down the wrist (*susur gēlang*), it is considered to be time to put down the padi nursery. There are, of course, variations and additions. If, when the Pleiades are in the favourable position, one of the stars appears to be particularly bright, this is supposed to indicate early or late rains, according to its position in the constellation. To the ordinary observer it would not appear difficult to imagine the existence of a bright star anywhere in the Pleiades, and there is no doubt that the Malay's imagination in this matter generally subserves his convenience. When he forecasts early or late rains he usually has in view the quality of seed-grain which is in his store and, according as he wishes to make use of his nurseries of *padi tua*, *padi pēnengah* or *padi muda*, he prophesies to suit his book. According to this custom the latter half of the month of July is the correct time for planting the padi nursery of heavy grain.

In some localities it would appear customary to be guided to a large extent by actual observation of the sun, calculation being made from the time when

it is thought to be exactly overhead at noon. Nothing in the nature of a sundial seems, however, to have been invented. Dr. Charles Hose has pointed out that the Kenyahs and Kayans of Borneo find the correct season for rice planting by observation of the sun. These people set up a pole, which is carefully and even superstitiously guarded, and make their reckonings by the shadows cast. Possibly, where the custom of sun-observation is followed by padi planters in the Peninsula, it is to be attributed to immigrant settlers from Borneo.

Another, the method of reckoning which is commonly observed in Perak, involves no overt recognition of a solar calendar. This custom necessitates the keeping of the seed-grain in the store for a certain definite period, which varies with the character of the grain and may be anything between four and seven months. The lighter the grain is, the longer it is thought necessary to keep it. In explanation of the custom Malay padi planters say that this period of rest is vital to the productive power of the seed and that, if the best results are to be obtained, nurseries must be planted on the expiration of the interval fixed by custom in each case, not earlier and not later. A constant period is thus kept between harvest and seed time in each year and the misleading lunar calendar is consequently disregarded. The vice of this system is that it tends to make the planting season run unduly late, as the effects of one late season are liable to be felt in succeeding years. To obviate this, some pawangs, when the seasons begin to run too late, have a habit of ordaining earlier planting than custom would permit. When this is done the seed grain is first sun-dried, the pawang

declaring that one day's sun-drying has the same effect on the seed as one month's retention in the store.

In northern Perak, Kedah and Petani, the old Siamese calendar is still used to ascertain the planting season. According to this system December is, roughly speaking, the first month of the year. Custom makes it necessary that padi should be planted in the beginning of the eighth month.

In addition to these more widely known customs each neighbourhood has, ordinarily, its own rough method of reminding itself of the approach of the padi-season. The flooding of a particular stream, the fruiting of the *pěrah*, the *sěntul*, or some other tree; any such indication, which is locally understood, is sufficient to bring the elders together to discuss the season's prospects and to suggest reference to that pawang whose opinion is best regarded.

In speaking of native superstitions regarding the seasons Colonel Low says "It is probable that a failure of the crop may be looked for once in ten or twelve years; for in these regions there is evidently a cycle of seasons, though the cause is not apparent." This idea has found native expression in the "Siamese" cycle of twelve years, running as follows :

| | | |
|------------------|---------|------------------------------|
| 1. <i>Chuat</i> | Rat | <i>Tikus</i> |
| 2. <i>Chalu</i> | Bull | <i>Lembu</i> |
| 3. <i>Kan</i> | Tiger | <i>Piman</i> |
| 4. <i>Tau</i> | Rabbit | <i>Pilandok</i> |
| 5. <i>Marong</i> | Dragon | <i>Ular, bhaer (naga)</i> |
| 6. <i>Maseng</i> | Serpent | <i>Ular kěchil</i> |
| 7. <i>Mamia</i> | Horse | <i>Kuda</i> |
| 8. <i>Mameh</i> | Goat | <i>Kambing</i> |
| 9. <i>Wank</i> | Monkey | <i>Kěra</i> |
| 10. <i>Raka</i> | Cock | <i>Ayam</i> |
| 11. <i>Chaw</i> | Dog | <i>Anjing</i> |
| 12. <i>Kun</i> | Pig | <i>Kure-kure¹</i> |

¹ Literally, "tortoise,"—a euphemism.

As far as can be gathered, the fifth, sixth and twelfth years are generally considered to be the most favourable and the seventh and eighth the most unfavourable for planting padi. The present year, 1329 of the Hejira, corresponds with the third of the cycle. This cycle is well known to pawangs as far south as the Kuala Selangor district. The words, which are said to be of Cambodian and not of Siamese origin, are used at least as commonly as the Malay equivalents which, it will be noticed, are not in every case exact translations.

The use of this cycle amongst the Siamese is of very great antiquity. According to Gerini, the Mon-Khmer (Cambodian) tribes came down from southern China and settled in Indo-China early in the Christian Era, penetrating to the extreme south of the Malay Peninsula. The Siamese-Lao tribes, also from southern China, came down later, beginning their influx about the 6th or 7th century, and gradually wrested the greater part of Indo-China from the Mon-Khmer people, from whom they, in their turn, borrowed a great part of their civilisation.

As to the use of the "Siamese" cycle by Malays, it may have been introduced into the Peninsula by the Mon-Khmer tribes before the advent of the Siamese or it may have been introduced by the Siamese themselves at a later date. The former alternative would seem to be the more likely, inasmuch as the Siamese occupation of Malay territory was never of a very permanent nature.

III.—CEREMONIES PRECEDING CULTIVATION.

As soon as the time for setting the nurseries has been definitely fixed there is usually something in the nature of a propitiatory ceremony. The character and style of this depend very much on the wealth of the community and on the number of planters of padi who are able to join. Once in every three or four years, in most rice-growing districts, it is conducted in a style which is more than ordinarily lavish and is more communal in character. For the particular advantage of his own rice fields (*mēmēlas ladang*) a padi-planting Penghulu usually celebrates the beginning of each rice year by killing a kid and setting a feast for his neighbours. For the extraordinary and more elaborate ceremony he institutes a regular collection: a buffalo is bought out of the common fund and is ceremonially slaughtered; there is general feasting and a ceremony in which all the padi planters join under the presidency of the pawang. This ceremony assumes diverse forms in different localities.

It is probable that all these ceremonies have had a common origin in an ancient ceremonial which was performed in times of stress as a measure of general relief, the beneficial effects of which were not supposed to be confined to agriculture. In olden times, "Ere human statute purged the gentle weal," it was customary in Perak to banish solemnly all evil influences from the country by the rite which was called *mēngilirkan sumbang*. Briefly, this ceremonial seems to have been as follows: On a set day the Sultan Muda, the *Raja Kēchil Muda* and the chief pawangs from all the down-river mukims assembled at Chigar Galah. After solemn invocation of the *kantu raja-raja*, *kantu sungkai* and *kantu bēlian* by the Sultan

Muda, a buffalo was slaughtered and all present indulged in a *kënduri*. The feasting over, the head of the buffalo, with various parts attached, was placed on a raft which had already been prepared for the purpose and which, as being the receptacle or emblem of all things evil, was given the name *sumbang*. A *bërhantu* for seven days and nights followed, and the raft was then started on its journey down stream, the *Raja Këchil Muda* and the pawangs accompanying it. A halt was made at a pre-arranged stopping place in each mukim where a *kërbau balar* was slaughtered and there was a *kënduri* and *bërhantu* for one night. The pawangs of the mukims were left behind in turn, having, each of them, supplied a substitute to attend the *Raja Këchil Muda*. On arrival at the mouth of the river all disembarked at Kota Sëtia, the raft being allowed to drift out to sea with its supposed burden of ills. The triennial ceremony which Perak padi planters observe seems to be connected in some way with this rite. The word *bërsëmah* is applied to it, and this is said to be a word which can only properly be used in reference to ceremonial conducted by the Sultan Muda or *Raja Këchil Muda*. It is possible that the name was given in the first instance to the ceremony which was performed by the *Raja Këchil Muda* at each mukim when on his triennial trip down river and that it has, by analogy, adhered to ceremonies which are neither conducted on the banks of the Perak river nor dignified by the presence of the *Raja Këchil Muda*.

As these ceremonies are of the *bërhantu* type and so opposed to the stricter doctrines of the Mahomedan religion, they are, in the more thickly populated neighbourhoods at least, modified to suit the scruples

of the orthodox. Nowadays, beyond erecting a *gènggulang* and *sangka*, the *rayat* do not ordinarily participate in the *bèrhantu*. They are not present while the *pawang* is holding converse with the spirits but they arrive on the scene as soon as this part of the performance is over and partake freely of the *kènduri*. Still the older formularies have not been forgotten; in times of trouble they are much relied on. They unfortunately entail a considerable amount of cruelty, tail-cutting and mutilation of buffaloes. Similar but perhaps more brutal ceremonies have been described by Mr. A. E. Jenks as practised by the Igorot padi-planters in the Philippines.

IV.—NURSERIES.

The propitiatory ceremony over, the real work of the cultivator begins. His first concern is his seed-grain, which, if he is a careful planter, he has selected at the last year's harvest and has carefully preserved in sufficient quantity to meet every eventuality. The method of selection of seed varies. In some localities the finest padi in the *bèndang* is allowed to stand until the rest of the grain has been harvested. When there is no doubt as to its ripeness it is gathered, trodden out and stored by itself. Sometimes seed-padi is merely handpicked from the general store. Should the planter find his store of seed run short he does not seem to hesitate to make use of purchased grain or to make arrangements for buying seedlings from a neighbour who has put down a larger nursery than he requires. As a general rule, however, the Malay is extremely particular about his seed-grain and is careful to use the best obtainable. In those localities where the *banting* or *pukul padi*

custom has crept in he is still careful to see that his seed-padi is hand-plucked and is trodden out. If a reason is to be sought for every custom, that which underlies the curious "*semangat*" ceremonies is most probably to be found in the necessity for the selection and preservation of seed-grain.

The ordinary allowance of seed is four gantangs for every orlong (1½ acres) which is to be planted. This is carefully measured out, the "mother seed" being mixed with it, and soaked in water for two days and two nights. The water is then run off and the seed is spread on mats where it is kept for about three days. At the end of this time it has germinated and is ready for the nursery. Banjarese padi planters generally cover the newly sown nursery with *pisang* and other leaves. After six days these are removed, and after a further period of seven days the plants are taken out and planted together in a cleared spot in the bendang, care being taken to allow more room than the nursery plot afforded to the seedlings. A second nursery is thus formed in which the young plants are left undisturbed until the usual period of 44 days,¹ from the time of first planting, has elapsed. Banjarese say that this practice makes the young plants healthier besides effecting a saving in seed, it being sufficient, if this custom is followed, to allow three gantangs of seed to the orlong. For the first nursery they prefer to use a *rakit* formed of *pisang* leaves and stumps; this is covered with a thin layer of soil.

Where it not for bird and insect pests, and the native disinclination to worry about getting rid of

¹ This number seems to have a special and superstitious value attached to it. Compare the 44 days *pasung* after child-birth, the setting up of the tombstones 44 days after death and the mosque quorum of 44.

them, it would appear to be preferable to sow nurseries broadcast. It is customary to put down three nurseries with an interval of about a month between the preparation of each. These are called *padi tua*, *padi pènengah* and *padi muda*. At first sight this custom appears to suggest a defensive declaration by the pawang when he feels that he cannot rely on his skill or luck in fixing the time for the rains to begin. A different explanation (given by a pawang) suggests that the custom has sprung into use of late years since District Officers have taken over the functions of *pawang padi* and have, by an annual edict, prescribed the time for beginning planting operations. As a matter of fact the custom is an old one and is based altogether on motives of utility. It enables the padi planter to be always ready for the rains and it also helps him and his family to plant a very much larger area than it would be possible for them to open up if only one species of padi were planted. A different variety of grain is used for each of the three nurseries, the lighter grains being planted later. The planter is thus enabled to continue his labours in a more or less leisurely fashion, and by adjusting the species of padi to the time of planting, so to arrange matters that his entire field, heavy grain and light, is ready for harvest at the same time.

In Malacca it is customary to steep the seedlings, as soon as they have been removed from the nursery, in a "stock" manure, in the preparation of which the greatest care is taken. This is a compound of silt and bones in the proportion of two parts silt to one

part bone. With the exception of bat guano, which should also be mixed with silt, it would appear that no other manure has been used by padi planters in this country with any very good effect.

V.—PREPARATION OF THE FIELDS.

As soon as the nurseries have been sown all energy is concentrated on the preparation of the fields for the reception of the seedlings and on the repairing of fences and water-courses. Owing to differences in the quality and condition of the soil the methods of preparing the fields for planting differ widely in different localities. Muhammad Jafar thus describes the Malacca custom :

“Now during the time the grain is in the nursery they start ploughing in the other plots, going from one to the other until all the plots are finished. They repair the bunds and patch them up with earth so that the water in the field may not escape and the land get dry. When the bunds have been repaired they begin to harrow, starting from the plot first ploughed (other than the nursery plot) because there the land is soft and the grass is rotten; having been soaked in the water for so many days it is like manure. Then they replough the field and harrow it again.”

In the Peninsula the best methods of cultivation seem to be employed in the Settlement of Malacca, and there the *tajak*, *tenggala*, *sikat*, *sisir*, *penggiling*, *bajak*, *kuku kambing* and *changkul* are in common use for the preparation of the *sawah*. In the Temerloh district of Pahang, on the other hand, the *paya*, or natural swamp, is cleared with the *parang*, and, as the transplanting is done simply with the

hand, no other implements are ordinarily used.¹ The *tajak* is an indispensable implement. Colonel Low, writing in 1836, describes it as "a valuable instrument, ranking between a scythe and a hoe. It is used to pare the surface and destroy weeds and long grass. It is fixed to a much more upright handle than that of the scythe and the workman wields it in much the same way that a golf player does his club. Every cultivator has several of sizes." In the Negri Sembilan the place of the *tajak* is to a large extent taken by the *changkul*. A wooden *changkul* is there a customary and significant present to a bride. Among the methods of cultivating the rice field must be mentioned the *pijakan kərbau*. A herd of buffaloes is turned into the flooded *bëndang* and is driven to and fro until the mud is fairly trodden up and the grass and weeds have disappeared. This most unsatisfactory method of cultivation is gradually falling into disuse.

The buffalo cannot be used for the cultivation of all rice fields. In some localities these animals founder and are completely useless owing to the softness of the soil. Where it is possible to use a ploughing buffalo its economic value is great, as the *rayat* is thereby enabled to open up a very much larger area than he could otherwise bring under cultivation. Many animals are kept for hire, the rate being rarely less than ten dollars for the season's work. In spite of its very great usefulness the buffalo is not an unmixed blessing to the padi planter. It is an animal which is extremely liable to disease; and every epidemic means bad cultivation, abandonment of rice

¹ Appendix A gives a list of the principal agricultural implements employed by padi-planters.

fields and all the disadvantages which attend uneven cultivation. It cannot be used at the plough for more than six or eight years and it should not be worked during the heat of the day or for more than three hours daily.

VI.—PLANTING AND CARE OF THE FIELDS.

When the fields have been prepared and the water-courses and fencing attended to, the women begin to plant out the seedlings. This is regarded by all Malay peoples as the women's particular share in the labours of rice cultivation and it is astonishing with what proficiency and rapidity the work is carried out. The young plants are pulled up by the roots in bunches of sufficient size to be grasped easily in the hand. The roots are rapidly cleaned and the tops cut off. Then comes the inevitable ceremonial. This is generally conducted by the pawang on behalf of a number of padi planters who gather together for the *kënduri* which is called *arwah*. After incantations and the usual display of white cloth and *tali terap* (both of which commodities appear to be indispensable to the pawang) a square wooden frame is placed on the ground in a selected part of the *bëndang*. Inside this the pawang plants the first seven bunches of seedlings, seven seedlings being inserted by the *kuku kambing* each time. In this rite it is easy to see traces of the animism which is at the root of the *sëmangat padi* ceremonial. The invocations vary in form in different localities. Low selects as characteristic:

*"Sri Dangomala, Sri Dangomali,
Hëndak kirim anak sambilan bulan."*

It may be mentioned in passing that the same figure is made when the *sēmangat padi* is taken and that the *kënduri* which is then indulged in is likewise given the name *arwak*. This ceremonial over, for the remainder of the day all labour in the fields is forbidden. On the next day the work of transplanting begins. This must be performed in silence, the seedlings which are held in the left hand must not be dropped and the tongue must be pressed against the roof of the mouth while the *kuku kambing* is actually in use. This instrument carries from five to nine seedlings at once and is used seven times in quick succession. While each seven bunches of seedlings are being planted the tongue must be kept in the uncomfortable position described. Considering the sex of the workers the conditions imposed are not light and cannot fail to be conducive to rapidity in planting.

In the district of Upper Perak and in few other localities the place of the *kuku kambing* is taken by the more primitive *chēkam*, a wooden instrument. In some districts in Perak it is customary for a bride to receive a present of a *kuku kambing* and a *tērëndak* from her husband, much care being spent in adorning them.

After the rice field has been planted up its owner makes a ceremonial circuit, scattering incense and such invocations as he may have been taught to rely on. When all the rice fields in his domain have been brought under cultivation the pawang makes his circuit. Three days later the padi planters assemble at a pre-arranged spot on the confines of the rice area where there is a *kënduri* and a *bērhanu* ceremony. This is an appeal to the Gods of the

jungle to deal gently with the rice crop and to avert pests and disease. It is the last ceremony before harvest, and after it has been concluded the padi planters are free to look for work of other kinds to occupy their time until the harvest claims them. Only the men, and generally only the elders, appear at this *bĕrhantu*. The incantations are not very interesting, and it is probable that various localities and pawangs use different forms.

There is, however, no doubt about the fervour of the participants. The expression is widely different but the spirit is the same as that which animates the Hymn to Pan :

“Winder of the Horn

When snouted wild-boars, routing tender corn
 Anger our huntamen: Breather round our farms
 To keep off mildews, and all weather harms:
 Strange ministrant of undescribed sounds,
 That come a-swooning over hollow grounds,
 And wither drearily on barren moors:
 Dread opener of the Mysterious Doors
 Leading to universal knowledge—see,
 Great son of Dryope,
 The many that are come to pay their vows.”

This rite, and that with which the padi year is commenced, are distinctly of the *bĕrhantu* type and are widely different in character from the *sĕmangat padi* or *arwah* ceremonies. It is probable, too, that their origin is more remote. Similar *bĕrhantu* customs are found among the Bontoc Igorats, who do not appear to be affected by animistic or *sĕmangat* ideas.

Labour on the planted fields is expended but grudgingly by the Malay. He generally understands

that it is well to weed his fields thirty or forty days after planting. A miniature *tajak*, which is called *këri*, is used for this purpose. He will also stretch ropes over the field, improvise scarecrows, repair his water-course when forced to do so, complain vehemently of other people's laziness and abuse the weather. When the harvest is a poor one he adopts an attitude not unlike that of R. L. Stevenson's Scotch Gardener: "Paul may plant and Apollos may water," but all blame must be ascribed to Providence on the score of insufficient rain or the ravages of vermin.

The principal padi-pests are rats and padi-borers.¹ Newly opened land near jungle is most subject to the attacks of vermin, rats being especially destructive on wet nights when there are few birds of prey on the wing. Although his magic is not much relied on for the destruction of vermin the pawang still has his value in that department as, except in matters important enough to merit the attention of the Penghulu, he is the authority nearest to the rice planters and is generally practical enough to induce them to believe that union is strength when padi pests are dealt with. In some localities it is necessary to combine in erecting fences against the ravages of pigs or larger animals, in others it is advisable to unite in burning off the padi straw as soon as possible after harvest, as a protection against the padi-borer.

Though rice is subject to many insect pests it is comparatively free from fungoid diseases. It is known to be affected by a form of *ustilago* or

¹ "This insect is either '*Chilo oryzae*' or a nearly allied species. It was suggested that some other plant might serve as food for this pest between one padi season and the next. This surmise has been found to be correct. The plant, or at least one of them, is the Indian corn, and the part attacked is the flower stalk": Mr. L. Wray.

smut fungus, the grain being transformed into a mass of dark powder consisting of the spores which propagate the fungus. The principal insect pests appear to be *sorok-sorok*, a species of mole-cricket which attacks the nursery, the evil-smelling *chēnangau* and various species of *bēnah*.

Muhammad Jafar thus describes the transition stages in the growth of the padi :

"Ten days after the young rice has been transplanted it recovers its fresh green colour. in thirty days the young shoots come out; in the second month it increases more and more, and in the third it becomes even all over. After three months and a half its growth is stayed and in the fourth month it is styled *bunting kēchil*.

"At that stage the stalk has only five joints, and from that period it must be fumigated daily till the grain appears.

"About the time when the stalk has six joints it is called *bunting bēsar*; in forty days more the grain is visible here and there, and twenty days later it spreads everywhere. At this time all the water in the field must be drawn off so that the grain may ripen quickly. After five or six days it ripens in patches, and a few days later the rice altogether ripe.

"From the time of transplanting to the time when it is ripe is reckoned six months, not counting the days spent in ploughing and in growing it in the nursery, which may be a month or two, or even (if there are many plots) as much as three months to the end of the ploughing."

Care must be taken not to open water-gates too soon after the padi appears in the ear; if the water is drawn off too early the tendency will be towards light grain.

The task of opening water-gates and draining the fields brings the padi planters together again. Throughout the planting operations the necessity for simultaneous drainage has been kept in view, those

who planted late being careful to select nurseries of light grain so that their crop may ripen at the same time as their neighbours. From the time when the water is run off the fields there is ample work to occupy everyone in making preparation for the harvest. Implements must be in readiness and receptacles for the crop. Mats are wanted on which to dry the grain and, where neighbours assist one another, arrangements must be made for the order in which the fields are to be reaped.

VII.—HARVEST.

For months beforehand the Malay has been looking forward to the harvest-time with high expectation. He regards this season very much as an English schoolboy does his Christmas holiday. He is determined to enjoy himself, and he does. To the native of Perak there is no festival in the year which is at all comparable with the *bhlota*, the padi-planters' Saturnalia. This is the Malay Harvest Home. Each planter keeps open house in turn, when all his friends come to help him to tread out his grain. Even the reverend elders assume for the time the manners of children and verses (*pantun*) are bandied with the gentle licence which is characteristic of Malay junketings.

The harvest begins with the most interesting of the padi ceremonies, that of taking the *sémangat padi*, the emblem of plant-vitality which is supposed to hand on the torch of life to the next season's crop. This custom seems to have had its origin in the remotest antiquity and, with the doubtful exception of Acheh, appears to be observed in some form throughout the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago.

In speaking of the ceremonies observed by rice planters in Province Wellesley, Low remarks on the care which is taken "in order to propitiate the spirit of the padi, the Malayan Ceres for whom the Malays have no distinct appellative¹ but express their meaning by the words *sēmangat padi*—the *chaba yendai* of the Burmese—which implies that the spirit of the padi vanishes through terror when not conciliated. The Siamese and Sam-Sam cultivators, who are Buddhists, call their Ceres *Me Pho Sop Chan*, 'the exalted mother of grain'!" The same writer gives at length the Malay legend, which is still accepted, regarding the origin of padi: "Adam and Hawa, our first parents, say the Malays, had two sons and two daughters. The daughters, to whom they gave precedence, were Normani and Aski: the sons were Soorbani and Aknini. The earth did not yield enough food for the subsistence of mankind: Adam therefore conveyed, by Divine Command, one son and one daughter into the plains and having sacrificed them and chopped them into small fragments he scattered these over the ground. On his returning home Hawa enquired what had become of the children. Adam replied that they were abroad in the field. Six months' afterwards she asked again where they were. Adam said 'Come and I will show them to you.' They then went forth on the plain and called on the children by name bidding them return. The other two children who had followed answered 'We are coming.' Adam and Hawa now beheld with wonder the wide plains waving with the golden harvest. On a sudden all the grain became *sēmangat* or instinct

¹ Some pawangs call it *nér hayatu'kāk* or *nér meriak*. In some places the Hindu *Sri* is used.

with life, and then, rising in the air like dense swarms of bees, poured onwards with a loud buzzing noise until it entered the habitation of the first man and woman from whom it had its birth. Hence it is incumbent on cultivators to treat padi with respect."

With this legend may be compared, in passing, Sir Alfred Lyall's remark in his "Asiatic Studies": "My conjecture is that a great part of what is called animism—the tendency to discover human life and agency in all moving things, whether waving trees or wandering beasts—begins with this ingrained conviction that some new form or habitation must be provided for the spirits of dead men."

Snouck Hurgronje, in writing of the Achehnese, mentions "a custom, the meaning of which has been wholly forgotten but which is still pretty generally followed, is that of planting in a clump together the remainder of the seedlings left after the *béndang* is full. This is called *inong padi*. Sundry expressions in the folk-lore indicate that *inong* meant originally *mother*. One is involuntarily reminded of the *indung pare* or 'rice-mother' of the Sundanese, a truss of ripe padi taken at harvest time and fastened together in a peculiar way. It is placed in the padi store underneath all the other trusses after sundry traditional ceremonies and is not moved from its place until lapse of time has made it indistinguishable from the rest. Superstition does not play such a great part in padi planting in Acheh as it does in Java. We can at most point to the defunct custom of the *inong padi* as a parallel to the regular worship of the rice-goddess in Java."

Starting from the conviction that all standing padi is instinct with life the Peninsular Malay seems

to have proceeded further to the idea that grades exist in the rice-field as among mankind, that certain heads of padi are recognised as being of superior caste or quality and that they command respect accordingly. In the ceremonial connected with the *sēmangat padi* it is natural to find that the Malay rice-planter is concerned with these dignitaries of the padi-field alone. Whether the conception of caste among plants is a logical result of animistic ideas or whether it is to be attributed to the necessity for selecting something to typify the harvest, around which a ceremony may be woven, is a question which it would seem impossible to determine.

The criterion of dignity is eccentricity or malformation. Each of the freak grains which the padi-field is wont to produce is invested with a name and in some cases with attributes of its own. These appellatives differ in various localities. The best known are *tongkat mandah*, *putëri bërtudong*, *padi bëtina*, *padi bërdukong* and *padi mëndhara*. The first named is the best and can, it is said, be found in most rice fields if search is made for it. It is usual to begin the search for the *tongkat mandah* three days before the time fixed for taking the *sēmangat padi*. If the *tongkat mandah* cannot be found, shift is made with one of the lesser dignitaries, and on the day appointed by the pawang (to quote Muhammad Jafar) "seven heads are reaped as representing the *sēmangat padi*, and, immediately afterwards, another handful to be used as 'mother-seed' for the coming year. The *sēmangat padi* is wrapped in a white cloth, tied with a *tërap*-string in the shape of a little child in its swaddling bands and is placed in a small basket; the 'mother-seed' is put in another basket; both baskets

are fumigated and are placed in the rice store one on the top of the other." The head of padi which contains the *tongkat mandah*, or other *sēmangat* sign, is one of the seven heads which are taken.

Immediately after the *sēmangat padi* has been taken and before it is deposited in the store it is customary to reap hurriedly either one or three baskets full. This is supposed to be for the sustenance of the *Rengkesa*, the "lubber fiend" whom Malays accuse of spiriting away their crops. The idea seems to be that this particular fiend will, if a meal is provided for him, be ashamed to harry the fields of his hosts. Englishmen thought to attain the same end by the cheaper method of calling him Robin Goodfellow.

In the Northern States of the Peninsula the *sēmangat padi* superstition appears to be even stronger than it is in the South, the reason probably being that Buddhism, unlike Islam, has never felt itself forced to look askance at these ceremonies. "The Siamese," says Low, "when the grain is ripe, tie nine bunches (before pulling them up or cutting them) together with white thread and then invoke Buddha, the Bali and the Hierarchy. No fire must be taken out of the house for the ensuing three days. On the fourth day the nine bunches are cut and placed in the granary as consecrated first fruits. The Sam-sams after their pooja and its accompanying offerings to the Pho Sop, select one hundred and eight padi stalks, this being the number told by Buddhist priests in their rosary in memory, or in honour, of the Holy Foot. These stalks are then fashioned into the figure of a female, much in the same manner as the harvest-maiden is formed in some northern counties of Britain. This figure is clothed, and being then considered the

representative of Mo Pho Sop, offerings are made to it of rice and fruits and it is duly consecrated by five Buddhist priests. It is afterwards placed above the new grain in the granary and five stones are laid on it to prevent its escape. When any grain is to be beaten out the image is also brought forth and told what quantity is required."

As soon as the ceremony of taking the *sēmangat padi* is over, and the procession has returned to the house, the Malay padi planter is forbidden to work for the remainder of the day and for the two succeeding days. During this period he and his family are placed under restrictions identical with those which follow a birth in the house: nothing may be brought out of the rice field or *kampung*, lights may not be put out and the strongest precautions are taken against noise. An iron nail is placed in the store near the *sēmangat* emblem, which is, in fact, treated exactly as if it were a new-born infant.

For reaping the crop Malays ordinarily use the *rēnggam* or *tuai* to cut the heads of padi. This is a very unpretentious implement. If a European had to choose between it and a nail-scissors for the purposes of harvest he would probably select the latter. The introduction of the sickle, an implement which saves both time and expense and which is used commonly enough in Krian, Province Wellesley and in the coast district of Malacca, is to be attributed, with the *banting* or *pikul padi* custom, to Chinese influence. It is astonishing how conservative Malays are in the matter of using the *rēnggam* and treading out their padi. It would appear from a comparison of methods now observed and those which were described by Low, that the Chinese custom of harvesting has not become

a whit more popular in this country during the last seventy-five years. Malays say that their objection to the sickle is that, when this is used, the reaper can hardly prevent himself from cutting unripe grains which would be passed by if the *tuai* were employed. Further, they consider that Chinese methods are an offence to the *sēmangat padi*. As rice in certain conditions has recently been shown to be a dangerous food, it is hard to condemn customs which may, for aught we know, be founded on very good reason.

According to the method of threshing which is borrowed from the Chinese, a tub without top or bottom is set on a mat in the middle of the padi field : against the edge of this, or against a contrivance fixed inside it, the padi-heads are beaten until all the grain has fallen in. The Malay custom is to tread out the padi until grain and straw are separated. Though custom has been complacent enough in some localities to allow the treading out to be done by buffaloes, it turns from the Chinese method as being an insult to the *sēmangat padi*. It is probable that the good cheer which attends the harvest season has had a powerful influence against the introduction of the more business-like and less sociable methods of threshing which are practised in other countries.

With the exceptions of Upper Perak, Patani and the States of the north of that country, where padi is sun-dried and stored with the stalk attached, it appears to be customary throughout the Peninsula to store padi in the grain after it has been threshed or trodden out. Padi-stores vary considerably in design and, of course, in capacity. Before the grain is stored the floor of the granary is covered with straw. This custom is

attributed by Malays to *sēmangat* superstition, but is more probably due to the necessity for the straw as a protection against mould and the moisture which rises from below the store. A few *lěnggundi* leaves are mixed with the grain. These are bitter leaves and help to keep insects away.

VIII.—PROFITS OF THE INDUSTRY.

In an enquiry into the economic aspects of rice planting in the Peninsula, Sir William Maxwell wrote :

“Rice land in Penang yields a return which may not be averaged higher than 75-fold or nearly 300 gantangs of paddy for each orlong; but it has been considered advisable to rate it here at 60-fold only. The rice land, or *běndang*, of Province Wellesley gives an average return of 117½-fold; the maximum degree of productiveness being 600 gantangs of paddy for an orlong (or 1½ acres) of well-flooded, alluvial land, or 150-fold; which number of gantangs are equal to 300 gantangs of rice, weighing nearly 4,520 English pounds. The present average produce has been very moderately estimated in this account at 470 gantangs the orlong of paddy. The quantity of seed invariably allotted for an orlong of land is 4 gantangs. In the estimate of future produce as available for the support of the local population, 480 gantangs an orlong have been assumed as the net average produce, this increase being admissible on the score of the improving productiveness of the land. The average produce now derivable, as above specified, from one square mile of *běndang* land will be 284½ koyans of paddy, or 142½ koyans of rice, affording food sufficient for the support of 1,915 souls; so that, were every orlong to have its complement, the population of this Province might be more than doubled without outrunning the means of subsistence. Prospectively viewed, the number which a square mile will be sufficient to support may be rated at 1,936 souls. In Siam, 40-fold is

estimated a good average produce. At Tavoy, on the Tenasserim Coast, the maximum rate of productiveness of the rice land was, in 1825—and is still believed to be—nearly the same as the average of Siam; while the average was only 20-fold, at which last rate the produce of a square mile would support about 1,000 souls. There the return for seed sown is not only thus small, compared with the return for the quantity sown here, but to obtain the above average of 20-fold, or 200 gantangs of paddy from one orlong of land, it would be requisite to sow 13 gantangs of seed. The difference in favour of this local Malayan husbandry is therefore 219 gantangs of paddy for each orlong cultivated—besides the profit arising to the latter by the saving of labour. To obtain, on the Tavoy Coast, the clear return of 470 gantangs of paddy—being the average above stated for Province Wellesley, including land newly cleared, and not yet become fully productive—it would be required to cultivate $1\frac{1}{2}$ orlongs and to sow $23\frac{1}{2}$ gantangs of seed.

The total present population of the latter Province could be supported on the average quantity of rice raised on 24 square miles of superficies; while on the coast alluded to, an area of about 48 square miles will be required to supply food to such a population.

The very superior fertility of the Province Wellesley soil depends on its alluvial composition, and on its being level and easily accessible to water—and in some localities, on its being comparatively new; but this last circumstance does not seem to operate as might be supposed for some land, which has been longest under cultivation, or upwards of 20 years, yields the largest crops."

The non-cultivation of the tracts of land available for rice planting on the coasts of the Peninsula was attributed by Sir William Maxwell to the following causes :

"1. *Want of population.*—The population is sparse, whole districts being uninhabited. Men can choose their occupations and are not forced into agriculture by competition.

"2. *The high rate of wages.*—Scarcity of labour, consequent on sparseness of population, results in the fixing of a high rate of remuneration for a day's work. If the agriculturist can earn as a labourer twice as much as the cultivation of his fields will bring him, he will abandon agriculture and live on imported rice.

"3. *Competition of more profitable employment.*—The gutta-percha industry is one of these. The Malay padi-planters of Batu Pahat and other places in Johore abandoned their lands, some generations ago, to collect gutta, and their descendants are now growing up, in many cases, entirely ignorant of agriculture.

"4. *The high standard of comfort and luxury demanded by modern Malays.*—A purely agricultural life requires that the cultivator be satisfied with poor fare and that his style of living be simple, modest and economical. As satisfying these conditions the Malays of Negri Sembilan are an almost ideal peasantry. Their methods of cultivation are excellent, they preserve their ancient habits and traditions and they are satisfied with little. In Malacca, where the Malays are good cultivators and much attached to their fields, cultivation is only one of a man's means of livelihood. The same may be said of the Malays of Province Wellesley, Penang and of some places in the Malay States.

"5. *The smallness of profits derivable from padi-planting as compared with other kinds of agriculture.*—Chinese are hardly ever found growing rice.

"6. *The cheapness of imported rice.*—This is so closely connected with the question of wages that it is difficult to treat the two subjects separately. It seems to be obvious that an immigrant population in a new country, with the boundless food supplies of Burma and Siam on either hand, can import rice more cheaply than they can grow it."

Under present conditions the cost of bringing twenty orlongs of jungle land under rice cultivation

and the profits derivable therefrom are approximately as follows :

First year :

| | |
|--|-------|
| (1) Clearing jungle, 20 orlongs | \$500 |
| (2) Nursery | 10 |
| (3) Cost of planting at \$2 per orlong | 40 |
| (4) Cost of caring for and watching the <i>béndang</i> for six months at \$6 a month | 36 |
| (5) Cost of reaping, carrying home, threshing and storing | 80 |
| (6) Rent for one year | 18 |
| (7) Granary, to last for seven years | 35 |
| (8) Bags, mats, baskets, etc. | 19 |
| Total | \$738 |

The return at 480 gantangs per orlong would be 9,600 gantangs having an approximate value of \$768.

Second year :

| | |
|---|----------|
| Cost of clearing 20 orlongs with the <i>tajak</i> | \$100.00 |
| Items 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 above | 184.00 |
| Cost of implements | 7.50 |
| Total | \$351.50 |

The profit for the second year would therefore approximate \$320. For the third and fourth year this should not vary. After the fourth year the plough can be used, should the soil not be too soft to preclude its use altogether. Besides diminishing the labour of agriculture, the use of the plough generally involves the keeping of buffaloes and the profits

attendant thereon. Where it is necessary to hire ploughing buffaloes the cost of cultivation for the fifth year would be :

| | |
|--|--------------------|
| Two wooden ploughs at \$10 each ... | \$ 20.00 |
| Two sikat at \$5 each | 10.00 |
| One pënggiling | 2.50 |
| Hire of buffaloes and cost of ploughing at \$10 the orlong | 200.00 |
| Items 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 as in the first year | 184.00 |
| | Total ... \$416.50 |

It will be seen that the cost of cultivation goes up with the first year's ploughing; after this year the cost of ploughing is reduced to \$5 an orlong, the total annual expenditure thus becoming \$316.50 approximately.

Many different kinds of rice are planted and the yields per acre vary to a considerable degree. For trade purposes the Krian Malay plants two or three varieties of grain which are favoured by the Chinese buyers, but when he grows rice for his own consumption he is more particular. Malay gourmets profess to be able to recognise most of the well-known rices by the taste when cooked, and the *saraup padi*, which is commonly grown for export, is rarely eaten by the well-to-do. Certain kinds of rice are regarded as appropriate for presents, others for festive occasions. It is said that as many as a hundred and thirty different varieties are planted in the district of Krian alone.

APPENDICES.

A.

TECHNICAL TERMS USED IN RICE-PLANTING.

| | |
|---------------|----------------|
| Piama | Chékam |
| Gálong ayer | Sulam |
| Ténggala | Bunting |
| Batu péngasah | Péringgi |
| Kéchar | Gémai |
| Méngawat | Méngirek |
| Sémai | Pénggiau |
| Ménanam | Tong |
| Pérdéh | Tikar |
| Padi ménirus | Hémpa padi |
| Méngampis | Salang |
| Rénggam | Changkul balas |
| Pinoh | Tajak |
| Pisau | Chakar |
| Jérami | Kapar |
| Raga lu | Badai |
| Hurus | Unting |
| Pondok | Kuku Kambing |
| Jélapang | Mérumput |
| Sayup piama | Pérémping |
| Petak | Ruman |
| Sisir | Kédap |
| Bangku | Raga sodok |
| Mélonggok | Nyiru |
| Pénggiling | Padi bérnas |
| Chap | Kandar |

B.

MALAY DESCRIPTION OF RICE-PLANTING.

INTRODUCTION.

Ada pun orang kërja béndang itu émpat jénis pékérjaan-nyé :

(1). Di-ténggala tanah yang di-dalam petak béndang-nyé itu di-terek uleh kèrbau akan ténggala-nyé. Apabila habis di bungkar tanah itu dèngan sisir di-terek uleh kèrbau jugé

kemudian di-balas sisir p rata dua atau tiga lapis. Maka tanah itu pun hancur-lah dan rumput-rumput-nya itu pun mati; di-chabut s mai di-tanam d ngan tangan atau d ngan kuku kambing.

(2). Di-tajak rumput-rumput yang di-dalam petak b ndang-nya itu hingga habis; kemudian di-giling di-tarek uleh k rbau akan p nggiling-nya tiga atau  mpat lapis. Maka rumput-rumput itu pun hancur dan t ngg lam ka-dalam tanah, naik lumpur ka-atas-nya, ch rah-lah di-dalam petak-nya; di-chabut s mai di-tanam-nya.

(3). Di-tajak rumput-rumput-nya di-dalam petak b ndang-nya itu hingga habis; kemudian di-chakar himpun buat s perti batas sakalian-nya; di-p ram tiga atau  mpat malam; kemudian di-aleh-nya d ngan chakar sakalian-nya di-p ram pula tiga  mpat malam. Maka rumput itu pun musam-lah di-k chur-nya b ri p noh petak. Kemudian di-chabut s mai di-tanam d ngan ch kam atau kuku kambing.

(4). Jika b ndang-nya itu dalam, apabila sudah tajak rumput-nya di-himpun d ngan chakar longgok rumput itu bulat-bulat; kemudian di-chakar tarek angkat naik ka-batas sa hingga habis. Jika ada rumput yang hidup di-r ntas d ngan tajak, kemudian di-chabut s mai tanam-nya d ngan kuku kambing atau d ngan ch kam.

DEFINITIONS

Awal piama = awal waktu buat b ndang, yaitu di-dalam musim.

Sayup piama = akhir musim buat b ndang, ya-itu sudah hampir m ngadap musim panas. Ada pun m nunjukkan sayup piama itu ada-lah s perti: bunga gelenggang sudah b rtaji, dan pokok k pulut b rbunga, dan burung uau dan p kaka' sudah galak; dan burung balam t rlalu marah hingga sa b rbunyi dan m ngg lupur di-atas tanah; dan t kukur m r bok di-hutan galak.

Batas = guna-nya m nabunkan ayer dalam petak; dan lagi guna-nya boleh di-jalankan di-atas-nya.

G long ayer = guna-nya m ng luarkan ayer atau m ngambil ayer masuk ka-dalam petak-nya.

Petak = b rti-nya di-k lilingi uleh batas-nya.

T nggala = guna-nya m l kangkan tanah itu sa-akan-akan tanah yang k na changkul.

Sisir = guna-nya mēnghanchurkan dan mēratakan tanah yang di-tōnggala itu.

Batu pengasah = guna-nya mēngasahkan tajak yang tumpul itu bēri tajam.

Tajak = guna-nya mēmotongkan sakalian rumput-rumput yang di-dalam petak bēndang-nya.

Bangku = guna-nya buat tēmpat duduk mēngasah tajak itu.

Chakar = guna-nya buat himpun rumput atau chakar angkat naik ka-batas.

Kēchar = guna-nya mēnudongkan tanah dēngan kapar rumput itu kurang tumbuh.

Longgok = guna-nya supaya sēnang di-chakar rumput itu angkat naik ka-batas.

Kapar = sakalian rumput-rumput yang tērtajak di-dalam petak-nya itu di-namakan kapar.

Mēngaut = di-kaut sakalian rumput-rumput yang di-dalam petak itu angkat ka-batas.

Pēnggiling = guna-nya mēnggilingkan rumput-rumput itu supaya hanchur dan tēnggēlam naik lumpur.

Badai = guna-nya tatkala sudah di-pērbuat bēkas sēmai di-tarek-lah batang pisang ka-atas-nya supaya rata tanah itu kēmudian di-tabur padi bēneh ka-atas-nya.

Sēmai = hērti-nya padi yang tumbuh daripada tabur di-manakan hēndak di-tanam-nya itu.

Chap = hērti-nya sēmai yang tērchabut itu di-ikat kēchil dēngan daun-nya di-namakan chap.

Unting = sēmai yang tērchabut itu ikat dēngan tali bēsar-bēsar di-namakan unting.

Mēnanam = di-tanam sēmai yang tērchabut itu ka-dalam petak bēndang-nya.

Tēgap = di-tanam bēri bētul masing-masing nirai-ny pokok padi itu.

Mērumput = mēmbuangkan rumput-rumput yang tērsēbut tumbuh di-dalam padi-nya.

Chēkam = nama kayu buat lubang hēndak buboh sēmai itu.

Kuku kambing = guna-nya buboh akan sēmai itu ka-dalam chēlah kuku-nya di-tikam ka-tanah sambil bērdiri.

Pērdak = di-tanam kērap-kērap buat taroh sulam padi yang mati itu.

Sulam = mōnggantikan tanam padi yang mati itu.

Mēnirus = batang padi itu sudah tirus ya-itu sudah hēndak bunting.

Bunting = sudah ada padi di-dalam batang-nya ia hēndak kēluar buah.

Mēmanah = kēluar buah jarang-jarang satu tangkai.

Mēngampar = padi itu sudah banyak kēluar buah-nya.

Pēringgi = buat padi itu muda tētapinya baharu sedikit kēluar boleh-lah di-kētam ambil buah-nya di-rēndang tumbok buat ringgi makan.

Pērēmping = buah padi itu sudah dēkat masak, boleh-lah di-kētam ambil rēndang tumbok akan padi-nya buat ēmping di-makan.

Rēnggam = buat kētam padi mēmotongkan tangkai padi itu.

Gēmai = padi yang tērketam itu di-ikat dēngan jērami-nya.

Bakul = guna-nya buat isi padi di-pērbuat daripada mēngkuang.

Pinoh = di-susun padi gēmai itu ka-dalam jēlapang.

Mēngirek = di-hirek padi itu di-atas tikar mēngēluarkan daripada tangkai-nya.

Kuman = tangkai padi yang sudah kēluar buah itu.

Pisau pēnggiau = guna-nya mēmotongkan batang padi.

Kēdap = batang padi yang tērkerat di-himpunkan sa-chukup-chukup boleh di-pēgang angkat pukul ka-dalam tong.

Jērami = batang padi yang tēlah di-ambil buah-nya di-mamakan jērami.

Tong = guna-nya di-pukul padi dalam-nya.

Raga sodok = guna-nya buat ka-it padi di-dalam tong atau di-atas tikar.

Raga lu = guna-nya isi padi ka-dalam-nya.

Salang = guna-nya buat lētak raga lu itu sēnang di-kandar pulang.

Tikar = guna-nya buat lapak jēmur padi di-atas-nya itu.

Nyiru = guna-nya buat tampi padi atau buat angin padi (burus).

Hurus = di-tuangkan padi itu tathala angin kēnehang tērbanglah sakalian hēmpa tinggal-lah padi yang bērnas di-atas tikar itu.

Hēmpa padi = padi yang tiada bērisi di-dalam-nya.

Padi bērnas = padi yang elok ada isi di-dalam-nya itu.

Pondok = guna-nya buat bertedoh hujan atau panas dalam-nya.

Pengandar = guna-nya buat kandar padi itu bawa pulang.

Jilapong = guna-nya buat isi padi itu ka-dalam-nya.

DARI-HAL ORANG KERJA BENDANG.

Bermula orang yang hendak buat bendang itu pada mula-nya di-siapkan-lah sakalian perkakas-nya seperti kerbau dan tenggala dan sisir dan changkul dan sa-bagai-nya yang berguna pada-nya. Ada pun orang yang hendak bekerja dengan tajak itu pun demikian juga di-tempa-nya tajak dan changkul dan di-beli-nya batu penguasah dan di-buat-nya chakar dan penggiling jika ia hendak tajak giling. Setelah sampai piama-nya masing-masing turun-lah ka-bendang-nya menenggalakan bekas semai-nya dan di-susur-nya. Telah sudah maka orang yang menajak itu pun di-tajak rumput-nya di-chakar angkat naik ka-batas; kemudian di-chinchang dengan changkul tanah itu beri hancur. Telah sudah kemudian masing-masing membawa-lah padi benih-nya yang sudah di-rendam di-tabur-nya. Kemudian daripada itu yang menenggalakan di-tenggalakan sakalian petak bendang-bendang-nya, dan batas-batas yang putus itu pun di-perbuat-nya; kemudian di-sisir hingga lumat tanah-nya. Maka orang yang menajak di-tajak-lah sakalian rumput-rumput yang di-dalam petak bendang-nya; kemudian di-giling di-tarek oleh kerbau akan penggiling-nya hingga hancur rumput-rumput itu. Orang yang hendak kechar itu, telah sudah menajak, di-chakar sakalian kapar rumput itu di-longgok dan di-peram-nya tiga empat malam di-aleh-nya kemudian di-kechar-nya; dan orang yang hendak mengaut itu pun di-keut-lah kapar rumput-nya sakalian naik ka-batas yang mana hidup di-rentas dengan tajak. Sa-telah sudah pekerjaan-nya masing-masing itu di-chabut-lah semai-nya di-perbuat chap atau untung di-kandar bawa kabendang-nya di-buat tegap di-tanam dengan chakam atau kuku kambing.

Sa-telah sudah padi itu pun makin sa-hari makin-lah besar dan beranak-lah ia. Maka rumput-rumput yang tumbuh di-dalam-nya itu pun di-chabut-nya. Ada pun padi itu pada mula-nya menirus-lah ia; kemudian bunting; kemudian keluar buah.

nya mēmanah; kēmudian mēngapar; kēmudian pēringgi; kēmudian pērēmping; kēmudian masak-lah ia. Maka datang-lah tuan-nya mēmbawa tong, di-giau batang-nya buat kēdap, di-pukul ka-dalam tong, di-buang jērani-nya; apabila pēnoh di-kaut jēmur ka-atas tikar. Sa-tēlah kēring di-hurus pada angin buang hēmpa-nya, di-isi ka-dalam raga atau bukul, di-kandar isi ka-dalam jēlapang-nya, kērja-nya hēndak habis; dan orang yang tiada pukul itu di-kētam tangkai padi-nya dēngan rēnggam buat gēmai di-kandar bawa ka-tikar di-hirek buang ruman-nya, di-jēmur ka-panas; kēmudian di-hurus buang hēmpa-nya, di-kandar isi ka-dalam jēlapang-nya; dan ada juga jurang-jarang orang mēnyimpan padi-nya dēngan gēmai ka-dalam jēlapang-nya, ya-itu di-kata-kan pūoh, dēmikian-lah kērja-nya.

Bērmula orang yang hēndak buat bēndang dēngan tēnggala itu di-sēdiakan-lah sēgala pērkakus-nya, ya-itu kērbau dan tēnggala dan sisir dan changkul dan lain-lain-nya yang bērguana pada pēkērjaan-nya. Tēlah sampai waktu pīama-nya masing-masing turun-lah kabēndang-nya mēnēnggala bēkos sēmua-nya. Sa-tēlah sudah di-sisir-nya dan di-balai-nya bēri rata. Kēmudian masing-masing mēmbawa-lah padi bēneh-nya yang sudah di-rēndam di-tabur ka-dalam-nya. Kēmudian daripada itu masing-masing mēnēnggala sakalian petak bēndang-nya, ya-itu di-tarek uleh kērbau akan tēnggala tēnggala-nya. Maka batas yang putus-putus itu di-pērbuat-nya dēngan changkul, kēmudian di-isi-nya tiga ēmpat lapis; tanah itu pun rata dan rumput itu pun habis mati. Kēmudian di-chabut-nya sēmua di buat chap atau unting di-kandar bawa ka-petak-nya di-buat tēkap tanam-nya dēngan tangan atau kuku kēmbing dan di-tanam-nya pērdeh taroh buat pēnyulam. Sa-tēlah padi itu bēsar sadikit, di-buang-lah rumput-nya dan di-sulam-nya yang mana mati. Maka bēranak-lah ia pada mula-nya. Sa-tēlah putus anak-nya mēnirus-lah ia, kēmudian bunting kēluar buah-nya mēmanah, kēmudian mēngapar; sa-tēlah habis kēluar buah-nya itu, kēmudian pēringgi dan pērēmping; kēmudian masak-lah ia. Maka datang-lah tuan-nya mēmbawa alatan mēmotong nya di-giau batang-nya buat kēdap di-pukul dalam tong. Sa-tēlah pēnoh di-kaut buboh ka-dalam-nya di-kandar ka-tikar, di-jēmur-nya. Sa-tēlah kēring di-hurus; buang hēmpa-nya di-kandar isi ka-dalam jēlapang-nya, di-kērja hingga habis, ada-nya.

DARI-HAL ORANG MEMBUAT BENDANG TAJAK GILING.

Maka pada mula-nya orang yang hendak buat bendang tajak giling itu dahulu-nya di-siap-lah segala alatan-nya, ya-itu kerbau dan tajak dan changkul dan penggiling dan sa-bagai-nya. Maka bila sampai musim piama-nya masing-masing sakalian turun-lah ka-bëndang-nya menajak bekas semai-nya. Sa-télah sudah di-chakar kapar rumput itu naik ka-batas, kemudian di-chinchang dengan changkul sampai lumat baharu di-badai beri rata tanah itu kemudian masing-masing membawa-lah padi béneh-nya yang télah di-réndam itu di-tabur ka-dalam-nya; kemudian masing-masing menajak-lah sakalian rumput yang di-dalam petak bëndang-nya. Apabila sudah menajak itu, baharu di-giling kapar rumput itu dengan penggiling, ya-itu di-tarek uleh kerbau akan dia sampai tiga empat lapis; hanchur-lah rumput itu, di-champur dengan lumpur. Sa-télah itu maka masing-masing menchabut-lah semai-nya di-buat chap atau unting, di-kandar ka-petak-nya, di-buat tékap tanam-nya dengan kuku kambing atau chékam. Sa-télah sudah di-tanam-nya pula perdeh taroh buat penyulam. Maka tatkala besar sadikit padi itu di-buang-lah rumput di-dalam-nya, dan di-tébas-nya batas dan di-sulam-nya mana yang mati. Maka padi itu pun menirus-lah dan bunting keluar buah-nya memanah kemudian mengempar. Maka buah-nya itu pun peringgi dan peremping, kemudian masak-lah ia; datang-lah tuan-nya membawa perkakas-nya mengeratkan batang-nya buat kedap, di-pukul-nya ka-dalam tong, di-kaut, di-jemur ka-tikar, di-hurut buang hempa-nya, di-kandar bawa isi ka-dalam jelapang-nya; demikian di-kerja-nya hingga habis, ada-nya.

DARI-HAL ORANG BUAT BENDANG TAJAK KECHAR.

Maka pada awal-nya orang yang hendak kerja bendang tajak kechar itu mula-mula-nya di-siap-lah tajak dan changkul dan chakar dan sa-bagai-nya. Maka waktu sampai piama-nya itu masing-masing menajak-lah bekas di-semai-nya di-chakar rumput itu naik ka-batas di-chinchang dengan changkul tanah itu beri lumat baharu di-badai-nya beri rata tanah itu. Kemudian

masing-masing menabur padi benih yang sudah di-rendam ka-dalam-nya. Sa-telah sudah masing-masing menajak sakalian rumput dalam bendang-nya, serta di-perbuat-nya batas yang mana putus itu, kemudian di-gulong-nya dengan chakar rumput yang sudah tajak itu, sakalian buat seperti batas. Sa-telah sudah di-peram-nya empat lima hari baharu di-alah-nya dengan chakar sakalian-nya kemudian di-peram-nya pula beri masam dan mati rumput itu, baharu-lah masing-masing mengé-char; dan semai pun di-chabut-lah buat chap atau unting di-bawa tanam dengan chékam atau kuku kambing, dan di-tanam-nya perdeh. Maka tatkala besar sedikit padi itu, di buang-nya rumput dan di-sulam-nya serta di-tébas-nya batas. Maka pada mula-nya padi itu beranak dan menirus dan bunting keluar buah-nya memanah dan mengampar dan peringgi dan peremping. kemudian masak-lah buah-nya; datang-lah tuan-nya mengétam atau menggiaw batang-nya buat kedap di-pukul ka-dalam tong, di-kaut jemur ka-tikar di-angin. buang hempa-nya di-kandar isi ka-dalam jélapang-nya; demikian-lah di-kérja-nya hingga habis, ada-nya.

DARI-HAL ORANG BUAT BENDANG TAJAK KAUT.

Maka orang yang hendak buat bendang itu bersiap-lah perka-kas-nya ya-itu tajak dan changkul dan chakar dan barang yang berguna kapada-nya. Maka tatkala sampai piama-nya, masing-masing membuat bekas semai-nya, di-tabur padi benih-nya yang telah di-rendam itu ka-dalam-nya. Telah sudah menajak-lah masing-masing bendang-nya hingga habis; kemudian di-longgok dengan chakar di-tarek naik ka-batas sakalian-nya. Maka jika ada rumput yang tumbuh di-rentas dengan tajak. Kemudian di-chabut-lah semai tanam-nya serta di-redeh buat penyulam. Sa-telah besar bunting-lah ia keluar buah-nya, dan memanah dan mengampar dan peringgi dan peremping. Kemudian masak-lah ia; datang-lah tuan membawa renggam di-kétam-nya atau di-kérsé pukul ka-dalam tong di-kaut jemur di-angin buang hempa-nya di-kandar pulang isi ka-dalam jélapang-nya, di-kérja-nya sampai habis; demikian-lah, ada-nya.

PAPERS ON MALAY SUBJECTS.

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

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

SUPPLEMENT: THE ABORIGINAL TRIBES.

BY

R. J. WILKINSON, *P.M.S. Civil Service.*

KUALA LUMPUR:

PRINTED BY J. E. WALLACE AT THE F.M.S. GOVERNMENT PRESS

1936.

500-30-1.36.

PREFACE.

THIS little essay on the Wild Tribes of the Malay Peninsula represents the work of many persons besides myself. I wish to express my special indebtedness to the following gentlemen :

(1) for information about the Semang Paya and their language : to the Orang Kaya Mantri, Malay Magistrate, Selama; to the Assistant Penghulu of Ijok; and to Messrs. Robinson and Kloss, of the Museums Department;

(2) for information about the Sakai Jeram and their language : to Mr. Hubert Berkeley, District Officer, Upper Perak; to Mr. H. C. Robinson, Director of Museums; and to the Vernacular School Teachers at Grit and Lenggong;

(3) for information about the Sakai Jeher and their language : to Mr. Berkeley and to Messrs. Robinson and Kloss;

(4) for information about the Northern Sakai : to Mr. Berkeley; to Mr. E. M. Schwabe, formerly of Tanjong Rambutan; to Mr. Gordon Brown, of Sungei Krudda Estate; to Mr. Boden Kloss; and, above all, to the diaries left by the late Mr. Williams;

(5) for information about the Central Sakai and their language : to Mr. H. C. Robinson; to Mr. W. H. Lee-Warner, of the Civil Service; to the Penghulus of Sungkai and Temoh; to the Assistant Penghulu of Chenderiang; and to the Vernacular School Teachers at Tapah, Slim, Kinjang, and Gunong Panjang;

(6) for information about the Bেসি and their language : to Mr. H. C. Robinson; to Mr. F. A. Callaway, formerly of Pulau Lumut; to Mr. H. B. Ellerton, formerly District Officer, Negri Sembilan Coast; and to Mr. Caldecott, District Officer, Jelebu;

(7) for information about the Jakun and their language : to Mr. E. A. Dickson, formerly District Officer, Kuala Pilah; to Mr. J. P. Swettenham, formerly Executive Engineer, Kuantan, Pahang; to Mr. Wallace, of the Survey Department; to Mr. Minehan, of the Survey Department; and to Mr. A. J. Sturrock, formerly District Officer, Temerloh.

I have also to thank M. Caldecott, of Jelebu, for very careful enquiries regarding the Kenaboi Sakai in his district.

It was at one time my intention to write a supplementary pamphlet on the Sakai languages. This intention has been abandoned because such a work would be out of place in this series of non-linguistic papers; because it would involve the use of special type; and because it would take up a great deal of time and space if all the fifty or sixty vocabularies are to be reproduced in extenso. Some special use of this material may be made later, but for the present I am content to publish the general conclusions, together with a brief comparative vocabulary (to illustrate the common element in the languages), and a grammatical note on the dialect best known to me.

INTRODUCTORY.

IF the extent of our knowledge of the wild tribes of Malaya was to be measured by the mere weight of the books that have been written about them the subject would not afford much scope for further research. The work of Messrs. Skeat and Blagden covers some 1,600 pages; Dr. Rudolf Martin's book is almost as voluminous; then we have a fifteen-shilling "fasciculus" by Messrs. Annandale and Robinson, a French work on "Perak et les Orang Sakey," a book by Signor Cerruti on "My Friends the Savages," many essays by Father Schmidt and others on the Mon-Annam affinities of the Sakai dialects, and innumerable articles by Vaughan-Stevens, Clifford, Hale, Knocker, de Morgan and other authorities, reliable or the reverse. But with all this mass of literature we know next to nothing about the aborigines of the Malay Peninsula. No European has ever mastered a Sakai dialect or made himself familiar with the inner life of any single Sakai tribe. The flying visits of scientific observers represent very little more than the intelligent globe-trotter and his note-book of first impressions. They may tell us some simple facts about the shape of a Sakai's house, the colour of his skin and hair, and perhaps a few details about his clothing, habits and weapons. To such notes there may be added a short vocabulary of some 200 or 300 words. There our information ends; and, after all, it rests only on some brief conversations (usually through an interpreter) and a few photographs and measurements taken in a hurry. Is it surprising that

our experts disagree when every writer has to begin by discussing the reliability of other people's work? Paucity of evidence leads, of course, to plenitude of criticism and explains why books are big when facts are few.

The line of discussion usually followed in such cases also tends to kill popular interest in the wild tribesmen of the Peninsula. They are represented as inaccessible persons who are remarkable principally for their cephalic index and their Mon-Annam affinities—and baits of this sort fail to attract the general reader. No sane *savant* is likely to give up the best years of his comfortable life to the study of wandering tribes who lead lives of hardship in the recesses of unhealthy forests; nor is it probable that any practical planter or trader will take an enthusiastic interest in the cranial proportions of the savages that he meets. It is to be feared that there will always be a distinction between the people who know the wild tribes and the people who write about them.

In the early days of European trade with the Far East the Peninsular aborigines were known through the *Orang Benua* or Jakun of Malacca, and were regarded as mere simian savages, the *Binuas Satyros* of the old Portuguese maps. The first traders took no interest in them. At a later date when research became more popular and when the British occupation of Penang brought our students into relation with the Semang, the presence of negrito tribesmen in a Malayan country roused much curiosity and led ultimately to the belief that the other wild races were only the result of blends between the Semang and the Malay. This was the "Pan-Negrito" theory that influenced the writings of Miklukho-Maclay. Of

course, no one believes in it now. Even from the beginnings of Sakai investigation the theory was questioned by those who had knowledge of the existence of fair aboriginal tribes showing no trace of either Negrito or Malay admixture. A mystery seemed to hang over the wild tribes of the Peninsula and to suggest that somewhere in the Malayan forests there might be found the most primitive tribes on earth, men who would represent the missing link of Darwinism. In the end a man was sent out to solve this mystery—a collector named Vaughan-Stevens whose work in the early nineties did much to advertise Sakai research in Europe and to rouse expectations that were never destined to be fulfilled.

I knew the "Professor," as Vaughan-Stevens was styled. He was a simple kindly man who possessed a great gift of imaginative exaggeration. He told me that he had made the acquaintance of the wilder Sakai by festooning a forest tree with beads and pieces of cloth and by listening to the comments of the ambushed savages until he had heard enough to enable him to speak their language. Indeed he was full of strange tales and stranger resources. By covering himself with tar he claimed to make himself leechproof and independent of clothes. If he was unlucky enough to break his leg, he simply thrust the injured limb into a swamp: the sun caked the mud into a natural splint and gave the patient no trouble except that of digging himself out when the cure was complete. Any one who totalled up—as I did—the periods of time that Vaughan-Stevens asserted spending in the different savage countries that he had visited was impelled to the conclusion that the "Professor" was either a Methuselah or an Ananias.

He was neither. He was a humourist who did not expect to be taken seriously. But afterwards, when his professional work came to be impugned, these jesting stories of his idle hours were also quoted against his memory with a Teutonic solemnity that made them still more ridiculous. Jokes though they were, they have been fatal to his name. He has become a discredited writer whose work serves as a red rag for the horns of the ethnological expert.

Vaughan-Stevens was no "Professor"; he was not even a *savant*; he was an expert collector sent out to collect skulls and anthropological exhibits for a syndicate of scientists in Germany. Within his limits he did his work well. His skulls were genuine; and there is no suspicion attaching to his blow-pipes, quivers and bamboo-combs. But his employers expected more. Ignorant as he was of Sakai and even of Malay, he could not hope to get any real insight into the ideas and beliefs of tribes whose plane of thought is so far removed from our own. When asked to give information of this sort he could only do his best; and his best was a *bonâ fide* conjecture by a very imaginative person. Moreover, it is doubtful whether his employers had any conception of the cost and danger of journeys through the wilds of the Peninsula. Vaughan-Stevens was miserably poor; he could not afford to engage coolies and elephants or equip expeditions through the jungle. By working at outposts like Ulu Selama and Kuala Medang he met the tamer aborigines and obtained through them some information about the wilder tribes. He succeeded in making good collections of museum-exhibits, though he was handicapped in his accounts of them by his ignorance of Sakai and Malay. In the end things

went against him. He made no startling discoveries, for there were none to be made. He found that the Sakai were too human to be interesting and that the wild tribes differed very little from the tame. The close connection between the human Semang and the simian siamang—regarding which one French anthropologist wrote for information to Sir Hugh Low—proved to have no existence except in sound. Disappointed, impoverished, aged, ill and discredited, Vaughan-Stevens drifted to Borneo, where he died miserably from an overdose of morphia, self-administered. Surely, his story is a sad one; and the futility of his life-work is not its least tragic feature.

Vaughan-Stevens' best work lies in his collections. His records of customs and beliefs may be regarded as valueless, though they were based on first-hand information and though there is no evidence of imposture or even of extreme carelessness. First-hand information is of very little use without a satisfactory medium of interpretation; that, at least, might be learnt from the failure of Vaughan-Stevens. Not that the lesson will ever be learnt. The policy of studying the aborigines by means of flying visits and anthropological picnics will always be more attractive than the dreary labour of mastering their language before attempting to understand their thoughts. An excursion of a few days to "unexplored Malaya" turns a traveller into an "authority"—in the absence of anyone to say him nay—and entitles him to add his quatum to the misinterpretations and misunderstandings that obscure all Sakai research.

Of far higher value to these studies is the work that has been done by students who were resident in the Peninsula itself—notably, Sir Hugh Clifford in

Pahang, Mr. Skeat on the Selangor coast and Mr. Cerruti in the Batang Padang mountains. Sir Hugh Clifford possessed much local knowledge and was a master of the Malay language, the one practical medium of communication. Besides collecting very accurate and very useful vocabularies of "Senoi" (Central Sakai) and "Tembe" (Northern Sakai) he rendered a great service to methodical research by insisting on the importance of tribal divisions as against the slipshod process of treating all the aborigines as one or even two peoples. Mr. Skeat's prolonged study of the Coast Bেসি added very materially to our knowledge of the aborigines. The Bেসি have lost, it is true, many of their distinctive beliefs and customs through long contact with the Malays, but they still retain their ancient language; Mr. Skeat's vocabulary and his "Bেসি Songs" supply the fullest linguistic data that have yet been published about any aboriginal tribe. Mr. Cerruti's recent book on the Mai Darat of Batang Padang is another contribution of importance. Although he was not a linguist like Sir Hugh Clifford and Mr. Skeat, he wrote of a tribe with which he had many years intimate acquaintance, confined himself to that tribe, wrote only of what he had himself observed, and had no theories of his own to advance. His account of the life of the Mai Darat is very full and true.

The rest that has been written about the aboriginal tribes is either the notes of excursionists who have paid flying visits to the Sakai or else it is the work of scholars in Europe who have built up theories and inferences upon the notes of others. The former type—of which Dr. Rudolf Martin's book is the most brilliant example—may be dismissed as

insufficient and inconclusive even when it is accurate within its own narrow limits. Of the latter type the writings of Father Schmidt and of Mr. Blagden are the best instances. While it is premature, perhaps, to discuss the Mon-Annam affinities of languages so little known as the aboriginal tongues of the Malay Peninsula, there is no doubt that Mr. Blagden's analysis of these languages—in their relation to one another—is of very practical value. He shows us where one dialect ends and another begins—and inferentially he enables us to learn how many wild tribes there are in the country and how far the limits of each tribe extend. He gives us, in fact, a dialectic and tribal map of the aboriginal races of Malaya.

There are, however, certain limitations that must be associated with the analytical work of Father Schmidt and Mr. Blagden. They worked in Europe, using such materials as were already in existence. If they lacked information on any point, they could not supplement their store of knowledge by making enquiries on the spot; they had to be content with what they had got. Moreover, they worked on linguistic data only. A student working in the Peninsula itself is at a great advantage. If his information on any point is insufficient he can supplement it; if it is doubtful he can check it. This advantage is my justification for the authorship of this little pamphlet on the aboriginal tribes. Its conclusions are based on the collection of nearly sixty type-vocabularies (of over 200 words each) filled up by workers in all parts of the Peninsula. Nothing has been left unrepresented or uncorroborated—each dialect being represented by two or more vocabularies

taken down by different observers and independently of one another. In each case also the linguistic data have been supplemented by the collection of information regarding the culture and customs of the tribe.

The results of the enquiry have been the reverse of sensational. They do not bear out Mr. Blagden's theory that there are (at least) three distinct linguistic groups in the Peninsula each with its own dialects and sub-dialects. The vocabularies tend to show that there are five dialects spoken and that these dialects have so many words in common that they may be regarded as belonging to one single language-group. Corresponding to these five main differences in speech there are important differences in race and culture, so that it may be taken for granted that there are five distinct tribes or races of aborigines; the Semang, the Northern Sakai, the Central Sakai, the Besis, and the Jakun. We can now proceed to discuss each in its turn.

THE ABORIGINAL TRIBES.

PART I.—DIVISIONS OF RACE AND CULTURE.

THE SEMANG.

THE word *Semang* is a term applied by the Malays of Kedah to the negrito aborigines who live in their country. Like most names given by a dominant to a subject people it has come to be regarded as contemptuous, so that no wild tribesman will answer to it. "We are not Semang," say the negritoës of Ijok, "we are Sakai of the Swamps; if you want Semang you will find them on the hills behind us." "Not so," say the negritoës of the hills, "we also are not Semang, but if you cross the valley of the Perak to the main range of the Peninsula you will find Semang on the heights behind the rivers Piah and Plus." Should the traveller carry out these directions he will find in the Plus mountains a fairer race of aborigines who likewise repudiate the designation of Semang. A name that is rejected or misapplied in this way is a fruitful source of error and confusion, especially among anthropologists of the excursionist type who accept uncritically everything that they hear. Paradoxical as it may sound, the man who calls himself a Sakai is never a Sakai. That name also is contemptuous; and no true Sakai will own up to it—he prefers to call himself a "mountaineer" or "man of the forest." But the negrito, who belongs to a lower plane of culture, is flattered when he is taken for a Sakai, and accepts the word at once. Whence more confusion; but for the purposes of this paper the word Semang may be taken as the tribal equivalent of "negrito."

To puzzle the ethnologist still more the negrito is nomadic and trades with the fairer or "Sakai" tribes. Many a Sakai blow-pipe, bow or quiver must have found its way to Ijok or Selama or Siong, there to be sold to some confiding collector as an example of negrito culture. Under such circumstances controversy becomes endless; there is always a host of eye-witnesses to impugn any statement about the "Semang." For the purposes of this paper the expression "Semang" when applied to a blow-pipe, for instance, refers to a type of blow-pipe that is found exclusively among negritos; it does not preclude the possibility of other types being also bought, borrowed, or imitated. On the other hand, the Sakai with his higher culture is not likely to copy the wretched appliances of a humbler race.

The characteristics of the Semang in his most primitive state may be summarised as follows. He is a short lightly-built person of very negroid type, nomadic in his life, lax in his morality, and filthy in his habits. He plants little or nothing, preferring to live on wild fruit, roots and the produce of the chase. He does not build permanent houses, but is satisfied with a mere screen-shelter, or at best a "bee-hive" hut made of palm-branches. In sexual matters he has no race-jealousy. Of his religion very little is known. He seems to be free from that all-pervading terror of ghosts and of the dead that is so marked a feature of Sakai beliefs. On the other hand, he fears lightning and thunder to such an extent that observers have credited him with the possession of a thunder-god. He seems to have some sort of faith in a future life.

In the Federated Malay States, negrito communities are still to be seen in the sub-districts of

Selama and Matang and in Upper Perak. At one time they were to be found on colonial territory as well; but the last Semang (who "twittered like a bird" according to the enumerator) was recorded from Province Wellesley at the census of 1891. Elsewhere also they are dying out. There are about twenty-six "Swamp-Semang" near Ijok and three in the Matang district. A special interest attaches to these few surviving coast-negritos because of their isolation and comparative freedom from Sakai influence and admixture.

In Upper Perak negritos are known to inhabit the banks of the Perak river from Lenggong to its source. They go there by the name of "Sakai Jeram." Mr. Berkeley, the District Officer, who knows them well, writes of them :

"They live on the flat near the Perak river though they make very little use of it and are poor men on a raft or in a rapid. They speak a different language to the Sakai Bukit, with many words the same. They are usually thin and small, and often show signs of skin disease (*kurap*). They never wash. Yet the Sakai Bukit confess to being afraid of them, and they undoubtedly are. They plant rice, bananas, and all sorts of things, but never plant enough, and are always in a state of hunger and want. They live in wretched houses and shift quarters very often."

Racially they are of a pure negrito type, but in the matter of culture they are in constant relation with the Northern Sakai and with the Malays. Their language is nearer Northern Sakai than the Semang of Ijok, though they show a racial inability to pronounce the letter *r*. They were visited by Mr. Nelson Annandale, who was misled by their name into believing them to be expert boatmen, and whose assertion that they were "sensitive to wet" may be taken as an anthropologist's equivalent for

Mr. Berkeley's plain Saxon statement that "they never wash."

On the mountain-range separating these negritoës of the Perak river from the negritoës of Ijok are a few nomadic negritoës who are described as "Hill Semang" or *Së mang Bukit*. They have no very distinctive tribal character, being in relation with both the *Së mang Paya* on one side and the *Sakai Jë ram* on the other. Some of them were photographed and measured by a distinguished ethnologist with rather cruel consequences; the illnesses that chanced to follow on this experience were ascribed to the photographer, with the result that many of the Semang died—perhaps of fright—and the rest fled. "The aggressive ways of the modern anthropologist," as one member of the Institute described them in a playful way, may be productive of misery and death when applied without consideration to these poor superstitious savages.

On the banks of the streams that flow into the Perak river near its source there is found a small and little-known negrito tribe that goes by the Malay name of *Sakai Tanjong* or *Sakai Jë her*. Mr. Berkeley writes of them:

"They live in the Singoh, Sera, and many other rivers on both sides of the Perak. They clear no jungle and plant nothing at all, but live on jungle roots. They are terrible thieves and steal from the clearings of the Bukit and Jeram Sakai. Still they are careful to avoid encroaching on the territory of their neighbours, even if their neighbours have ripe jungle fruit and they have none and there is only a little stream dividing them. They live in huts made of a few palm-leaves bent over and they hang about villages to help to pound or harvest *padi*. They talk an absolutely distinct language (as compared with the Sakai Jeram and Sakai Bukit) and appear very closely akin to the Semang on the Kedah slope."

The dialect of these *Sakai Jëher* is distinct, as Mr. Berkeley points out, from that of the negritos of the Perak valley (who have really exchanged their own language for the speech of their Sakai neighbours), but it is closely akin to the Semang dialect spoken by the swamp-negritos of Ijok and also to that spoken by the Pangan negritos of Kelantan. Quite apart from the evidence of race there can be no doubt of the Semang affinities of these *Sakai Jëher*.

The so-called "Semang of Plus" may be ignored. True negritos may be found occasionally in the lowlands of the Plus valley; but they are either nomadic *Sakai Jëram* from the Perak river or nomadic *Pangan* from Kelantan. Moreover, as we have seen, the term "Semang" is applied erroneously to the Plus mountain-tribes that are not true negritos. The *Pangan* of Pahang may also be disregarded, as their real habitat lies in Kelantan and outside the geographical limit of this paper. The negrito tribes of the Federated Malay States are three in number: the *Sëmang Paya*, the *Sakai Jëram*, and the *Sakai Jëher*. It is difficult to find any racial or cultural difference between them, beyond the fact that those nearest the Sakai have borrowed a certain amount of their neighbours' culture and show slight traces of Sakai blood. In the matter of language the distinction is marked more clearly: the *Sëmang Paya* speak a Semang dialect and cannot pronounce the letter *r*;¹ the *Sakai Jëram* speak a Sakai dialect but retain many Semang words as well the inability to sound the letter *r*; the *Sakai Jëher* speak a Semang dialect but are able to use the letter *r*.

1 They soften it to *y*.

A difference has also been drawn by making the bow a Semang and the blow-pipe a Sakai weapon. I am disposed to question this distinction. The negroes use a very simple blow-pipe and quiver of a type never found among other tribes, but they also share with their fairer neighbours the use of the bow and of the elaborate Northern Sakai blow-pipe and quiver. The quiver that is used by the Semang only is a small and simple appliance, $\frac{1}{2}$ inch to 2 inches in width, containing very few darts, and stoppered by the use of a handful of leaves. It is worn with the aperture turned downwards so as to prevent the rain seaking through the stopper and spoiling the dart poison. But the quiver that is used by the Northern Sakai and by the Semang tribes in their vicinity is the most elaborate quiver in the Peninsula: it is very large (2 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 inches wide), highly adorned, and closed by a well-fitting cover of woven fern-fibre. It is difficult to believe that the low culture of the negroes is equal to such fine work (though it is equal to obtaining blow-pipes and quivers by barter for jungle produce); still less that it is equal to making the iron-tipped arrows that are associated with the Semang bow. The fact that the bow is the weapon of the Andaman Islanders is sufficient to explain why its occurrence in the Peninsula was ascribed to the Peninsular negroes. Such a theory may be true of the past, but at the present moment the blow-pipe is the true weapon of both Sakai and Semang.

THE NORTHERN SAKAI.

On the main range of the Malay Peninsula from Gunong Berembun in the south to the extreme limits of Perak in the north there are found certain

aboriginal tribes that possess a distinctive culture of their own. To begin with, they live in large substantial communal houses like the Dyaks of Berneo—not in leaf-shelters like the Semang, nor in cranky huts like the Central Sakai of Batang Padang. In the second place, they are good craftsmen, making excellent blow-pipes, elaborate quivers, powerful bows, and even iron-tipped arrows. As regards physique they are taller and stouter than their aboriginal neighbours; moreover, they are cleanly in their habits and suffer little from skin disease. Although they are migratory they are less so than the other wild tribes, and their crops take longer to mature. For an aboriginal race their standard of culture is so high that it entitles them to be regarded as a distinct tribe or element in the population of Malaya.

But when we come to define their exact relationship to the other wild tribes we have many difficulties to face. These Northern Sakai have no objection to intermarriage with other aborigines and show many traces of mixed blood. In the extreme north they are dark with every sign of Semang affinity; in the south they show no such sign. Culturally they stand far above both the Central Sakai and the Semang. In the matter of language they possess words that are traceable neither to Semang nor to Central Sakai. On the whole, the Northern Sakai may be regarded as a mixed tribe containing some peculiar racial element that has raised them above their neighbours. What that element is we cannot say, but we cannot dismiss the tribe as a mere cross between the negritoes of the north and the Central Sakai to the south.

The Northern Sakai may be divided into two or even three subdivisions. One large section of the tribe occupies the mountainous country to the north of the rivers Piah and Plus, and has been left untouched by European or Malay influence. Of these people, the *Sakai Bukit* of the local Malays, Mr. Berkeley writes :

"They live along the hills from Ulu Piah to the north, rarely below 2,000 feet, although they make clearings lower down. They are tall, active, well-fed, very clean, and bathing often. They plant tubers of many sorts, sugar-cane, millet, good kinds of bananas—also *pandan* and *mengkluang* for their baskets. They build good houses, generally on the ground, with walls ten feet high, like a Chinese cooly-house, but sometimes well above the ground."

These *Sakai Bukit* are the men described by Mr. Annandale under the name of *Po-Klo*.

The large communal houses that are so distinctive a feature of the culture of this tribe have been seen in many places. Mr. L. Wray found one in the valley of the Plus and another (I believe) near the upper waters of the Telom. Mr. Hale records a similar house from Ulu Kinta. Mr. Annandale seems to have seen them (through a telescope) from Temengor. And this recorded evidence can be supplemented by unpublished testimony. Mr. Berkeley has found communal houses at various places on the mountains of Upper Perak. Survey parties have reported them from Gunoug Grah. The late Mr. Woodgate when surveying in the vicinity of Cameron's plateau came across one of these long houses in which he counted the hearths of fifteen families. A French mining engineer, M. Descraques, in the service of the *Société des Etains de Kinta*, had a similar experience. When

sent out on a prospecting trip into the Batang Padang mountains (behind Kuala Dipang) he found that the Central Sakai aborigines of the foot-hills refused to accompany him beyond a certain elevation as they objected to enter the territory of an alien race speaking a different tongue. Pressing on with only one companion he came upon an extensive clearing where he saw a large communal house raised on posts to a height of some four feet from the ground. He described the occupants of this house as men of heavy build and sullen expression, who showed no hospitality and were even menacing in their attitude, though they did not go so far as to attack him. Mr. Henggeler when travelling on the mountains between Perak and Kelantan (at a height of about 4,000 feet) had another experience of the same sort. He found a clearing with a long unoccupied communal hut. He and his party camped there for the night. During the small hours of the morning some fifty Sakai entered the house and sat round the intruders, glaring at them and declining to speak Malay though one or two seemed to understand what was being said. They refused to sell or barter anything; and when it was daylight they followed Mr. Henggeler for some distance beyond the limits of their clearing. So much for the testimony of European eye-witnesses. Of other evidence there is also a good deal, in the form of statements by Malays and by the aborigines themselves.

Clearly, therefore, communal houses are to be found throughout the Northern Sakai area, from Temengor in the north to the Batang Padang mountains in the south. But they are only to be found at great elevations. The aborigines of the foot-hills

build huts like the Malays and have assimilated a great deal of Malay culture, though in language and physique they resemble the *Sakai Bukit* of the highlands. All that we know about the beliefs of the Northern Sakai has been learnt from these low-country tribes and cannot be proved (at present) to be true of their wilder neighbours. It may, however, be surmised that the "tame" aborigines differ from the "wild" only in the fact that they have discarded their old communal houses and the use of the bow and are losing other racial traits such as the making of bark-cloth and the painting and tattooing of the face. Briefly, they are becoming sophisticated; one of them indeed has so far forgotten his tribal isolation as to find his way to the Taiping Gaol on a life-sentence for murder.

If we assume the beliefs of these low-country Northern Sakai to be identical with the ideas of their neighbours on the high hills, there is evidence to prove a close connection between the Northern Sakai and the Central Sakai. That evidence is as follows. In the year 1892 there died of fever on Gunong Riam in Ulu Kinta a Trigonometrical Surveyor, the late Mr. Williams. This unfortunate gentleman spent the last weeks of his life in noting down the language and customs of the Sakai around him. His vocabulary of Northern Sakai contains between 400 and 500 words and represents the best linguistic material available for the study of this tribe. His notes on custom are less valuable, but they contain some very striking passages :

"In regard to the disposal of the body after death, some bury their dead, others build a hut high enough above the ground to permit of a full-grown man passing under it. The hut is

rooted in and covered on all sides. With the body are placed food, water, luxuries in the way of tobacco, betel, etc.—a little, in fact, of everything used in life, including clothing and weapons. For three days a fire is kept lit at the grave, then it is deserted for a fortnight, when the relatives return and keep a fire burning for twenty days. This completes the ceremony.

"Should the victim come to his death by a tiger none of these ceremonies are performed because the tiger is feared and is understood to take upon itself the necessary formalities and expenses of the usual ceremony.

"It is only the *pawang* who is laid out in a hut after death; all others are buried. The grave is the depth of an ordinary man's height. The position of the head at death is noted; and when the body is laid in the grave it is laid in the same direction."

This curious distinction between a magician's burial and that of an ordinary man finds an exact parallel in the customs of the Central Sakai who bury the common folk but expose the body of the sorcerer in a hut. The respect paid to tigers is also a Central Sakai trait; while from another passage in Mr. Williams' notes it is clear that he was kept in ignorance of the real names of his aboriginal followers. The significance of these details will appear in the account that will be given of the *Mai Darat* of Batang Padang and Gopeng. The general conclusion to be drawn from Mr. Williams' observations seems to be that the Northern Sakai and the Central Sakai share the same religious beliefs—a very important point of connection between these two tribal divisions. Another detail of this sort is the common practice of tattooing and painting their faces—a practice that is not to be traced in the other three Sakai divisions. But there are also great dissimilarities. The Northern Sakai are cleanly in their habits; the Central Sakai are the reverse. The Northern Sakai keep to the heights; the Central Sakai (with certain notable

exceptions) prefer to live at an elevation lower than 2,000 feet. The Northern Sakai blow-pipe is a better weapon than its Central Sakai counterpart, while the quivers are of very different types: that in the north is adorned with elaborate incised patterns and is covered with a woven stopper or cap of stiff black or dark green fern; while that in the south is plain and unadorned, and has a soft and loose cover of light-coloured matwork. Again, the Central Sakai preserves keenly the purity of his race and is (in places) of a very distinctive and uniform physical type; the Northern Sakai is not of uniform type and does not seem to possess the same feeling of race-jealousy. These are differences enough—apart from language, facial appearance, the long communal houses and the use of the bow—to justify the separate classification of the Northern and the Central Sakai.

The bow should not, however, be regarded as the national weapon of the Northern Sakai. The blow-pipe has superseded it in daily use as the instrument with which the savage kills the birds and small mammals that he eats. Even as a weapon of war—and war is extremely rare—the arrow is a clumsy and costly weapon when compared with the dart. It is as a deterrent or terrifier that the bow is famous. With all deference to Mr. Cerruti, the Sakai dart has little penetrating power, does not fly far, and can be turned aside by a thick suit of clothes. Not so the arrow, which travels a great distance and inflicts a ghastly wound. Rare, clumsy and costly though its use may be, the Northern Sakai bow is known by name to tribes that neither see it nor make it; and all their stories of the bow unite in locating it in the great mountain mass inhabited by the Northern Sakai.

It is from these tribes, and from the Semang who trade with them, that every specimen of the Peninsular bow has been obtained.

THE CENTRAL SAKAI.

On the main range of the Malay Peninsula between Mount Berembun in the north and Tanjong Malim in the south we find a third race of aborigines—the “Central Sakai” of Blagden, the “Senoi” of Clifford, the “Mai Darat” of Annandale and Robinson and “My Friends the Savages” of Cerruti. Of these varied designations the first is the least confusing, now that we know that the Northern Sakai of the Plus valley, a different race, also speak of themselves as *Senoi* and *Mai Darat*. The Central Sakai have abrupt racial frontiers both to the north and to the south. Question a *Mai Darat* of the upper Kampar valley and you will be surprised to find that he knows next to nothing about the Ulu Kinta aborigines from whom he is only separated by a low spur of the great range. It is the same in the south when we come to the Besis border. The line of demarcation is clear and unmistakable; there is no mixed tribe, no half-way house, so to speak, to break the transition from one race to another. To the east, however, where the same tribe meets the Jakun, things are different; we meet there with curious mongrel communities, half Jakun and half Senoi, with a patchwork language and culture that we cannot classify with any definiteness. But there is nothing known as yet to explain why the Central Sakai should intermarry with their eastern neighbours while refusing all intercourse with the tribes to the north and to the south of them.

The culture and customs of the Central Sakai are the special subject of the second portion of this pamphlet, so that at this stage we are only concerned with the place of this tribe in the ethnology of the Peninsula. There can be no doubt that its closest affinities are with its neighbours to the north. The two races share the same beliefs and possess the same type of tribal sorcerers, the same double system of burial and the same practice of tattooing and painting the face. The languages, too, are very closely connected; and it would not be surprising to learn that the elaborate grammatical structure of the language of the *Mai Darat* of Kampar is to be found also in the speech of the alien *Mai Darat* of the Plus. This represents a very intimate relationship indeed as compared with the position of the same tribe relative to the Semang, the Bেসি and the Jakun. Even in little things the relationship shows itself: the songs of the Northern and Central Sakai are alike meaningless, while those of the Bেসি and Semang are full of meaning; the men of the Northern and Central Sakai conceal their names from strangers, while the Bেসি, Jakun and Semang make no such concealment; the numeral systems of the two races are also akin. But while these two Sakai tribes are related more closely to each other than to the rest they differ from one another in some important details. The Northern Sakai are a cleanly race; the Central Sakai are dirty to a disgusting degree. The Northern Sakai know the use of the bow; the Central Sakai do not. The Northern Sakai build long communal houses of very massive construction; the Central Sakai live in flimsy huts. The Northern Sakai make large communal clearings where they live for two or three years at a

time; the Central Sakai have only small family clearings which they abandon till the crop is ready for harvesting. One might almost suspect the Central Sakai of being a degraded offshoot of the northern race were it not that it seems to be the purer race of the two. The Northern Sakai intermarries readily with other races; the Central Sakai refuses to do so. The racial type of the aborigines of Sungkai and Slim is unmistakable and has no parallel anywhere else in the Peninsula. It suggests a pure race, a highly specialised physical type, and not a decadent offshoot of the more powerful Northern Sakai.

For an aboriginal tribe the Central Sakai are well known to Europeans. Signor Cerruti lived with them; Dr Rudolf Martin measured them; Sir Hugh Clifford studied them; Messrs. Annandale and Robinson visited them, and "Professor" Vaughan-Stevens associated them with the most sensational of his many stories. They may be regarded as the "stock" or "show" Sakai of the Peninsula, the aborigines who will be exhibited to the globe-trotter when that ubiquitous gentleman begins to overrun this country. But between them and their visitors there remains always the barrier of a racial suspicion that is not to be overcome and of a language of overwhelming difficulty. Much is known, but much more remains to be known. It is uncertain whether their country has been fully explored. From the mountains behind Sungkai and Slim, the very home of the purest Central Sakai, there come rumours of the existence of the long communal houses, the larger clearings and the more organised communities that we associate with the Northern Sakai culture. As tangible evidence of some such mystery collectors have obtained from this

region—the region furthest removed from the Northern Sakai area—blow-pipes and quivers that show signs of a better craftsmanship than that of which the Central Sakai are capable. Moreover, while the true “Senoi” quiver is plain, the quivers brought down from these distant hills are covered sometimes with incised patterns suggesting the art of the north. In spite of all the evidence that has been collected about the Central Sakai I am not satisfied that we know enough.¹

It must be remembered also that the Central Sakai families do not wander at will over the whole of the area where their language is spoken; they confine themselves to the valleys in which they were born. The *Mai Darat* communities live in the lower valleys; the *Mai Bértak* and *Mai Miloi* are known to occupy certain portions of the higher slopes. All these are kindred “Central Sakai” tribes. But we are not in a position to say that the whole of the mysterious upper country is occupied by the *Mai Bértak* and *Mai Miloi*. It may be otherwise. And until we know more about the Northern Sakai—the most highly civilised yet the least known of all the Sakai races—it would be unsafe to dogmatise too freely about the ethnological position of their nearest relatives, the well-known Central Sakai of the Batang Padang mountains.

THE RESISI.

When the Portuguese were in possession of Malacca they found that their hinterland was occupied by two aboriginal races, the Cellates who are marked

¹ Since writing the above I have learnt from a European eye-witness of the existence of a communal house—with five hearths—on the mountains behind Ulu Yam in Selangor. This extends the North Sakai area a long way southward though still confining it to the higher ranges.

on the old maps as inhabiting Sungei Ujong and the Benua of Mount Ophir and beyond. There is some doubt as to the Malay equivalent of Cellates. The word has been interpreted variously as *Orang Laut*, *Orang Sĕlitar* and *Orang Sĕlat*, but none of these explanations can be regarded as adequate. The territory inhabited by the Cellates is that occupied by the aboriginal Besisi and not by the *Orang Laut* or *Orang Sĕlitar* who live elsewhere. The third suggestion, *Orang Sĕlat*, could only apply to the Singapore aborigines, who likewise are not Besisi. Perhaps Cellates is the equivalent of *Sisi Laut* or *Besisi Laut*, a name still borne by the Besisi of the Jugra coast. Be that as it may, the Cellates of the Portuguese correspond exactly with the Besisi of to-day and occupy the same area. Moreover, Albuquerque tells us that the old kingdom of Malacca itself was created by the fusion of a party of fugitive Malays from Singapore with a local settlement of these aborigines on the Malacca river. This tribe is interesting if only for the influence that it must have exercised on the formation of the Peninsular Malaya of to-day.

The Besisi are found on the western slope¹ of the Peninsular watershed from Tanjong Malim in the north to the end of the main range at Gunong Tampin in the south. They are also to be met with on the other side of the Malacca Straits, on Pulau Rupert and near Bengkalis; indeed, in all probability the Besisi are identical with the Sumatran "Sakai" who inhabit the great island as far as the borders of the Batak country. Their cosmopolitanism (for no

¹ Also at a few places on the Eastern slope—e.g., at Langkap and at Portang in Jelebu.

maritime tribe can maintain a perfect isolation) makes them an uninteresting people of mixed blood and indeterminate customs. Nevertheless, they have certain characteristics that differentiate them markedly from the other aboriginal races—notably from the Central Sakai, to whom they present an antithesis that is almost perfect. The former, the Central Sakai, have a very simple patriarchal government; the latter, the Besisi, have an elaborate official hierarchy: a *Batin*, a *Jenang*, a *Jakra* and a *Pengahulu Balai*. The former dwell in low lean-to shelters; the latter (in the interior at least) live in lofty tree-huts. The former are extremely superstitious; the latter are careless and sceptical in matters of belief. The former live on the mountains; the latter live mostly by the sea and find the hills a barrier instead of a home. The former have a most complicated grammar; the latter have one of extreme simplicity. The former have no poetry; the latter have much. The cultures of the two are distinct and the physical characteristics are also distinct, though the mixed blood of the Besisi makes it difficult to describe a Besisi "type." On the other hand, the Besisi approximate to the Jakun. The Jakun have the same elaborate official hierarchy with the same titles; they are a coast people; and they share the same connection with the sea. Moreover, they may be classified with the Besisi on grounds connected with their numeral systems: the Semang have one system (1, *nai*; 2, *bie*); the Northern and Central Sakai have a second (1, *ae*, *nanu*; 2, *nar*; 3, *ni*); the Besisi and Jakun have a third (1, *mui*; 2, *'mbar*; 3, *'mpe*). We thus see the numerals testifying to the association of the Northern with the Central Sakai and of the Besisi with the

Jakun. But in both cases there are important reservations to be made. The Besisi numerals go to "three" only; the Jakun go as far as "seven." The Besisi have tree-huts; the Jakun have huts of the Malay type but raised on posts very high above the ground. The Besisi are indifferent to religion while the Jakun build elaborate graves that show an implicit belief in a future life. Differences of this sort are not negligible and fortuitous; they justify the separate classification of the two tribes.

The Besisi are found in small communities scattered about the coast of Selangor and Negri Sembilan where they have been for centuries under Malay domination. They have copied Malay houses and modes of life and retain very few of their primitive characteristics. Were it not for their very distinctive language it would be difficult to identify them at all. Moreover, the irreligion or agnosticism of the Besisi has taken all racial colour out of his customs. His funerals are unceremonious interments and he denies the possibility of a future life. As for evil spirits, "I wish we could see them," said a Besisi to me, "as we could avoid them and escape illness altogether." Here we have the widespread theory of the ghostly origin of disease—even a Malay accepts that view—but we have none of that horror of the supernatural which is apt to accompany a belief of this sort.

The Besisi living by the southern slope of the great Selangor mountains are a shy unwarlike people who have accepted without resentment the terrible wrongs inflicted on them by past generations of Malays. Ask for the family history of many of these aborigines and you will be told a harrowing tale of

the cold-blooded and unprovoked murder of their parents—narrated calmly as though such murders were the most natural thing in the world. There is something almost uncanny in the patience with which such injuries were borne. There is something pitiful, too, in the uncomplaining manner with which these men accept their lot of inferiority to the petty traders who exploit them ruthlessly from day to day. Except for their tree-huts and their tribal pattern of blow-pipe and quiver the Besisi of the foot-hills seem to have no distinctive culture of their own. They wash for tin in the mountain streams, sell the fruit of old abandoned orchards in their forests, and collect jungle produce for barter with the Malays. A few have found employment on rubber-estates: some, indeed, have come under the influence of Roman Catholic missions and been converted to Christianity. Here we have nothing of the shyness or suspicion that makes the Central Sakai hold themselves aloof from the outer world and limit all intercourse with it to a single tribal emissary, the *kɛpula nong*. Indeed, the Besisi seem to prefer dependence on others: they are a parasitic race with few tribal crafts and industries. But like all races that are patient under sorrow and tribulation they do not die out. For four centuries and a half, from the days of Mudzafar Shah of Malacca down to the present time, history tells us that these Besisi have been an exploited and persecuted people. Throughout this period they must have been absorbed by hundreds into the general Malay population through conversion and inter-marriage, besides having lost hundreds more of their number through violence and murder, yet they seem to be as numerous as they ever were, even if they have

failed to act up to the saying that "the meek shall inherit the earth." In time doubtless they will lose their language and become indistinguishable from the Malays. But they will not die out: and this racial vitality of the Bেসি is one of the very features that differentiate the tribe from other aboriginal races like the Semang, who retreat slowly before the advance of civilisation and perish miserably when the opening-up of the country robs them of their old hunting-grounds and drives them further back into the inhospitable mountain ranges of the interior.

THE JAKUN.

Scattered about the State of Johor are a number of small communities of people known generically as *Jakun*, *Bėnuu Jakun* and *Orang Bėnuu*. They are obviously the "Binuas Satyros" of the old Portuguese maps, but they have lost their language and most of their customs and have taken to Malay, except for a few doubtful words that have puzzled etymologists. Schmidt failed to make anything of Jakun; and Blagden, in the absence of real data, elected to class the Jakun dialects in a linguistic group of their own, with such reservations as "much doubt must remain whether it can be considered as a unity," and again (of one dialect) "Kenaboi must be regarded as the best specimen of Jakun recorded or else as not being Jakun at all." Cryptic utterances of this sort are generally a scientist's way of classifying the unknown.

Under the circumstances there was a good deal to be said in favour of the well-known old recipe, "First catch your Jakun." He was not an easy person to capture. All that was known—or believed to be known—about him was that he used a wooden

blow-pipe, buried his dead in a characteristic type of grave, and spoke a language that represented one or more linguistic groups of its own. It was no use looking for him in Johor for, whenever caught there, he only spoke Malay. He was said to retain his native language and culture in certain parts of the Negri Sembilan, on the Upper Rompin, on the minor rivers between the Rompin and the Pahang, and especially in the Kuantan district. In the Negri Sembilan he was captured repeatedly, but whenever questioned he spoke a minor Sakai dialect classified by Blagden as a "South-Eastern Subdivision of Besisi." The Jakun group of languages seemed to be receding further and further away.

In the meantime certain other evidence was being secured. While the language had become more remote, the blow-pipes and graves were coming nearer. A specimen of the wooden blow-pipe was collected from the vicinity of lake Bra in the heart of the "South-Eastern Sakai" country; and Jakun tombs were reported in other parts of the country occupied by this same tribe. The general conclusions at this stage seemed to be that the radius of Jakun culture was more extensive than had been suspected and also that "South-Eastern Sakai" was a more important language than the fragmentary information at Blagden's disposal had led him to infer. A little later a "South-Eastern Sakai" vocabulary collected by Mr. Sturrock of Temerloh contained a very suggestive item—the word Jakun itself (*jak-kun*) with the meaning "man" attaching to it. This may seem a small matter, but every ethnologist knows that tribal names (e.g., Clifford's *Senoi*, Annandale's *Hami*, the *Mai* in *Mai Darat*, and perhaps the word *Sōmang*

itself) are often the word for "man" in the dialect of that tribe. Nor could there be any doubt about Mr. Sturrock's accuracy, in view of the fact that the two component parts of *jah-kun* (*jah*, person; *kun*, male) appeared with their correct meanings in Blagden's own vocabulary. Slowly the conclusion seemed to be forcing itself upon me that the mysterious Jakun language was simply "South-Eastern Sakai" and that the existence of a separate linguistic group or groups was a myth. But corroboration was wanted from centres that were Jakun beyond all doubt—from the Rompin and its neighbouring rivers and from Kuantan. Unfortunately, I never succeeded in getting a vocabulary from the Rompin river itself. From one of the rivers very near it I got a short word-list; it was pure "South-Eastern Sakai." In the end, by the assistance of Mr. J. P. Swettenham, of Kuantan, I secured a full vocabulary of Jakun from the Kuantan district, where the first wooden blow-pipes were found. That also was "South-Eastern Sakai."

It seems clear now that "South-Eastern Sakai" is not a local patois of Besisi but a language spoken from end to end of the area over which the Jakun culture extends. Moreover, this dialect contains the word "Jakun." Under the circumstances, Blagden's theory that Jakun is a separate linguistic group must be abandoned; the language must be classified as a "Sakai" dialect along with the rest. Indeed, it is allied so closely to Besisi that Blagden himself failed to draw any very broad line of demarcation between the two.

We have dwelt already upon the close connection in culture between the Jakun and the Besisi. Both

have the same elaborate official hierarchy—the *Batin*, *Jënanng* and *Jëkra*; both dwell on the plains and are connected with the sea; both associate freely with the Malays. While the foundation of Malacca is associated with the Bësi, that of the Negri Sembilan is associated with the Jakun.¹ We now turn to the differences. The Jakun blow-pipe is made of wood; that of the Bësi is made of bamboo. The Jakun does not build tree-huts; he only raises his house on very lofty pillars. Lastly, he believes implicitly in the future life of the soul.

The following description of a Jakun grave will be of interest, if only for purposes of contrast with the burial customs of the Northern and Central Sakai. The account is taken from the diary of a trigonometrical surveyor working in the Negri Sembilan.

"I visited the grave of a Jakun Chief . . . The grave had a bark roof standing on poles about 4 feet high to protect it. The base of this grave had four round logs, 4 inches in diameter, round it, forming a rectangular space 8 feet by 3 feet. The space between these logs was filled with pugged clay. On top of this clay were four logs of lesser dimensions about the length and width of a body, and the space between these logs had been filled in also with pugged clay. . . . On top of these smaller logs were four planks standing on edge, each plank erect and just inside each of the logs. The two side-planks were resting on the logs which marked the length of the body. The other two planks—at the head and foot—were slotted into the side-planks

"These planks were crudely carved on the side at each end and were further ornamented with black charcoal lines.

¹ Incorrectly, I believe. The *Jakun* of Negri Sembilan tradition seem to me to be the tribe known as *Mantra*, *Blandoo*, or *Biduanda*.

"At the head and foot of the grave (inside the planked space) were two memorial boards. One was covered with the dead man's singlet; the other had his towel. Two calabashes and a half coconut-shell also rested on the ground.

"I understood from my Malay companion that the body is usually placed about 3 feet deep, rolled in a mat.

"This grave had a small ditch (about 6 inches broad by 6 inches deep) dug round it."

It may be added that the "memorial boards" were probably the *tangga sëmangat* or "ladders of the soul," by which the spirit of the deceased is believed to mount to his home in the heavens; and that the "small ditch" is the moat on which the dead man paddles his ghostly canoe.

The numeral system of the Jakun is interesting, not only for its relative completeness—it goes to "seven" while all other Sakai numerals stop at "three"—but also because it indicates linguistically the source from which it came. It is close to Khmer, but still closer to Mon. Evidently there were colonists sent to Pahang in early days by some highly civilised people; the old mining shafts prove it. The Jakun aboriginal tribes who inhabit the country where the old mines were situated seem to have picked up from the colonists the numerals that they used, just as their fellow-tribes in the north and west are now learning the Malay names for all numerals over "three." The Jakun numerals, like the relics of the ancient kingdom of Ligor, indicate that it was the western and not the eastern branch of the great Mon-Khmer culture that influenced the Peninsula. This fact is to be regretted from the standpoint of historical research since it is the other branch—the Khmer or Cambodian branch—which is the more likely to attract investigators.

MIXED AND DOUBTFUL TRIBES.

We have seen that the boundary-line between the Sakai divisions is sometimes very easy to draw. In such cases, as at Sungei Raya and Tanjong Malim, the observer passes abruptly from one language and culture to another; but more often, perhaps, he finds that the change is effected through a whole series of mixed tribes. The Semang Paya fade gradually into the Sakai Jeram through the Semang Bukit; the Sakai Jeram change slowly into the Sakai Jeher through the Orang Kenchior of the Upper Perak River. In these instances the change is mainly linguistic; for all these tribes differ very little indeed in race and culture. But when we come to Western Pahang we find a long series of communities that are quite indeterminate; they borrow their words, characteristics and customs sometimes from Central Sakai, sometimes from Northern Sakai, sometimes from Jakun, and sometimes even from Besis. These aborigines seem to possess nothing that is distinctive; all that they have is traceable to one or other of their neighbours. Blagden did them the honour of classifying them in a special division as "Eastern Sakai"; he might not have done so on fuller data.

Perhaps the best known of these mongrel communities is the Sakai settlement on the River Krau in Pahang. For the purposes of this enquiry Mr. A. J. Sturrock collected a very full vocabulary of the Krau dialect and added the following note on the burial customs of the tribe:

The Krau Sakai leave utensils on the grave: a cup, a plate, a water-vessel, a chopper (*perang*), and seven leaves, each loaded with rice. The relatives and friends have a feast at the burial-place, and the utensils are left that the deceased may satisfy

himself before taking his final departure. They are left also with a more utilitarian end; for should the spirit go unfeasted to the other world he would, no doubt, return and trouble his neglectful relatives. Having had due respect paid him and due provision made to satisfy his last hunger, he goes in peace, never to return. There is thus no need to leave food for him in future, and, in fact, it is never done. The spirit never returns to the world; Sakai never see the spirits of their relatives or of anyone else. As regards the future life of the spirit nothing is known. He never reappears, and the Sakai philosophers do not trouble about him after he has been suitably sent on his last journey.

Here we have an exact replica of Central Sakai custom and belief. But along with this we get Jakun custom also :

The grave is marked by a slab of wood, notched in such a way as to show it to be a grave but not so as to show who is buried there. There are separate abodes for the wicked and the good. The attributes of the former are the popular fiery ones. Of heaven there seems to be no definite conception except that it is pleasant enough to live in. I asked for details of its pleasantness but could get none whatever. To reach heaven the spirit has to pass through hell, and is accompanied on the way by a cat and a dog, the cat going first and the dog last. On reaching hell the cat sprinkles water on the pathway and cools the atmosphere, while the dog performs the same duty behind the spirit. Where the water comes from I did not find out, nor what finally becomes of cat and dog. The flames burn underneath. The path to heaven lies through the centre of hell.

All this wealth of detail is quite foreign to Central Sakai beliefs.

If this account of the Krau Sakai was true of all these little mongrel communities it might be possible to analyse their customs and beliefs and to show their exact relationship to the purer tribes. Unfortunately, they differ among themselves. Let us

leave the Krau Sakai and consider Mr. Sturrock's account of the Bra Sakai, who live much closer to the Jakun and Bেসি border :

The Bra Sakai, like the Krau Sakai, leave utensils on the grave—namely, a cup, a plate, a water-vessel, and a block of wood to mark the grave. Regarding the utensils my informant was unsatisfactory. He said, and repeated, that they were left to mark the grave and with no other end in view; a statement which the nature of the articles appears to contradict. When I put it to him that they were there for the benefit of the deceased or his spirit, the Sakai denied it. After death, he says, there is nothing; all is finished. Then, however, when I asked him where the deceased went after death, he said he did not know; perhaps to another clearing and another house; but he did not know, he said; and he repeated that there was nothing after death. And probably to the present generation that is so. . . . There is no idea of a heaven and hell among the Bra men.

Here we have the Central Sakai utensils and the the Jakun *tangga sēmangat* or memorial board, combined with the purest Bেসি agnosticism. Whatever the Bেসি may believe, they assert persistently that they know of no life after death.

The Krau Sakai and Bra Sakai alike have chiefs whom they style *Batin* like the Bেসি and Jakun. In other respects they differ from one another. The Krau men remember the North Sakai bow and describe it accurately even to the barbed iron point of the arrow, though they do not use it; the Bra Sakai know nothing of the weapon. The Krau Sakai do not use bamboo combs; but they have *bértam* ear-ornaments (like the Central Sakai) and paint their faces. The Bra Sakai use bamboo combs, but no ear-ornaments and no paint on their faces. It is the same with the dialects of these mixed communities: the vocabularies differ from district to district, but

nothing is distinctive; each word is traceable to some one or other of the main Sakai languages. Under the circumstances the aborigines of Western Pahang cannot well be classified; they are essentially mongrel or mixed.

A mixed or doubtful tribe of quite another type is that known to the Malays by local names such as "Blandas," "Biduanda" and "Mantra." The difficulty of classification in this case is due to the large Malay importations that have swamped the aboriginal elements in the language and left us with very little on which to base a standard of comparison. Yet there is something very distinctive about these Biduanda. They are not a coast people, but occupy the higher lands between the Besis on one side and the Jakun on the other. They have some very remarkable beliefs, notably legends of the sun, such as suggest a connection with the Central and Northern Sakai. They are also very superstitious and believe in many spirits of evil. The Malay element in their speech is not a modern importation; it is often archaic and is common to the wilder as well as the tamer tribes. But it so facilitates intercourse with other races as to cause the tribe to fuse rapidly with the Malay population and to disappear. At the present moment the purest Mantra or Biduanda communities are to be found in the great mountain mass about Gunong Hantu, between Selangor and Negri Sembilan. These communities are very nomadic and wander from the Ulu Kenaboi to the Pahang slopes of the great central range of the Peninsula. There they are said to possess a distinctive type of hut—a tent-like triangular arrangement with sloping sides and a bamboo flooring that is not raised to any height above

the ground. Elsewhere this tribe is well known to European students through the "Mantra Mission" at Ayer Salak, in Malacca, an aboriginal religious settlement that is now little more than a name: the men's nomadic habits have taken most of them back to the jungle, while the women have preferred to marry into the more settled homes of the Chinese. When I last visited the settlement I could not find a single pure-blooded Mantra; the tribe cannot now be studied at Ayer Salak. Father Borie, the founder of the mission, knew and wrote a great deal about this tribe, but his writings suffer much from the fact that he had a thesis to support. That thesis was his belief in a prior conversion of the Mantra by the Apostle St. Thomas; and he cared for little else.

Another dubious tribe must be described as "Hervey's Kenaboi." The doubt in this case assails the very existence of these aborigines. Mr. D. F. A. Hervey, c.m.g., formerly Resident Councillor of Malacca, took down on two occasions from wandering Sakai calling themselves *Orang Kĕnaboi* vocabularies that show no affinity to any other language in the world. Mr. Hervey is a reliable authority and his vocabularies carry weight; but a most careful investigation has failed to confirm them. The people who live in the Kenaboi valley and who go by the name of *Orang Kĕnaboi*, have been questioned and supplied vocabularies of their language, which turns out to be Mantra. Nine vocabularies in all have been collected for or by me in the localities where Hervey's Kenaboi might be found; yet none of these vocabularies bear out his informants' statements. Under the circumstances we must suspend judgment.

It would be unsafe to base upon those two doubtful lists of words inferences that would modify very materially the present data about the wild tribes of the Peninsula.

A "doubtful" dialect of yet another sort is the so-called *Pantang Kapur* of Johor. This is an artificial language that may or may not contain traces of older tongues. The popular account of this form of speech is that it is used by camphor-seekers to deceive the spirits of the jungle wherein they work. These spirits understand Malay and would conceal the camphor if they overheard the plans of the seekers. All this sounds plausible and has been accepted—far too widely—as truth. But there is evidence that this explanation is due to the incurable Malay habit of romancing. The *Pantang Kapur* is spoken in one locality only, a locality in which little camphor is found. The language is worth investigating perhaps as an example of the artificial form of speech, but it does not possess much ethnological value.¹ Certainly there is nothing of special racial interest either in the words or in the people who use them.

In this brief sketch of the wild tribes of the Malay Peninsula we have passed in review the five great divisions of the aborigines and have referred briefly to the few communities that do not fall readily under one or other of the five heads. Far more, however, remains to be done. It is even uncertain whether in the recesses of our mountain forests there may not still survive some tribe like Hervey's Kenaboi that

¹ I have since obtained in Jelebu some words of an artificial language (of a type quite different to the *pantang kapur*) from an aboriginal *Orang Tanjung* who came from Bentong in Pahang.

may throw quite a new light on the ethnography of the Peninsula. Some time ago in that very Kenaboi region a zealous policeman found one of our aborigines and arrested him without delay for not having taken out a licence for his dog. The unfortunate man did not know a word of Malay, spoke volubly in a tongue that no one could understand, and was discharged for want of an interpreter. He was last seen running as fast as his legs could carry him in the direction of the nearest jungle. Incidents of this kind will always keep the aborigines at a distance. To what tribe did that man belong? From the locality, one would have expected a Mantra; yet he was not a Mantra. We can never be sure that all the tribes are known. Apart, however, from this question of the present distribution of the aborigines there remains the question of their past distribution. The legend of the Sun eating his children is found as far south as the Mantra of Malacca. So is it with other beliefs. Tree-burial extends far to the north and to the south of the Sakai region. Only a short time ago the attention of a Negri Sembilan District Officer was drawn to a case where the natives refused to admit the death of a person whose tomb was well known. He made enquiries, and was informed that the deceased, who had been a sorcerer, was now a well-known tiger of the locality. Here again we have a Sakai belief altogether outside the radius of the tribe with which it is associated. The study of the present dialects and customs of the wild tribes has been used in this pamphlet to differentiate between one aboriginal division and another and to indicate where each can best be investigated. A more exhaustive study of customs and beliefs and a careful analysis

of the languages may help us to go many steps further, and to speak with some measure of confidence about the past history of the Peninsula and the origin and relative antiquity of the tribes that inhabit it.

PART II.—THE CENTRAL SAKAI.

As soon as the number of racial and linguistic divisions among the aborigines was known it was hoped that the investigation might be pushed a stage further by studying one of these divisions in detail at some convenient centre, for it was obvious that very little could be done by hasty visits to the wilder parts of the Sakai country. An opportunity presented itself in 1909 when I found a Sakai who was willing to leave his native valley and to teach me his language. He became homesick from time to time and had to be allowed frequent visits to and from his friends and relatives, but he remained with me for some three months of actual residence, giving me a vocabulary of some 2,500 words and a great deal of information about the manners and customs of his people. Of course the question suggests itself how far are this Sakai's statements to be trusted? I can only say that no leading questions were asked (a favourite source of error), and that all the information obtained from him was checked whenever possible by vocabularies obtained from others and by Mr. Cerruti's account of the same tribe. As I always found my Sakai to be telling the truth on such occasions, I see no reason to suspect him of inaccuracy in cases where his statements could not be verified. Moreover, he was always consistent when asked the

same question after the lapse of some weeks. With so extensive a vocabulary—2,500 words—consistency would be impossible if fraud was intended. True he was a "tame" Sakai; he was proud of his knowledge of Malay; and while this fact lessened the possibilities of any misunderstanding of my meaning or of his, it also led him to show off his knowledge by interlarding his Sakai stories with Malay words and metaphors. But he was not a Muhammadan, and the copiousness of his vocabulary will defend him against any suspicion that he had given up his own speech for the tongue of the foreigner.

His teaching was interesting also because it justified my fear that the information picked up by questioning casual aborigines was useless. It had been evident to me from the very first that Sakai had an elaborate grammar and was not to be understood by translating the Lord's Prayer or taking down a few sentences as had often been suggested as a means of judging idiom. The language is difficult owing to its curious phonology and its "silent" final consonants. I can only describe the sound by saying that the first part of the word is pronounced harshly and jerkily,¹ while the final letter is often whispered. The suppressed final in Malay suggests the principle; though in practice Malay is simplified by the fact that a "silent" final is always *k* and need not be distinguished from a suppressed final *t*, *p*, *n* or even *ngy*.² If any European claims that he can speak Central Sakai, believe him not; the truth is not in him; a little cross-examination would soon dispose of

¹ The Sakai *o* is like *o* in "stock" or "stork," never like the *o* in "stoke." The *o* is also rather harsh like the French *t*, not *é*. ² Like the French *gn* in "Cigogne."

such a claim. But for mere lexicographical purposes the final consonant may be brought out clearly by making the Sakai pronounce it before a second word commencing with a vowel. It can then be noted down. Three months do not represent a long period of study, it is true, and they were not sufficient to enable me even to approximate to the sound of Central Sakai. With the grammar it was otherwise. Things began to explain themselves in three months, though very gradually; and the explanations were not always what I had expected. It is, however, with the beliefs and customs of the Central Sakai that this brief sketch is concerned: questions of language must stand over for the moment.

The Central Sakai believe in a sun-god. They cannot be called sun-worshippers, for they make no offerings to their divinity nor do they hold services in his honour, but they call the sun "god"¹ and regard him as the source of all life and as immeasurably superior to the many ghosts and spirits of their mythology. There is no parallel in their minds between the power of their demons and the power of their god: the two work on different planes. But a Sakai is very reticent on the question of his religion and speaks in visible awe of the subject whenever he refers to it. The information as to their god came to me quite by accident when discussing the meaning of a word, nor could it be supplemented much by further questioning. • My informant avoided talking about it. So far as I could learn, the sun does not interfere in the affairs of men beyond providing life, heat and light. Was he all-virtuous? "No, he could hardly be called that," said my informant, "for he ste his

¹ *Jenong*.

own children." This Thyestean repast seems to have had its justification—for "if one sun is so hot how could mankind have borne the heat of many?"—but my Sakai had his doubts about the abstract morality of the sun's conduct. So too had the moon, for "she fled from the sun in order to save the lives of her own children, the stars. That is why the sun and moon are never seen in company: that also is why the sun lives alone while the moon is surrounded by numberless children."

Inferior though they are to the sun in their dignity and power, the great spirits of disease are of more importance to the Sakai because of their pernicious interest in his private life. Chief among them is the spirit of small-pox or *Nyani Tot*—but his true name must not be uttered, he is "the stranger, the new arrival."¹ He is a demon of appalling terror to these timid peoples of the hills, and he appears to them in dreams, wearing the guise of a great Malay Raja with a whole train of attendant ghosts. He has many rivals in wickedness. There is the *Nyani Ludau* who comes in the semblance of a Mountain Sakai,² wearing a pendent loin-cloth and carrying the deadly blow-pipe from which he shoots the invisible darts that cause racking pains in the joints, in the waist and in the bones. If he elects to use his worst weapons he kills instantaneously, but usually he desires the misery and not the death of his victim. He haunts bare rocks and the stony beds of streams; doubtless he is responsible for Mr. Cerruti's statement that "the foaming torrents and noisy cascades that dash down the ravines have inspired the Sakai with terror."

¹ *Tiloh*.

² *Mai Midoi*.

Then there are others. There is the *Nyani Kēngmok* who gives dysentery and diarrhoea: he wears the form of a dog. There is the *Nyani Ngôî*, of protean animal semblance, who gives hæmorrhage and pain in childbirth. There is the pig-shaped *Nyani Pēnghônt* who gives cramp in the legs and arms. There is the *Nyani Lēngwék*, shaped like a siamang, who gives stiff necks and headaches: he too has a euphemistic title, *mai ku-juhú*, or "the gentleman on the tree." For he loves certain trees—notably, the *jlutong*, the *pulai* and the larger species of *ara*. There is the *Nyani Sēngēt* (but it is safer to call him "the icy one," *mai pēchir*) who looks like a Malay and gives you cholera. The *Nyani Bēngket* brings fever, but he is not a *Nyani* of the regular type: he is born of the exhalations of the poison-tree at the navel of the seas—the tree that slew the gigantic Saurians¹ with which the world was once infested. In this case the victim dreams of fire. So too the spirit of toothache is a sort of white ant that gnaws at the roots of our molars and goes by the name of *Get*. The spirit of elephantiasis is formless—or if he has a form no dreamer has yet identified him—he is the *Nyani Sēmēlit*. Some ghosts have less insidious methods. The *Nyani Chēnyen* looks like a child; he haunts the water (especially all where the river is deep) and cuts at his victims with a small knife;² he eats his prey besides killing him. The ghost-bird or *Nyani Klák* imitates the cry of a man and trades on the inquisitiveness of strangers. The victim approaches; the bird swoops; the spirit of life leaves the man when he loses his wits during the momentary unconsciousness of a startling shock—but that moment

¹ Monitor-lizards (*biawak*).

² The Malay *pisau pawan*.

is fatal : the bird carries off the spirit of life and the man sickens and dies of inanition. There is the vampire (*Chröng-Sök*), human-shaped, long-haired, drinking the blood of its victims.

There are also the ghosts of special localities, of each holy place or *këramat* with which the country is dotted. These spirits are slow to anger, but they dislike being disturbed and are apt to let the troubler of their peace learn the impropriety of his behaviour. A thunder-storm is a favourite form of warning. On the other hand, the invisible elves of the forest,¹ the shy *Orang Bunian* of the Malays, are friendly to man and bring him luck. Some visible ghosts speak Sakai and hurt nobody, but they are exceptional. There are also monstrous animals that are believed to prey on man. There is the *Tungul Mau* or cannibal coconut-monkey that walks erect and is found in lonely uninhabited forests where he eats any Sakai who has a taste for exploration. There is the dragon² who lives under the earth and ought only to be referred to as "the person down below."³ There is the Malay *Mawas* with arms of iron and an iron pot-shaped head in which it both cooks and eats its dinner. There is the *Kläng Blok*, or roe, a giant bird that has fortunately been an absentee from this country as far back as the memory of man can go; but who knows!—it may return. Then even well-known animals are bad enough in their way—the tiger who goes by many names lest he should take offence, and the crocodile who must be referred to politely as "our old friend in the water."⁴ And all the Central Sakai believe in *Yéi* the Malay *Këlëmbai*, the wizard who turned everything into stone and was driven out of the

¹ *Mai Tépou* ² *Nanggan* = (Malay) *naga*. ³ *Krom* *te*. ⁴ *Ma-ne pa-t'u*.

country in terror through his mistaking a toothless old man for the baby of some new gigantic race. *Yéi's* house is shown on Mount *Iréu*; and *Gunong Banglak* contains the tomb of his son.

The Sakai's one protector against these evil spirits is the communal wizard, the *na-halau* or *mai-halau* as he is called. This gentleman is not a *pawang* in the Malay sense. The *pawang* is something of an impostor: he is a specialist in some pursuit to which the black art is only subsidiary. He is known to the Sakai as *pawák*. The *na-halau* is a wizard pure and simple. He is a soothsayer and witch-doctor: he holds seances to predict the future, and can locate and extract from a patient's body the dart of the *Nyani Ludau*. A man like this is, of course, a great help to a superstitious people. He holds his seances by night only, squatting in a little bee-hive hut with his followers all gathered around it. He purifies himself by unwonted ablutions in cold water, burns incense, utters prayers and ends by being "possessed" by a familiar spirit¹ who descends and occupies his body. The ravings of the *na-halau* are the voice of the spirit: the audience takes note of what it can interpret. A woman may be a *na-halau* but rarely takes to the career.

The *na-halau* is associated in an extraordinary way with the Peninsular form of lycanthropy, the were-tigers of Malaya. He is not buried when he dies but is exposed in a small hut or tree-grave along with certain simples and incense. On a certain night—the seventh according to Cerruti—the wizard's *gunik* (or familiar) appears in the form of a tiger, carries off the body, tears it open and releases the

¹ *Gunik*.

soul. If the heir of the dead man elects to keep vigil over his father's body and if he shows no fear, the tiger-spirit may initiate him into his father's black arts. He becomes a sorcerer there and then. But the supply of sorcerers by this process is not great; the death-rate is too high. The ordinary *na-halau* prefers some safer system of apprenticeship. Moreover, the position of a *na-halau* has its responsibilities as well as its honours. A wizard should know neither pain nor fear. If he utters a groan during his last illness he loses the honour of tree-burial: the tiger-spirit will have none of him. Indeed, many a wizard has lost his reputation when dead owing to the tigers declining to touch his body.

The strange dual system of burial, the ablutions, the alien type of hut used by the *na-halau* and the allusions to special formulæ in an unknown tongue seemed to suggest a foreign origin for these elements in the Sakai religion. In reply to repeated enquiries I was assured that the words used in invocations are Malay and that the power invoked is described invariably as *Suh-Sidik*. But whatever may be the Malay veneer over these practices the idea of tree-burial is too widespread in the north of the Peninsula—even in Siamese districts—to be explained as some abandoned Malay custom.¹ The use of foreign formulæ tends to show that these aboriginal tribes, however great their isolation, are not superior to the adoption of foreign customs and beliefs. Signor Cerruti gives a vivid account of the panic excited by

¹ "The last chap to be buried in a tree in Perak," writes one of my informants, "was Pawang Kwa, who was stuck up in a *bungor* tree half a mile from the village of Raja Kayu between 1870 and 1875, as near as I can judge. Perhaps a little later. He is now a tiger with a white patch." This, of course, is of Malaya.

an eclipse of the moon. Yet the term for an eclipse¹ shows that the Sakai have accepted the old Indian legend of the moon being swallowed by the dragon *Rahú*. Even in dealing with so primitive a tribe as the *Mai Miloi* it is impossible to escape from traces of alien influence. Now and then a strange custom is revealed for which no parallel can be traced at the moment: still, we cannot be sure that it is confined to the tribe. The women of the *Mai Miloi* are reported to cut off their tresses whenever the giant-bamboo sheds its leaves. A rainbow is said to be created out of the blood of a tiger's victim and to rise from the spot where the victim has been slain. Such practices and beliefs seem unique—that is all that we can assert at present.

Turning from the religious to the political system we find that the smallest political unit among the Central Sakai is the family-group. Every family—by which is meant a living patriarch and all his descendants, and not a mere menage of husband and wife,—keeps together and keeps to itself; it does not unite with others for mutual protection and social intercourse. Exogamy means marrying into another family, not into another tribe. A number of these family-units living within a definite area and recognising a common hereditary chief make up the Sakai State—if such a term is permissible in the case of so small a community. Among the *Mai Darat* the chief is described by the Malay term *Pēnghulu* (headman) and may even bear a high-sounding title such as *Maharaja Bēlia Indëra*, Chief of the Ulu Kampar Sakai, or *To'Sang*, Head of the Bujang Malaka Sakai. Among the *Mai Miloi* and *Mai Bërtak*

¹ *Gëchek bi-tip Raku*.

the Chief's designation is *ra'nau*. A *ra'nau* settles disputes between one family and another, and keeps peace generally in his tribe. The foreign relations of the community are looked after by a *kěpala nong*. A *kěpala nong* is a sort of go-between or interpreter who guides strangers through his own tribal area and sees that they do not get caught in any of the man-traps that beset the path: he also knows Malay and is known to the Malays to whom he goes on trade-missions with the produce of his tribe. This official is the one link between a Sakai community and the great world outside: his work enables the rest of the tribe to maintain a perfect isolation. A trespasser, if caught in a strange country, used to receive scant mercy; he was sold into slavery among the Malays. There was indeed a fixed price for such slaves in the days when the first British officers came to Kinta: two rolls of coarse cloth, a hatchet,¹ a chopper² and an iron cooking-pot.

Within the family-group property was held in common; and the unsuccessful hunter who did not contribute his proper quatum to the family cooking-pot received food from the others and a sufficiency of bad language was well. Sakai legends contain tales of idle prentices who were left by their industrious relatives to starve in the jungle, but the tone of the story condemns such a policy as unnatural and tells us how the idle ones were helped by sympathetic spirits till they triumphed over those members of the family who prized their dinner more highly than their family love. Communistic ideas are strong among the Sakai. At the same time, their communism does not imply liberty, equality and fraternity. There is a vast amount of ceremonious family etiquette and

¹ The Malay *bliong*.

² The Malay *parang*.

a host of technicalities regulating the mode of address of one member of the family to another. It is a serious offence for a young *Mai Darat* to address an elder by his personal name; such an address afflicts the person addressed with hydrocele. This belief makes a Sakai very chary about revealing his true name to strangers who may misuse the knowledge. He prefers to describe himself by some Malay designation that means very little. Judging by the fictitious names given to Surveyor Williams on Gunong Korbu the Northern Sakai show the same unwillingness and probably share the same belief. The close family relationship between the members of each of these small communities forces them to seek their husbands and wives outside it; for the *Mai Darat* object to the marriage of near relatives—even first cousins. Such marriages are incest, and "God will not have them."¹ Incest of this sort (for it does occur) is one of the few things that can stir an aboriginal community to its very depths. It seems to invite the divine wrath, and no Sakai feels safe till the scandal is put an end to. And as the Sakai political system has no means of compulsion or punishment for dealing with cases of this sort the tension becomes greater than ever.

When the *ra' nau* or Chief holds an enquiry he may, if he chooses, administer oaths and even ordeals. The oath is "May I be eaten by a tiger, may I perish under a fallen tree, may I be slain by a ghost," for these are the terrors that loom largest before the vision of a Sakai. Convert that oath into a curse—"may you be eaten by a tiger"—and you have the nearest approach to abuse of which a *Mai Darat* is capable. There is also a curious form of ordeal by holding

¹ *Jenang to' ki-ok,*

molten tin in the hand, but this way of settling veracity is probably more talked about than practised.

The Sakai have many industries: agriculture, shooting and trapping for the men; plaiting and bark-cloth-making for the women. They are learning more. The *Mai Miloi*, for instance, are said to rear fowls for sale to the Malays. They use no fowl houses or runs; the fowls roost on the neighbouring trees. "But what of hawks and civet-cats?" is the natural enquiry of anyone who knows how poultry-farming of this sort would fare in his own less-favoured plains. The answer is simple: the *Mai Miloi* does not take to poultry-rearing till he has eaten every hawk and civet-cat in his neighbourhood. Indeed all the Central Sakai domesticate animals—wild pigs, wild dogs, rats and jungle-fowl—but they never eat their pets. The *Mai Darat* have taken kindly to rice-planting and have already invented a vocabulary of technical terms describing the various stages in the growth of the grain. The *Mai Miloi* and *Mai Bertak* are more conservative; and even the older men of the *Mai Darat* sometimes refuse to eat rice. They prefer their own foods: millet, sugar-cane, gourds and tubers, which they plant in the most primitive way. A growing crop is not watched by the more primitive tribes: they plant it, fence it and surround it with traps, and then they go away; when the right season comes round they return to the clearing and gather the crop. During the interval they support themselves by shooting, by trapping and by finding wild fruit. Of course they are improvident and never store up food for the future; a Sakai may starve while his crop is growing, for there are seasons of famine when no wild fruit is in season and when birds and animals are

scarce. The only Sakai practice that suggests foresight is the curious one of making large fenced traps and ground-baiting them, perhaps for months, till the animals in the vicinity gain confidence with impunity and make the place a habitual resort. A trap of this sort would not be worth the trouble that it entails but for the fact that it enables a Sakai family to invite the whole country-side to a wedding or dinner without the haunting fear of the larder running dry. The family meals are catered for by less pretentious traps—noose-traps, spring-traps, pit-falls, and weighted spears that are dislodged by a catch and fall on an animal from above. It is said that the fine scent of an animal protects him until time has effaced completely the odour of the hands that made the snare. Old traps are therefore best; and the forest is full of them.

All shooting is done with the blow-pipe; the bow is known by name but never used. As a means of killing game the blow-pipe owes its efficiency to the fact that its darts are poisoned. Now poison inspires terror, and terror leads to exaggeration. The legend of the deadly upas-tree has reached Europe in a most sensational form, and even Signor Cerruti, who knows the Sakai well, expresses incredulity when his samples of poison do not prove very deadly on analysis. The facts are these. The principal poison used by the Central Sakai for their darts are the sap of a large tree (*antiaris toxicaria*) and of a small creeper (*strychnos tiente*). The latter, as its name indicates, is a form of strychnine and is the more fatal. Besides these poisons the Sakai use other deadly things—the venom of the cobra, the sting of a centipede, scorpion or wasp—but use them so clumsily that their efficacy

may be discounted altogether. The two real poisons, the *anchar* and the strychnine, depend for their success upon their freshness, upon the skill with which they are prepared, and upon the amount that is injected into the wound. Moreover, the quality of the strychnine varies, as all plants vary, with the elevation at which it is grown, so that the great reputation of tribesmen like the *Mai Bértak* is due to the height at which they live and not to any special skill possessed by them in preparing the poison. Again, the blow-pipe has no great propulsive force. Signor Cerruti's suggestion¹ that a true Sakai can send a dart through a man's body is incredible on the face of it, and can be disproved by a study of the dart itself. Very near the point of the dart will be seen a little notch cut in the wood. This notch is made in order that the point may break off and remain in the wound. There are technical terms in Central Sakai both for the point that adheres and for the part that breaks off, so that the notching is not the work of one or two men only. This practice would be useless if the dart penetrated to a depth of more than a quarter of an inch into the wound; and the stories of its passing through a man like a bullet may be put aside as the figments of a very lively imagination. But for small birds, mice, rats, squirrels and even monkeys a good brew of Sakai poison may be effective enough.

The *Mai Darat* are excessively unclean in their personal habits. Even their apologist, Signor Cerruti, admits this discreditable trait in their character. But there are degrees of uncleanness; and the *Mai Darat*, filthy as they are, shudder at the dirtiness of the *Mai Miloi* who are credited with living on the

¹ He makes it from hearsay and not on his own authority.

vermin in each other's hair. It sounds rather paradoxical to add that the Central Sakai, with all their dirt, are great dandies in their own original style. They keep hairiness within bounds by the use of pincers, run a porcupine-quill through the cartilage of the nose, tattoo their foreheads and paint their faces with streaks of various dyes, wear garlands of flowers round their heads, paint their bark-clothes with different patterns, and put leaf-girdles round their waists. A line of these painted savages passing silently and in single file through the jungle is a very striking sight, strangely reminiscent of the stories of Fenimore Cooper. Moreover, the Sakai is a devotee of fine art in his way. He is musical, using three instruments—the nose-flute,¹ the bamboo-zither,² and the bamboo-drum or sounding-board.³ He has regular tunes named and associated with these instruments: "plaintive longing" and "dear recollections" are the significant titles of two of his flute-pieces, while the zither-tunes are named after bird-notes, tree-felling, and other forest-sounds. The player on the *chēntok* is a mere accompanist; love-songs and oratorios are not for his unaided efforts. In oral literature the Sakai are weak, even for a primitive tribe. The Semang sings of his monkey and the Besis has his songs about the rhinoceros; but the Central Sakai can only string words together without rhyme or meaning or any use except that of displaying the power and range of his voice. Nor has he any proverbs or proverbial sayings. The *Mai Darat* of the plains have a few riddles (probably taken from the Malay) and a few polite metaphors of obvious foreign origin, such as "her beauty is like the

1 *Chēndoi*.

2 *Krop*.

3 *Chēntok*.

newly-risen sun, she dazzles." Doubtless the young and travelled *Mai Darat* finds expressions of this sort very effective with the ladies of his tribe when he returns to them after his wanderings, but the more hardened Malays from whom he learnt his metaphors would only laugh at his accomplishments. The older men and women are said to have a rich stock of stories for children. The two or three tales that were narrated to me did not impress me favourably either for style or matter. A Sakai tale is related in a series of short jerky sentences with much repetition of detail and never a change of style. On the whole, I am inclined to think that Central Sakai will interest the philologist and the grammarian rather more than the litterateur.

There are artists in design also among the Sakai. The nests of the little bee known to the Malays as *kělulut* supply a material for polishing and colouring the surface of bamboo-quivers and blow-pipes and also for staining the punctures of the tattoo-thorn. The *prah*-fruit when left to rot in earth provides a rich dye. Other dyes are obtained from the *kijai*, the *kěsumba*, the plant known as *gětah kayu*, and similar sources. The curious markings incised on bamboo-combs and on blow-pipes have been the subject of a very imaginative theory. The designs are conventional. A *Mai Darat* looking at a comb will enumerate the names of its panels: one is "the snake" (a scaly design); another, perhaps, is "a wild-cat" (a striped or spotted design); another "a gourd," * from the shape of the gourd-seeds. The descriptions will not commend themselves as pictures to a European to whom "a wild-cat" suggests the outline of a cat; but given a sufficient range of such designs and a

sufficient simplicity of pattern, a very ingenious man might represent whole sentences on a blow-pipe and make it resemble an obelisk of quaint hieroglyphics. Of course the Sakai do not possess either the necessary multiplicity of patterns or the ingenuity to use them on the Egyptian plan, but the idea that they might do so—or did do so—suggested itself to the fertile imagination of Vaughan-Stevens as soon as his informants began “explaining” the panels on their combs. He found himself, as he concluded, face to face with the mother of all alphabets, the half-way house between the language of symbols such as flowers and the ideographic lettering of the Egyptians and Chinese. It would indeed have been a stupendous discovery if it had rested on any basis of fact. But unfortunately it did not. Though the panels are interesting as designs they are not used as hieroglyphics. To a Sakai they are things of beauty; art for art’s own sake, and with no vile utilitarian motives to sully pure art.

In conclusion, it will not be out of place to supplement Signor Cerruti’s account of the life of a Sakai from the cradle to the grave. The birth-customs call for no remark, except for the fact that the placenta and umbilicus are buried under human habitation so that the rain may not beat on them, and turn them into the angry birth-spirits that Malays believe in. Twins are objected to. When of different sexes one of the pair is given away in adoption, and anything suggestive of twins (such as a double banana) is never eaten lest the evil of a double-birth should follow. The education of a Sakai child is a very simple matter, but he plays no games in the European sense and has to be satisfied with imitating the

pursuits of his elders. Betrothals are arranged by the parents—often at a very early age—though the inclination of the parties is not forced if they object to carrying out the contract. This is true, at least, of the *Mai Darat*: the *Mai Miloi* are said to be laxer, to leave everything to sexual passion, to have no marriage ceremonies, and even to exchange wives from time to time. Polygamy is tolerated though very rare. Among the *Mai Miloi* divorce is said to be as informal as marriage, and even among the *Mai Darat* of Tapah it is simply a matter for the parties to decide for themselves; among the *Mai Darat* of Kampar marriage is taken more seriously and is only dissolved if the elders of the community permit its dissolution, in which case a twig is broken solemnly to typify what is being done. In disease the only doctor is the *na-halau*. When a Sakai dies who is not a *na-halau* he is buried in the ground, and his blow-pipe, quiver, and chopper, with food enough for one meal, are left upon his grave to provide the soul with a repast preparatory to his last long journey. What happened if the soul was left unfed? "He would hunt up his relatives to know the reason why." Why only one meal? "Because one meal is enough to get him away from the spot—and that is all that the relatives want." And whither did the soul go on this last long journey? "Allah only knows," said my Sakai who had picked up many Malay expressions, "I cannot guess. I have heard our old men say that the soul goes to God, but what they meant by this is more than I can tell you." He may have known more than he choose to reveal, but this was all that I could learn from him. And, after all, few civilised men could give a better explanation.

APPENDICES.

I.

The following list of words (names of parts of the body in the different Sakai languages) is given to illustrate the relation of the five dialects to one another and the difficulty in the way of regarding them as belonging to more than one linguistic group in the matter of vocabulary. I do not, however, wish to question the possibility of their being regarded as belonging to different systems in the matter of grammar or ideology.

Semang (Sg.) includes Semang Paya and Sakai Jeher—both forms being given if different, the Paya form first. Sakai Jeram is not given as it is a mixed or intermediate dialect. In the case of North Sakai (N.S.), Central Sakai (C.S.), Besis (B.) and Jakun (J.) alternative forms are given where the discrepancies in my vocabularies are serious; but small differences in spelling are not recorded.

COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY.

HEAD, *kui* or *koi* in all dialects.

EAR, Sg. *anting*, 'nteng; N.S. *gěntok*; C.S. 'nták; B. *tōkn*;
J. *tong*, *tang*.

EYE, Sg. *med*, *mid*; N.S. *mat*, *man*; C.S. *mat*; B. *met*, *ment*;
J. *mot*, *mōat*.

NOSE, Sg. *moh*; N.S. *muh*, *mōh*; C.S. *moh*; B. *moh*, *muh*;
J. *muoh*, *muōh*.

CHEEK, Sg. *kəbang*, *kapor*; N.S. *kapor*, *kapong*; C.S. *ming*,
kěming; B. *gabuk*; J. *ming*.

MOUTH, Sg. *heng*; N.S. *nyar*, *nyang*; C.S. 'mpák; B. *pākn*;
J. [mulut].¹

LIP, Sg. *chua*, *lěnut*; N.S. *sěntor*; C.S. *ngyingyoi*; B. [bibir];
J. [bibir, bibik].

TONGUE, Sg. *lětig*, *lěnteg*; N.S. *lěntak*; C.S. *lěnta*; B. [lidak];
J. *lěpis*.

TOOTH, Sg. *lěmon*, *hain*; N.S. *moing*; C.S. *lěmoing*; B. *lěmoing*;
J. *lěmon*, *lěmun*.

¹ Words in square brackets are Malay or related to Malay forms. *

- CHIN, Sg. *ankik, yungka*; N.S. *chaká*; C.S. *jěngká*; B. *jěngkang*, [*daguk*]; J. [*dagu*], *gěká*.
- NECK, THROAT, Sg. *chěna-od, ngud*; N.S. *tangun, gđlok*; C.S. (throat) *lěngi, tang'n*; (back of neck) [*tangkoh*], *rungkoh*; B. [*lěngokun*]; J. *lěngi* [*tangkuk*].
- SHOULDER, Sg. *kělapai, klapor*; N.S. *pók, póz*; C.S. *gělpál*; B. [*bahor*]; J. [*bahók*].
- ARM, Sg. *běking, chěndren chiaz*; N.S. (upper arm) *sapal, shapal*; (lower arm) *chěndreng tik*; C.S. (whole arm) *kěngrit*, (forearm) *chěndreng tók*; B. (upper arm) *chěmer*; J. (forearm) *běling*.
- ELBOW, Sg. *kayang, kěning*; N.S. *kanyoug*; C.S. *kanang*; B. [*siku*]; J. *chinchung, changchong*.
- HAND, Sg. *chas, chias*; N.S. *tik*; C.S. *tók, tuk*; B. *tih, t'hih*; J. *t'hi, ti*.
- THUMB, Sg. [*ihok*] *chas, tabok (chias)*; N.S. *tabok*; C.S. *knóng tók*; B. *gěnek t'hih*; J. *gadě ti*.
- FINGER-NAIL, Sg. *tělkoh chas, chěndron*; N.S. *chěndron*; C.S. *chěngros*; B. *kukut, J. chěros, chěrus*.
- THIGH, Sg. *bělak, bėlak, bėlut*, N.S. *bělek, bėluk*; C.S. *lěmpa*; B. *blu*; J. *blu*.
- KNEE, Sg. *kětom, kaltong*; N.S. *karól*; C.S. *kusól*; B. [*tutut*]; J. *kaltong*.
- LOWER LEG, CALF, SHIN, Sg. *gau, gor*; N.S. *kěmong*; C.S. (lower leg) *kěmong*, (calf) *pědól kěmong*, (tendon achillis) *kajek*; B. *kějól*; J. [*bětis*].
- FOOT, Sg. *chan*; N.S. *júk*; C.S. *júk*; B. *jókn*; J. *jong*.
- HEEL, Sg. *doldol, dubdul*; N.S. *dělděd, kěnul*; C.S. (back of heel) *chanong*, (underpart of heel) [*tumit*], (heel-pad of tiger) *kěnól*; B. [*tumit*]; J. [*tumit*].
- SOLE, Sg. *tapak chan, těrba chan, dadu chan*; N.S. *tapar-júk, dada júk*; C.S. *tapar júk*; B. *tapak júku*; J. *tampar jong*.
- TOE, BIG TOE, Sg. *wong chan, tabok chan*; N.S. *tabok júk*; C.S. *knóng-júk*; B. [*jari*] *jókn, kěnen jókn*; J. [*jari*] *jong*.
- BREAST, CHEST, Sg. *sawab, [dada]*; N.S. [*dada*], *dahub, bot*; C.S. (chest) *'uloh*, (breasts) *mem*, (space between breasts) *chěnop*; B. (chest) *ngáh*, (breasts) *tóh, tūh*; J. [*da'da'*].
- BACK, Sg. *kiyok, krok*; N.S. *kruk*; C.S. *chělot, kěnok*; B. *chělotn*; J. *chělon*.

- HEART, LIVER**, Sg. *yus kanyais, klangis, rus*; N.S. *káp, harus*; C.S. (heart) *nus*, (body of heart) *kěbók nus*, (valve of heart) *tangkul nus*, (interior of heart) *sop nus*, (liver) *ris*, (spleen) *kláp*, (waist) *wók*; B. *tungkul grís*; J. *grís, giris*.
- STOMACH, INTENTINES**, Sg. *chon, éch chon, ét*; N.S. *kát, ék*; C.S. (exterior of stomach) *kót*, (interior of abdomen) *ét*, (intestinal canal) *chong ét, ét wét*, (stomach proper) *ét pědól*; B. *ō-ōit, chong ō-ōit*; J. *lěpătch, wét*.
- NAVEL**, Sg. *los, dut, dud*; N.S. *panik*; C.S. *sók*; B. *puneyh*; J. [*pusat*], *musat*.
- BLOOD**, Sg. *maham, bėhum*, N.S. *lót*; C.S. *bėhip*, (arterial blood) *kėpar*; B. *mahám*; J. *mahám*.
- BONE**, Sg. [*tuleng*] *jing, jeng, jėheuy*; N.S. *jaik*; C.S. *jėdk*; B. *jaėkn*; J. *jaang*.
- SKIN**, Sg. *kėtuk*, N.S. *sėmpok*; C.S. *gėtő*; B. [*kulit*]; J. [*kulit*].
- HAIR**, Sg. *sók, sóg*; N.S. *sók, sóg, shuóg*; C.S. (hair of head) *sók*, (whiskers, etc.) *sėntól*; B. *sok*; J. *sa' ók*.

II.

NOTES ON CENTRAL SAKAI GRAMMAR.

One of the minor tribulations that a local student of Sakai has to undergo is the well-meant advice of critics in Europe as what is wanted of him. I have been asked for "A few simple sentences—surely they can present no difficulty"; or, again, for the Lord's Prayer translated for comparative purposes into all the aboriginal tongues; in fact, it has even been suggested to me in perfect seriousness that I should get my Sakai to parse their sentences so as to set all doubts about their grammar at rest. Aborigines do not take kindly to interrogations of this sort. They have a grammar without the trouble of having to learn all about it; and they translate in a very primitive way. If you ask a Sakai to put a Malay sentence into his own language, he either translates your words or your meaning. If he does the former he is too literal; if the latter he is not literal enough. When asked to repeat what he has said so as to enable you to remember it and take it down, he says the same thing in different words. That again is no use. He then says that he is exhausted and can do no more.

It is fatuous to attempt to build up a grammar from a few simple sentences, even if the sentences are obtained. Still more unwise is it to read foreign grammars—such as Mon-Annam prefixes and infixes—into Sakai. If we knew as little about Malay as we do about Sakai the presence of words like *katib*, *kitab*, and *maktub* might lead a hasty student to read the Arabic grammar into the Malay language. It is quite possible, for instance, that Besisi has borrowed Mon-Annam derivative forms from some Mon-Annam language without adopting the process of word-building by which they are created. The question before us, however, is to find out the ideology and grammar of living Besisi. And if Mr Skeat's "Besisi Songs" are any criterion, modern Besisi does not use infixes and prefixes, Mon-Annam or otherwise.

Under the circumstances I can only venture to speak as to one dialect, Central Sakai. As to that dialect I speak with some confidence; and though I may be in error as to points of detail, I can assert positively that infixes and prefixes are in regular use, and that a derivative, built up in this way from a root-word, is recognised by the Sakai themselves as being a derivative and not an unconnected word. The relation between a root and its derived forms was brought to my notice in some cases by my Sakai informant himself and the function of the prefix or infix was explained, crudely perhaps, but in a way that showed a knowledge of its real character.

The Central Sakai root-word is usually *r monosyllable*. The introduction of an infix (that may be written *n*, *'n*, *ʔn* or *õn* and is a very short syllable indeed) makes the word *substantival*—e.g.:

jis, daylight; *jẽnis*, a day, twelve hours.

põp, fire-warmed; *põndõp*, the thing toasted or warmed;

kõh, striking; *kõnõh*, club, striker;

chok, prod, stab; *chõnok*, prudder, spoke.

A prefix *põr* turns the root into a verb, or a passive root into an active root—e.g.:

dat, die; *põrdat*, kill;

nong, journey; *põrnong*, to go;

lõt, extinguished; *põrlõt*, to put out (a fire);

bet, sleep; *põrbet*, to close the eye.

These two forms can be combined so as to form a verbal noun—e.g.:

dat, die; *pərdat*, kill; *pəřndat*, murder;

löt, extinguished; *pərlöt*, to put out; *pəřnglöt*, an extinguisher;

göi, to be married; *pərgöi*, to wed; *pəřnggöi*, marriage.

In all these cases pronunciation demands that the word should be as near a monosyllable as possible—e.g., *prndat*, *prnglöt*, *prnggöi*.

Reflexive, intensive or repeated action is expressed by reduplication. But since pronunciation demands that the double-word should approach a monosyllable in sound the first half is modified and shortened while the second is emphasised and accented—e.g.:

tök, to extract; *t'klök*, torn out, up-rooted,

suk, torch; *s'ksuk*, illuminated (by many torches);

čip, walk; *čičip*, walk about, promenade;

páp, warm; *pəpáp*, to keep warm, to warm oneself;

jar, run; *jirjar*, to run about.

So much for the principal prefixes and infixes. We now come to the finals.

In certain cases the final letter of a Sakai word changes to *n*, *ng*, or *m*. Sometimes this follows a law of euphony owing to the coincidence of two consonants—e.g.

čip, bird; *čim-kläk*, hawk, eagle;

kläk, hawk; *kläng-blok*, roc, garuda;

čěrök, long, high; *čěröng-sök*, long-haired one, vampire.

But there are cases where the alteration cannot be so explained—e.g.:

mai, person; *mu mam*, one person;

dök, house; *nu d'ngnön*, a house;

rök, dart; *nar r'ngnön*, two darts.

I could find no rule as to this.

The conjugation of the verb is as follows:

göi, to be married;

'nggöi, (I) am married;

ha göi, (thou) art married;

či-öi, (he) is married:

bi-gōi, "on se marie";
hi-gōi, (we) are married;
lōi-gōi, (you) are married;
uboi-gōi, they two are married;
ki-gōi, (they) are married;

bērsóp, to feed;
'mbērsóp, (I) feed;
ha-bērsóp, (thou) feedest;
ki-bērsóp, (he) feeds;
hi-bērsóp, "on mange";
hi-bērsóp, (we) feed;
lōi bērsóp, (you) feed;
uboi bērsóp, they both eat together;
ki-bērsóp, (they) feed;

neng, to see;
'n-neng, (I) see;
ha-neng, (thou) seest;
ki-neng, (he) sees;
bi-neng, "on voit";
hi-neng, (we) see;
lōi neng, (you) see;
uboi neng, they both see;
ki-neng, (they) see.

It should be added that these expressions do not necessarily include the pronoun or subject. If it is desired to emphasise the pronoun or subject the phrase might run: *en 'nggōi*, I am married; *kō ki-neng ha-en*, he is looking at me; *rōi ajōh ki-joi ha-en*, the fly is following me about. But the pronoun may be omitted when no ambiguity arises.

There are also idiomatic uses of some of these forms—e.g., *kōh*, to strike; *bi-kōh*, people are striking. "on se bat"; *dat bi-kōh*, to be killed in an affray. So, too, the first person plural is often used where we should use the indefinite "one," "they," "people."

The past tense is expressed by the word *ya*: *ya 'n-dat*, I died; *ya-ki-dat*, he died. But this word is also used idiomatically—e.g., *ki-dat ya-manus*, he was killed by a tiger. So also the future is expressed by *ha*: *ha 'n-dat*, I shall die.

But *ha*, like *ya*, is used idiomatically as a preposition—e.g., *ki-neng ha-en*, he is looking at me; *ki-joï ha-en*, he is pursuing me.

The adjective precedes the noun that it qualifies—e.g., *chêrông-dök*, a lofty house; *dök chêrök*, the house is lofty. The comparison of adjectives is expressed by the word *ju* (than): *kuchik êntoi ju prök*, the cat is bigger than the mouse. *Ju* also means "from"; cf. Malay *dari*, which is used in the same way for comparisons.

There is no regular article in Central Sakai, but the demonstrative pronouns—*ajöh* (that), *adöh* (this)—may be used if emphasis is desired.

The interrogatives are *bo* (who), *ma* (what), *'mpil* (when)—e.g., *lôi bo*, who are you; *ma ki-pêdch*, what does he say; *'mpil tihau*, when did you arrive.

The personal pronouns are *en* (I), *ha* (thou), *lôi* (you, politer than *ha*), *kô* (he, she, it). The possessives are *en* (my), *he* (your, thy), *i* (his, hers, its). This last is very common and idiomatic—e.g., *ma i-ngrok*, what does he say—*i.e.*, what are his words. The possessive precedes the noun to which it refers—e.g., *en-mênô ya-dat*, my father is dead.

Adverbs are very common. The principal are:

| | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>mach</i> , here; | <i>kintôh</i> , over there; |
| <i>ditôh</i> , there; | <i>kindeh</i> , on this side; |
| <i>ditah</i> , up stream; | <i>kinjôh</i> , thence. |
| <i>dirah</i> , down stream; | |

Some of these suggest a verbal connection that is not to be explained by the present method of word-building.

The most important prepositions are *ju* (from) and *nu* (to).

PRINTED AT THE
FEDERATED MALAY STATES GOVERNMENT PRESS,
KUALA LUMPUR.

FEDERATED MALAY STATES



LIST

OF

MALAY PROPER NAMES

COMPILED BY
ABRAHAM HALE

WITH A CRITICISM BY
HUGH CLIFFORD, C.M.G.

KUALA LUMPUR

PRINTED BY J. E. WALLACE AT THE F.M.S. GOVERNMENT PRESS.

1925.

LIST OF MALAY PROPER NAMES
WRITTEN IN ROMAN AND MALAY CHARACTER.

Sir,

I have the honour to submit to the Resident a list of Malay proper names written in Roman and Malay character, and to venture the opinion that, if this list was printed in pamphlet form, it might be useful for distribution throughout the States to all Departments of the Service, more especially the Land and Registration Offices.

2. In the practice of my duties as Registrar of Titles, I have come face to face with very considerable difficulty owing to the great diversity of spelling used by different officers, and especially by clerks who have had no chance of learning how to accurately write Malay names in the Roman character. The great difference in transliteration often renders it necessary to appeal to the Court for an explicit order before registration can be effected, delay is thus caused, which is irksome to the public and unsatisfactory to the Registrar.

3. Names as originally written on old deeds cannot be altered and must be continued in all documents relating to them, but by the introduction of an uniform system of spelling now, the old bad transliteration will, by process of time, gradually become eliminated, and not only will much future trouble and complication be avoided, but Government will not have to bear the reproach of publishing careless and unscholarly work as at present.

4. In the list of names thus submitted I have altogether abstained from the use of accents or tonal marks and have endeavoured to give a plain rendering of each name as well in Malay as in Roman character, which can be used and understood by clerks as well as highly educated scholars of the Malay language. I am aware that in both characters a more scholastic rendering might be given, but for the purpose for which this list is designed I think it would be inadvisable, as leading to complication and controversy.

5. If the list is considered worth publishing, I would ask that it be printed in pamphlet form, with about a page left blank after each letter, so that persons who feel an interest in such matters might with ease add more names to the list, and thus perhaps by collaboration at some future time prepare a more complete and correct edition for publication.

I have, etc.,

A. HALE.

*Registrar of Titles, Selangor
and Collector of Land Revenue, Kuala Lumpur.*

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, Misc. 3644/01, of the 6th ultimo, enclosing for my criticism a list of Malay names which has been compiled by Mr. Hale.

2. Taken as a whole, Mr. Hale is to be congratulated on the accuracy of his compilation, and I agree with Mr. Duberly in thinking that issue of the list would be useful and that it would be a good thing if Land Officers and others were instructed to make use of it when transcribing native names.

3. There are a few criticisms that I should like to pass upon the list as it stands.

AWAL should not be spelled with an *h*.

ALAM, in the Malay, should be spelled with an *ain*, not with an *alif*, and I think that the hard breathing should be indicated by the (') or by some other arbitrary mark to distinguish the *ain* from the *alif*.

BAGINDA should be spelled with an *a* not with an *e*.

BENDAHARA, on the other hand, should be spelled with an *e* not with an *a*. The root is *bend*, a thing.

CHAHIA not Chahah, is the female name. It is spelled wrongly also in the Malay, being given a final *h*, which does not belong to it, and being deprived of the *h* in the middle of the word.

CHIK is more correct than Chi. It is a contraction of *Keckil*, but is always pronounced as though it ended with a *kaf* and is usually written either that way or with an *amsak*.

DATO' is incomplete without the *amsak* which is marked by the ('). The *amsak* has the same effect as a final *kaf*.

DEMAN is given an *h* in the middle of it which does not belong to it.

DOLLAH by reason of the *tashdid* has a double *l* and should not be written with a single *l* only.

GODAM, I think, is more correct than *Gudam*.

ITAM, and all similar names, should not, I think, be given the initial *h* when transliterated. The *h* is only introduced in writing Malay for convenience sake. It is not an integral part of the word, and it should be dispensed with in transliteration, just as we write *ulu*, not *hulu*.

JAMBUL is more correct than *Jambol*.

JEMPUL is more correct than *Jempul*.

KECHIL is the correct form, not *Keckil*.

LAHAMANA should not be deprived of its second *a*.

On what principle is *Mudafa* spelled with a *ph*?

USMAN, I think, is preferable to *Orman*. Also *Umar* to *Omar*.

PANOLINA is right.

PERNATA, which means a *jewel*, is the correct form. It should not be written *Panata*.

RAWSAH should not have an *h* inserted in the middle of it.

SULBIMAN is, I think, more correct than *S'leiman*. In no case should an *h* be inserted.

UTER should be spelled with an *e*, not with an *i*. It is a form of *puteh*, which word Mr. Hale has spelled correctly.

I notice numerous omissions, among them are the following:—
Abu Nanas, Anjang, Daunan, Embok, Esah, Gadoh, Itan, Jeragan, Lop, Meran, Nuh (the form *Nor* only is given), Pakeh, Pet, Rasi, Sakar and Yop. Also, if Juru krah is given, why are not all the other Jurus given too, and such words as Pakir as well? *

5. I return herewith the original list compiled by Mr. Hale.

I have, etc.,

HUGH CLIFFORD,

British Resident, Pahang.

NOTE BY THE COMPILER.

I desire to tender my thanks to Mr. Clifford, c.m.g., Resident of Pahang, for his appreciative and kind criticism

A. HALE.

KUALA LUMPUR,

1903

LIST OF MALAY PROPER NAMES.

AHAN

AYUT

| AHAN | A | • | AYUT | M. | الرم |
|---------------|----|--------------|----------------|----|-------------|
| | | | Alum | M. | الرم |
| | | | Amai | F. | امي |
| Abas | M. | عيس | Aman | M. | امن |
| Abasiah | F. | عباسيه | Amar | " | امر |
| Abadiah | " | عباديه | Ambang | " | امبغ |
| Abdullah Sani | M. | عبدالله ساني | Ambin | F. | امبيم |
| Abdul Karim | " | عبدالكاريم | Ambong | " | امبوغ |
| Abdul Rani | " | عبدالراني | Ambun | " | امبون |
| Abdul Hamid | " | عبدالحميد | Amin | M. | امين |
| Abdul Manap | " | عبدالمناف | Aminah | F. | امينه |
| Abdul Salam | " | عبدالسلم | Amjah | " | امجه |
| Abdul Latib | " | عبدالطيب | Ampih | M. | امفيه |
| Abdul Rakim | " | عبدالراقيم | Audak | F. | الندق |
| Abdul Akil | " | عبدالعاقل | Andika | M. | انديكا |
| Abdul Rahman | " | عبدالرحمن | Anjang | " | انجغ |
| Abdul Lajis | " | عبدالحييس | Autah | F. | اتته |
| Abdul Rahim | " | عبدالرحيم | Anu | M. | انو |
| Abdul Aziz | " | عبدالعزيز | Aris | " | اريس |
| Abentara | " | ابنتارا | Arsad | " | عرصد |
| Abraham | " | ابراهيم | Asal | " | امل |
| Abu Bakar | " | ابوبكر | Atom | " | انوم |
| Abu Nanas | " | ابونانس | Awal | " | اوال |
| Abu Nusah | " | ابونوسه | Awal Ludin | " | اوال لودين |
| Abu Talib | " | ابوطليب | Awang (Bugris) | " | اواغ بوغريس |
| Adam | " | ادم | Awang Mat | " | اواغ مات |
| Adan | " | ادن | Ayut | F. | ايوت |
| Adau | " | ادو | | | |
| Adu | " | ادو | | | |
| Agam | " | اغم | | | |
| Ahmad | " | احمد | | | |
| Aji | " | اجي | | | |
| Ajid | " | اجيد | | | |
| 'Alum | " | عالم | | | |
| Alang | " | الغ | | | |
| Ali | " | علي | | | |

| | | B | | | |
|---------------|----|-------------|--|---------|---------|
| | | | | Bintong | بونتونغ |
| | | | | Bisi | بيسي |
| Badat | M. | بادد | | Bitap | بيتاف |
| Badu | " | بادو | | Bongsu | بونسو |
| Baginda Kari | " | بگيندا كاري | | Bot | بوت |
| Baginda Sati | " | بگيندا ساتي | | Botok | بوتوك |
| Baha | " | بها | | Brahim | براهيم |
| Bahaman | " | بهامن | | Budiman | بوديمان |
| Bahara | F. | بهارا | | Budin | بودين |
| Bakar | M. | بكر | | Budu | بودو |
| Bakir | " | باكير | | Bujang | بوجف |
| Bahir | " | باهير | | Bungkit | بونجكيت |
| Bainul | " | بينول | | Burok | بورك |
| Bandar | " | بندر | | Busu | بوسو |
| Bandara | " | بندرا | | Butir | بوتير |
| Baginda | " | بگندا | | Buyong | بويونغ |
| Bangkok | " | بفكس | | | |
| Bangsa Balang | " | بفسا بالف | | | |
| Barak | " | بارق | | | |
| Bariah | F. | باريه | | | |
| Baru | M. | بارو | | | |
| Basah | " | بامه | | | |
| Basi | " | بامسي | | | |
| Batin | " | باتين | | | |
| Basirum | " | بسيرون | | | |
| Bato | " | باتو | | | |
| Bejaia | " | بجاي | | | |
| Bendahara | " | بندھرا | | | |
| Bendaharap | " | بندھاراف | | | |
| Berasah | " | براسيه | | | |
| Berina | " | برينا | | | |
| Beringin | " | برينجين | | | |
| Betong | " | بتونغ | | | |
| Betua | " | بتوا | | | |
| Bidin | " | بيدين | | | |
| Bikap | F. | بيكاف | | | |
| Bilal | M. | بيلال | | | |
| Bili | " | بيلي | | | |

| C | | | D | | |
|----------|----|--------|-----------|----|---------|
| Ghabang | M. | چابغ | Dachi | F. | داجی |
| Chachi | " | چاچی | Dagang | M. | داگغ |
| Chahia | F. | چهای | Dahian | " | داهیان |
| Chamar | M. | چامر | Dahil | " | داهیل |
| Champak | F. | چمفک | Dahip | " | داهیف |
| Chantek | " | چنتیک | Daik | " | دایق |
| Chapang | M. | چافغ | Daiman | " | دایمان |
| Chat | " | چت | Daing | " | دایغ |
| Chatar | " | چاتر | Dakum | " | داکوم |
| Chik | F. | چی | Dalal | " | دالال |
| Chongkil | M. | چوئگیل | Dalam | " | دالم |
| Chop | " | چوف | Dali | " | دالی |
| Chulan | " | چولن | Dalil | " | دالیل |
| | | | Dalina | F. | دلینا |
| | | | Daman | M. | دامن |
| | | | Dangsa | " | دغسا |
| | | | Dapat | " | دافت |
| | | | Dapti | " | دفتی |
| | | | Darah | F. | داره |
| | | | Darmin | M. | درمین |
| | | | Datang | " | داتغ |
| | | | Dato' | " | داتو' |
| | | | Daud | " | داود |
| | | | Daun | " | داون |
| | | | Dawi | " | داوی |
| | | | Dedap | " | ددف |
| | | | Demang | " | دمغ |
| | | | Dendam | " | دندم |
| | | | Dewa | " | دیوا |
| | | | Dewaangsa | " | دیواغسا |
| | | | Dewar | " | دیوار |
| | | | Diawan | " | دیوان |
| | | | Dilim | " | دیلیم |
| | | | Dinah | F. | دینه |
| | | | Disah | " | دیهه |
| | | | Dogam | M. | دوگم |

| | | | | |
|---------|----|---------|-------|---------|
| Dohar | M. | دوهر | E | |
| Dollah | .. | دوله | | |
| Dolat | .. | دولت | Embok | F. عميق |
| Doman | .. | دومن | Esah | .. عيسه |
| Donan | .. | دونن | | |
| Dramah | F. | درامه | | |
| Dris | M. | دريس | | |
| Duahat | .. | دواحد | | |
| Duakim | .. | دواكيم | | |
| Dualim | .. | دواليم | | |
| Duali | .. | دوالي | | |
| Duasim | .. | دواسيم | | |
| Dubin | .. | دوبين | | |
| Dugun | .. | دوگون | | |
| Dukun | .. | دوگون | | |
| Dulong | .. | دولوغ | | |
| Dundang | .. | دوندانغ | | |
| Duraja | .. | دوراجا | | |
| Duraji | .. | دوراجي | | |
| Dusi | .. | دوسيه | | |
| Duwasa | .. | دوواسا | F | |
| | | Fajar | M. | فاجر |
| | | Fakir | .. | فاكير |
| | | Famin | .. | فامين |
| | | Fatimah | F. | فاطمة |
| | | Fidu | M. | فيدو |

| G | | | H | | |
|--------------|----|-------------|-----------|---------|----------|
| Gabar | M. | ڳاڀر | Haispolah | M. | هايسڀوله |
| Gaberiah | F. | ڳبريه | Haji | M. & F. | حاجي |
| Gadoh | M. | ڳادوه | Hakim | M. | حاکيم |
| Gagah | " | ڳاڳه | Halijah | F. | حاليجه |
| Gabang | " | ڳابڱ | Halimah | " | حليمه |
| Gambar | " | ڳمبر | Halinah | " | حليمه |
| Gamit | " | ڳامپت | Halum | " | حالموم |
| Ganda | " | ڳندا | Halus | " | هالومس |
| Gaiah | F. | ڳايه | Homid | M. | هوميد |
| Gunong | M. | ڳونوڱ | Hamidah | F. | حميده |
| Gantang | " | ڳنتڱ | Hamzah | M. | حمزه |
| Ganti | " | ڳنتي | Hanipah | F. | حانيشه |
| Ganti Maraja | " | ڳنتي ماراج | Harum | M. | هاروم |
| Garib | " | ڳاريب | Hasan | " | حسن |
| Gedong | " | ڳدوڱ | Hasbah | F. | حسبه |
| Gemala | " | ڳملا | Hasuah | " | حاسواه |
| Genpa | " | | Hawa | " | حواوا |
| Maharaja | " | ڳمشا مهاراج | Hiram | " | حيرام |
| Genta | " | ڳنتا | Hiran | " | حيران |
| Ginsi | " | ڳينسي | Hiru | M. | حيرو |
| Gihim | " | ڳهيم | Hirun | " | حيرون |
| Gubal | " | ڳوبال | Husin | " | حسين |
| Godam | " | ڳوڊم | | | |
| Gumbang | " | ڳومبڱ | | | |
| Gumbih | F. | ڳومبيه | | | |
| Gunting | " | ڳولتيڱ | | | |

| I | | | J | | |
|---------------|---------|------------|-----------|----|----------|
| Ibaru | M. | اھارو | Jabar | M. | جاہر |
| Idris | " | ادريس | Jabut | " | جاہوہ |
| Idrus | " | ادروس | Jaharah | F. | جہراہ |
| Ilias | " | الیس | Jahia | M. | جہیا |
| Imah | F. | امہ | Jahis | " | جاہیس |
| Imam | M. | ایمام | Jakar | " | جاکر |
| Imam Kari | " | ایمام کاری | Jalang | " | جالغ |
| Imam Muda | " | ایمم مودا | Jali | " | جاللی |
| Imam Penghulu | " | ایمم فہولو | Jalil | " | جاللیل |
| Imam Prang | " | ایمم فرغ | Jamaiah | F. | جامایہ |
| Imbam | F. | ایمم | Jamal | M. | جامل |
| Imbang | M. | ایمم | Jamaliah | F. | جامالیہ |
| Imbul | F. | ایمول | Jaman | M. | جامن |
| Imbun | M. | ایمون | Jamaludin | " | جاملودین |
| Ina | " | اینا | Jamariah | " | جاماریہ |
| Inah | F. | اینہ | Jambaran | " | جامبارن |
| Inak | " | اینک | Jambi | " | جامبی |
| Indika | M. | اندیکا | Jambui | " | جامبوی |
| Indut | F. | الذوت | Jamil | " | جامیل |
| Inek | M. | اینیک | Jampul | " | جامطل |
| Insun | F. | السون | Janggi | " | جانگی |
| Intan | " | التن | Jangkit | " | جانگیت |
| Iram | M. | ارام | Jantan | " | جانتن |
| Irul | " | ارول | Jantimah | F. | جانتمہ |
| Isa | " | ایسا | Janum | M. | جانوم |
| Ishak | " | اسحق | Japar | " | جاپار |
| Iskandar | " | اسکندر | Jara | " | جارا |
| Ismail | " | ایسماعیل | Jebah | F. | جہہ |
| Itam | M. & F. | ایتم | Jemaat | M. | جامعت |
| | | | Jemah | " | جامہ |
| | | | Jemakat | " | جاماکتہ |
| | | | Jemali | " | جامالی |
| | | | Jempul | " | جامطل |
| | | | Jenal | " | جانل |
| | | | Jenang | " | جانغ |

| JIDIN | M. | | K | |
|-----------|----|----------|-------------|-------|
| Jidin | M. | جیدین | | کیمون |
| Jidu | " | جیدو | Kabun | M. |
| Jihin | " | جیهین | Kadam | " |
| Jihu | " | جیهو | Kadim | " |
| Jintan | " | جینتن | Kadir | " |
| Johan | " | جوهن | Kaba | " |
| Johar | " | جوهر | Kahar | " |
| Johari | " | جوهارى | Kaia | " |
| Josan | " | جوسن | Kalam | " |
| Subah | " | جوبه | Klambu | " |
| Julu | " | جوهر | Klana Petra | " |
| Jukaia | " | جوکيا | Kali | " |
| Junid | " | جونید | Kalip | " |
| Junong | " | جولوغ | Kalsum | F. |
| Juru Krah | " | جورو کوه | Kamah | M. |
| Jusi | " | جوسی | Kamariah | F. |
| | | | Kampung | M. |
| | | | Kamsah | " |
| | | | Kanchil | " |
| | | | Kandong | F. |
| | | | Kanik | M. |
| | | | Kaning | " |
| | | | Kuntom | F. |
| | | | Kaparli | M. |
| | | | Kari | " |
| | | | Kasih | F. |
| | | | Kasan | M. |
| | | | Kasrin | " |
| | | | Kata - | " |
| | | | Katar | " |
| | | | Kateh | F. |
| | | | Katijah | " |
| | | | Kayun | M. |
| | | | Kechil | " |
| | | | Kechut | " |
| | | | Kesjah | F. |

| Khatib | M. | | L | |
|----------|----|--------|--------------|---------------|
| Kintong | " | كيتونغ | Labas | M. لابس |
| Kitam | " | كيتيم | Labuhan | " لابوهن |
| Krejan | " | كراجان | Lakim | " لاكميم |
| Krema | " | كرما | Laksamana | " لشمان |
| Kriman | " | كريمان | Lalu | F. لالو |
| Kuahloh | F. | كوالوه | Lamah | " لامه |
| Kubu | M. | كوبو | Lampui | M. لامشي |
| Kulub | " | كولوب | Lamat | " لامس |
| Kumantan | " | كومنتن | Lamit | " لاميت |
| Kumbang | F. | كومبغ | Laniah | F. لانيه |
| Kumsiah | " | كمسيد | Lamin | M. لامين |
| Kuning | M. | كونيغ | Lasal | " لاسال |
| Kuntul | " | كونتول | Lateh | " لانيه |
| | | | Latib | " لاطيب |
| | | | Lamsah | " لامسه |
| | | | Lawah | F. لاهوه |
| | | | Lebar | M. & F. لاسور |
| | | | Leber | M. لاسين |
| | | | Lela | " ليلدا |
| | | | Lela Angsa | " ليلدا انسا |
| | | | Lela Perkasa | " ليلدا بركاس |
| | | | Lemah | F. ليمه |
| | | | Lembaga | M. ليمباك |
| | | | Lempik | " ليمبيك |
| | | | Lidu | " ليدو |
| | | | Lijah | F. ليمجا |
| | | | Limah | " ليمه |
| | | | Limpah | " ليمبه |
| | | | Luntok | M. لونتوك |
| | | | Luta | " لوتا |
| | | | Lipah | F. ليمبا |
| | | | Lipang | M. ليمبانغ |
| | | | Lipat | F. ليمبا |
| | | | Lo' | M. لولا |
| | | | L... | M. & F. لوت |

| | | | | | |
|---------------|----|-------------|---------|----|--------|
| Mangku Bumi | M. | مفكو بومي | Munah | P. | مونه |
| Mangkuria | " | مفكوريا | Mungkin | M. | موشكيم |
| Manti | " | منتي | Muntil | P. | مولعيل |
| Mantika | " | منتيكا | Mura | " | موراه |
| Mara Padat | " | مارفادت | Musa | M. | موس |
| Maraja | " | مراج | Musi | " | موسي |
| Marut | " | ماروت | Mustafa | " | مستاف |
| Marzuki | P. | موزوكي | | | |
| Maslamah | " | مسلمه | | | |
| Mat Ari | M. | مت اري | | | |
| Mat Kali | " | مت كالي | | | |
| Mat Seh | " | مت سيج | | | |
| Mat Sri | " | مت ساري | | | |
| Mat Sum | " | مت سوم | | | |
| Mata Merah | " | ماتا ميره | | | |
| Mawi | " | ماوي | | | |
| Medan | " | ميدان | | | |
| Melam | " | ميلم | | | |
| Menanti Malim | " | مننتي ماليم | | | |
| Mengiang | " | مغيانغ | | | |
| Mentri | " | منتري | | | |
| Mera Bangsa | " | ميرفا | | | |
| Merak | " | ميراق | | | |
| Meran | P. | ميران | | | |
| Midi | M. | ميدني | | | |
| Midun | " | ميدون | | | |
| Mihun | " | ميهون | | | |
| Min | " | مين | | | |
| Minah | " | مينه | | | |
| Mintal | " | مينتول | | | |
| Mizam | " | ميزم | | | |
| Molut | " | مولوت | | | |
| Moha | " | موها | | | |
| Mohamad | " | محمد | | | |
| Mohi | " | موهي | | | |
| Mubin | " | موبين | | | |
| Muda | " | مودا | | | |
| Muban | " | موهن | | | |

| N | | | Nuriah | F. | لوريه |
|--------------|----|-----------|--------|----|-------|
| Nabiah | F. | نابيه | Nusi | M. | لومسي |
| Nabih | " | نابيه | Nyanui | " | نالوي |
| Nadiah | " | ناديه | | | |
| Nagam | M. | ناغم | | | |
| Nagari | " | نكاري | | | |
| Nah | " | نه | | | |
| Nahu | " | ناهو | | | |
| Naiian | " | ناين | | | |
| Naji | " | ناجي | | | |
| Nakhoda | " | نخودا | | | |
| Namin | " | نامين | | | |
| Nandang | " | ندانغ | | | |
| Nantu | " | نتنو | | | |
| Napiah | F. | نابيه | | | |
| Napir | M. | ناپير | | | |
| Napis | " | ناپيس | | | |
| Napisah | F. | نابيه | | | |
| Narumah | " | نارونه | | O | |
| Nasih | " | ناسيه | | | |
| Nasib | M. | ناسيب | Opik | M. | اوپيك |
| Natim | " | ناليم | | | |
| Natin | " | ناتين | | | |
| Nawawi | " | ناواوي | | | |
| Naimah | F. | نايمه | | | |
| Ngah | " | غه | | | |
| Nilam | " | نيلم | | | |
| Nosiah | " | نوشيه | | | |
| Nor | M. | نور | | | |
| Noriah | F. | لوريه | | | |
| Nubiah | " | نوبيه | | | |
| Noman | M. | لومن | | | |
| Nuh | " | لوه | | | |
| Numpang Kain | " | لومشغ كاي | | | |
| Nungah | " | لونكه | | | |
| Nunggang | " | لوشغغ | | | |
| Nurdin | " | لوردين | | | |

| PADUKA | | KABAN | |
|--------------|----------|------------|------------|
| | P | | |
| Paduka | M. | مدوك | فیدعل |
| Paduka Menti | " | مدوك منتی | فیدتس |
| Pagar | " | فاغر | فلهتا سمان |
| Pagi | F. | فاگی | فوامس |
| Pago' | M. | فاگو' | فولچا |
| Paha | " | فها | فوشگو' |
| Paham | " | فاعم | فولیه |
| Pahit | M. & F. | فاعیت | |
| Pakeh | M. | فاکیه | |
| Pakeh Binn | " | فاکیه بینو | |
| Pandita | " | فندیتا | |
| Pandak | " | فندق | |
| Panjang | | | |
| Rambut | " | منجق رمبوت | |
| Panglima | " | فقلیما | |
| Panjang | " | فنجق | |
| Pial | F. | فیه | Q |
| Pih | M. | فیعی | |
| Punjam | " | فونجم | |
| Patah | " | فانه | |
| Pinah | F. | فینه | |
| Pisah | " | فیسه | |
| Pati | M. | فاتی | |
| Pudu | " | فودو | |
| Patinan | " | فالینن | |
| Pumpun | " | فومشون | |
| Pimah | " | فیمه | |
| Pendek | " | فندیق | |
| Pendekar | " | فندیکر | R |
| Penghulu | " | ففهولو | Rabiah P. |
| Perba | " | فرب | Radin M. |
| Peria Sati | " | فربا ساتی | Rahimah F. |
| Permata | " | فرمات | Rahh " |
| Pesan | " | فیسس | Rahman M. |
| Pet | " | فیسسه | Rahmat " |
| Pita | " | فیتا | Ransah " |

| RAJAH | | SENAL | |
|--------------|----|------------|----------------|
| Bajah | F. | راه | S |
| Raja | M. | راج | |
| Rajiah | F. | راجيه | Sa' ban M. |
| Rakina | " | راكينا | Sa' diah F. |
| Rakna Mentri | M. | وقنا منتری | Sa' din " |
| Ramah | F. | رامه | Sa' dimah " |
| Ramlah | " | رمله | Sadu M. |
| Ramli | M. | رملي | Sagap " |
| Rantan | " | رنتن | Sahab " |
| Rapat | " | رافت | Sabat " |
| Rapiah | F. | رفيه | Sabbudin " |
| Rapil | " | رافيل | Sahi Lela " |
| Rasiah | " | رسيه | Said " |
| Rasim | M. | راميم | Sait " |
| Rasu | " | رامو | Sakar " |
| Rasul | " | رامول | Saleh " |
| Rawi | F. | راوي | Salihah F. |
| Remah | M. | رمه | Salim M. |
| Rendah | " | رندد | Samah F. |
| Rendang | " | رنداغ | Saman M. |
| Rhoush | " | راوش | Samar Bangsa " |
| Rindu | " | رندو | Samsudin " |
| Ripin | " | ريشين | Sangsura |
| Ruka | " | روكا | Pahlawan " |
| Rukiah | F. | روقيه | Sapi " |
| Rusiah | " | روسيد | Sarah F. |
| | | | Sarip M. |
| | | | Saripah F. |
| | | | Sarom M. |
| | | | Sati " |
| | | | Satip " |
| | | | Sambiah F. |
| | | | Sa' udah " |
| | | | Sawiyah M. |
| | | | Sayang F. |
| | | | Semanal M. |
| | | | Sempana " |
| | | | Senal " |

| | | | | | |
|--------------|----|--------------|-----------|----|--------------|
| Senara | M. | سنارا | Sutan | M. | سولن |
| Sendara | " | سندارا | Sutan | " | سولن بندھارا |
| Sentul | " | سنتول | Bendahara | " | |
| Serah | " | سره | | | |
| Setir Maraja | " | ستير ماراج | | | |
| Shah Bandar | " | شہندر | | | |
| Shah Lela | " | شہلہ | | | |
| Sheikh | " | شېخ | | | |
| Sian | " | سيان | | | |
| Siang | " | سيج | | | |
| Sidik | " | سديق | | | |
| Sidin | " | سیدی | | | |
| Si Maraja | " | سماراج | | | |
| Sinda | | | | | |
| Maharaja | " | سیندا مہاراج | | | |
| Singa | " | سیفا | | | |
| Situ Ajar | " | سیتو اجر | | | |
| Sinbi | " | سینبی | | | |
| Slamah | " | سلمہ | | | |
| Sontoh | " | سولتو | | | |
| Sophia | " | سافہ | | | |
| Sri | " | سری | | | |
| Sri Adika | | | | | |
| Raja | M. | سری ادیکراج | | T | |
| Stia Raja | " | ستیا راج | | | |
| Suait | " | سوئہ | Ta' Arip | M. | تاعریف |
| Subinan | " | سوبین | Tabil | " | تابل |
| Suboh | " | سوبوہ | Tahan | " | تھن |
| Sudin | " | سودین | Tahar | " | تہار |
| Suki | " | سوکي | Tahat | " | تہات |
| Sukur | " | سوکور | Tahir | " | تہیر |
| Suleiman | " | سولیمان | Taimah | F. | تایمہ |
| Sulong | " | سولوغ | Ta'in | M. | تائین |
| Sultan | " | سلطان | Tajoh | " | تاجو |
| Suman | " | سومی | Tajudin | " | تاجودین |
| Surian | " | سوریان | Tamat | " | تامت |
| Surin | " | سورین | Tambah | " | تامباہ |
| Surun | " | سورون | Tambi | " | تامبی |

| | | | | | |
|------------|----|----------|--------------|----|------------|
| Tampinah | M. | تمشيدہ | | U | |
| Tampun | " | تمفون | Ubaiah | F. | اوبايہ |
| Tanai | " | تمای | Uda | " | اودا |
| Tanjong | " | تمجوع | Ujang | M. | اوجع |
| Tara | " | تارا | Ukun Jinjang | " | اوکون جنجج |
| Taram | F. | تارم | Ulama | " | اولام |
| Tarangkari | M. | تارنگاری | Ulu Balang | " | هولو بالنگ |
| Tanlah | " | تلہ | Umar | " | عمر |
| Tempoi | " | تمشوی | Umbi | " | اومبی |
| Temunggong | " | تمفکوچ | Unggong | " | اوچکوچ |
| Tijah | F. | تجه | Untong | " | اونتوچ |
| Timah | " | تيمہ | Unus | " | اونس |
| Timun | " | تيمون | Urai | F. | اوری |
| Tinah | " | تينه | Usih | M. | اوسيه |
| Tinat | " | تيني | Usman | " | عصفان |
| Tolah | M. | توله | Usoh | " | اوسوه |
| Topu | L. | توپين | Usop | " | اوسوف |
| Tuboh | M. | توبوه | Utch | " | اوتيه |
| Tukang | " | توکنج | Uyah | " | اويه |
| Tukum | " | توکوم | Uyamm | M. | اويامين |
| Tunggong | " | توچکوچ | | | |
| Tungku | " | توچکو | | | |

