Journal
of the
Malayan Branch
of the
Royal Asiatic Society

December, 1947

SINGAPORE
Malaya Publishing House, Limited
1947
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The
Malayan Branch
of the
Royal Asiatic Society

Patron:
His Excellency the Right Honourable Malcolm MacDonald, P.C.,
Governor-General, Malaya.

Council for 1947

Dr. W. Linehan, C.M.G., M.A., D.Litt., M.C.S., President

The Hon'ble Engku Aziz, Y.M., D.K. C.M.G.,
Dato R. St. J. Braddell, S.P.M.J., M.A. Vice-Presidents
The Rev. Father R. Cardon
Mr. Anker Rentse

Mr. P. J. D. Regester, O.B.E.
Mr. B. A. Mallal
Mr. R. E. Holttum
Mr. H. Schweizer
Mr. Hsu Yang Tsiao

Mr. M. W. F. Tweedie, M.A. Councillors

Hon. Secretary
Hon. Treasurer

Mrs. G. J. Scott Ass. Hon. Secretary

[Mr. C. A. Gibson-Hill, M.A., acting June-December
in place of Mr. Tweedie (on leave).]
Editorial.

At a general meeting of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society held in the Raffles Museum on Friday, September 26, it was decided that as from October 1st, 1947, the price of copies of ordinary issues of the Journal should be $5.00 each to non-members. The revised prices apply to all stocks of back numbers held by the Society, in addition to Journals published after October 1st. Bound copies of Sir Richard Winstedt’s History of Malaya are now $8.50 to non-members.

A communication has been received from Mr. T. Harrison, Curator of the Sarawak Museum, Kuching, giving the authors of the paper *Two Brunai Charms*, for which an appeal was made in the last issue of this Journal (Vol. 20, pt. 1, p. vii). The paper is printed in this issue, pp. 48—59, with an introduction by Mr. Harrison.


Information has been received which makes it apparent that there is no chance of recovering the copies of Vol. 5, pt. 3 (1927), which were taken from the Raffles Museum during the Japanese occupation. The Japanese removed the complete stock of this issue, and it is therefore no longer obtainable from the Society. It was devoted to the text, in Jawi, of the Tale of Trong Pih, with an introduction by Sir Richard Winstedt. The form of the text makes reprinting expensive, and it is unlikely to be undertaken in the near future.

Title-pages and indexes for Volumes 18, 19 and 20 are published with this issue, which forms the second and last part of Volume 20.

C. A. Gibson-Hill.

23-10-47.
ANNUAL REPORT
of the
Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society
for 1941

Membership. The number of members at the end of the year was 508, compared with 196 at the end of 1940. The roll consisted of sixteen Honorary Members, three Corresponding Members and 489 Ordinary Members. Three Ordinary Members resigned during the year. Death claimed four, including Sir Ong Siang Song, K.B.E. Rigid enforcement of Rule 6 (Members who have failed to pay their subscription by the last day of June are suspended from membership) resulted in the lapse of several memberships, some of which it is hoped will be revived.

The following fifteen members were elected during the year:—

Berwick, E. J. H.  Mohd Sulian bin Hashim
Broodbank, A. J. B.  Sahgal, P. K.
Burdett, Basil  Spare, G. H.
Chu Chit-Chien  Stewart, Mrs. N. I.
Green, R. T. B.  Thambiah, S.
Hunt, Mrs. E.  Watson, Mrs. E.
Meyer, A. G.  Wickens, P. O.
Wolters, O. W.

Annual General Meeting. The Annual General Meeting was held at the Raffles Museum on Feb: 28th.

Journals. The Journal for the year (Vol. 19) consisted of three parts. The first two of these were of miscellaneous character, and contained twenty-three articles by fifteen authors. The third was devoted to a Malaysian Bibliography, prepared by Miss Padma Daniel, assistant in the Raffles Library.

Finance. Subscriptions for the year amounted to $1,941.12. The printing, blocks and separates for the first part of Volume 19 of the Journal cost $1,441.49. The bills for the second and third parts did not reach the Society until January 1942, and the bank balance at the close of the year was therefore $3,662.86.

F. N. CHASEN,
Hon. Secretary (1941-42).
MALAYAN BRANCH, ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.
Receipts and Payments for the period February 14th, 1942, to December 31st, 1946.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RECEIPTS</th>
<th>PAYMENTS</th>
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<tr>
<td>at 14th February 1942</td>
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<tr>
<td>Petty Cash in hand</td>
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<td>at 14th February 1942</td>
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ANNUAL REPORT
of the
Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society
covering 1942.

The Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society ceased to function as an active organisation at the fall of Singapore, on February 15, and remained dormant until after the liberation, on September 5, 1945. This report, therefore, covers only the first forty-six days of 1942.

Membership. No new members joined between January 1 and February 15. The number of members on February 15 was thus nominally the same as at the end of 1941, though in actual fact several members, including Mr. F. X. Chasen, the Honorary Secretary, had died as a result of military action during the preceding few days.

Annual General Meeting. There was no Annual General Meeting in 1942, but a Council Meeting was held in the Raffles Museum on January 16.

Journals. No journals were published during 1942. Several papers, some of which had been approved by the Council for inclusion in the first issue of the year, were in Mr. Chasen’s possession at the beginning of February. Before leaving Singapore he gave the majority of these to Mr. T. D. Réé, the Society’s clerk, who preserved them zealously throughout the Japanese occupation of Malaya. They formed the greater part of the first post-war number of the Journal (Vol. 20, pt. 1), which was published in July 1947 (dated June, 1947). The gratitude of the Society and of the authors are due to Mr. Réé for their preservation. The names of the writers of one, Two Brunei Charms, were not attached to the paper when it was handed to Mr. Réé, and it has only recently been possible to trace them. This paper will appear in Vol. 20, pt. 2. One other paper (An account of the island of North Keeling, in the Cocos-Keeling group) which was in draft has still not been completed, but it is hoped that it will be ready for publication in Vol. 21, pt. 1.

Finance. Subscriptions paid during 1942 amounted to $30.00. Expenditure up to the fall of Singapore was $72.00. No payment was made during this period for the printing of parts 2 and 3 of Vol. 19, in view of the unsettled conditions prevailing.

The bank balance at the fall of Singapore, when the account was frozen, was $3,642.86, and the petty cash in the hands of the clerk $14.32.

C. A. GIBSON-HILL,
Ag Hon. Secretary.

11-9-47
ANNUAL REPORT
of the
Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society
for 1945 (September 5 to December 31)
and 1946.

Membership. The number of members at the end of 1946 was only 266, compared with 508 at the end of 1941. The roll consisted of fifteen Honorary Members, three Corresponding Members and 246 Ordinary Members. A number of members lost their lives during, or in consequence of, the war, including Mr. J. A. Baker, Mr. V. B. C. Baker, Mr. F. N. Chasen, Captain N. M. Hashim, Mr. T. D. Hughes, Mr. T. Kitchin, Mr. J. J. Sheehan, and Mr. C. F. Symington, who had all held office or contributed papers to the Journal of the Society. Several other prominent members of the Society also died during this period, including Sir D. J. Galloway, Sir Alexander Small and Mr. R. J. Wilkinson. In addition over two hundred members did not renew their subscriptions after the close of the war. As far as possible notices have been sent to them, and it is hoped that with the reappearance of the Journal some at least may revive their membership.

The following thirty-two members were elected during the year:—

Abu Bakar bin Pawanchee
Archey, Dr. G.
Boyd-Walker J. W., M.C.S.
Chan Peng Yin
Easaw, T. C.
Eldridge, C. H.
Fiennes, D.
Forsyth, C. R.
Greehan, D. W.
Gunarathinam, Mrs. A.
Han Wai Toon
Hone, Sir Ralph, K.C.
Jamuh, G.
King George V School, N. S.
Library Malayan Union
McDonald, E. M.

Madoc, G. C.
Maniam, K. S.
Mathias, T. J., M.C.S.
Morell, H. D.
Morgan, E. D.
Namazie, M. J.
National Library of Peiping
Newbould, A. T., C.M.G., M.C.S.
Savage, H. E. F.
Seth bin Mohd Said
Sheridan, C. M.
Stutchbury, A. D., M.C.S.
Thomson, G. G.
Treeby, J. W. C.
White, E. T. M.
Williams-Hunt, Major P. D. R.

Annual General Meeting. An Annual General Meeting was held at the Raffles Museum on Wednesday, March 27, 1946, with the Rev. Father Cardon in the chair. Thirteen members were present.
Journals. No journals were published in 1946, in consequence of the difficult conditions still existing in Malaya, but the foundations were laid for the issue which ultimately appeared in July 1947.

Finance. Subscriptions paid during 1945 and 1946 amounted to $600.00. In this period the bill for Vol. 19, parts 2 & 3, amounting to $2,820.00 was paid: no separates were printed for Vol. 19 pt. 3, which consisted only of a single paper.

The bank balance at the close of 1946 was $2,621.42. This included $350.00 received from the Government of Singapore, but did not include the contribution of the Government of the Malayan Union for 1946, which did not arrive until 1947. The petty cash in hand was $31.35.

C. A. GIBSON-HILL,
11-9-47
Ag Hon. Secretary.
# MALAYAN BRANCH, ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

Receipts and Payments for the year 1941.

## Cash:
- Balance at Mercantile Bank
  - 31st December, 1940: $1,350.20
- Petty Cash in hand,
  - 31st December, 1940: 30.06

**Total Cash:** $1,380.26

## Subscriptions:
- For the year 1939: $90.00
- For the year 1940: 224.00
- For the year 1941: 1,440.50
- For the year 1942: 124.62
- For the year 1943: 12.00
- Life Membership: 50.00

**Total Subscriptions:** $1,911.12

## Sales of Journals:

**Total Sales of Journals:** $162.30

## Contributions:
- S.S. Government: $500.00
- Johore Government: 250.00
- Kelantan Government: 50.00
- Kedah Government: 50.00
- F.M.S. Government: 1,000.00

**Total Contributions:** $1,850.00

## Interests:
- On Investment: $367.00
- On Current Account: 13.96

**Total Interests:** $380.96

**Total RECEIPTS:** $6,014.64

## Payments:

### Printing:
- Journal Vol. 19 Part I. 1941: $1,323.00
- Plates: 8.00
- Blocks: 81.74
- Separates: 125.75

**Total Printing:** $1,441.49

### Miscellaneous:
- Post Office Box 493: $10.00
- Annual General Report & Accounts: 31.50
- Notice of General Meeting: 5.00
- Salary: 600.00
- Cheque dishonoured for Subcription 1941: 6.00
- Postage: 70.14
- Posting Certificates: .60
- Stationery: 22.20
- Sundries: 78.38
- Stamps on Cheques: .12
- War Tax: 29.36
- Bank Commission: 19.87

**Total Miscellaneous:** $873.17

**Balance at Mercantile Bank, 31st December, 1941:** $3,662.86

**Petty Cash in hand, 31st December, 1941:** 31.12

**Total Payments:** $3,699.98

**Total Payments:** $6,014.64

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BRIAN HARRISON,
Hon. Treasurer (1941-42),
Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society.
RULES
of
The Malayan Branch
of the
Royal Asiatic Society

I. Name and Objects.

1. The name of the Society shall be 'The Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.'

2. The objects of the Society shall be:—
   (a) The increase and diffusion of knowledge concerning British Malaya and the neighbouring countries.
   (b) the publication of a Journal and of works and maps.
   (c) the acquisition of books, maps and manuscripts.

II. Membership.

3. Members shall be of three kinds—Ordinary, Corresponding and Honorary.

4. Candidates for ordinary membership shall be proposed and seconded by members and elected by a majority of the Council.

5. Ordinary members shall pay an annual subscription of $6 payable in advance on the first of January in each year.

No member shall receive a copy of the Journal or other publications of the Society until the subscription for the current year has been paid.

Newly elected members shall be allowed to compound for life-membership for $100; other members may compound by paying $50, or $100 less the amount already paid by them as ordinary members in annual subscriptions, whichever of these two sums is the greater. Societies and Institutions, are eligible for ordinary membership.

6. On or about the 30th of June in each year the Honorary Treasurer shall prepare and submit to the Council a list of those members whose subscriptions for the current year remain unpaid. Such members shall be deemed to be suspended from membership until their subscriptions have been paid, and in default of payment within two years shall be deemed to have resigned their membership.*

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*By-Law, 1922. "Under Rule 6 Members who have failed to pay their subscription by the 30th June are suspended from membership until their subscriptions are paid. The issue of Journals published during that period of suspension cannot be guaranteed to members who have been so suspended."
1. Distinguished persons, and persons who have rendered notable service to the Society may on the recommendation of the Council be elected Honorary Members by a majority at a General meeting. Corresponding Members may, on the recommendation of two members of the Council, be elected by a majority of the Council, in recognition of services rendered to any scientific institution in British Malaya. They shall pay no subscription; they shall enjoy the privileges of members (except a vote at meetings and eligibility for office) and free receipt of the Society's publications.

III. Officers.

8. The officers of the Society shall be:—

A President.

Vice-Presidents not exceeding six, ordinarily two each from (i) the Straits Settlements, (ii) the Federated Malay States and (iii) the Unfederated or other Protected States, although this allocation shall in no way be binding on the electors.

An Honorary Treasurer. An Honorary Secretary.

Five Councillors. An Assistant Honorary Secretary.

These officers shall be elected for one year at the Annual General Meeting, and shall hold office until their successors are appointed.

9. Vacancies in the above offices occurring during any year shall be filled by a vote of the majority of the remaining officers.

IV. Council.

10. The Council of the Society shall be composed of the officers for the current year, and its duties and powers shall be:—

(a) to administer the affairs, property and trusts of the Society.

(b) to elect Ordinary and Corresponding Members and to recommend candidates for election as Honorary Members of the Society.

(c) to obtain and select material for publication in the Journal and to supervise the printing and distribution of the Journal.

(d) to authorise the publication of works and maps at the expense of the Society otherwise than in the Journal.

(e) to select and purchase books, maps and manuscripts for the Library.

(f) to accept or decline donations on behalf of the Society.

(g) to present to the Annual General Meeting at the expiration of their term of office a report of the proceedings and condition of the Society.

(h) to make and enforce by-laws and regulations for the proper conduct of the affairs of the Society. Every such by-law or regulation shall be published in the Journal.
11. The Council shall meet for the transaction of business once a quarter and oftener if necessary. Three officers shall form a quorum of the Council.

V. General Meetings.

12. One week's notice of all meetings shall be given and of the subjects to be discussed or dealt with.

13. At all meetings the Chairman shall in the case of an equality of votes be entitled to a casting vote in addition to his own.

14. The Annual General Meeting shall be held in February in each year. Eleven members shall form a quorum.

15. (i) At the Annual General Meeting the Council shall present a report for the preceding year and the Treasurer shall render an account of the financial condition of the Society. Copies of such report and account shall be circulated to members with the notice calling the meeting.

(ii) Officers for the current year shall also be chosen.

16. The Council may summon a General Meeting at any time, and shall so summon one upon receipt by the Secretary of a written requisition signed by five ordinary members desiring to submit any specified resolution to such meeting. Seven members shall form a quorum at any such meeting.

17. Visitors may be admitted to any meeting at the discretion of the Chairman but shall not be allowed to address the meeting except by invitation of the Chairman.

VI. Publications.

18. The Journal shall be published at least twice in each year, and oftener if material is available. It shall contain material approved by the Council. In the first number of each volume shall be published the Report of the Council, the account of the financial position of the Society, a list of members and the Rules.

19. Every member shall be entitled to one copy of the Journal, which shall be sent free by post. Copies may be presented by the Council to other Societies or to distinguished individuals, and the remaining copies shall be sold at such prices as the Council shall from time to time direct.

20. Twenty-five copies of each paper published in the Journal shall be placed at the disposal of the author.

VII. Amendments of Rules.

21. Amendments to these Rules must be proposed in writing to the Council, who shall submit them to a General Meeting duly summoned to consider them. If passed at such General Meeting they shall come into force upon confirmation at a subsequent General Meeting or at an Annual General Meeting.
Affiliation Privilages of Members.

Royal Asiatic Society. The Royal Asiatic Society has its headquarters at 74 Grosvenor Street, London, W., where it has a large library and collection of MSS, relating to oriental subjects, and holds monthly meetings from November to June (inclusive) at which papers on such subjects are read.

2. By Rule 105 of this Society all the Members of Branch Societies are entitled when on furlough or otherwise temporarily resident within Great Britain and Eire, to the use of the Library as Non-Resident Members and to attend the ordinary monthly meetings of the Society. This Society accordingly invites Members of Branch Societies temporarily resident in Great Britain or Eire to avail themselves of these facilities and to make their home addresses known to the Society so that notice of the meetings may be sent to them.

3. Under Rule 84, the Council of the Society is able to accept contributions to its Journal from Members of Branch Societies, and other persons interested in Oriental Research, of original articles, short notes, etc., on matters connected with the languages, archaeology, history, beliefs and customs of any part of Asia.

4. By virtue of the aforementioned Rule 105 all Members of Branch Societies are entitled to apply for election to the Society without the formality of nomination. They should apply in writing to the Secretary, stating their names and addresses, and mentioning the Branch Society to which they belong. Election is by the Society upon the recommendation of the Council.

5. The subscription for Non-Resident Members of the Society is 30/- per annum. They receive the quarterly journal post free.

Asiatic Society of Bengal. Members of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, by a letter received in 1903, are accorded the privilege of admission to the monthly meetings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, which are held usually at the Society's house, 1 Park Street, Calcutta.
List of Members for 1946

The names of life members are marked with an asterisk and the date of their election.

As far as possible addresses have been been corrected up to September 1, 1947, and a blank has been left where the present address of a member is not known. The Hon. Secretary would be grateful for any information leading to the correction of errors in this list, or towards its completion.

Patron:
His Excellency the Right Honourable Malcolm MacDonald, P.C., Governor-General of Malaya.

Honorary Members.

Year of Election

1890. *1918 Blagden, Dr. C. O., 40 Wychwood Avenue, Whitchurch Lane, Edgware, Middlesex, U.K.

1935 Bosch, Dr. F. D. K., Rubenslaan 54, Bilthoven, Holland.

1924 Brandstetter, Prof. Dr. R., Lazern, Switzerland.

1935 Cœdès, Prof. Dr. George, Directeur de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient, Hanoi, Indo-China.


1935 Krom, Dr. N. J., 18 Witte Singel, Leiden, Holland.


1921 Van Ronkel, Dr. P. H., Zoeterwoudsche Singel 41, Leiden, Holland.


**Corresponding Members.**

1935 Hamilton, A. W., c/o Union Bank, Perth, West Australia.

1920 Landlaw, Dr. F. F., M.A., Eastfield, Uffculme, Devon, U.K.

1920 Merrill, Dr. E. D., Gray Herbarium, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.

**Ordinary Members.**


1946 Abdullah bin Ibrahim, Assistant District Officer, Tapah, Perak, M.U.

1936 Abdullah bin Muhammad Ali, Supreme Court Raub, Pahang, M.U.


1933. *1947 Abdul Rahman bin Mat, District Office, Kuala Lipis, Pahang, M.U.

*1926 Abdul Rahman bin Yassin, Dato, 3 Jalan Chat, Johore Bahru, Johore, M.U.

1946 Abu Bakar bin Pawaychee, c/o Raffles Museum, Singapore.

*1909 Adams, T. S., C.M.G.,


1935 Ahmad bin Haji Tahir, Asst: Comin: Police, Batu Pahat, Johore, M.U.
1936  Anderson, W. Graeme, Kota Bahru, Kelantan, M.U.


1946  Archev, Dr. G., Auckland Institute and Museum, (Box 27 Newmarket) Auckland, New Zealand.


1919  Bailey, A. E., “Keecha”, Park Road, Leamington Spa, Warwickshire, U.K.

*1926  Bailey, John, C.M.G., Hedge Bank Phillips Avenue, Exmouth, U.K.

*1912  Baker, Capt. A. C., M.C.

*1899  Banks, J. E., Ambridge, Penn., U.S.A.

1937  Barton, J. E., c/o The Shell Co., Collyer Quay, Singapore.

1925  Bee, R. J., Public Works Dept., Teluk Anson, Perak, M.U.

*1912  Bicknell, J. W., Bykenhulle, Hop we’ll Junction, Dutchess County, New York, U.S.A.

1931  Birsé, A. L., M.C.S., Colonial Secretary’s Office, Singapore.

*1908  Bishop, Major C. E.,

*1923  Black, J. G., M.C.S., Resident Commissioner Trengganu, M.U.


1925  Blythe, W. L., M.C.S.

*1926  Boswell, A. B. S., Forest Dept., Taiping Perak, M.U.


1926
Burton, W., 1 Court Land Gardens, Dulwich, U.K.

1921
Butterfield, H. M., Kedah Peak, Excelsior Road, Parkstone, Dorset, U.K.

1913

1926

1925, *1931
Carey, H. R., c.o Malay College Kuala Kangsar, Perak, M.U.

1921
Cavendish, A., 3, Cecil Court, Hollywood Road, London, S.W.10, U.K.

1946
Chang Peng Yin, Post Office Box No. 533, S'pore.

1924
Cheeseman, H. R.

1913
Choo Koo Peng, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, M.U.

1926

1911
Clayton, T. W.,

1920
Collenette, C. L., 107, Church Road, Richmond, Surrey, U.K.

1926
Coope, A. E., M.C.S., 219, Percy Road, Whitten, Twickenham, Middlesex, U.K.

1936
Cooper, E. C., Guthrie & Co., Ltd., Singapore.

1929

1923
Cowgill, J. V., M.C.S.

1921
Cullen, W. G., Bartoleme Mitre 559, Buenos Aires, S. America.

1910
Daly, M. D., Cleve Hill, Cork, Eire.

1927
Dawson, C. W., M.C.S.

1926
Del Tufo, M. V., M.C.S., Tiger Lane, Ipoh, Perak, M.U.

1921

1926
Dolman, H. C., Forest Office, Kuala Lapis, Pahang, M.U.

1923
Doscas, A. E. C., Department of Agriculture, Johore, Johore Bahru, Johore, M.U.

1936
Douglas, Dato F. W., Kampong Jawa, Klang, Selangor, M.U.

1915
Dussek, O. T., Sultan Idris Training College, Kuala Kangsar, Perak, M.U. (Vice-Preas: 1935).
1934
Dyer, Prof. W. E., M.A., Raffles College, Singapore.

1946
Easaw, T. C., Health Office Johore Bahru, Johore, M.U.

*1922
Elden, The Hon. Mr. W. S., Resident Councillor, Malacca, M.U.

1927
Education Dept., The, Alor Star, Kedah, M.U.

1885
Egerton, Sir Walter, K.C.M.G., Fair Meadow, Mayfield, Sussex, U.K.

1921. *1939
Elder, Dr. E. A., British Dispensary, Singapore.

1946
Eldridge, C. H., Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, M.U.

1932
English School Union, The, Muar, Johore, M.U.

1923
En Tong Sen, O.B.E., Sophia Road, Singapore.

*1924

*1914
Ferguson-Davie, The Rt. Revd. C. J., Fort Hare University, Alice, Cape Province, S. Africa. (Councill: 1912-13).

1946
Fiennes, David, Mansfield & Co., Ltd., Ocean Building, Singapore.

*1919
Finnie, W., 13 Forest Road, Aberdeen, U.K.

*1897
Flower, Major S. S., Old House, Park Road, Tring, Hertfordshire, U.K.

1928
Foemander, E. C., Forest Department, Bentong, Pahang, M.U.

1923
Forest Botanist, The Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun, U.P., India.

1946
Forsyth, C. R., M.C.S., Malayan Civil Service, Labour Office, Sungai Patani, Kedah, M.U.

*1918
Foxworthy, Dr. F. W., 762, Arlington Avenue, Bekerley, California, U.S.A., (Council: 1923, 1926-27).

1935

*1908
Freeman, D., 96, Priory Road, West Hampstead, London, N.W.6, U.K.

*1910
Frost, M.

1931
Gardiner, E. A., Public Works Department, Ipoh, Perak, M.U.

*1926
George, J. R., c/o Chartered Bank, London, U.K.

1940. *1947

*1922  Glass, Dr. G. S., c/o Glyn Mills & Co., Whitehall, London, S.W.1, U.K.

*1920  Gordon-Hall, W. A., M.C.S., Resident Commissioner, Negri Sembilan, M.U.

1926  Goss, P. H., Survey Dept., Penang, M.U.


1946  Gunaratnam, Mrs. A., 149 Guillemard Road, Sian Lim Park, Singapore.

*1923  Hacker, Dr. H. P., Long Acre, Downe, Kent, U.K.

1946  Han Wai Toon, 1063 Upper Thomson Road

1933  Hannay, H. C., Mercantile Building, Ipoh, Perak, M.U.


*1926  Hastings, W. G. W., 56 Klayne Street, Kuala Lumpur, M.U.

*1904  Haynes, A. S., C.M.G., Brooklands, 11, Warwick New Road, Leamington Spa, Warwickshire, U.K.

1936  Headly, D., M.C.S., Governor-General’s Office, Singapore.


*1823  Hacks, E. S., c/o Education Office, Kuala Lipis, Pahang, M.U.

1939  Hall, A. H., Education Office, Trengganu, M.U.

*1923  Hodgson, D. H., Forest Department, Seremban, Negri Sembilan, M.U.


1946  Hole, Sir Ralph, K.C., “Kashmir” 14 Dalvey Road, Singapore.


*1926  Ince, H. M., Kencot Lodge, Nr. Lechlade, Gloucestershire, U.K.

1946  Jamuh, George, Lawas, Sarawak.
1921  Jermyn, L. A. S.
*1918  Jones, E. P.
1921  Kay-Monat, Prof. J. R.
*1921  Kellie, J., Dunbar Estate, Neram Tunggal P.C., Chegar Perah, Pahang, M.U.
*1920  Kerr, Dr. A., c/o Mrs. Palliser, Street House, Hayes, Kent, U.K.
1926  Khoo San Ewe, 380 Burmah Road, Penang, M.U.
1946  King George V School, The, Seremban, Negri Sembilan, M.U.
*1923  Lease, F. E., The Shanty, Chislehurst Hill, Chislehurst, Kent, U.K.
*1921  Lee, L. G., Ladang Geddes, Bahau, Negri Sembilan, M.U.
*1922  Leggate, J., "Troggett's", Wallis Wood, Ockley, Surrey, U.K.
*1913  Leicester, Dr. W. S., Kuantan, Pahang, M.U.
1946  Library Malayan Union, The Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur, M.U.
1936  Lim, C. O., 33 China Street Gauth, Penang, M.U.
1930  Luckham, H. A. L., M.C.S.
1936  Lyle, C. W., M.C.S.
*1907  Lyons, Revd. E. S., 1089, Wash, 35th Street, Los Angeles, California, U.S.A.

MacDonald, P. J. W., Laan Cornelius, 7, Batavia Centrum, Java, N.E.I.


MacLean, Mrs. D., c/o Chartered Bank, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, M.U.

MacTier, R. S., c/o The Glen Linn Ltd., 20 Billiter Street, London, E.C.3, U.K.

MacDonald, E. M., Estate Duty Office, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, M.U.

McHugh, J. N., Dept. of Public Relations, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, M.U.

Madoc, G. C., c/o Malayan Security Service, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, M.U.

Malacca Historical Society, The, Malacca, M.U.

Malay College, The., Kuala Kangsar, Perak, M.U.

Mallal, Bashur A., 20 Malacca Street, Singapore. (Council 1946-17).

Maniam, K. S., T.R.O., 79 Java Street, 1st Floor, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, M.U.

Mann, W. E., c/o Dr. A. G. Hartman, Anna's Hoeve, Ommen, Holland.

Marc, D. W. J.c., Director of Fisheries (Malayan Union), Penang, M.U.

Marriner, J. T.


Martin, W. M. E.

Matthis, T. J., M.C.S., c/o Secretariat Malayan Union, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, M.U.

May, Percy W., 6 Queen Anne's Gardens, Bedford Park, London, W.4, U.K.

Meyer, A. G., Serangoon English School, Simon Road, Paya Lebar, Singapore.

Miles, C. V., Rodyk & Davidson, Singapore.

Miller, J. L., M.C.S., Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, M.U.

1922  Mohamed Said, Major Dato Haji., Private Secretary to H.H. the Sultan of Johore, Johore Bahru, Johore, M.U.

1921  Mohamed Salleh bin Ali, Hon. Dato., Johore Bahru, Johore, M.U.


1916  Morgan, E. D., M.C.S., Assistant Commissioner for Labour, Klang, Selangor, M.U.

*1926  Morice, J., c/o Customs Office, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, M.U.

*1929  Morkill, A. G.


1934  Mustapha bin Tengku Besar, District Office, Raub, Pahang, M.U.

1946  Namazie, M. J., 20 Malacca Street, Singapore.


1946  Newbould, The Hon. Mr. A. T., C.M.G., M.C., E.D., M.C.S.


1929  Pagden, H. T., Dept. of Agriculture, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, M.U.


*1921  Paterson, Major H. S., M.C.S.

1937  Payne Dr. C. H. Withers, Post Office Box 152, Singapore. (Drew & Napier).

1937  Payne, E. M. F., M.A., B.Sc., King George V School, Seremban, Negri Sembilan, M.U.

1933  Pearson, C. D., c/o Survey Office, Batu Pahat, Johore, M.U.

1931  Peet, G. L., c/o The Straits Times, Singapore.

1936  Penang Library, The, Penang, M.U.

*1926  Pengilley, E. E., M.C.S., Office of Deputy Commissioner, Sungei Patani, Kedah, M.U.

*1925  Penrice, W., c/o Mansfield & Co., Ltd., Singapore.

*1938  Persekutuan Guru-guru Melayu, Seremban, Negri Sembilan, M.U.
*1920 Peskett, A. D., c/o Barclay Bank, Weston-Super-Ware, Somerset, U.K.

1928 Powell, J. B., 100 Westward Rise, Barry, Glamorgan, U.K.

1932 Pretty, E. E. F., M.C.S., Resident Commissioner, Johore, Johore Bahru, Johore, M.U.


1934 Raffles College, The Librarian, Singapore.

1932. *1940 Rawlings, G. S., M.C.S., Kota Bahru, Kelantan, M.U.

1924 Reed, J. G., Sungkat Perak, M.U.


*1910 Reed, Dr. Alfred, Batang Padang Estate, Tapah, M.U.


*1921 Rex, The Hon’able Mr. Marcus, c/o M. E. O., Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, M.U.


*1923 Sanson, Hon. Mr. C. H., c/o Lloyds Bank Ltd., Section G3, Pall Mall, London S.W.I, U.K.

*1919 Santry, D., Slamat, Parkhorse Road, Bessel Green, Sevenoaks, Kent, U.K.

1946 Savage, H. E. F., Geological Survey Department, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, M.U.


*1920 Scott, Dr. W., Sungei Siput, M.U.


*1927 Sells, H. C., Satuan Burnham, Buckinghamshire, U.K.

1946 Seth bin Mohamed Said, Personal Assistant to Resident Commissioner, Johore Bahru, Johore, M.U.

1929 Sheppard, M. C. ff., M.C.S.

1946 Sheridan, C. M., c/o Attorney General, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, M.U.
*1927 Simpson-Gray, L. C., M.C.S.

*1909 Sims, W. A., The Lodge, Gander Green Lane, Cheam, Surrey, U.K.

1931 Singam, S. Durai Raja, c/o Abdullah School, Kuantan, Pahang, M.U.


*1926 Sleep, A., M.C.S., Residency, Kuala Lipis, Pahang, M.U.

1924 Smith, J. D. M., M.C.S., Financial Secretary Singapore.

*1930 Soann, A. I. C., Tanah Intan Estate, Martapoera, Netherlands S. E. Borneo.

1940 Somerville, D. A., c/o M. E. O., Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, M.U.

*1928 Stanton, W. A., Woodland Manor, R. F. D. No. 3, Rockville, Maryland, U.S.A.


*1939 Stubbs, G. C., Survey Office, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, M.U.

1946 Stutchbury, A. D., M.C.S., Secretariat for Economic Affairs, Singapore.

1926 Sultan Idris Training College, The., Tanjong Malim, Perak, M.U.

*1918 Sykes, G. R., M.C.S.

1908 Tan Cheng Lock, C.B.E., 96 First Cross Street, Street, Malacca, M.U.

1913 Tayler, C. J., c/o Hongkong Shanghai Bank, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, M.U.

*1928 Taylor, The Hon. Mr. E. N., Judge's Chambers, Supreme Court, (Mabayan Union), Kelantan, M.U.

1938 Thomas, Francis, B. A., St. Andrew's School, Singapore.

*1921 Thomas, L. A., Chief Police Officer, Singapore.

1946 Thomson, G. G., Public Relations Officer, Colonial Secretary's Office, Singapore.

1946 Treeby, I. W. C., 88 Batu Ferringghi, Penang, M.U.

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<th>Year</th>
<th>Name and Details</th>
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<td>Waddell, Miss M.C.</td>
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<td>1926</td>
<td>Wallace, W. A., Tewantin, via Cooroy, Queensland, Australia.</td>
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<td>1946</td>
<td>White, F. T. M., c/o Bank of N. S. W. Head Office, Perth, Western Australia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>Whitfield, L. D., Sultan Idris Training College, Tanjong Malim, Perak, M.U.</td>
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<td>1926</td>
<td>Willan, The Hon'able Mr. T. L., Chief Justice, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor M.U.</td>
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<td>Willbourne, Dr. E., Batu Gajah, Perak, M.U.</td>
</tr>
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<td>1921</td>
<td>Williams, R. M., Department of Trade &amp; Industry (Malayan Union), Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, M.U.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>Williams-Hunt, Major P. D. R., c/o Mercantile Bank, Raffles Place, Singapore.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>Windsor, Mrs. Edna., Kuantan, Pahang, M.U.</td>
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<td>1910</td>
<td>Winkelman, H.</td>
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<td>1920</td>
<td>Wooley, G. C., Jesselton, British North Borneo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>Worthington, A. F., Longelose, Pennington, Lymington, Hampshire, U.K.</td>
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<td>1940</td>
<td>Yao, T. L., c/o Mr. Hsu Yun Tsia, P. O. Box 709, Singapore.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>Yates, H. S., 331 Jiannini Hall, Berkeley, California, U.S.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Yates, Major W. G.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>Yeh Hua Fen, The Revd. c/o Y.M.C.A., Hangchow, Chekiang, China.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>Young, H. S., Rosemount, Tain, Rossshire; U.K.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Zainal-Abidin bin Ahmad, c/o School of Oriental and African Studies, Malet Street, London, W.C.1, U.K.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Notes on Ancient Times in Malaya

By Roland Braddell, M.A. (Oxon.), F.R.G.S.

2. The Ancient Bead-trade.

Ancient Beads. It is proposed to continue the discussion, which began in the last part of these NOTES, concerning the ancient Malayan beads. The earliest which have been discovered so far were obtained, as has been seen, by Mr. G. B. Gardner in Johore. Amongst the 600 or so which he obtained at Kota Tinggi and Johore Lama were

(1) some 80 early Indian stone beads;
(2) a Hittite bead of 700 B.C.;
(3) a glass bead similar to those made in Italy about 700 B.C.;
(4) two glass beads of Phoenician or early Cypriot type;
(5) a great quantity of Roman beads, forming some 20 per cent of the total.

Dr. Quaritch Wales (268, p. 61) carried out excavations at Kota Tinggi and found in each layer a small number of beads, mostly of the common Kuala Selinsing type, which he considered "likely to be of Indonesian type". As he found blue and white Ming porcelain and stamped pottery throughout the deposits he found it difficult to decide whether the Kuala Selinsing type of beads were "very early or had reached Johore as late as Ming times". He also obtained more Roman beads at Kota Tinggi from villagers who had picked them up superficially after heavy rains.

"Roman", of course, is merely a generic term and Mr. H. C. Beck considered that the Johore Roman beads dated from "any time in the first two or three centuries of the Christian era" (182). It would seem that a slip has occurred in the discussion by Dr. Quaritch Wales concerning the Johore beads. He writes (286, p. 60) "In the Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm, Mr. Beck1 figures a Roman bead from Cumae and one from Johore side by side, noting that they are identical in appearance and there is little difference in their specific gravity. These

1 The authors of the paper actually were Messrs: Seligman and Beck. R. B.
Roman beads from Johore are important because of the high ratio they bear to the total number of beads found by Mr. Gardner; they are much more important than the more ancient but solitary Hittite bead and two Phoenician beads, also found there by Mr. Gardner, because these latter are more likely to have been in existence long before they reached Johore. For the history of the region they are valueless.

From this passage it would seem that Dr. Quaritch Wales was including the bead illustrated in the *Bulletin* amongst the general Roman beads: and, if that is so, it is a slip on his part. A reference to the *Bulletin* (297, p. 14, Fig: 1) shows that it is a large black glass bead, more or less triangular in shape, with a white "eye" at each corner and, comparing that illustration with Plate 84 attached to the report of his finds by Dr. Quaritch Wales (268), one sees that it is entirely different from the Roman beads illustrated there, none of which is an "eye-bead" or is triangular in shape. The illustration in the *Bulletin* shows the Johore bead beside an almost exactly similar one from Cumae and in the text Messrs. Seligman and Beck say that such beads have been found at a number of sites in the Mediterranean, there being examples in the British Museum dating from the 6th or 7th centuries B.C. and of about the same date as strings in the Beck collection from Cumae and Pozzuoli. It is one of the latter which is illustrated beside the Johore bead.

It seems clear that the Johore "eye-bead" must be separated from the Roman beads, as Mr. Gardner separated it, and for dating purposes can be placed besides the Hittite and the Phoenician or Cypriot beads. It is, of course, item (3) in the list given above. Even assuming that the types persisted for long, as doubtless they did, the beads in items (2), (3) and (4) of the list above would seem to have pre-dated the Christian era; and it is a remarkable fact that amongst the 600 or so obtained by Mr. Gardner in Johore there should have been no less than 4 such ancient beads. That they must have been imported seems to be very clear and the interesting problem arises of who imported them. If they were imported, as seems clear, then how can they be said to be valueless historically? It is proposed a little later to consider this problem of their importation.

As was seen in the last part of these Notes there was an ancient and wide-spread trade in beads. Messrs. Seligman and Beck (297, p. 9) show that the export of beads from West to East went back as far as several hundred years B.C. and, at p. 14, they write that there was "a considerable export to the Far East of glass ware and beads from the Roman Orient during the few centuries before and after the beginning of our era". Mr. Beck examined a collection of beads from Sarawak in a very important paper in *Man* (298) and noted that "a few of the specimens show such great..."
similarly to early types found in Europe that I think they are early beads which have travelled to Sarawak". This paper is illustrated by two plates, one of which is in colour. One of these Sarawak beads (Plate K, No. 15) Mr. Beck finds to be "so strikingly like the little white bottles with purple decorations found in various parts of south Italy and the Eastern Mediterranean which are dated to the fourth and third centuries B.C., that I think it is probably of the same date"; and another (Plate K, No. 16) he also thinks to date from the third or second centuries B.C. A composite cane eye-head (Plate K, No. 18) is next considered by him in connection with which he says that evidence is available to show that cane beads of this type were made at least five hundred years earlier than the second century A.D. and he considers it probable that they were "imported at an early date". He summarizes, at p. 181, his general views and considers that 6 beads (Plate K, Nos.: 15, 16, 18 Plate L, 20, 21, 21) appear to date from the Greek or early Roman period.

In Hose and McDougall (11, i, p. 244) there is a coloured plate (No.: 130) showing old beads worn by Kayans in Borneo, of which three (I, F and H) are said by Messrs.: Seligman and Beck (297, p. 15) to be of Romano-Egyptian type and one (A) of a type found in Egypt where they are of considerable antiquity, some even dating back to 900 - 600 B.C., though the type persisted later and seemed to have been brought to the Far East in some quantity. Ancient beads are highly prized by Bornean tribes to this day and large sums of money are paid for them. No evidence of any such custom in the Malay Peninsula has been recorded.

The 4 Johore beads, therefore, fall within the evidence of an ancient trade in beads from the West to the East that extended back before the Christian era and we know that a bead trade persisted until the nineteenth century A.D. If prevailing customs in Borneo can be regarded as evidence of ancient ones, it is remarkable that beads played their part in the cult of the dead, and their occurrence in dolmen graves and stone-slab graves may possibly be explained thus. Hose and McDougall (11, i, pp: 226-228) and Ling Roth (247, p. 282) refer to the Bornean beads and there is more also in Hose (250, p. 207). It is clear that a custom persists of placing a bead of some value under each eye-lid of a corpse for use by the ghost-soul for its passage across the River of Death and the finds of beads amongst ancient burial remains, to which Ling Roth refers, would seem to show that it must have been a very ancient one.

The 80 early Indian stone beads found by Mr. Gardner are (cf.: MS p. 5) not described by him or dated; but it may be worthy of notice that a collection of beads from urn burials in the Wynaad on

the Malabar Coast consisted entirely of stone beads, none of any other substance being found there (298, p. 175). It is fair to reason that the Johore stone beads must have been imported and it also seems fair to conclude that the use of stone-beads in India must have come into existence before beads of other substances were available, though it may well have continued after that time. The number of 80 out of a total of 600 is again remarkable and would seem to be evidence of a trade from India to Johore in such beads. Would that trade not have preceded the one in glass beads? It seems difficult to believe that people would buy stone beads when the far more attractive coloured varieties were available. On that view, one would begin with an Indian trade in stone-beads and then find it supplanted by a trade from the West in coloured beads which persisted into the period of the Roman beads. With regard to these latter we have already called attention to the Roman factory at Pondichéry and it may be noted that Professor Coedès accepts this definitely as Ptolemy's emporium of Podoukē (272, p. 35). It is, therefore, possible that the Johore Roman beads may have been imported from that place, a question which could only be decided by expert comparisons of the two sets.

The southernmost position given by Ptolemy in the Golden Chersonese was that of the emporium of Sabana, to the west and the south of Pahanda. This latter place may reasonably be identified with the present Kota Tinggi but there is no evidence upon which Sabana can be located. Wherever that emporium was, it seems hardly likely that it was the site of a bead manufacture, as was the emporium of Podoukē. No beads have been found in Johore (or Singapore) except at Kota Tinggi and Johor Lama. The large numbers which have been obtained at these last places, and are still obtainable, point to their having been a centre of the bead trade but there is no evidence of any bead manufacture there.

Therefore, it is suggested, the result, as far as the present evidence takes us, would seem to be that all the items in the list above of Mr. Gardner's collection were importations; and we offer the further deduction that they evidence a bead trade into Johore from before the Christian era and continuing for at least 200 years after that era. If that is so, all of them are of considerable historical importance.

But, if they were imported, can anything be said upon the question of who imported them?

**Phoenicians.** Whether one accepts or not the statement by Herodotus that Phoenicians circum-navigated Africa during the

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region of the Pharaoh Necho², it is clear that they possessed the ships and the navigational skill for long ocean voyages. It is, therefore, possible that they could have sailed to the waters of south-eastern Asia but there is no evidence that they ever did so. Attention was called in the *Introduction*³ to a passage in Le May’s *Buddhist Art in Siam* (183, pp. 35-6) in which he referred to the possibility of such a thing having happened and called attention to the hoards of small flat silver or billon coins excavated in Siamese Malaya, in Borneo and the Dutch Islands. These coins are blank on one side and have a sunk mouse square on the other, which fact led Mr. Le May to compare them with Lydian coins of the sixth century B.C. and to observe that Lydia based its coinage on the Phoenician standard. Phoenician alphabetical writing was introduced into India where it came into use not later than 700 B.C. (161, p. 7) and Sir Percy Sykes (38, p. 4) says that Phoenician ships “opened up commercial relations with India”. Campbell (255, i. p. 25 and n. 2) refers to Jeremiah X, 9, “silver spread into plate is brought from Tarshish and gold from Uphaz” and identifies Uphaz with Mount Ophir in Sumatra. He also writes, at p. 20, that “among the various traditions as to how Java and the Eastern islands were originally peopled is one which says that its first inhabitants came in vessels from the Red Sea, *Laut Mera*⁴, and that on their passage they coasted along the shores of Hindustan”; and, at pp. 21-22, he seems to accept that the Phoenicians did sail to Malaysia.

There is the famous passage in Josephus which speaks of the pilots furnished by Hiram of Tyre “to whom Solomon gave this command, that they should go along with his stewards to the land that of old was called Ophir, now Aurea Chersonesus, which belongs to India, to fetch gold”; but can this passage be accepted as original and not as a later interpolation? Sir Hugh Chifford seemed to have accepted it and to have taken the Malay Peninsula to have been Solomon’s Ophir (299, pp. 11-14). Such an identification, however, is generally rejected to-day, though there is a difference of opinion as to what should be substituted for it. Schoff considered the question and agreed with Glaser that Ophir was a trading centre in Arabia where the products of the East were received and re-shipped or sent overland to the Mediterranean. He disagreed from Lassen’s location of the place in India and said that “later scholarship is sufficiently sure in locating Ophir on the Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf, but the Indian names for the products mentioned⁵ proved clearly enough that it was a trading centre dealing with

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² 609-593 B.C. upon the system of dating in the late Professor J. H. Breasted’s *History of Egypt*.
³ This Journal, vol: XVII, Pt: 1, p. 148.
⁴ Malay *laut* (sea) *merah* (red). R. B.
⁵ Ivory, *apes* and peacocks. R. B.

India, even if the land itself was not Indian" (35, p. 175). Hall, however, prefers the Indian theory and writes that "it is quite probable that Ophir is really the Kōukan or Cochin coast, and that Solomon's Phoenician sailors reached India, unless, as is possible, they went only as far as Southern Arabia, where they received the Indian products brought by the local traders" (390, p. 434). The Cambridge Ancient History lists South Arabia with a query; and Sir Percy Sykes considered that Ophir was "probably the modern Dhufar" (38, pp. 39, 304). At p. 307, he said that "it is clear that Dhufar is the biblical Ophir, the Sephar of the motto and the Suphur of Ptolemy". Professor Hitti (301, p. 41) considered that the Ophir of Hiram and Solomon was "probably Zatar in 'Umān".

On the other hand, many place Ophir in Africa and Holland Rose (302, p. 23) says that it was "undoubtedly Somaliland or Jubaland further south". Gaston Maspéro in 1910 wrote that "a whole library might be stocked with the various treatises which have appeared on the situation of the country of Ophir: Arabia, Persia, India, Java, and America have all been suggested. The mention of almug wood and of peacocks, which may be of Indian origin, for a long time inclined the scale in favour of India, but the discoveries of Mauch and Bent on the Zimbabwe have drawn attention to the basin of the Zambezi and the ruins found there. Dr. Peters, one of the best-known German explorers, is inclined to agree with Mauch and Bent, in their theory as to the position of the Ophir of the Bible (Der goldene Ophir Salomo's, pp: 50-62). I am rather inclined to identify it with the Egyptian Pīnāt, on the Somali or Yemen seaport".

In face of all these differences of opinion it does not seem useful to consider any further the position of Ophir or the possibility of a Phoenician penetration into Malaysia. Nevertheless, the facts remain that two beads of Phoenician or early Cypriot type have been discovered in Johore and that the Phoenicians had the navigational skill and possessed ships of sufficient capacity to sail the open ocean. But there is no evidence (except the beads) which goes to show that they ever got as far as Malaysia; and the beads might well have been brought by others. There is also a fact which would seem to militate against the view that the Phoenicians opened up sea communication between the West and Malaysia; and that fact is the control of the Indian Ocean by ancient Arabs.

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7 The Struggle of the Nations, p. 743, n. 2.
8 It may be noted that Cary and Warming (301) say that some trace Phoenicians to Sumatra and even claim for them a colony in Shantung ca. 680 B.C., citing Lacoepere.

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Sabaeans. Arab navigational records date from Muslim times but for countless centuries before then Arabian sailors were famous and amongst them the name of the Sabaeans stands foremost. Did the Sabaeans ever reach Malaysian waters, and could it have been they who carried on the ancient bead-trade which we have been examining?

In his *Abstract of the Sijarah Malaya* (91) the late Mr. T. Braddell made references to the Sabaeans but since then sight has been lost of them locally⁹: but they are very important to remember. Their name comes from the Arabic Saba', biblical Sheba. The ruins of the ancient Shabwah, which Hitti says was the classical Sabota, have been the subject of recent explorations concerning which there are two very interesting papers by Mr. R. A. B. Hamilton in the Geographical Journal¹⁰. This place in the Hadramaut was not actually the Sabaean capital, as will be seen later, but Mr. Hamilton says that its name is almost revered in Yemen and the Hadramaut. The name Saba' itself was not in point of fact that of a town but in reality the name of a land and a people (361, p. 55).

Dr. Carl Peters (303) has pointed out how many name-sounds, notably the River Sabi, still remain in eastern Africa to remind one of the Sabaeanc epoch there. It is, accordingly, not unworthy of notice that in Malaysia there are such name-sounds. In the Malay Peninsula there is Sabah, or Sabak, a village at the mouth of the Bernam River¹¹. South of Singapore there is the island of Kundur which for long was called Sabau. Mr. J. V. Mills has traced the latter name from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth in his excellent essay on Eredia (66, pp: 198-199) and has reproduced Eredia's map of southern Johore which shows the island of Sabam and the Estreito Sabam. The indigenous name for the northern part of Borneo is Sabah¹². It is impossible, of course, to say how old these three names are but, if we turn to Ptolemy, we find similar name-sounds which must date to the first century of the Christian era at least. We have Sabara and the Sabaraks Gulf, generally taken as being in the Martaban region: the emporium of Sabana

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⁹ I made only one small reference to them in the *Introduction*, J R A S (M B ), vol: XIII, Pt: 2, p. 79.


¹¹ Denny in his *Descriptive Dictionary*, 1894, has the entry "Sabba-Important V. and Police Station on S. bank of Bernam R., N. Selangor, about 15 miles from the mouth"; but it should be noted that Wilkinson gives the Malay word *Saba* as sanskrit in origin, with the meaning "frequenting: visiting"; and *Saba*, Ar: *Shahab*, "indistinguishable: alike," while *Sabak* means either "to weep" or "to boil down palm-sap for making native sugar". Reference may be made to Gerini in connection with the Bernam village (46, p. 522).

¹² For the names of Borneo see the *Introduction*, J R A S (M B ), vol: XIX, Pt: 1, pp: 33-36.

at the south of the Golden Chersonese: Iabadios, or Sabadios, the reading being uncertain according to Bunbury (55, ii, p. 608): the Sabadhan islands: and Zabae.

Tradition also could be invoked, as will be seen later when ancient Arabian history comes to be considered.

From Chinese records it appears that Arabans had a countinghouse at Canton in 300 A.D. (266, p. 4; 272, p. 99). Dr. Tien-tse Chang says that either Arabs or Persians introduced into China the cultivation of jasmine during the second half of the third century A.D. (304, p. 4) and reference should be made to the authorities which he gives for that statement. Beal’s assumption of Sa-po as “Sabaean” in his translation of Fa-hien (242, 1, p. lxxxiv) and Hirth and Rockhill’s reference to it (226, p. 3) must be ignored, as Pelliot has shown that Sa-po is the Chinese transcription of sarthavāhā, “chief merchant” (129, p. 356)13. Cary and Warmington (305) say that the Sabaean seem to have reached China in the first century A.D.

The reader can now be referred to the confident statements of Steiger, Otley Bevan and Benetze, authorities of the highest reputation (306, pp. 126-132). They say, at p. 126, that “Arab relations with the Far East began as early as the time of Babylon, and at that time and in subsequent periods their relations were chiefly with India. Now the part of Arabia that carried on the trade was only one region—the country of Saba in southern Arabia, known in the Bible as Sheba. This south, or Sheban, coast, which lies along the southern part of Arabia partly on the Red Sea and partly on the Indian Ocean and the Gulf of Aden, had been the home of a seagoing and commercial people in the earliest period of history. There is no question that at the time of King Solomon and the building of the city of Jerusalem the Shebans were the greatest seagoing people around Asia Minor. Just as the Phoenicians were the sailors in the Mediterranean, so in the same way were the Shebans in the Indian Ocean”.

At pp: 127-128, they say “It is entirely doubtful whether any Phoenician, Greek or Roman ships ever got beyond India. But during Roman times the Romans tried to put the Shebans out of business by building fleets in Red Sea ports and the Persian Gulf and trading with India themselves. It may have been this Roman interference which first started the Sheban ships to seek Oriental ports beyond India for goods which the Romans could not get. At any rate, Sheban trade beyond India began about the time of the Roman competition with the Shebans in the Indian trade. The

13 See also T’oung Pao, 1912, vol XIII, pp 456-457.

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first Arab ships which, according to the records, went as far westward as South China, date from the time of the first century of the Christian Era. Ptolemy’s famous geography, published about A.D. 150, was based in the main on certain geographical and sailing directions left by a Phoenician sea captain named Marinus, who lived and visited the East around A.D. 75. There is no doubt but that Marinus was himself in China and made several voyages between East China and Arabian ports. These voyages were undoubtedly performed in Sheban ships, since after the destruction of Carthage, Phoenician ships had been run off the Red Sea by the war between Rome and Carthage, and Phoenicians would not enter the employ of the Romans. In the Chinese records themselves, the first definite account of Arab trade occurred at the end of the third century of the Christian Era, when the extent and character of a thriving Arab merchant colony in Canton was described.  

At pp: 128-129, they say “Probably the stimulus of this competition was the prime motivating force in extending the Arab commerce beyond India to China and Malaysia in an effort to get their goods at the source rather than through the Indian merchants. At any rate, we know definitely that Arab trade with China and Malaysia was actually in existence at least as early as the first century of the Christian Era.  

The suggestion that the Johore beads, being items (2) to (5) in the list above of Mr. Gardiner’s collection, were carried by Sabaeans would, therefore, not be without foundation. If we accept as a fact that the Sabaeans had certainly entered China by the beginning of the Christian era, it does not seem necessary to ascribe that fact merely to Roman competition. Sailors extend their explorations and traders have a habit of extending their trade, particularly when it is easy to do so. The same monsoons which carried the Sabaeans to and from India would have carried them to and from Malaysia and China. They would not have gone abruptly to China, one imagines, but rather have extended their exploration and trade gradually, first into the Straits of Malacca and the Malay Peninsula, remembering in this case that the easiest sailing route through the Straits passed from the north of Sumatra across to the west coast of the Malay Peninsula and down it. From the Malay Peninsula an extension to the Sarawak region, and the west coast of Borneo above it, was a normal and easy one and it has already been pointed out in the Introduction how that was so. From the Malay Peninsula passing up its east coast and standing across the bottom of the Gulf of Siam to the Indo-Chinese coast  

14 i.e. with the Romans. R B  
15 This Journal, vol: XIX, Pt: 1, p. 52.  

was the normal and easiest way to use the SW monsoon; and to return on the NE in the reverse directions. The Indo-Chinese coast abounded with good harbours and clearly visible land-marks, as all navigational works at the beginning of the nineteenth century show\textsuperscript{16}; and from Indo-China to south China was a further normal and easy extension. But one imagines that all this must have been gradually and with alternations of fortune, as far at all events as trade was concerned.

The finding of ancient pre-Christian beads in Borneo as well as in Johore would, accordingly, be quite natural, assuming, of course, that they were pre-Christian and that the type had not persisted so as to make them synchronous with the Roman beads. For the present at all events the suggestion is preferred that they should be taken as being pre-Christian and the further suggestion is preferred that they are more likely to have been carried direct in Sibaean ships than transhipped in India and then carried by Indians. There can obviously be no certainty upon the present state of evidence and these suggestions should be treated neither as assertions nor as theories. They are merely suggestions.

3. Ancient history of South Arabia.

It must be insisted again that the story of ancient Malaya cannot be told properly as a separate subject but only as part of a whole. In historical times that whole is the story of the long sea-routes which began in the Mediterranean and Aegaean and stretched as far as China; but, of course, historical times do not begin at the same period in each of the different parts of these routes.

Muhammad was not the first to bring Arabia into a leading position in the world's history. Arabian navigation, and the wealth that came from sea-control, began on parts of the long sea-route centuries before the Christian era. The Arabians are the first known navigators of the Indian Ocean; their mastery of it fell to the Romans and the Persians; and then reverted to the Muslim Arabs until the Portuguese rounded Africa and obtained the command.

The study of ancient Arabian history, therefore, is as important to the story of Malaya as is that of ancient Indian and Chinese history. Arabia was the link between the Mediterranean and India, and so between the Mediterranean and all the East beyond India. The following notes are written to provoke further interest in the subject. They are based, in addition to the two papers by Hamilton

\textsuperscript{16} In a later part of these Notes this will be dealt with fully in connection with Chinese navigation. R. B.
already noted, upon the following main authorities, stated in the order of their publication:—Vincent (307), Bunbury (55), Schoff (35), Hadi Hassan (308), Cary and Warmington (305), Sykes (38), Amir Ali (309), and Hitti (301).

Even if it is not always true to say that history is geography set in motion, it would seem to be true of ancient Arabia whose history is one of struggles for command of her land-routes and coastal ports. The explanation lies in her geography, a word or two as to which will, therefore, not be out of place. Its outstanding features are expressed in the names given to Arabia by the Romans. Arabia Petraea, the rocky, was their name for the northern portion centred on Sinai and the Nabataean kingdom with its great commercial centre Petra: Arabia Deserta, the desert, included the great Syro-Mesopotamian desert; and Arabia Felix, the happy, comprised all the rest and not merely Yemen, as once was thought. Running from the head of the Persian Gulf at its eastern end to the southeastern corner of the Mediterranean at its western and with its centre directly north of Arabia is that semi-circle of fertile land nowadays called the Fertile Crescent, one of the most important stretches of land in the history of mankind.

Eastern people do not always use the word “island” with our exactitude, and attention to that fact was drawn in the Introduction in connection with Malay pulau, Chinese chou, and Sanskrit dhipa. “The Arabsians call their habitat Jazirat al-'Arab, “the Island of the Arabs”, and an island it is, surrounded by water on three sides and by sand on the fourth” (301, p. 8). The eastern coast is flanked by the Gulf of Oman and the Persian Gulf; the southern, which extends for some 1200 miles from Bab el Mandeb to Ras el Hadd, is washed by the Arabian Sea; and shipping from and to these two coasts is served by the SW and NE monsoons. But the third coast along the Red Sea was difficult of navigation for ancient sailing ships which ran only with the wind favouring them; and the alternating monsoons do not blow in the Red Sea, where the wind for most of the time blows in one direction only, from the north-west. Therefore, the ancient Egyptians provided their ocean-going ships with long oars as well as one large square sail; and this can be seen from their earliest representations in the third millennium B.C. The ancient Arabians preferred to develop a long land-route which ran from Yemen north into Syria, the so-called “spice road”. The great object of the earliest Red Sea trade was the frankincense and spice country of Somaliland which the Egyptians called the Land of Punt or Pu‘unit, but which may possibly have included the land on both sides of Bab al-Mandeb and so Yemen (301, p. 31). Geographically, the ancient Arabians were favoured in their competition for the Somali frankincense and spice trade, since the mon-

1047] Royal Asiatic Society.
soons favoured their shipping, and they had the long caravan route alongside the Red Sea.

Beginning in Palestine, running down to the Isthmus of Suez, and continuing thence parallel with the Red Sea, there runs that great chain of mountains which is known in Arabia as al-'Ujjaz, meaning "the Barrier". Where the land on the western side of the Barrier is fertile, its fertility is caused by the waters that run from these mountains and Yemen at the south-western corner of the peninsula is particularly well favoured. We use the name "the Hedjaz" for these fertile parts through which the main caravan-route ran. On the eastern slopes of the lower part of the mountain chain the valleys are protected and fertile. Amongst them are Nejran, ar: Najran, the Jawf or Jauf, and the valley of the Sabaeans, which was made rich by the great irrigation dam which they constructed at Ma'rib, the classical Maribah. "These three valleys, which were the centres of caravan-trade bound north, owed their prosperity mainly to their position above the greatest of all the East-flowing courses, the Valley of Hadramaut. This great cleft in the sandstone rock, (originally, Bent believes an arm of the sea, now silted up), which gathers the streams from the highest peaks, runs parallel with the coast for more than 200 miles, fertile and productive for nearly the entire distance; then it turns to the south and its waters are lost, the mouth of the valley being desert like the cliffs that line its course" (35, p. 117).

The arabic name for Yemen is al-Yaman, so called because it lies to the right (yaman) side of the Hedjaz, in opposition to Syria, ar: at Shām, which lies to the left. The Arabian direct themselves facing the east so that the south is their right and the north their left. Yemen, accordingly, expresses the south.

In ancient times the Hadramaut included the district of Mahrah and al-Shuhr as it then was. It was the celebrated Arabian land of frankincense, its chief centre being Zafar, formerly a town but now a district on the coast with the modern name of Dhufar. Frankincense still flourishes in the Hadramaut and other parts of Arabia and Dhufar is still the chief centre of the trade (301, p. 36). The Hadramaut Zafar must not be confused with the Zafar in Yemen which became the Himyrite capital. The word Zafar, classical Sapphar or Saphar, seems to mean no more than "capital" or "royal residence" (35, p. 110). The Yemenite Zafar was near the modern town of Yerim, its ruins being still visible, and so was some 100 miles NE of Mocha on the road to Sanaa.

"The name "Hadramaut", the Hazarmaveth of Genesis X, means "Enclosure of Death", referring probably to the crater of Bir Barhut, whose rumblings were held to be the groans of lost
souls" (35, p. 119). Its people were known to the classical writers as the Chatramotitae.

Aden, principal place in the Arabia Eudaemon of the Romans, was from very early times an important trade centre and the chief port first of the Minaeans and then of the Sabaeans. Beyond it along the southern coast and up the coasts of Oman and the Persian Gulf, both of which were under the control of the Arabians in ancient times, there was a chain of ports from the principal of which caravan-routes led to the main route up the Hedjaz. The configuration of the land led all these routes into the main one, which at the north forked into Egypt, Syria and Mesopotamia, Hitti thinks that Ma'rib was their southern meeting-place (301, p. 55). It was the inherent difficulty of navigating the Red Sea and the absence of seasonal winds there which caused the Sabaeans to develop the land-routes and the presence of frequent oases and fertile resting-places along the main route enabled its easy development. Geography thus caused the caravan-routes to come into being.

Hamilton considers that from the earliest times, and certainly from 3000 B.C., the main land-route had existed, and he says that in the second millennium B.C. there was a considerable development of shipping in the Indian Ocean. The period from that millennium to the second century A.D. covers the rise of the ancient kingdoms of South Arabia to their zenith, he says, and in it there was a long development of the divine kingship of Saba. Hamilton considers that the Nisab-Markha-Reihan triangle must have been the first place where all the caravan-routes from southern parts joined and where the southern terminus of the great incense route must have existed. As illustrating the greatness of the trade he says that in the first century B.C. we hear of caravans composed of two and three thousand camels arriving in the south Mediterranean and it is inferred in the account that such were common. He points out that, if a caravan consisted of three thousand camels, it would have extended some twenty miles on the march.

There naturally was a great diffusion of culture between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean and a great interchange of trade commodities. It was trade which built up the ancient South Arabian kingdoms. They did not seek conquest abroad and the colonies which they planted outside of Arabia were trading ones. Of the four best-known of these ancient kingdoms, Saba, Ma'in, Hadramaut and Calaban (Qatabän), the first three are mentioned in the Old Testament; and at this point reference to tradition may well be made. Hitti says that the Sabaeans "were the Phoenicians of the southern area. They mapped its coasts, charted its routes, mastered its treacherous monsoons and thus monopolized its trade
during the last millenium and a half before our era. The circum-
avigation of Arabia, stated as a theoretical possibility by Alex-
ander's admiral, Nearchus, was in their case an actuality” (301, p. 49). Vincent says that Sabæans, the Hadramaut and Oman were
the residence of navigators in all ages from the time that history
begins to speak of them and that Hippalus was two hundred years
later than the first evidence that the Sabæans knew how to use
the monsoons (307, ii, p. 63). Agatharcides, ca: 113 B.C., says
that the Sabæans were able mariners who sailed in very large vessels
to the country where odoriferous commodities were produced and
planted colonies there (307, ii, p. 33). Pliny, 79 A.D., says that
there were Arabians on the coast of Malabar and in such numbers at
Ceylon that he represents them as masters of the coast (ibid: p.
283): and, as has been seen above, they were in South China in the
first century of our era. Did they plant any colony in Malaysia?

It is well known that the Bugis royal tradition in Celebes
(and so that of the Sultans of Selangor in the Malay Peninsula
who originally were Bugis) traces descent from Queen Balkis or
Bilqis, ar: Bîlqîs, of Sheba. Why should the Bugis have any such
tradition? Could there be any truth in it?

The Arab traditions of Sabæan descent appear to be as fol-
lows, taking them from Schoff (35, pp: 107-109) and that high
authority the late Sir Syed Amir Ali (309)17. The great grand-
son of Shem was Eber whose second son was Joktan, whom, says
Schoff, the Arabs call Kahtân. Joktan had two sons Hadramaut
and Jerah, whom the Arabs call Yarah, written by Amir Ali as
Yreh. This last had a son Abd-es-Shams which Amir Ali
writes Abd urh-Shams, who was known as Saba the Great. Amir
Ali says that Saba means “the capturer” and, as will be seen later,
the Sabæans possessed themselves of the Minaean kingdom, inclu-
ding Yemen. Saba the Great is said to have founded the capital
city of Ma’rib. According to the Arab accounts the great irrigation
dam at that place was finished by a King Zul’karnain (35, p. 108).
Amir Ali says that traditionally Saba left two sons. Himyar,
meaning “red” from the red mantle which he wore in imitation
of the Pharaohs, and Kuhlan. After the former, who succeeded
to his father’s throne, the dynasty of Saba was called Himayar, or
Himyarite. Amir Ali says that traditionally Yareb, son of Kahtân,
was the first prince of Yemen and that the Arab al-Mut’arrabi were
tribes sprung from Kahtân. These tribes are chiefly concentrated
in Yemen. According to Amir Ali, it was the descendants of
Kahtân who burst into Arabia from its north-east corner and pen-
trated into the south, their primitive cradle having lain in Meso-

17 Unfortunately the notes which I made from his work The Spirit of Islam are
unpaged and no copy of the book is available to me in Singapore. R. B.
potamia: and he says that in moving south from there to Yemen they must have passed the whole length of the peninsula and doubtless have left settlements behind them. He says that this wave was headed by the two sons of Eber, Khaţân and Yaktân, and that to this dynasty belonged the great Zu'llkarnain and Queen Bilkis who went to Jerusalem in the time of King Solomon. He considers that there is considerable doubt as to the identity of Zu'llkarnain, the opinion that he was Alexander the Great being open to question. The name, of course, means "lord of the two horns" and Amir Ali says that the ancient Sabaean sovereigns wore as head-dress the crescent-shaped moon with two horns, which they borrowed from Egypt about the period of this king. He suggests that the reference in the Koran\(^{18}\) was to some sovereign of native origin whose extensive conquests became magnified in imagination into world-wide dominion\(^{19}\).

If some Sabaean trading colony did implant itself in Celebes, its chieftain might well have claimed descent from Queen Balkis of Sheba and have married a Bugis princess. If Amir Ali’s views as to Zu’llkarnain were correct and if that king were in reality a Sabaean, Bugis royal tradition would link with the royal traditions of Palembang, Malacca and Perak, which claim descent from Zu’llkarnain. It may be noted also that ancient beads have been found in Celebes.

But it must be understood that this matter of tradition has been introduced purely as a matter of interest. The present writer neither accepts it nor bases any theories upon it, much less that it does in fact evidence any Sabaean penetration into Malaysia.

We can now pass to the facts of ancient Arabian history. Hitti says that “the first kingdom that we are able to discern through the mists of South Arabian antiquity is the Minaean kingdom, which flourished from ca. 1300 to 650 B.C., according to the school of Arabists who hold for the higher chronology” (301, p. 52). This kingdom flourished in the Jauf of Yemen between Nejran and the Hadramaut; and in its hey-day embraced most of South Arabia, including Hadhramaut and the Hadramaut. Its capital was Karna (Qarnâw), represented by the modern Ma’in, in the southern Jauf NE of Sa‘aa. But, says Hitti, “the Sabaean were the first Arabians to step within the threshold of civilization” (ibid.: p. 49). Sykes writes that “Sabaean inscriptions date back to the ninth or tenth century B.C., and in the Book of Kings we have an account

\(^{18}\) Sura, XVIII, 83-98. R. B.
\(^{19}\) Reference may also be made to Abdullah Yusuf Ali’s The Holy Qur-an, 1938, in connection with Zu’llkarnain, pp. 760-765 and n. 2428, p. 753: he accepts the usual belief that he was Alexander the Great.
of a Queen of Sheba who came to "prove Solomon with hard questions". This visit would have taken place about 950 B.C. The Sabaeans lived in North Arabia at this period, and, so far as is known, they moved southwards during the ninth and eighth centuries" (38, p. 38). Carl Peters (303) considered that the country of Queen Bilquis of Sheba was bounded on the north by the southernmost province of the Solomonic kingdom, and that in Solomon's time the Sabaeans were dominant in South Arabia and possessed the gold countries between the Zambesi and Sabi Rivers.

Hitti allots to the first Sabaean period the dates 950-650 B.C. and says that its first kings were synchronous with the last Minaeans but after about three centuries the Sabaeans fell heir to the Minaean kingdom and established themselves as masters of South Arabia and rulers of the most brilliant era in its history (301, p. 54). But Minaeans and Sabaeans were kinsmen, just as the later Himyarites were kinsmen of the Sabaeans. It seems not to be a history of different races but of different dynasties of the same race. Minaeans and Sabaeans both spoke the same language though with dialectical differences, according to Hitti in the passage just cited. He says that Dedan, ar: Daydān, mentioned repeatedly in the Old Testament is the modern al-'Ula, an oasis in the northern Hedjaz. For some time it was the headquarters of the Sabaeans in the northern part of the peninsula. Hitti says that "at the height of their commercial power the Sabaeans evidently exercised control over the transport routes leading through al-Hijaz northward to the Mediterranean ports and had colonies planted along these routes" and that "if historical, the Queen of Sheba (koranic Balqis) who brought to the wise king of Israel gifts of unique value characteristic of South Arabia (1 K. 10: 10; 2 Ch 9: 9) must have had her headquarters neither in al-Yaman nor in Ethiopia, but in one of these Sabaean posts or garrisons in the north on the caravan route. Not until two centuries after the age of Solomon (ca. 1000 B.C.) do the Yamanite kings begin to figure in inscriptions" (301, p. 42).

That the Sabaeans moved south down the Hedjaz caravan-route and finally possessed themselves of Yemen, therefore, seems clear; but there would appear to be room for further research into the facts and dates. Hamilton, for instance, says that west of Shabwa Philby found an inscription of Shabwa kings, attributed to ca 900 B.C., which speaks of brother kings then known as Sheba and Raidan. Hitti, however, says that in the first Sabaean period "Mukarih Salb" was the title of the priest-king who stood at the head of the state (301, p. 54) and that after the second period, which he dates as from 650—115 B.C., the inscriptions reveal the
title “King of Saba’ and dhu-Raydān” (301, p. 55). Raydān later became known as Zafār, the region of the sea-coast.

Hitti says that the castle of Sirwāh, modern Kharibah, a day’s journey west of Ma‘rib, was the oldest structure built by the Sabaeans and their first capital, and that Shams (or Shamsiyah) and Yithî-amara, the two Sabaeans who paid tribute to Sargon 11, belong to this age (301, pp: 54-55). Sargon 11 is dated 722-705 B.C. by Hall (300). During the second Sabaean period, Ma‘rib, sixty miles east of Sanaa, became the capital but it would seem that the older portions of the great irrigation dam there were constructed in their first period, though Sykes attributes the whole work to the Himyarites.

The second Sabaean period proved to be the most glorious in their era and was succeeded in 115 B.C. by a Himyarite kingdom which lasted until 300 A.D. Hamilton says that 300 A.D. was the hev-day of South Arabia. “The Himyarites were close kinsmen of the Sabaeans and, as the youngest branch of the stock, became the inheritors of the Minæo-Sabaean culture and trade. Their language was practically the same as that of the Sabaeans and Minæans before them” (301, p. 56). About 300 A.D., a second Himyarite kingdom seems to have come into existence. Until then the Hadramaut, the capital of which, according to Hitti, was Shabwah, the classical Sabah, seems to have had kings of its own but during the second Himyarite kingdom its king becomes “king of Saba’, dhu-Raydān, Hadramaut and Yamanāt”, which means the Hadramaut had lost its independence (301, p. 60). It is, however, doubtful if Shabwah was ever a capital; and upon that the reader should consult the two papers by Hamilton. Save for an Abyssinian incursion the second Himyarite dynasty held its position until about 525 A.D. (301, p. 60). Hādî Hasan says that Himyarite decline began soon after the fifth century A.D. and reached its climax in 523 A.D. The great dam at Ma‘rib met with catastrophe between 512 and 510 A.D. and “later Arab imagination seized upon this spectacular episode of the great flood and bursting of the dam to explain the whole age-long process of decline and decay in South Arabian trade, agriculture, prosperity and national life; a decline due, as we have already learned, to the entry of Roman shipping into the Red Sea, the introduction of the divisive influence of new religious and the subsequent submission to foreign rule” (301, p. 65).

To understand how Roman competition undermined the ancient Arabian domination of the Indian Ocean it is necessary to go back to Ptolemaic times. Soon after Alexander’s death the Greek Ptole-

20 During the later Himyarite period Christianity and Judaism entered Yemen. R. B.

maic dynasty was founded in Egypt by Ptolemy I Soter, 323—285 B.C., with Alexandria as its centre of government, culture and commerce; and he began a bid for sea-power, which continued under his son, Ptolemy II Philadelphus, 285—246 B.C., and his grandson Ptolemy III Euergetes, 246—221 B.C., by which time a chain of trading ports had been established along the African shore of the Red Sea from Suez to Ras Benas and command of that sea had been secured. Exploration beyond it had begun, but after the death of the third Ptolemy the Sabaeans stopped all activity of Ptolemaic shipping beyond Bab el Mandeb. The attempt of the Ptolemies to contest the supremacy of the sea with the South Arabians was made possible by their ownership of the Phoenician seaports and their consequent power to utilize Phoenician seamen. Although the Sabaeans had been able to bottle their opponents in the Red Sea, they had lost their command of the maritime commerce in that sea. When Egypt fell to Rome in 30 B.C., the Romans obtained the Ptolemaic chain of ports and command of the Red Sea. At first, they attempted a land conquest of Sabae; but, when that failed, they concentrated on their sea-power and were able gradually to obtain control of the sea-route, and maritime trade, to India, which was thoroughly well known to them by the time that the Periplus was written, ca: 60 A.D. It is unnecessary to go into detail or to set out the various descriptions of Arabia and Sabae in the classical Greek and Roman writers. The main facts are clear; and the possibility of Roman ships having sailed into Malaysian waters can be left for discussion by those interested in the subject. As has been seen, present opinion is that they did not do so.

Therefore, if the Johore beads were imported direct, the choice would seem to fall upon those ancient Arabian ships which are described generically as "Sabaean". If the beads were not imported direct, then they would have been brought by Indian ships after transhipment in India and probably on its western coast.

(to be continued).
CITATIONS.


(299) Clifford, Hugh. Further India, 1904.

(300) Hall, H. R. The Ancient History of the Near East, 1932.

(301) Hitti, Philip K. History of the Arabs, 1937.


(303) Peters, Carl. The Eldorado of the Ancients, 1902.

(304) Chang, Tien-Tse. Sino-Portuguese Trade, 1934.


The First Dutch—Malay Vocabulary

By A. W. Hamilton

At the end of the Journal of Cornelis de Houtman's Voyages of the Dutch Ships in 1595 which was printed in Holland in 1598 is a Malay Vocabulary which is interesting to us as the first attempt by the Dutch to transcribe the colloquial Malay of their day into Romanized.

Most of the Malay words are easily recognisable but it must be recollected that the speech was that of a seaport in Bantam which would necessarily have a Sundanese flavour with an admixture of Javanese words.

In a few instances where one is at a loss to find the corresponding word in modern Malay without resorting to guesswork the space has been left blank or an approximate identification inserted in brackets and marked with a query, whilst Javanese words have been marked with a (J).

The original vocabulary is printed in Dutch and Malay only and is in the form given here in columns one and three to which has been added an English translation and a modern English Romanized version respectively.

A Latin translation of the Journal was issued in Paris, also in 1598, but it is evident that the translator was misled by the loose spelling of the times into a handful of palpable errors which have been elucidated, as far as possible, in the notes.

A study of the vocabulary is illuminating as showing to what the early merchant adventurers attached importance and it is remarkable that no mention appears of any natural features such as might be thought to be of value to mariners.

Easily identifiable objects such as parts of the body, food-stuffs and spices, weapons and currency are well represented but the presence of some court terms and a number of verbs and adjectives point to the use of an interpreter conversant probably with Portuguese.

The absence of any word for such common things as meat, cooked rice or cloth may only be due to a misreading of the Dutch as keuvels (hoods) is given as nasse in Malay which is uncommonly like nasi (rice). At the same time there are some obvious

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oversights such as terms for more, this, white, wood, mother when the related words have been recorded.

It is interesting to note that no mention is made of either chickens or goats though ducks and cattle and even pigs have a place, furthermore ys or ice has been inserted but a suggestion more in keeping with the situation has been put forward in the notes.

That some degree of etiquette was observed is shown by the use of polite forms for 'you' and 'I' as well as the commoner ones and the tabulation of words for 'ceremony' and 'merciful or a royal favour'.

There is a complete absence of any Portuguese influence unless the term for a gun (pijtsijl) can be ascribed to them or another European source and be related to 'pistol' but there is a possibility that some everyday Portuguese words were employed but not thought worthy of record in what set out to be a Malay Vocabulary.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dutch</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Dutch Malay</th>
<th>English Malay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>arm</td>
<td>arm</td>
<td>backeyen</td>
<td>sëmna-nya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>altaamelt</td>
<td>wholly</td>
<td>samaonga</td>
<td>(pangkas?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afsnijden</td>
<td>to cut off</td>
<td>pang</td>
<td>këreja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arbeeiden</td>
<td>to work</td>
<td>kareya</td>
<td>pynanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arreekka</td>
<td>area</td>
<td>tingal</td>
<td>pingang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blijf met God</td>
<td>remain with God</td>
<td>addollaley</td>
<td>tinggal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>broeder</td>
<td>brother</td>
<td>tganga</td>
<td>(?, adek)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haart</td>
<td>heard</td>
<td>penot</td>
<td>janggut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buyck</td>
<td>belly</td>
<td>backy</td>
<td>përut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>been</td>
<td>leg</td>
<td>blou waer</td>
<td>kaki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buytyn</td>
<td>outside</td>
<td>carun polynomial</td>
<td>luar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barmerich</td>
<td>merciful</td>
<td>parma</td>
<td>karunia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beter</td>
<td>better</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>betalen¹</td>
<td>to pay</td>
<td>cheny</td>
<td>darah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bloet</td>
<td>blood</td>
<td>darna</td>
<td>buang darah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bloet laten</td>
<td>to let blood</td>
<td>bewangdarner</td>
<td>kitab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boecken</td>
<td>books</td>
<td>këly</td>
<td>bëli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coopen</td>
<td>to buy</td>
<td>dyngijn</td>
<td>dingin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cruyt</td>
<td>cold²</td>
<td>tambagle</td>
<td>ñembaga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coper</td>
<td>copper</td>
<td>capyer</td>
<td>kapor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>calek</td>
<td>chalk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Vide hier, here-cheny.
² Latin, grass-kruid.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dutch</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Dutch Malay</th>
<th>English Malay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>den dach</td>
<td>the day</td>
<td>arijs</td>
<td>hari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dooden</td>
<td>to kill</td>
<td>benue</td>
<td>bunoh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daer</td>
<td>there</td>
<td>sana</td>
<td>sana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>die</td>
<td>that</td>
<td>itowen</td>
<td>itu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doet</td>
<td>dead&lt;sup&gt;3&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>maty</td>
<td>mati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>darmen</td>
<td>bowels</td>
<td>perot</td>
<td>pérut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>droevich</td>
<td>sad</td>
<td>chiynta</td>
<td>chiinta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>danck u</td>
<td>thank you</td>
<td>terymacache</td>
<td>tērīma kaseh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>edich</td>
<td>vinegar</td>
<td>tsyuka</td>
<td>chuka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eyschet</td>
<td>request</td>
<td>minta</td>
<td>minta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eergisteven</td>
<td>day before</td>
<td>balmaris daula</td>
<td>kēlmarin dulu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| eyeren      | eggs         | teloot      | tēlor        |
| cenden      | ducks        | bebe        | bebek<sup>(J)</sup> |
| ghedenekt   | remember     | engat       | ingat        |
| ghevonden   | found        | botonumum   | börtēmu      |
| gaet        | go           | pegy        | pēgi         |
| gaen wy     | let us go (come) | mary     | mari         |
| gisteren    | yesterday    | balmary     | kēlmarin     |
| ghewoonte   | custom       | esteedat    | īstīdat      |
| gheven      | give         | berny       | bēri         |
| groen       | green        | ise         | ījau         |
| ghy         | you          | pakanera    | pakanira<sup>(J)</sup> |
| ghiebacken steen | brick      | batta       | bata         |
| groet       | great        | baser       | bēsar        |
| hoe veel    | how much     | barapa      | bērapa       |
| hier        | here         | chynv       | suni         |
| hoe vaerdy  | how are you  | bygimana    | bagimana     |
| t harte     | the heart    | aly         | atī (hatī)   |
| helopen     | to help      | toulong     | tolong       |
| houwen      | to hew       | bauijn      |              |
| haer        | hair         | rann boiet  | rambut<sup>(gulu, J. ?)</sup> |
| hals        | neck         | goulon      |              |
| hoest       | head<sup>4</sup> | capelle    | kēpala       |
| hant        | hand         | tanga       | tangan       |
| een hoet    | a hat        | kokolang    | kēkudong<sup>5</sup> |
| heer        | master (you) | queay       | kowe<sup>(J)</sup> |
| ick         | i            | manyre      | manira<sup>(J)</sup> |
| jaer        | year         | tauwn       | tahu         |
| iets        | something    | baecaberen  | (?) barang   |
| ys<sup>6</sup> | ice         | dalan       | dalam        |
| inckt       | ink          | mangsy      | mangsi       |

---

<sup>3</sup> Latin, do-doet instead of dood, dead.
<sup>4</sup> Latin, cough-hoest. instead of hoefld, head; vide, voorhoofst, forehead.
<sup>5</sup> Tudong or kēkudong (Batavia), a sun-hat.
<sup>6</sup> Perhaps paleu, a palace-dalam (Malay) is meant.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dutch</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Dutch Malay</th>
<th>English Malay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jonck</td>
<td>young</td>
<td>monda</td>
<td>muda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isser</td>
<td>is there</td>
<td>beff</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kennen</td>
<td>to know</td>
<td>kiunal</td>
<td>kënal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kleyn</td>
<td>small</td>
<td>kytêhijl</td>
<td>këchil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiesen</td>
<td>to choose</td>
<td>damare</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keuvels</td>
<td>hoofs</td>
<td>nasse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kindt</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>buda</td>
<td>budak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kyte sol</td>
<td>(parasol ?)</td>
<td>gunpowder^{7}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kruydt</td>
<td>gunpowder</td>
<td>land</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laundt aerde</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lippen</td>
<td>lip</td>
<td>lambhyber</td>
<td>(? bibir)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laeten</td>
<td>to allow</td>
<td>sone</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foot</td>
<td>lead</td>
<td>tyna</td>
<td>timah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lampe</td>
<td>lamp</td>
<td>palyta</td>
<td>pëlita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roer laden</td>
<td>to load a gun</td>
<td>sombo bedijl</td>
<td>sumbu bëdil^{8}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ficht</td>
<td>light</td>
<td>arynga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leven</td>
<td>life</td>
<td>agava</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>legghen</td>
<td>to lie down</td>
<td>bariijing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>langhen</td>
<td>a lie^{9}</td>
<td>dusta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laet af</td>
<td>desist</td>
<td>gunga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maecken</td>
<td>to make</td>
<td>bretoum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marghen</td>
<td>tomorrow</td>
<td>vsouck</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nacht</td>
<td>night</td>
<td>malam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neus</td>
<td>nose</td>
<td>yrot dan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maer</td>
<td>(clown ?)^{10}</td>
<td>gyla</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naghels</td>
<td>nails</td>
<td>koko</td>
<td>kuku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opperpriester</td>
<td>high priest</td>
<td>cadda</td>
<td>kadi (kathi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>op steecken</td>
<td>raise</td>
<td>passai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ooghken</td>
<td>eyes</td>
<td>mattije</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ooren</td>
<td>ears</td>
<td>talijunga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oly</td>
<td>oil</td>
<td>muagia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oorcussen</td>
<td>pillow</td>
<td>bantal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ons</td>
<td>our</td>
<td>quitabofa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oom</td>
<td>uncle</td>
<td>mana</td>
<td>namak</td>
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<td>oudrt</td>
<td>old</td>
<td>tua</td>
<td>tua</td>
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<tr>
<td>op staen</td>
<td>arise</td>
<td>bangs</td>
<td>bangun</td>
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<td>pens</td>
<td>calamp</td>
<td>kalam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rijs</td>
<td>rice</td>
<td>bras</td>
<td>bëras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rugghe</td>
<td>back</td>
<td>balacca</td>
<td>bëlakang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rineck</td>
<td>ring</td>
<td>chiinsin</td>
<td>chinchin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sveren</td>
<td>to swear^{11}</td>
<td>sempa</td>
<td>sumpah</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

^{7} Latin, grass-kruid.

^{8} Sumbu bëdil, a slowmatch or fuse.

^{9} Latin, to lengthen-langhen instead of logen, a lie.

^{10} Latin, near-neck but perhaps nar, a clown was meant.

^{11} Latin, to turn sour-zweren.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dutch</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Dutch Malay</th>
<th>English Malay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>schamen</td>
<td>to feel ashamed</td>
<td>malon</td>
<td>malu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soet</td>
<td>sweet</td>
<td>manus</td>
<td>manis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sondach</td>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>lonmahet</td>
<td>Jēmahat&lt;sup&gt;12&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suster</td>
<td>sister</td>
<td>addeparapas</td>
<td>adek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siet</td>
<td>sit&lt;sup&gt;13&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>doduer</td>
<td>(pērinpuan ?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>schoudchen</td>
<td>shoulder</td>
<td>baon</td>
<td>dudok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swighen</td>
<td>to be silent</td>
<td>dyem</td>
<td>bahu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sy</td>
<td>he&lt;sup&gt;14&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>dva</td>
<td>diam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swart</td>
<td>black</td>
<td>rta</td>
<td>dia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>schoen</td>
<td>beautiful</td>
<td>apon</td>
<td>itam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sout</td>
<td>sun&lt;sup&gt;15&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>matary</td>
<td>mata hari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>silver</td>
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<td>sieck</td>
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<tr>
<td>sonde</td>
<td>accursed&lt;sup&gt;16&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>tebylaca</td>
<td>chēlaka</td>
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<td>swaer</td>
<td>heavy</td>
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<td>bērat</td>
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<td>gom</td>
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<td>stael</td>
<td>steel</td>
<td>negie</td>
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<tr>
<td>sterven</td>
<td>to die</td>
<td>bantaran</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>schoelden</td>
<td>saucers</td>
<td>pyenung</td>
<td>piring</td>
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<tr>
<td>tandan</td>
<td>teeth</td>
<td>anton</td>
<td>(dānta ?)</td>
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<tr>
<td>tonghe</td>
<td>tongue</td>
<td>alat</td>
<td>plat&lt;sup&gt;17&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vrv laten</td>
<td>to set free</td>
<td>leqas</td>
<td>ḫpas</td>
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<tr>
<td>wt 1st</td>
<td>is out</td>
<td>pach-uvra</td>
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<td>vrees</td>
<td>fear</td>
<td>tacat</td>
<td>takut</td>
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<td>vis</td>
<td>fish</td>
<td>ican</td>
<td>ikan</td>
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<tr>
<td>vereopen</td>
<td>to sell</td>
<td>ionwal</td>
<td>jual</td>
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<tr>
<td>verheven</td>
<td>to lose</td>
<td>ilan</td>
<td>ilang (hilang)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verder</td>
<td>father&lt;sup&gt;18&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>bapa</td>
<td>bapa</td>
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<tr>
<td>vreentschap</td>
<td>friendship</td>
<td>pondarra</td>
<td>(saudara ?)</td>
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<tr>
<td>voorhooldt</td>
<td>for head</td>
<td>batock</td>
<td>batok&lt;sup&gt;19&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<tr>
<td>vinghers</td>
<td>fingers</td>
<td>naryvary</td>
<td>jari-jari</td>
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<tr>
<td>verswaen</td>
<td>to understand</td>
<td>tasken</td>
<td>tabu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vergheaten</td>
<td>to forget</td>
<td>lampa</td>
<td>lupa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vioesch</td>
<td>early</td>
<td>pagv</td>
<td>pagi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vechten</td>
<td>to fight</td>
<td>bacealays</td>
<td>bērkēlaḥi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vleesch</td>
<td>a fly&lt;sup&gt;20&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>jalver</td>
<td>laḷēṛ (J)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vergheven</td>
<td>to forgive</td>
<td>ampol</td>
<td>ampun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>12</sup> Friday-the Islamic Sabbath  
<sup>13</sup> Latin, to see-set instead of zitt, to sit.  
<sup>14</sup> Latin, oneself instead of zij, he  
<sup>15</sup> Latin salt-sout instead of son, sun  
<sup>16</sup> Latin, sun-zonde instead of illomened  
<sup>17</sup> To lick but alat (Sundanese) a tongue  
<sup>18</sup> Latin, further-verder instead of vader, father  
<sup>19</sup> Batok kepala (Malay) the skull  
<sup>20</sup> Latin, meet-vleesch instead of vlieg, a fly
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dutch</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Dutch Malay</th>
<th>English Malay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>verbranden</td>
<td>to burn</td>
<td>baccar</td>
<td>bakar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vrahgen</td>
<td>to ask</td>
<td>betangia</td>
<td>bértanya</td>
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<tr>
<td>vleermuys</td>
<td>bat</td>
<td>lavo</td>
<td>lawo (J)</td>
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<tr>
<td>voet</td>
<td>fat&lt;sup&gt;21&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>gouno</td>
<td>gëmok</td>
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<tr>
<td>weynich</td>
<td>little</td>
<td>selykit</td>
<td>sëdikit</td>
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<tr>
<td>waer</td>
<td>where</td>
<td>dymana</td>
<td>di-mana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>winnen</td>
<td>to win</td>
<td>menang</td>
<td>mënang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warm</td>
<td>hot</td>
<td>penas</td>
<td>panas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wee</td>
<td>sorrow</td>
<td>saya</td>
<td>savang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wt dien</td>
<td>out of that</td>
<td>padyini</td>
<td>(pada ini ?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wijnbrauwen</td>
<td>eyebrows</td>
<td>alis</td>
<td>alis</td>
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<tr>
<td>wy</td>
<td>we</td>
<td>dep</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>waterpot</td>
<td>water pot</td>
<td>lande</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waer ist</td>
<td>where is</td>
<td>mana aden</td>
<td>mana ada</td>
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<tr>
<td>water</td>
<td>water</td>
<td>eyer</td>
<td>ayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wel</td>
<td>difficult&lt;sup&gt;22&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>sousa</td>
<td>susah</td>
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Some Javanese Words<sup>23</sup>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>English</th>
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<tr>
<td>peper</td>
<td>pepper</td>
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<tr>
<td>folie</td>
<td>mace</td>
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<tr>
<td>note-muscaten</td>
<td>nutmegs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nagheelen</td>
<td>cloves</td>
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<tr>
<td>water</td>
<td>water</td>
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<tr>
<td>water</td>
<td>water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>silver</td>
<td>silver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gout</td>
<td>gold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stuecken van achten</td>
<td>pieces of eight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>casses</td>
<td>cash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vis</td>
<td>fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haar poken</td>
<td>hair ornaments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>een schip</td>
<td>a ship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daer is</td>
<td>that is too little</td>
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<tr>
<td>teweypich</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>een gros stuk</td>
<td>a big gun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>een roer</td>
<td>a gun&lt;sup&gt;24&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<tr>
<td>eten</td>
<td>eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>papier</td>
<td>paper</td>
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<tr>
<td>wien</td>
<td>wine&lt;sup&gt;25&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>een vercken</td>
<td>a pig</td>
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<tr>
<td>een osse</td>
<td>an ox</td>
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<tr>
<td>christenen</td>
<td>christian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vreemdelingen</td>
<td>strangers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>21</sup> Latin, foot-voet instead of vet, fat.
<sup>22</sup> Latin, well-wel instead of wee, difficult.
<sup>23</sup> The author's heading is misleading as many Malay words are included.
<sup>24</sup> Latin, scopus.
<sup>25</sup> Latin, to whom-wien instead of wijn, wine.

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Ancient Times in Borneo

By E. Banks

The study of ancient times in Malaysia has been pursued in this Journal by such eminent authors as Messrs. Quaritch Wales, Moens and Braddell, whose conclusions must be read in detail by those who wish a complete record of olden times. A very brief summary is necessary here before the remainder of this article can be appreciated.

Dr. Quaritch Wales(1) was mainly concerned with the four main waves of Indian cultural expansion. Ptolemy provided evidence of the first wave from the first to the third centuries A.D., Kedah's archaeological remains of a second wave from about 300 to 550 A.D. The third marked the arrival of the Pallavas from 550-750 A.D. and the fourth wave from 750-900 A.D. came largely from Southern India and Bengal. The Sailendra empire was built up on the remnants of these and later history down to the advent of Islam in 1471 A.D. is contained in the Kedah Annals.

Mr. Moens(2) was concerned with the geographical data in translations from Chinese and Arabs, his most interesting conclusions being readily apparent in the maps accompanying his article.

Of Srivijaya, that forgotten Malay empire of the Indies from the end of the 7th to the end of the 9th century, he placed the capital of that name first on the coast of Kelantan (where it was known to the Chinese as Che-li-lo-che) and later at a point on the Kumpar river in central Sumatra. Malayu, the Chinese Mo-lo-you, he placed in S. E. Sumatra.

After this, readers will be as little surprised to learn that Yava is not Java at all but Fu-nan or Cambodia, the land of the Khmers, as they will be to learn that there is little or no silver in the state of Perak.

In the 5th century Ho-lo-tan (Kelautan) was on the island of Cho-p'o, Malaya. The name Ho-ling superseded Cho-p'o, which is next heard of in the 13th century Sung Annals with reference to Java, the Chinese name changing to Chao-wa, the native Djava.

The old Cho-p'o is Ye-p'o-ti or Yayadipa, which is therefore Malaya. Ptolemy called it Inbadion, which was but a Greek transcription, and the capital, Argyre, Moens believes to be Ligor.

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Kataha was the 7th and 8th century Java of Borobodur and was transferred in the 9th to 12th century to Suvarnadipa or San-fo-tsi as the Chinese knew it, in the Johore estuary.

Mr. Braddell(1) has reviewed ancient history in detail and apart from general interest the point that appeals most to us is his location, mainly on geographical grounds, of the place names Yava-dipa, Jabadiou, Ye-pu-ti and the fifth century Cho-p'o. These he believes to be all the same and to refer to Borneo and not to Malaya, as Mr. Moens would have it. Mr. Braddell's interpretation of Ptolemy's discoveries and particularly of the directions of the winds and currents met by Fa-Hien on his voyage, are points so well taken that his conclusions occupy that enviable position of the last word on the subject in the light of modern knowledge.

I have so far been unable to find any internal evidence from Borneo as to the location of these place names Yava-dipa, Jabadiou or Ye-po-ti, but certain points of interest have arisen.

In dealing with Borneo, Mr. Moens' map No. 111 mentions many place names known to the ancients, here discussed in connection with so far unmentioned or little known works relating to olden times in Borneo. Mo-kin-man (Kutai) we know to be the site of archaeological remains. Moor's "Notices of the Indian Archipelago"(a) describes in Dalton's Journal a town up the Cottei River near Markammon (Muara Kaman) and on p. 37 he relates "Major Mullen and his party went up for the purpose of seeing the remains of a Hindu temple, which are common about the country."

Dalton himself did not visit the site. Major Mullen was afterwards murdered and there is no further easy reference to these finds until the time of Carl Bock.(1) Speaking of Muara Kaman (p. 47) he says "Hindoo remains have been found in this village: amongst other things a well-executed figure of a goddess, in solid gold, weighing eight tahils (314 grammes) which is now in the possession of the Sultan. The people were still busy searching for further relics and had come upon a number of cut stones, probably belonging to a tomb, similar to some inscribed tombstones of undoubted Hindoo origin found at Sankohirang, a village on the coast and now preserved by the Sultan of Tangaroeng." Later at Kota Bungoenn (p. 119) above Muara Kaman he states: "Here I heard of the existence of a very fine bronze figure, representing a Hindoo goddess, known by the name of 'Dingangi' which was in the possession of a Dayak in the Kehan. The ears of the goddess were pierced with large holes, the lobes hanging down like those of the Dayaks. The owner said the idol was made of stone and I at first took it to be so but on scratching it with a knife, I found it was

bronze. At the capture of the Kota Bangoenn nearly 100 years ago one foot of the image was broken off by some of the chiefs.

Dr. F. D. K. Bosch has described(6) in Dutch the findings of the Middle East Borneo Expedition of 1925 to Kutai, figuring the very numerous stone images from a cave in Gunong Kombeng, together with a bronze Buddha from Kota Bangoenn, doubleless the one referred to by Bock. In the pictures both feet appear to have been missing but the original perished in the conflagration during the Colonial Exhibition in Paris in 1931 (7, p. 38) and can no longer be consulted.

Chhabra gives the only account (7, p. 41) in English of these stone figures and some gold ornaments, save for a page full of photographs in the "Illustrated London News," April 16, 1938, in which are seen Nandi, Ganesa, Kartikeya, Maha Kala, Amitabho, Jata Makuta, Loke Swava and a number of unidentified Hindu images. He also mentions that the statues must have been placed in the niches of one or more temples, the exact sites of which it has not yet been possible to fix. From the indiscriminate way the figures are placed in the Gunong Kombeng cave, it has been suggested that they were moved there hurriedly as to place of safety and the site of the cave is so near the Kedang Rantau and Muara Kaman that the Hindu temple visited by Major Mullen at Muara Kaman may well have been the original one, from which the images were moved. Witkamp(8) describing the Kedang Rantau mentions the remains of a Hindu temple which may well be the original one from which the images came. I am greatly indebted to the late Fr. J. Staal of Kuching for translation from the Dutch. "Going up to the Medang one soon turns N.W. and there, where one has just passed the bend and also on the other (left) side, a flat piece of land stretches in front of the hills: one stops for the short walk of 175 meters through forest to the stone Nandi, which is venerated as a sacred object. When the river is low, the right bank is steep, 2 to 3 meters high. Climbing up one comes to a good path, which crosses a small gully and leads to the foot of a terrace, 5 meters high, at a distance of 100 meters. On the top near the edge one sees a round hole about 0.4 meter deep, in the middle of a tumulus of 6 meters diameter a collection of stones from one or other Hindu antiquity. Among them are two small platforms, like tables, for offerings of siren, pinang and tobacco. The most important piece is a zebu lying on a pedestal, the whole thing is 47 c.m. high, of which 9 c.m. belongs to the pedestal. Opposite the Nandi a few fragments have been put up and also to the side of it, as well as a few irregular pieces of stone. Next to the Nandi stands a pole of red, very hard wood."

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"We visited the antiquity accompanied by the headman of Mamahak, Pembekeal Halit, who though a Muslim follows Dayak customs on account of his marriage with a Dayak. Besides his wife there were his sick little son and a grandmother. On the way up, in the motor boat to Medang the grandmother threw out now and then handfuls of yellow rice while she talked to herself and near the Nandi more rice was offered. The woman and the child remained in the boat, the Pembekeal killed a white fowl near the sacred stones and smeared the blood on Nandi’s mouth. A great deal of blood was washed off again by the offer of a rather large bottle of perfume. After that fresh pinang and tobacco were laid on the wooden platforms. Although not far from the Medang the Nandi is quite hidden, for the side at the bank where one lands has no special signs."

"Nieuwenhuis in his work ‘Quer durch Borneo’ mentions Hindu antiquities along the Mahakam and sketches among others those he found near the mouth of a small stream, the Rata. There also are a small Nandi and a few stone fragments. At the mouth of the Rata the people could not show these antiquities and our question, if the Nandi of the Medang perhaps stood originally in the Rata and later was brought over to the Medang, got the answer that the Nandi in the Medang always was there, as long as could be remembered. Where one reads in Nieuwenhuis how the people dislike to point out the places of such antiquities, it is fair to suppose that after the visit and the photographing, the Nandi was desecrated and the Dayaks thought it safer to remove the image. The position and number of the stones is different from those in Nieuwenhuis’ book. The supposition that he mistook the Medang for the Rata cannot be held. It is possible that the place in the Rata is still there but the people keep it secret. Strange then that they showed us the Nandi of Medang! Besides this last named one there must be another sacred Nandi in the Long Bagun, which is said to be larger, white and horned."

"Muara Kaman originally stood on the opposite (right) bank of the Mahakkam, where a little creek Kaman flows into it just upstream of the low hill Martapura, known on account of a curved stone which lies there, a figure of a pig very rudely cut out of sandstone. The name Martapura reminds one of the Hindu Javan origin of these old colonists. Later the people of Muara Kaman removed to the other side but the name was kept for the new settlement. The following legend is connected with the removal and was narrated by Sakub, one of the oldest inhabitants of Muara-Kaman and owner of the gardens on the hill Martapura."

"One of the rulers of Muara Kaman was a queer fellow who liked to eat extraordinary dishes. He much enjoyed fowl entrails.

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One day when his cook was washing these in the river he accidentally dropped them in the water. Afraid of his master's anger he dug up large worms (Kutai: kērēmeh) a foot or more long and prepared them, hoping that his master would not notice the difference. He however preferred these worms and after strict interrogation, the cook confessed what had happened. The king and family ordered these worms to be searched for and the worms took revenge by appearing everywhere in such great numbers they filled and covered everything and became a frightful plague, so that the King decided to remove to the opposite side of the Mahakam to Markaman Nusa. To escape the worms which followed, he had a rope stretched across the river. The worms wriggled onto the rope and when it was full of worms the King cut the rope and they fell into the water to be devoured by the baung puteh (The baung is a fish much in demand and rather expensive. It can reach a length of one meter and has few bones; it has feelers at the corner of its mouth, a flat head and large spikes in its fins, probably a Silurid.* They are caught with a rod (ravi) with animal bait, especially flesh of the crocodile. The baung puteh is the one with white spots, a little larger than the common kind). Therefore the real people of Muara Kaman who stick to the old customs and traditions will never eat a baung puteh. This is for them pimali.”

“We reached S. Berubus, the flat place entirely covered with secondary growth on the top of G. Benuwa Lawas” (Vide H. Witkamp, A visit to some Antiquities in Kutai 1914). “This time we halted a little further upstream at a point just past a gigantic tree, visible from afar where a few wild mulberry trees grow on the bank. After a short search in the bēlukar we again found, near the graves of Mohamedan women with ironwood nisan, our lēsong batu. (Lēsong = pounding block, batu = stone)”. The illustration shows a tall rectangular stone pillar with a narrow base suitable to fit the socket of a Yoni stone, of which it appears to be the Linggam. “We have already pointed out formerly, in view of the grey volcanic stone, the probability of a Javan origin. At that time we knocked off a small piece, which Dr. W. R. Grisolf of Batavia determined to be augite-andesite, a stone which is not found in the neighbourhood of Muara Kaman.”

In Sarawak archaeological remains have been recorded from Santubong at one of the mouths of the Kuching River by A. H. Everett(9) comprising stone images, pottery, beads, and iron slag, recalling the finds at Kuala Selinsing on the East coast of Malaya.(10) From Bukit Berhala, in the Samarahan river next to Kuching, come a Linggam, Yoni and Ganesa, relics of a temple

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* The Malay name Baung is applied to fishes of the genus Mystus, family Bagridae. Ed.

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to Siva. More remarkable still is the unrecorded find of a large number of gold ornaments discovered some fifty years ago, shortly after Limbang was annexed. This find has not been recorded nor have the objects been described. The originals are said to be deposited in the Victoria and Albert Museum, copies being retained by the Sarawak Museum. They consist of eight gold rings, one very large and massive, one very slightly smaller but both with large pale blue stones; one smaller ring has a dark reddish stone, another a cornelian or possibly moonstone; of the four other rings one has an inscription so far undecipherable, the others seals, one clearly fish-shaped. There are also two ear or nose ornaments, a fine and a large-linked gold chain, three different kinds of what appear to resemble buttons used as coat fasteners and a small crouching figure of a lion, 1\(\frac{3}{4}\) inches long. The largest object is part of a belt buckle some 2 inches by 1\(\frac{3}{4}\) inches. Something very similar is I believe figured in “Oudheidkundig Verslag” 1935, plate 35.

Fo-che-pou-lo (Puchavaro) is also mentioned at the mouth of the Rejang river and here I must quote Moens. “One is strongly tempted to see a similarity between the name Kin-fo of the Malanau Empire and the shortened name of the previously mentioned Kin-li-fo-che, which was already known in the 7th century. This Empire was supposed to cover not only Northern Borneo (Sabah) but also Brunei and Sarawak. Furthermore Yi-tsin’s Fo-che-pou-lo, one of the Buddhist countries, could be located in the Southern Seas; (Giri) Vijapurua should be the name of the capital on the Rejang River even before Brunei achieved this role. On the map of Mercator of 1587 we find as the chief ports on the west coast of Borneo (Brunei) Malano and Puchavaro, i.e. Vijapurua.” He adds in a footnote “The Rejang River is navigable for 140 miles. Yi-Tsin’s Fo-che-pou-lo is probably the transcription of the capital (Vijapurua) and not the name for the country, which probably is the case with the Portuguese Puchavaro.”

It is surprising that no archaeological remains are known from the Rejang-Sibu district and the site of Fo-che-pou-lo still remains undiscovered. Paloh with its anchorage protected by Sirik Point seems a likely spot but the mouths of the Rejang River are not stable areas and such a site may have disappeared unless situated some way inland. On Zoological grounds the islands at the river mouth would appear to be portions of the mainland cut up by the river seeking outlet, rather than formed as a delta. Mention of a former Malanau Empire is satisfactory, for as I have pointed out elsewhere(13) these people with Land Dayaks and others form the basic stock of the original inhabitants, overlaid by Hinduism, Mohamedanism and certain forms of paganism.

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Moens would place Argyre in Ligor, Braddell somewhere near Kuching in Sarawak; if the latter be so, Bukit Berhala as the site of archaeological remains in the neighbouring Samarahan river seems indicated, indeed the very name suggests Pallava and there is still strong local legend of the former visits of the "Orang Pegu". (14 p. 47) "Another thing on which speculation may be founded is this: it is said that a colony of Peguans settled many years ago at Santubong near the mouth of the Sarawak River. Some curious gold ornaments and earthenware remains have lately been dug up at that place: possibly it may be the site of a Pegu settlement. I have been told that the Bukar Dayaks of Samarahan are descendants of the Peguans. I once asked some of the Dayaks if the above assertion of the neighbouring Malays was correct. 'Oh, no,' they said. 'It is the Malays of Samarahan who are descended from the Peguans.'"

"As yet in Sarawak we have come across very few remains of Hindu deities and no edifices or ruins. The only two of the former I have seen are first a stone trough of peculiar shape and secondly a broken stone bull, both now lying burnt and cracked near the charred remains of the Rajah's old house. These were much venerated by the surrounding Dayaks, expeditions being made to the places where they were lying before they were brought to the capital, when the water that collected in the trough was baled out and used in religious ceremonial. Soon after Sir J. Brooke first came to the country he discovered the bull lying on the muddy banks of a small stream near Sempro; he was interested in it and proposed to take it to Sarawak."

Real Sarawak Malays look on Kalaka in the Saribas District as their ancestral home, many Kuching Malays being of Bovanese extraction and the Samarahan ones to this day are referred to laughingly as "Orang Pegu." Their proximity to Bukit Berhala, with its remains of a temple, also in the Samarahan River, is more than coincidence.

The stone trough of peculiar shape is the Yoni from Bukit Berhala (11 p. 42) now in the Sarawak Museum, together with the remains of the stone Bull, both having suffered damage beneath the Rajah's house when burnt during the 1857 Chinese insurrection. The account of finding the Bull near Sempro is peculiar as this village is near Segu (now the 21st mile) on the true right bank of the Sarawak River. The headwaters of this and the Samarahan River are not far apart and the Bull may have been carried over from Bukit Berhala; nevertheless this branch of the Sarawak river has yielded a number of gold ornaments to diamond washers and others—notably a very fine ear drop more than an inch long—and
these may well have been connected with the site from whence came the stone Bull.

"Silver seldom occurs pure in Borneo and if, as Mr. Braddell thinks, Iabadiou is Borneo it seems that the glittering antimony deposits may have been responsible for the name of the capital Argyre, which is not therefore Ligor as Moens supposed, any more than it chances to be Tagorn, the cinnabar mines some 25 miles from Kuching. Bukit Berhala certainly adjoins the gold and antimony fields where silver is known in conjunction with gold, as the following figures from Scrivenor's report on the Gold Fields(15) will show.

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<th>Bunkok Main Parit East Mine Pendid Taiton</th>
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<td>Gold per ton</td>
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<td>Silver per ton</td>
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Pulo Salak (Javanese = silver) occurs opposite the old Indian settlement at the Santubong entrance to the Kuching River but its cave to my mind scarcely resembles an old working.

Mr. G. T. M. MacBryan points out that Brunei may well be derived from the Sanskrit word burni to trade, in view of the entrepôt nature of the town's activities.

Of Yava dipa, dipa is the common word among pagans other than Sea Dayaks, meaning "across," referring to mountains, rivers, roads etc. and corresponding to our trans-montane. In Sanskrit it apparently reads "island" or "sandbank in a river." Yava dipa might just mean "across the sea from Yava" which Moens places in Funan or Cambodia and thus refer to Indian settlements in Borneo or elsewhere.

It is difficult now to check the origin of the name Kalamantan for the island of Borneo from the presence of wild mangoes, sour grapes or the shape of the island. That the island was known as "Pulo Lemantan" is clear from the old M.S. "Alak Betatar," describing the ancient State of Brunei. By a slight metathesis "lemantah" may have given its name to the very numerous Milano people among whom sago is still a staple diet. I have always fancied the prefix "ka" or "ke" as a shortened form of "kapuda," "pergi kelabit" or "pergi kuching" signifying going to the people of the Labit river or Sieng river, "sieng" being the local non-Malay name for "cat."

CITATIONS

(1) Quaritch Wales.

(2) Moens, J. L.

(3) Braddell, R.

(4) Moor, J. H.

(5) Bock, C.

(6) Bosch, F. D. K.

(7) Chhabra, B. Ch.

(8) Witkamp.

(9) Everett, H. H.

(10) Evans I. H. N.

(11) Banks, E.

(12) Moulton, J. C.

(13) Banks, E.

(14) — — — —

(15) Scrivenor, J. B.

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Malay Cannon

By G. C. Woolley

Although gunpowder was known, apparently, to the Chinese at least several centuries before Christ, it was not till long afterwards—and then in the West, to which the knowledge of it may have been carried by Arab traders—that it began to be used as a propelling agent for missiles in war or even for other war purposes. In the 7th Cent. A.D., it was used as an incendiary called "Greek Fire," and in the 12th Century it was used for artillery in Spain in some of the wars between the Spaniards and the Moors. In 1327 our Edward III used artillery in his Scotch wars, and there were cannon at Crecy in 1346. Most of the material used in England was imported, and manufacture there began in Queen Elizabeth's time. In 1477 brass cannon were being cast in Prussia, and in the latter part of the 15th Century iron was used.

The bearing of all this on our present subject is that no Malay cannon are likely to be of any extreme antiquity, and the knowledge of their use and manufacture could have come either from China or from the West, and probably not much earlier than the 15th Century A.D.

As soon as cannon came into such general use that they were carried by ships as well as used on land for fortifications, Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, and English ships, merchantmen as well as ships of war, would have brought them to the Far East, and war and piracy would soon distribute specimens over a large area, and wherever there was a knowledge of metal-working there would be an attempt to produce them locally.

Several places in Malaya acquired a special reputation for turning out good cannon, amongst the most important being Brunei, Palembang, Atcheh, Menangkabau, and Trengganu. Dr. Linehan, History of Pahang, p. 50, states that good cannon were being made in Pahang in 1600 A.D., and in his paper on Discoveries on the Tembeling, p. 68, he records the discovery of a mould for casting cannon, which he dates at about the 14th—15th century. The methods followed, and the patterns and ornamentals adopted, were not necessarily the same in all of these: in Brunei, Chinese influence and practice may well have been paramount, owing to old trading and business relations with China; in Palembang and Atcheh the chief external influence would be Arab, in Java perhaps Hindu. Gardner quotes Marsden’s History of Sumatra where he mentions "accounts in old writers of great foundries of cannon in

Atchel*: Marsden also (2nd Ed. 1784, p. 275) says "How early they began to cast cannon I cannot take upon me to say: the first Portuguese histories mention their using them." St. John, Life in the Forests of the Far East Vol. 2, p. 298, says that in Brunei the metal for the guns was obtained from selected Chinese brass 'cash'—also evidence of Chinese influence. Krieger thinks that both guns and powder came, not from China, but from Arabia, with Islam: Saleeby states that the Sulus had firearms and 'lantaka's (cannon) before the Spaniards came. Hamilton, in his New Account of the E. Indies mentions seeing 'culverins' in a fort in Atchel in 1702, but nowhere records anything about their manufacture or includes them as part of the 'produce' of any of the countries he visited. Chinese traders and workmen were to be found all over the Malay Archipelago, so it would not be surprising if they had brought with them a knowledge of metal-casting and introduced in a greater or less degree Chinese methods and Chinese decoration in the work they produced. Arab trade and influence in the Western part of Malaya was not inferior to that of the Chinese.

The type of cannon usually produced would naturally be that best suited to local conditions. There are clear instances of a primitive form—a barrel of wood or bamboo or a hollowed palm bound with rings of metal, but these soon gave place to the more elaborate and efficient castings. The walls of Malay forts and the bulwarks of the small pirate boats would call for small, light, and easily managed guns, not the big calibre type on solid or wheeled carriages suitable for European fortifications or the deck of an East Indiaman. The pivot or swivel gun was ideal for Malay purposes. In form, it followed the European Culverin, the lighter forms of which gave rise to the arquebus with its single or tripod rest: the U-shaped upper part of the swivel held the trunnions of the gun, and the pointed foot would fit, like a rowlock, into any socket in the bulwarks of a boat or in the walls or embrasures of a fort. At the breech end was a hollow tube, perhaps 6 inches long, not the round knob usually seen on European guns, and into this could be fitted a wooden spike or handle for turning or elevating or depressing the muzzle, an efficient aiming device only improved upon by the elevating screw of a modern machine gun, which still retains the pointed pivot though adding a clamp to it. A long metal handle, as part of the gun itself, is occasionally seen, but was evidently too awkward and clumsy to command general approval. The European type of knob breech end is also occasionally found, but very often the weapon is one of European origin. Eccentricities naturally occur, such as a double-barrelled cannon cast in one piece, a bell-mouthed blunderbuss variety, and the highly ornamented guns—of Brunei make, I believe—with muzzles like wide open crocodile or dragon jaws. The guns are often

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decorated with patterns like those on other brass ware, gongs or jars, and it is not uncommon to find a specimen with part if not all of the barrel with a twisted fluted pattern. The lugs of the guns are often small dragons or dolphins. Whether the place of manufacture can be deduced with certainty from the type of decoration is still doubtful; the dragon type certainly suggests Brunei with its traditions of Chinese workmen. In some cases the swivel has plain holes into which the gun’s trunnions fit, and in others it has closed cup-shaped ends, usually decorated with a floreate leaf or rosette pattern: it has been suggested that this difference may indicate the place of origin, but I have not been able to obtain any positive evidence.

Cannon, apart from use in war, had in Borneo at least a value as currency. The ordinary gun, with normal decoration, was valued at approximately $25—$30 a pikul. Fines for the more serious offences would be expressed as ‘so many pikuls’, and one or more cannon to make up the weight specified would be paid. Cannon also formed a regular item in ‘Brian’ (Dowry). Differences in workmanship, apart from exceptional cases, would not alter to any large extent the intrinsic value of the gun as so much metal, and this value would not fluctuate much, so cannon made a fairly stable currency. A cannon was not difficult to store, stood up on end and lashed to a house post, as they can be seen to this day; it would not deteriorate by rust, whereas buffaloes or cattle might die instead of multiplying, and in case of a raid or on feast days when a loud noise was called for, it might even be positively useful. In quite recent years however many cannon have been sold as old metal or melted down to provide material for the smaller and less cumbersome gongs other brass-ware.

Plate 1 gives two views of a Brunei cannon which before the war was in Government House, Sandakan, and was the property of the North Borneo Government. It has now disappeared, and has not yet been traced, possibly the Japanese had it melted down as ‘scrap’.

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CHAMBER'S  ENCYCLOPEDIA s.v. Cannon, Gunpowder etc.


Notes on two Knives in the Pitt-Rivers Museum

By G. C. Woolley

The Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford has a knife with blade and handle in one piece, as in the Kérís Majapahit, (the early dagger of the Majapahit Empire) and the figure is of the same size and type: the blade however resembles the blade of the tumbok lada (the ‘pepper-crusher’ knife) in outline except that the bottom half of the blade is double-edged; the upper part has the thick flat back of the tumbok lada: the figure on the hilt faces towards the edge of the knife, not to its side, as in the kérís. The knife has been for some considerable time in England, as it is said to have come from the John Harvey collection, made in Java in 1845-1847—and at that time it is highly improbable that there would have been any production of forgeries for a tourist market such as Gardner says are now made in Trénggaleu. The weapon cannot be called a kérís, but there is no reason why a talisman, with the same magic value as the Kérís Majapahit, should not have been made in the form of a tumbok lada.

![Outline of back of figure and blade.](image)

![Fig. 1.](image)

The same Museum has another weapon labelled “very rare type of kérís with open work blade and unusual grip. ? Java.”, acquired at an auction on 28.5.1935. I venture to question whether this weapon is a kérís at all.

Raffles’ plate in his History of Java showing 41 ‘common’ varieties of blade includes several which have a slight widening of the blade in its lower half, but all his examples have the typical widening towards the ganja, going to a long point on one

side and a short blunt end on the other—the _silang_ and _dagu_ (see fig. 2).

This blade is not quite symmetrical, and _may_ have been broken or damaged and then filed down, but this seems most improbable as its present shape with a thickening in each of the projecting points could hardly be obtained from an ordinary blade. A thick centre rib with a deep groove on each side is found in ordinary blades—the fact that much of the groove goes right through the blade may be intentional or due to rust—but in the ordinary blade this groove on the _dagu_ side widens out sharply into a saucer-like hollow large enough to take the tip of the thumb when the weapon is gripped, and on the _silang_ side widens gradually towards the point: there are no such widenings here, and the grooves go straight to the base of the blade. The pair of arched holes are not found in the true _kèris_, and in this weapon do not correspond to what would result from filing out an ordinary blade. There seem to be some _pawur_ (damascene) markings, especially on the lower part of the blade, which may indicate a local rather than an imported origin for the metal.

The _ganja_, the ends of which are symmetrical, cannot have come from an ordinary _kèris_ which had been cut down to its present form, and is more like the guard found on a rapier or some types of halberd. The hilt is made for a cutting, not a thrusting, weapon: it is large enough for a European hand, and the balance of the blade is better for cutting than for thrusting. It is perhaps not possible to say definitely that this is not a Malay weapon, but it should not be called a _kèris_, and, if it is Malay, it is a freak or an experiment, such as an attempt to adapt a heavy halberd blade for use as a sword.
The Various Significations of the Malay word *séjok*

By ZAINAL-ABIDIN BIN AHMAD

In one of his regular Saturday articles entitled "A Malayan Countryman's Diary" in the Straits Times (published in March, 1947) Tuan Djeck wrote to the effect that he was intrigued to know what exactly the Malay word *séjok* can mean, and suggested that some Malay scholar might write an essay on the subject. This was enforced in a personal letter to me shortly afterwards (15th April, 1947) in which he wrote among other things:

"It has just occurred to me that if you have time you might write a thesis on the various meanings of the word *séjok*. I hear that the water and weather are *séjok*: certain vegetables are said to be *séjok* sungat and therefore to be avoided. A Malay told me that he preferred *langsat* fruit to *dukus* because the *langsat* was *séjok*.

"An official who was District Officer at Kota Tinggi for many years was eventually transferred to Johore Bahru. Some years later I was talking to a Malay about the bad fruit season, and he replied that there had been nothing but bad seasons since the old D.O. had left the District. Unthinkingly I passed this remark to the new D.O. and he remarked, with a sour look, "*Séjok, ya Allah!*" I think I know what he meant by this short remark, but cannot find words to explain my interpretation . . . ."

The following is an attempt to respond to this invitation—from notes jotted down at that time but kept aside since then for a more leisure hour.

Wilkinson in his Dictionary (second edition 1932) gives the meanings of *séjok* as: 'coolness; a pleasant lowering of temperature; (fig.) lessening of passion or excitement;' and adds 'unpleasant cold is *dingin*.'

That is quite correct as far as it goes. But the word *séjok* has other extensions to its meanings as seen from the various idiomatic uses in which it is employed in current Malay speech.

The primary meaning is, of course, as given by Wilkinson, simply 'cold' in the sense of lacking (sufficient) heat or of being low in temperature. With this meaning it is always used as a des-

criptive word showing the lack of heat in an object and giving the idea of low temperature generally in connection with air, weather, climate, or such objects as pieces of iron, tin blocks, water, ice, etc. as perceived by the sense of feeling or touch.

Although generally the word is regarded as an adjective used either attributively such as ayer sējok; angin yang sējok; or predicatively e.g. ayer itu sējok, malam ini sangat sējok, it is also frequently used—

(1) as substantive or noun to name the quality or fact of being cold itself e.g. Sējok-nya sampai ka-tulang hitam = ‘Its biting cold (or the cold sensation) penetrates to the very marrow.’ But in this noun-capacity it is never used as in English in the sense of ‘a cold’, in the common phrase ‘catching cold’ or ‘a mild attack of cold’, which a Malay calls by a special name, sēlsēma.

(2) as a verb in the sense of ‘to become cold’, ‘to get or grow cold’ or ‘to change from a state of being relatively hot or warm to one of being cold.’ Examples, ayer itu pun sējok-lah = The (warm) water becomes cold.

There are, of course, derivatives from that simple form sējok to give various grammatical changes in meaning, such as sējokkan, to cause (something) to become cold; mēnyējokkan deliberately to make (it) grow cold; di-sējokkan made to become cold, is cooled; and rarely (with negative) lērsējokkan, able to reduce the temperature, or unintentionally allow (it) to get cold; kēsējokan, the state of being cold, suffering the effect of cold weather, or feeling shivering cold, etc., etc.

So much for the primary literal meaning. The secondary meanings include the following, almost all of which are metaphorical developments of one or other of the original senses:

(1) Lacking excitement, no fun, no gusto or enthusiasm about it; said of festivities, jollifications, meeting, games, etc. Examples Hari Raya sa-kali ini sējok sakaja = It is a joyless Hari Raya this time; Saya lungok sējok sakaja mēshuvarat itu = I saw there was no enthusiasm during the meeting.

Cold of manner or of reception is never expressed by sējok in Malay.

(2) Stale, dull, uninteresting—said of old news as opposed to ‘hot’ news or sensational headlines. E.g. Khabar itu sudah sējok = The news has become stale, has lost its sensational quality;

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Surat khabar itu sëjok sahaja, ta' bërsewangat = The newspaper is always dull, nothing that excites interest in it.

(3) Kept overnight but still eatable; said of rice, curry, and cooked food generally. Makan nasi sëjok = Eating rice left over from last night.

On the other hand 'cold rice' as opposed to 'hot rice' would be described as 'nasi sudah sëjok'.

(4) If one says minum ayer sëjok it means 'drinking just cold (pure) water,—with a literal or metaphorical meaning. If the latter, it is merely intended to be a self-deprecatory remark expressing that the refreshment offered is nothing very much, even though actually it may be tea etc., and not just pure water. On the other hand, minum sëjok means cold drinks or light refreshments such ice-cream, iced-lemonade or squash etc.

(5) Abating or cooling down; said of anger or temper. E.g. Hati-nya sudah sëjok, His anger has cooled down (He is no longer angry).

(6) Feeling happy or gratified to hear the evidence of a loved one's success or achievement. For this sense the word always goes with 'ear'. E.g. Sëjok têlinga aku mënûnggar êngkau mëmbacha bagitu bagus. It gladdens my ear (= it warms my heart) to hear you read so well.

(7) Feeling cold as when one is going to get fever or when in fright. E.g. Sëjok rasa badan saya mëcham na' dënum. I feel cold as though I am going to get fever. Sëjok kaki tangan-nya oleh këlukatan = His hands and feet become icy cold with fright. ('Cold sweat', literally pëloh sëjok is not known in Malay; nor is 'cold mutton' and 'cold steel').

(8) Cooling to the blood, causing impoverished blood so that you always feel cold and anaemic. E.g. Bayam jangan di-makan, sëjok = Don't eat spinach, it is cold vegetable.

(9) Pleasantly cooling to the stomach and so giving a feeling of freshness and vigour. Buah langsat sëjok daripada buah duku = the langsat fruit is 'colder' than the duku.

(10) Bringing luck and prosperity, blessed; e.g. përentah-nya sëjok = His rule was full of benign influences. Dëngan bërkat sëjok do'a anak-anak mudah-mudahan saya sëlamal. By the blessings of my children's prayers. I hope I'll get through (all risks and dangers) safely.

But in the remark 'Sējok, Yā Allah!' reported in the second quoted paragraph above it is not very clear as to whether the meaning intended is sarcastic or is really a plain straight-forward prayer on the part of the speaker for a sējok blessing on his own account. If the former, then clearly the new District Officer resented the implication that the period since he came had not been sējok, and moreover he looked down with scorn on the superstition that fruit seasons being good or bad is due to the sējok or otherwise of the head of the District. From the context and the 'sour look' it would appear that this was the true interpretation, in which case the word Yā Allah! is an ironical exclamation and not and invocation.
An Unusual Kēris Majapahit.

By Abu Bakar bin Pawanchee

The peculiarity about this kēris lies in the position of its handle in relation to the blade. Whereas in the normal kēris of this type the handle faces one of the sides of the blade, here it faces the edge on the side of the dagu.

The weapon has all the accepted principles of a Kēris Majapahit. It is of meteoric iron and has the necessary shape to justify it being called a kēris. The nickel in the metal forms the pamur markings of an uncontrolled pattern. The blade is double-edged and is fashioned to curve slightly in the distal end on the same side as the dagu. It broadens towards the handle in the conventional manner for the formation of the uring and the dagu. It has no ganja. However, it is dented on the edges in some places and the tip is a little rusty.

The handle is shaped like a deity for magical reasons. It is in a sitting position with the palms of the hands resting on the knees and with the trunk of the body leaning to the front.

I have illustrated this kēris in three positions, (a) showing the flat of the blade with the deity facing the direction of the dagu, (b) the face of the deity seen from the edge on the dagu side, and (c) the back of the deity seen from the edge on the uring side. The total length of the weapon is 22.4 cm, made up of the blade which is 17.2 cm, and the handle which measures 5.2 cm.

One would reasonably question whether this is a genuine Kēris Majapahit. There have been many imitations and Trengganu Malays are known to have made some. But most imitation specimens are much larger and thicker than this kēris which is 0.35 cm, at its thickest part near the dagu. Moreover, the fineness of workmanship and high degree of artistic skill displayed, which should be the supreme test in any such weapon, is readily revealed when this kēris is compared with its more usual and genuine types.

The possibility then remains of the weapon having been specially made by competent pandais (smiths) somewhere around the 15th century, for a high personage of that time. I said 'high personage' because, as iron was then scarce, it must have been very expensive and, renowned smiths would not have gone out of their way to make unconventional types of weapons for ordinary persons.

This Keris Majapahit belongs to Major Robert Hoey of the United States Army Liaison Office, Singapore, who bought it from a Peninsula Malay in Batavia some two months ago. This weapon was shown to him when he expressed a desire to purchase a Keris Pichit!

Glossary of terms used in this paper.

Aring: fretted and barbed metal work on the pointed side of the ganja.

Dagi: the rounded side of the ganja with or without fretted designs.

Ganja: separate piece of metal forming the guard, with a hole through it, which slips over the tang.

Keris: Malay double-edged weapon of a standard design but of varied sizes. May be straight or wavy or both combined together. Main characteristic is the uneven widening of the blade towards the hilt end where it meets the ganja (if there is one) and where the uneven widening is continued in it.

Keris Majapahit: the oldest known type of keris. Blade and hilt of one piece of metal, the latter usually in the form of a deity.

Keris Pichit: type of keris whose final process of manufacture is believed to be the pinching of the blade between the fore-finger and thumb by the smith while the metal is still red hot and then scoring the compressed portions with the thumb nail.

Pamur: damasceneing of the blade obtained by usually laminating three or more pieces of different kinds of metal together. Where meteoric iron is used, as in Keris Majapahit, the nickle in it forms the damask.

Pandai: expert smith skilled in the making of the keris.
An unusual Kēris Majapahit, by Abu Bakar bin Pawanchee.

Two Brunei Charms.

Translated by G. T. MacBryan and Mohd Yusof Shibli

The editorial to the last issue of this journal (Vol. XX, pt. I) asks for information about the texts and translations which follow this introduction. They are the first of a series of manuscripts (some lengthy) obtained by Mr. G. T. MacBryan and Mohd Yusof Shibli on a visit to Brunei just before the war. The texts are now the property of the Sarawak Museum.

These silah-silah are typically read in rotation among leading Brunei homes. They have not previously been studied or translated systematically. Indeed although Brunei has played an important part in the history of South-east Asia, our knowledge of it is pitifully weak, as Hughes-Hallet points out (J. M. B. R. A. S. Vol. XVIII, pt. 2, 1940, pp. 23-42).

I believe that this new material may throw much light, not only on Brunei, but on the general place of Borneo in culture, growth and change. Already, from a preliminary examination of other manuscripts, we can see important parallels and checks with Malacca, Johore, Java and Celebes. For many years scholarship in this part of the world has been concentrated on rather a few areas. Along with this, a certain unconscious parochialism has sometimes developed, and each scholar has tended to make his area the centre of a system, without seeing enough of the universe as a whole. Even in wider a view a few well established sites have been emphasised at the expenses of the less well-known ones.

Thus Winstedt's valuable History of Malaya (J. M. B. R. A. S. Vol. XIII, pt. 1, 1935) discusses some relevant areas (e.g. Sumatra) in detail, while others are barely mentioned; Borneo has suffered particularly in this respect. It is, in a sense, Borneo's fault—it has so far shown too little interest in itself. But the effect has been that Borneo has often been ignored in reconstructions of history, even for areas where common sense and tradition alone suggest it must have played a significant part. Again, Malayan and Indonesian scholars have been too ready to ignore tradition and legend, as if only the written word or aristocratic story had validity, whereas in fact the myth can be every bit as illuminating and sometimes provides this indispensable background to formal genealogy.

Lately, however, there have been indications of a wider view; notably from Dato Roland Braddell (J. M. B. R. A. S., XIX. pt. 1, 1941, pp. 21-74), who has at least shown the chaos of conflicting

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claims for historic names and incidents, while he also brings out the possibly major role of Borneo in Asiatic history.

Heaven forbid that we, as newcomers from Kuching, should seek to blow our own trumpets or try to "make up lost ground" (apt simile). If we can make good use of new data, however, it may perhaps act as a pepsin on a somewhat indigestible mass of other material. For example, it should illuminate the contradictions which worried (and even confounded) Winstedt and Wilkinson in their Perak history (J.M.B.R.A.S. XII, pt. 1, 1934) with regard to Saban (p. 123 et seq) and other vague but persistent figures in Malaysian tradition—the most colourful Nakhoda Ragan (Kassim), hero of Brunei too!

Naturally, from this point of view the most interesting part of our MSS material is the history and folklore of Brunei. The broad outlines, as summarised by Hughes-Hallet, have long been known, but here we have a treasure-trove of detail. A striking feature is the unusual amount of documentary information about the pagan "primitives" of Borneo, notably the Muruts, and their whole association with the Malays. It so happens that, before I knew of the existence of this material (1945-6), I had made a detailed study of the little-known Kelabit branch of the Muruts in the uplands of Central Borneo (some of their megalithic interests have already been described by E. Banks in the Sarawak Museum Journal, No. 15, 1937, pp. 411-138). We can now get a number of valuable links between their (illiterate) legendary history in the far interior, and written Malay history over the same periods on the coast.

This present text, Two Brunei Charms, happened to be the first one, experimentally translated—for the script is archaic and complex—by Mr. MacBryan and Haji Yusof, who started the work under the auspices of Mr. E. Banks, the Curator of the Sarawak Museum. They had hoped to go on to more ambitious efforts later but unfortunately the war intervened, and caused both Mr. Banks and Mr. MacBryan to cease their Sarawak Museum associations. When I returned to Kuching as Curator and Government Ethnologist in June 1947 only Haji Yusof remained (in the Secretariat for Native Affairs).

We have now renewed this work, in whatever time we can spare, and are concentrating on the historical side first. Haji Yusof will be mainly responsible for the MSS translations, and I hope to be able to co-ordinate these with corresponding folksales of the still pagan Kelabits and Muruts, as well as with the wider pattern generally.

TOM HARRISON,
Curator, Sarawak Museum.

Texts and Translations.

Here begins the first method of subordinating a human being to one’s will or of destroying her by means of the Magic Shaft of Wisdom.

Bab ini suatu putaran do’a panah marifat juga. Jikalau akan mėndatangkan orang hampir atau jauh, daripada sa-buah nėgri sa-kali pun, uėschaya gila bėrahi hati-nya képada kita; jikalau tiada bėrėmu dėngan kita, tiada ia boleh tidor dan makan. Ini yang di-surat kapada layang-layang kayu, ada-nya, (mujarrab mustajab bi-idznillahi-taala akan do’a ini kabul dan lagi makhul) maka ia-itu di-wapak sėrta nama orang itu di-masokkan dalamb-nya. Ini-lah do’a-nya:

Bismillahir-Rahmani r-Rahim. Allahumma
(‘alī bi) anta Zulaikha
bėrahi Yusuf,
y a Israfil!
y a Izrail!
y a Mikail!
y a Jibrail!

Ambilkan aku roh si-anu pėrtėmukan dėngan roh aku
Ya Allah!

Ambilkan aku badan si-anu pėrtėmukan dėngan badan aku
Ya Muhammad;

Ambilkan aku hati si-anu pėrtėmukan dėngan hati aku
Ya Rahman!

Ambilkan aku rasi si-anu pėrtėmukan dėngan rasi aku
Ya Rahim! Ya Rahim!

Ambilkan aku rong mata si-anu pėrtėmukan dėngan rong mata aku
Bėrkat Adam dėngan Hawa,
Bėrkat Daud dėngan Sulaiman,
Bėrkat Yakub dėngan Yunus,
Bėrkat Zakaria wa Yahya,
Bėrkat Muhammad Rasul Allah sallallahu alaihi wa-salam.

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 Ini-lah yang bėrnama do’a panah marifat. Ini-lah do’a yang tėrlebeh daripada sakalian do’a yang lain. Ada pun akan gũna-nya

(This is called wapak = wajak)

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Two Brunei Charms


Translation of the first method.

The Magic Shaft of Sufi

(where’n Lover & Beloved are one)

This chapter consists of one way of revolving a person’s mind by means of the magic shaft of knowledge.

If it is desired to cause a person to come to you, be she near at hand or far away, from another country altogether even; inevitably she will become so crazed that her heart will be filled with such a blind desire for you that she can neither eat nor sleep except that she meet you. This is what should be written on a piece of paper and attached to the topmost branchlet of a tree.

(The efficacy of this prayer having been proved by experience, with the permission of God, may He be exalted, may it be granted and put into force).

The charm should be written on an amulet with the name of the person to be charmed. This is the prayer:

In the name of God, the most Merciful, the Compassionate.
O God, compass for me that which I desire, a blind love such as that of Zulaikha for Yusuf;
O Israael, messenger of God;
O Izrail, guardian of the subsistence of mankind,
O Michael, sounder of the last Trumpet;
O Gabriel, Angel of Death;
Convey to me the life spirit of so and so, that it may be united with my spirit,

O God, convey to me the body of so and so, that it may be united with my body,

O Muhammad, convey to me the heart of so and so, that it may be united with my heart,

O Merciful, convey to me the guiding star of so and so, that it may be united with my star,

O Compassionate, convey to me the eye’s iris of so and so, that it may be united with my iris,

May God’s blessing be granted through Adam and Eve,
May God’s blessing be granted through David and Solomon,
May God’s blessing be granted through Jacob and Jonah,
May God’s blessing be granted through Zacharias and John,
May God’s blessing be granted through Muhammad.
May God bless and save him.

This is the prayer of “The Magic Shaft of Wisdom”. This is the prayer more potent than any other whatsoever. Its use is that if it is practised upon human beings, be they men or women, who may hate in their hearts whosoever interferes with them, they will be weakened. Or if it is desired to harm one of God’s slaves, provided always it is God’s wish and predestined, that being will be destroyed.

Should the magic shaft touch the outside of the body of a subject then his longing for you will persist incessantly for so long as he exists in this world; and if the magic shaft should touch his heart, provided always that it pleases God, may He be exalted and with His permission, the subject will be raving mad for the remainder of his life. He can never behave reasonably again unless it happens that the person who cast the spell, that is to say the person who actually wrote the amulet, cures him.

When you are about to cast a spell upon a person, you should glance at its appearance taking note if it be a man or a woman. Then you should draw a male or a female image (on cloth) from which the wick of a candle should be formed. Then concentrate on the image of the subject and call for its life spirit. When you have secured the spirit, destroy it.

* * * * * * * *

Here begins the second method of subordinating a human being or of destroying him by means of the Magic Shaft of Wisdom.

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Bermulai suatu gantian.


Sudah kemas lalu di-tunggas dengan keménvan di-bachakan 'Fatihah' sa-kali dan 'Kul-hu-allah' tiga kali sèrta di-bacha do'a ini juga.

Sa-telah di-bèri salam kapada Nabi Khudzir sèrta malaikat yang empat lalu di-habokkan kapada aver lautan yang besar, sèpèrli mèkhbar:—

Ambilkan aku tulang-nya si-anu ka-nègran tulang aku,
Ambilkan aku hati-nya si-anu ka-nègran hati aku,
Ambilkan aku jantong si-anu ka-nègran jantong aku,
Ambilkan aku lidah-nya si-anu ka-nègran lidah aku,
Ambilkan aku lempèdu-nya si-anu ka-nègran lempèdu aku,
Ambilkan aku utak-nya si-anu ka-nègran utak aku,
Ambilkan aku biji mata-nya si-anu ka-nègran biji mata aku,
Ambilkan aku nafsu-nya si-anu ka-nagran nafsu aku,
Ambilkan aku sau-nya si-anu ka-nègran sair aku,

Ya Allah! Ya Allah! Ya Allah!
Ya Muhammad!
Bukan aku èmpunya do'a ini: Allah dan Muhammad èmpunya.

(Mustajab mujarrab)

Hai Israfil!
Hai Izrail!
Hai Mikail!
Hai Jibrail!

Tolongi apa-lah! Hamba-mu minta do'a kapada Allah.
Bèrkat Isa Roh Allah!
Bèrkat Noh Habib-u'llah!
Bèrkat Daud alaihi'ssalam!
Bèrkat Huyahu!

Dan bërkat Idris!
Dan bërkat Yunus!
Dan bërkat Yusuf!
Dan bërkat Ayub!
Dan bërkat Lut!
Dan bërkat Yakub!
Dan bërkat Isahak!
Dan bërkat Ismail 'alaihi’ssalam!
Dan bërkat Sulaiman 'alaihi’ssalam!
Dan bërkat Musa Kal'm-u'llah!
Dan bërkat Saleh!
Dan bërkat Shinalah!
Dan bërkat Sheikh Abdul-Kadir Jilani!
Dan bërkat Amîr’l-muminîn Abu Bakar’l-sidîk!
Dan bërkat Baginda 'Ali!
Dan bërkat Amîr’l-muminîn 'Omar!
Dan bërkat Amîr’l-muminîn Othman!
Dan bërkat Amîr’l-muminîn Hassûn!
Dan bërkat Amîr’l-muminîn Husain!
Dan bërkat sidang sakalîn Nabi!
Dan bërkat sidang sakalîn aulîa Allah!
Dan bërkat sidang sakalîn kutub!
Dan bërkat sidang sakalîn kërarnât!
Dan bërkat sidang sakalîn malaikt!
Dan bërkat Muhammâd (wa salam) tasliman kathîra!
Ya Allah!
Ya Muhammâd!
Tolongi! Hamba-mu mina do’a kapada-mu!
(Mustajub nujarrab)
Aku panahkan kapada zat-nya si-anu,
Aku panahkan kapada baying-baying sa-anu,
Aku panahkan kapada langit, langit runtoh,
Aku panahkan kapada bumi, bumi runtoh,
Aku panahkan kapada laut, laut kêring,
Aku panahkan kapada kayu, kayu rébah,
Aku panahkan kapada bukit, bukit hanchor,

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Aku panahkan kapada gunong, gunong hanchor,
Aku panahkan kapada si-anu, di-sair Allah, sair Muhammad,
Aku panahkan kapada matahari, matahari padam,
Aku panahkan kapada maghib, maghib děkat,
Aku panahkan kapada mashrik, mashrik děkat,
Aku panahkan kapada batu, batu bělah,
Ya Allah! Ya Allah! Ya Allah!
Ya Muhammad! Ya Muhammad! Ya Muhammad!
Ya Rahman! Ya Rāhman! Ya Rahman!
Ya Rahim! Ya Rahim! Ya Rahim!
Ya Hakim! Ya Hakim! Ya Hakim!
Ya Kahar! Ya Kahar! Ya Kahar!
Ya Razzak! Ya Razzak! Ya Razzak!
Ya Rauf! Ya Rauf! Ya Rauf!
Ya Hannan! Ya Hannan! Ya! Hannan!
Ya Mannan! Ya Mannan! Ya Mannan!
Ya Razik-u-tifli-saghir!
Wa ya khair'l-Ghafirin!
Wa ya khair'l-Warithin!
Wa ya khair'l-Nasirin!
Wa ya maliki yaum'd-Din!
Wa bika yasta'in'l-mutawahidin!
Wa ya neama'l-Wakil!
Wa ya had'l-Mudhīlin!
Wa ya neama'l-Maula!
Wa ya neama'l-Nasir!
ila-allah.
Ni-imma Izrail!
Bĕrkat Mikail!
Bĕrkat Israfil!
Bĕrkat Jibrail!
Bĕrkat do'a La ilahe illa'lah,
Bĕrkat do'a Muhammad.

Translation of the second method.

This begins an alternative charm.

If it is desired to unbalance one who is far away or near at hand so that she will forthwith come to you, then you should construct a model of a sea-going ship and write that same prayer (as in the preceding method) on white cloth of which should be made its sail. And obtain some seven needles from a person left desolate by death and affix one at the top of the mast, two at the base of the mast, one at the stern of the vessel, and insert one on the right hand side of the cross-mast, and hammer one right into the bottom of the mast. Then stays should be made by joining all these points with two stranded fibres, also belonging to the person left desolate by death who should actually do the fastening.

When all is ready, straightway fumigate the vessel with incense, reciting over it the opening chapter of the Koran once and the prayer of the oneness of God three times, at the same time reciting this prayer also.

When that is completed, give the salutation to Nabi Khudzir, and to the four Guardian Angels and forthwith launch the vessel upon the water of the ocean, saying as if you were addressing a human being:—

Obtain for me the heart of so and so and deliver it at the seat of my heart,
Obtain for me the core of the heart of so and so and deliver it at the seat of the core of my heart,
Obtain for me the tongue of so and so and deliver it at the seat of my tongue,
Obtain for me the gall of so and so and deliver it at the seat of my gall,
Obtain for me the brain of so and so and deliver it at the seat of my brain,
Obtain for me the eye-ball of so and so and deliver it at the seat of my eye-ball,
Obtain for me the passion of so and so and deliver it at the seat of my passion,
Obtain for me the lust of so and so and deliver it at the seat of my lust,
O God! O God! O God!
O Muhammad!

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It is not I who own this prayer. God and Muhammad are its owners.

(The efficacy of this prayer has been proved by experience).

O Israael!
O Izrail!
O Michael!
O Gabriel!
Help me, in whatever requests your slave makes in his prayers to God.

May God's blessing be granted through Christ, spirited of God,
May God's blessing be granted through Noah, beloved of God,
May God's blessing be granted through Huya,
May God's blessing be granted through Inoch,
May God's blessing be granted through Jonah,
May God's blessing be granted through Joseph,
May God's blessing be granted through Job,
May God's blessing be granted through Lot,
May God's blessing be granted through Jacob,
May God's blessing be granted through Isaac,
May God's blessing be granted through Ishmael, on whom be peace!

May God's blessing be granted through Solomon, on whom be peace!
May God's blessing be granted through Moses,
May God's blessing be granted through Saleh the Saintly,
May God's blessing be granted through Lokman the judge,
May God's blessing be granted through Shinyalah,
May God's blessing be granted through Shaikh Abdul-Kadir Jilani,
May God's blessing be granted through Commander of the Faithful Abu-Bakar the Truthful,
May God's blessing be granted through Ali,
May God's blessing be granted through Commander of the Faithful Omar,
May God's blessing be granted through Commander of the Faithful Othman,

May God's blessing be granted through Commander of the Faithful Hassan,

May God's blessing be granted through Commander of the Faithful Hussain,

May God's blessing be granted through the assembly of the Prophets,

May God's blessing be granted through the assembly of all the saints,

May God's blessing be granted through the assembly of all the workers of wonders,

May God's blessing be granted through the assembly of all the angels,

May God's blessing be granted through Muhammad, May God grant many salutations to him.

O God! O Muhammad!

(The efficacy of this prayer has been proved by experience).

Should I release my magic shaft I can obtain the very soul of so and so,

Should I release my magic shaft I can obtain the shadow of so and so,

Should I release my magic shaft at the sky, the sky will collapse,

Should I release my magic shaft at the earth, the earth will crumble,

Should I release my magic shaft at the sea, the sea will dry up,

Should I release my magic shaft at the hills, the hills will disappear,

Should I release my magic shaft at the mountains, the mountains will dissolve,

Should I release my magic shaft at the sun, the sun will be dimmed,

Should I release my magic shaft at the sunset, it will be advanced,

Should I release my magic shaft at the sunrise, it will come near,

Should I release my magic shaft at the rocks, it will be split asunder.

O God, thrice do I call upon thee,

O Muhammad, thrice do I call upon thee,

O Merciful, thrice do I call upon thee,

O Compassionate, thrice do I call upon thee,
O Judge, thrice do I call upon thee,
O Almighty, thrice do I call upon thee,
O Razzak, the Provider, thrice do I call upon thee,
O Rauf, Preventer of troubles, thrice do I call upon thee,
O Hannan, the Tender, thrice do I call upon thee,
O Mannan, Helper in distress, thrice do I call upon thee,
O Provider of the Young and tender,
    And O Greatest of Forgivers,
    And O Greatest of Masters,
    And O Greatest of Helpers,
    And O Master of the Day of Judgement,
And thee do I beseech for help unto me the Humble one,
And O Greatest of one's to be relied upon in all affairs,
And O Guider of those who tempt others,
And O Greatest of Governors,
And O Greatest of Helpers,
    O God,
        Have mercy Izrail, Angel of Death,
        May God's blessing be granted through Michael,
        May God's blessing be granted through Israfil,
        May God's blessing be granted through Gabriel,
There is no God save only Allah,
        May God's blessing be granted Muhammad.
The Malay Kēris: its origin and development

By G. C. Woolley

The definition of what a kēris is should refer primarily to the blade only: the hilt and sheath are no doubt essential parts of a complete weapon, but these vary in different parts of the Malayan Archipelago, and a Malay examining a weapon will look first to the blade: its setting is to him, in comparison, immaterial, and if it does not suit his taste he would not hesitate about changing it.

Gardner's definition is "It is primarily a dagger with a handle set at an angle to the blade, a sort of pistol grip, in fact, to enable the wielder to thrust", but this seems to be far too vague, and under it he admits, as varieties of the kēris, the badek and tumbok bala, which, though they can be used for stabbing, are single-edged knives. I would suggest "The Kēris is a weapon of dagger or rapier form, long or short, straight or wavy, double-edged, tapering to a point, except in some cases of the Kēris Sulok, primarily for thrusting, and its essential characteristic is the widening of the blade towards the hilt to form a guard long and pointed on one side, short and rounded on the other." See Pl. XV. This widening always begins on the blade itself, but is often completed by a separate piece of metal (the ganja) which may be loose or fastened to the blade. I say primarily for thrusting so as to cover the later development of the Kēris Suluk or sundang where the blade becomes heavier and is fitted with a different type of hilt, to give a grip for a cutting blow.

The blade, in section, in the middle, may be practically flat, or slightly elliptical, or diamond shaped (particularly in the Kēris Panjang type) or with a rib down the middle of the blade sometimes very pronounced, with or without a slight thickening close to the edge, making a shallow groove on each side.

![Fig. 1. Middle Section of Kēris Blades.](image-url)
When it has been decided that a given blade is a kēris, further definitions can be added to fix its type, with reference to its shape or its pamur, its setting, its country of origin, etc.

**Origin of the Kēris.**

Crawfurd, in his 'Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands' says that the word "Kris" is an abbreviation of 'Kāris' a dagger or poniard, and that "it is probably a Malay word, now general in the Archipelago": from this Mr. Williams infers that 'it was apparently not thought necessary to invent for the weapon a new name, as would most certainly have been done had it come into existence as a separate weapon by introduction from outside or independent invention'. No form 'Kāris' however is given in Crawfurd's own dictionary, neither have I found it in Wilkinson or any other: why then should it not be regarded as a new name for a new weapon? The Spaniards in the Philippines referred to it as 'Calis': it was known there, but was obviously introduced and used by immigrant Malays, Sulus, Bugis or Ilanunns, not by the aboriginal tribes. An anonymous 'Historical Description of the Kingdom of Macassar in the East Indies', London, 1701, states that "the Cril is a weapon peculiar to the Malays, the Macassarins, the Javanese and other neighbouring islands". Again, De la Loubere in his "New Historical relation of the Kingdom of Siam", London 1693, in a list of Siamese arms, includes "Krid, a dagger which the King gives to the Mandarin: they wear it

![Fig. 2. Outlines of Swords](image)

(Two Upper Drawings), and a Typical Kēris
(Lower Drawing).

thrust into a girdle on the left side, but very much before. The Europeans do corruptly call it 'Krist': this suits a special imported weapon, worn as a token of rank by certain dignitaries, not a common national weapon in Siam.

Moreover, if the kēris was introduced from abroad, from what country did it come? It is inconceivable that all trace of it should have vanished from its country of origin: the sword was known from remote times in India, Arabia, Europe and China, all with possible connections with the Malay Archipelago by ancient or mediaeval trade routes; swords there were long or short; there were wavy blades as well as straight; but in no place is there the characteristic Malay 'ganja': the blades have no unequal widening towards the hilt though they may be set in a cross-hilted handle, or they may widen equally on each side, as in the type of iron—or bronze-age sword common all over Europe.

Before going further, it is advisable, as there are so many types of blades to get a preliminary rough classification of them and to see if there is any indication as to which type is the earliest. Such a classification may be:—

(i) straight blades, of short or medium length
(ii) wavy blades, of short or medium length
(iii) the kēris panjang, straight or wavy, to include both kēris bahari and kēris pekakak.
(iv) the cutting kēris, Kēris Sulok or Sundung. (See Pl. 1). No. (iv) is obviously a later type, developed in one district only. No. (iii) is also a later type, originating in Sumatra or the Northern part of the Peninsula. No. (ii) may be a very early form, but it is more likely to be a variation of a still earlier type as it requires additional process in manufacture: in appearance it might be thought more handsome and attractive, but for actual use old and renowned warriors are reported to have preferred the straight blade, of short length, owing to the scarcity and value of iron. Crawford, indeed, History of Indian Archipelago I p. 224, emphasises this: the kēris, he says, 'is a weapon fitter for assassination than war,' it was 'not invented for that purpose or because of a love of close combat (which is contrary to their ideas) but because of the scarcity and dearness of iron: otherwise why neglect the useful and formidable sword for the trifling ineffectual dagger?' and 'its use was continued later (i.e. when iron was more obtainable) because of conservatism and pride.'

If the kēris then was not introduced from abroad but originated in the Archipelago, there are two possible lines of investigation

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which it may be worth while to examine, even if no certainty is likely to result: these are (i) was it adapted, when iron became available, from some former type of weapon (ii) was it an original invention. Sir Richard Winstedt says that most of the evidence points to a Javanese origin, but that "it is idle to speculate" further as to whether the kérís blade is a dragon form made by dragon worshippers or modelled from the horns of butting animals or whether its continued use was due to superstitious respect or from its fitness for warfare in close jungle.

Mr. Williams suggests that the Kérís is derived from the spear which was known in the Archipelago in much earlier times—and it is in support of this theory that he quotes Crawfurd to show that 'Kérís' is not 'a new name' for a new weapon, but a mere derivative from 'kāris'. Incidentally, this argument does not seem to fit in well with the latter part of Mr. Williams' paper in which he deals with the respect paid to kérís and its alleged magical or supernatural qualities which would have justified, or required, a special new name. Mr. Williams states that the kérís "would not have developed out of the more modern patterns of Malay spear, seen in Museums today, but out of some earlier type, in use many centuries ago which has long become obsolete and, as such things do in damp tropical countries, disappeared altogether leaving no trace behind." He supposes then that as the long shaft of a spear might be inconvenient in jungle fighting or impede the owner's flight through jungle, he cut off the shaft, so as to retain the valuable blade, and found that it made quite a serviceable dagger: he then constructed a separate hilt for it, which was loosely attached, and filed down one side of the 'guard', thus making the short blunt 'dagu' on one side of the gunul, so that the long point should not scratch him if he wore his new dagger in his belt, and so got a blade which was easily convertible for use as a spearhead. In course of time clever smiths turned the deformed blunt end of the dagu into "one of the most artistic parts of a well-made weapon" which would be comfortable when worn with the short side next to the body.

It is an unconvincing argument. It postulates some primitive type of spear which is now altogether unknown, and the 'double purpose' blade is most improbable: if a man went out to fight with the blade ready on his spear shaft for the opening phase of an encounter, did he carry a loose hilt and sheath with him? A spear blade must be firmly fixed, and must be retractable: the valuable blade would be lost and its owner left defenceless if it dropped off in the course of the fight or was left sticking in a wicker or wooden shield: if the owner turned to flee, would he have time to remove the blade and fix it into his dagger hilt? The blade, when carried in his belt, would have its side against his body, not the point of

the ganja, and by the time that the artistic dagu had been evolved there were customary rules for the wearing of kĕris which prescribed when it must be worn with the tip of the hilt towards or away from the body, i.e. when the dagu would be on the top or on the lower side: if it was 'comfortable' in one position only, the sharp aring on the other side would have to be filed down also. The whole suggestion of filing down seems unnecessary, as the man would not carry a naked blade in his belt, and a sheath would protect him from any scratch. The theory also assumes that the original spear blade had projecting points at the base, which seems most unlikely, as they might act as barbs and prevent the spear being withdrawn rapidly for further use.

Mr. Williams makes the 'tentative suggestion' that the kĕris was introduced in the 14th or early 15th century, in Java, when the Majapahit power was in the ascendent: but by that time the primitive form of spear from which he thinks the kĕris was derived must already have vanished, and the earliest known form, the kĕris Majapahit with blade and hilt in one piece, the latter in the form of a god, would never have been convertible into a spear, unless indeed it was to be lashed on to the end of a wooden shaft: and a spear with such a weak blade would be a most unreliable weapon.

Mr. Gardner suggests that the kĕris has been evolved from the sting of the ikan pari, sting ray: these fish are common in Malayan waters, and the dangerous or deadly wounds that the stings could inflict would be well-known to the Malay fishermen. A specimen of a sting with the base shaved down as if it had once been fitted into a handle has been found on a prehistoric site, and other specimens have been found far inland, probably having been taken there for purposes of trade, as daggers. Even in modern times they have been used as weapons. He found that if the base of the sting was wrapped in cloth it could be held between finger and thumb for an effective thrust, and he even has one actually fitted into a kĕris hilt.

One may admit all this, but it does not follow that because an ikan pari sting may be used as an efficient thrusting weapon that it was the original from which the kĕris was derived: if the sting was wrapped in cloth at the base it would provide an equally good grip if held in the fist point up or down, as an ordinary dagger: an up-country Sakai or Jakun might value it as being unusual, but for mere efficiency a sharpened slip of bamboo would be just as good and would cost him nothing—his jungles were full of it: the sting would make a bad wound and if the small spines were left in it, the wound might fester, but the original poison would not be there for that is contained in a gland in the living fish situated at the base of the sting, not in the sting itself.

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A stronger reason for rejecting the derivation of the kēris from the ikan pari lies in the shape of the sting: the edges on the lower part of the sting are serrated with small spines pointing upwards, towards the base, and in no type of kēris are there any such serrations, and the base of the sting is without the widening towards the ganja which is an essential characteristic of the kēris, so that even if ikan pari stings were still in use as daggers at the time when the kēris was introduced, the pattern of the kēris was not based on the sting.

If the kēris was not introduced from abroad, or copied from some other form such as a spear or fish sting, it must have been an original local invention, and this is the source ascribed to it by tradition, and the best traditions assign it to Java. The peoples of the Archipelago have not the historical sense well developed, and history and mythology have no clear boundaries between them, but something of value may be found in their stories if there is any external evidence to support them. Such evidence may be found in the sculptures of the temples in Java. Crawfurd points out that the more ancient temple sculptures—perhaps because of their strict adherence to a foreign costume—show no trace of the kēris, but only depict swords and spears, but that in the temples on Mount Lawu which date from early in the 15th century there are several examples. Raffles* says that there are sculptured kēris on the temple at Sukuh which, by an inscription, can be dated as 1361-1362: one slab shows a workman making a kēris and there are several blades hanging up in his ship. One tradition, with an inclination to mythology, assigns the introduction of the kēris to the Hindu King Sakuram or Sa Putram who was born with a kēris pasopati at his side: another gives it to Panji, the well-known hero of the Panji tales: this would make it about A.D. 920, which would be perhaps too early, judging by the temple sculpture evidence, but it would be natural for people of a later date to connect the national weapon with the national hero. A third variety attributes it (Crawfurd) to Inakarto Pați, King of Janggolo, in the beginning of the 14th century A.D., which would fit in with the temple evidence. Traditions giving its origin to Bali or Celebes are too late: after the fall of the Majapahit Empire its workers in metal were scattered and the kēris became a general weapon: some of the best workmen went to these islands and news that 'the best kēris now come from Bali or Celebes' might soon become 'the kēris started there'. The attribution, given by Malacca Malays, to Hang Tuah, 1374 A.D., is merely an attempt to glorify

* The Secretary of the Royal Batavia Society writes "Raffles is quite right. On the remarkable temple at Sukuh there is a relievo, representing Bima, forging a kēris with his bare hands, using his knee as an anvil. Persons wearing kēris are represented on the beautiful temple of Panataran."

a local hero, ignoring the fact that the kēris was known long before his day, though he may have made some particular pattern fashionable in Malacca.

At the other extreme, Mr. Gardner (p. 41) quotes Dr. van Stein Callenfels as saying that the kēris Majapahit "belongs to the earliest iron age in Java, about the 7th century A.D. and that scarcely anything is known about it." No evidence is given in support of this view, and the date seems far too early, and disagrees with the temple sculpture evidence.

The sword and spear, it would seem, were known in Java from ancient times: iron must have been imported, and without iron tools the temple sculptures could not have been made, but there is no evidence that iron was obtained locally. Might it be not the case that Inakarto Pati or a workman at his court discovered or found out how to work the meteoric iron which is found in Java and also Celebes? Typical of the kēris are its pamur lines and markings and its dull rough surface: bēsi pamur means ‘mixed’ iron, i.e. iron and nickel as in meteoric iron, and it is the nickel which causes the markings. Also in Java, as in all countries, the thunderbolt or meteorite has been supposed to possess some magic or talismanic properties (legend in Raffles, Vol. 2 p. 137). The first kēris Majapahit were not suitable as actual weapons, being too small and weak, but as charms or talismans they could be valued: the hilt, in the same piece as the blade, had the form of a deity, Vishnu, whose image would consecrate and give additional efficacy to the charm. (See Pl. 1, fig. 1 & 2).

Professor H. Balfour has suggested that these Kēris Majapahit might possibly be "currency bars". In North Borneo up to the present time brass cannon were commonly used as currency: before the advent of the Chartered Company a native might be fined “one pikul” or “two pikuls” i.e. brass cannon up to that weight (one pikul = 133 lbs. taken as equivalent to $25.00 — $30.00) and for long afterwards this system was used in reckoning such things as brian (dowry). But a cannon had its own proper use in the days of piracy, and even later on, at festivals: would so much labour have been expended in making a ‘currency’ knife or dagger which was too weak to be used? A rough block, like the tin currency of Malaya, would be a much more probable form. The ‘talisman’ idea, does explain why trouble should be taken in the manufacture; and a talisman to be kept for luck would have a market value, so there seems to be no need to suggest ‘currency’ at all. The kēris might possibly have had a ceremonial use, just as now the Dusun women in Putatan and Papar in North Borneo carry a very ornamental brass knife on certain ceremonial or festal occasions.

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The Kēris Pichit Pl : 1, fig. 3 may have originated little if any later than the Kēris Majapahit: the blade was broader, very thin and weak, and made to fit a hilt: as a talisman it lost the power given by the deity of the Majapahit handle (unless the separate hilt was carved in the image of divinity) but it gained a mysterious power from the belief in its having been forged and moulded by bare hands, as shown by the finger marks impressed on the blade—a power possessed by one of the Majapahit kings, according to a tradition recorded by Raffles.

Mr. Gardner notes that modern forgeries of the Kēris Majapahit and Kēris Pichit were being made in Trengganu, the former tending to be larger and heavier with larger figures for the hilt: he also regards some Pichit blades with figure hilts, as forgeries. Wavy blades of either type, he thinks, if genuine, were certainly of later make. The wavy blade in Mr. Gardner’s opinion, may have been introduced from India and he quotes the ibex horn as a possible original for this type. The natural curves of this horn as shown in a drawing are certainly not unlike those of a three or five wave kēris, but the derivation seems rather far-fetched and does not suit the blade with nine or more waves,—moreover the actual horn is a corkscrew spiral and the kēris, though wavy, is flat.

The development and spread of the Kēris

Marsden (p. 347) says that iron was smelted in Menangkabau “from the earliest times”. When once the use of the local material had been discovered, it would not be long before clever workmen would find that the talisman could be made into an actual and serviceable weapon by combining it with imported iron, and we get the blade built up of strips of various metal forged and welded together: the central strip of imported iron or steel provided the sharp point and edge, and strength, whilst the local bēsi pamur gave the desired appearance and markings and contributed its magic or supernatural qualities to the completed weapon. Burnished steel blades do occur, especially in the Sulu and Bali types, but generally were not favoured. A first rate workman could add to its beauty by chiselled or inlaid work or gold mountings, and it was also discovered that the damascening or pamur patterns could be controlled. By about the middle of the 14th century according to Raffles the art of kēris making was reaching to the highest point, at Panajajaran in Java, under the second prince of Majapahit, and the first damasked kēris were being produced.

The countries conquered by Majapahit became familiar with the kēris and began to adopt it from their conquerors, whilst trade and piracy helped to spread it. Then came the fall of Majapahit and its workmen were scattered, and the result of all this was that the

development of the weapon took different forms in different places, though no hard and fast line can be distinguished: the key to much of the change is to be found in the spread or influence of the Muslim (Mohamedan) religion. Crawfurd puts the conversion of the Malacca Malays at about 1276, of the Javanese at about 1478, and the Celebes about 1510. Winstedt, History of Malaya, p. 56 says that Majapahit fell before the attacks of Muslim princes between 1513 and 1522. The lines of development can be classified as follows:—(i) the Bali, Lombok and Madura type, (ii) the Java- nese, (iii) the Northern or Peninsula, (iv) the Bugis, (v) the Sumatran, (vi) the Patani, (vii) the Sulu.

In all cases there the examples which are exceptional, or may be regarded as 'freaks' made to suit a special buyer, and there are small or toy weapons made perhaps for women or for boys of high birth.

Kōris types.

The basic type. The original talismanic Majapahit kōris had a hilt, as noted above, representing a deity, often seated, with the hand resting on the knees. The deity was probably Vishnu, or Siva: Vishnu rode on the Garuda, the roc, or a monster with the head of a bird and body of a man, and the Nagas, snakes, were their enemies. The Garuda form might easily have been used in place of Vishnu, but the cobra would not have come until the religious connection had been lost sight of, or deliberately ignored, and the snake form adopted in view of the snake-like wavy blade and its deadly power. Hilts were of metal—gold, silver, sunsa, ivory or wood. In the latter case, the ornamental kumuning wood was the favourite, and this was also used for the sampir and buntut though a plainer wood was often used for the central surong section, especially if it was to be covered by a metal sheath.

(i) The Bali, Lombok and Madura type. (See Pl: II & III). In these parts the Hindu religion held its ground, and on the hilt the figure of the divinity remained or, as often in Madura, became a flower with a general outline resembling that of the figure. These hilts, in silver or gold, were often massive, and very elaborately carved. In its simplest form it becomes a wooden block of somewhat cubist design. It is often seen without the metal penongkok at its base.

The sheath may be made of two pieces of wood fastened together, not with a separate sampir, and if there is a metal casing, it may have a large grotesque mask or demon's face on one side of the sampir. A rounded outline is given to the sampir, but there is a Bali type in which the side enclosing the dagu of the blade is in.

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almost a straight line with the sheath of the main blade. The tip of the sheath is rounded. The wood chosen is often very conspicuous in marking, e.g. a light ground with large blotches almost black in colour.

The blades of some of the royal kēris in the Weltverbreden Museums are long, and wider than usual. The engraving of a Madura kēris in Raffles’ History of Java (Vol. I p. 296) has a hilt which might well be of the Madura type, as it seems to be a combination of a human (or divine) figure with floral or scroll ornament, but the sheath is distinctly Javanese. The hilt of one of the three Ashmolean kēris is said by Winstedt to represent Arjuna or a demigod of the Wayang Kulit cycle: it is not so heavy as the Bali hilt, and may be Madura or Java work: the figure has long hair hanging down its back: it must date from before 1636, when it had been brought to England. The blade of this kēris may also be Madura or Javanese, as the gunja has a fretted edge though the blade is straight. Bali blades are often smooth or polished, if not actually burnished, and the pamur shows as white or light gray patterns on a dark almost black ground.

(ii) The Javanese type. Raffles says that over 100 varieties were known, and he gives a plate showing 41 of the ‘common’ ones with their names, which include the pasupati form—the kēris with which the king Sakutram was born. Some of these are straight, some wavy, but in no case are the waves very pronounced, and many of these outlines are so similar that it would take an expert to identify an actual weapon. There is no kēris Majapahit shown, and apparently no pichit, but he may have omitted these as not being ‘common’. In later times the kēris Sapukal* is understood to be a straight kēris, and kēris Sêmpana a wavy or sinuous one with from 3 to 7 ‘lok’ (curves) but No. 27 on Raffles’ plate, which is slightly wavy is called sêmpana, No. 32, which is straight, is called sêmpana bênar and No. 13 which is wavy is called sapukal. Possibly the engraver got his figures confused for in the previous plate showing the parts of the kēris and their names there is a metal (?) cover for a sheath marked ‘No. 5’, but there is No. 5 in the list of names† Crawfurd says there were 54 varieties, 21 straight and 33 wavy.

Raffles also says (Vol. I p. 329) that the Java kēris is plainer than the (Peninsular) Malayan type in blade as well as in hilt and sheath. ‘Plainer’ should not be taken to mean ‘inferior’: the reputation of the Javanese work shows this, but it may mean ‘greater simplicity’. The conquerors of Majapahit were Muslims, and

* Skeat has a note that Sêmpana bisu was used for a straight kēris.
† Perhaps this cover is the back view of the ‘Madura kēris’ sheath.

images of dieties on the kēris hilt would be anathema to a zealot. The thick squat figure seen on the Bali type disappears: the thinner upright figure with head inclined slightly forward loses its human outline and becomes a plain shape, with very little ornament, which gives a grip very much like that of a fencing foil. The Java dēnum type may of course have been made also in Java, by Javanese workmen for Javanese use, but it is more typical of the Peninsula. As has been pointed out already, no hard and fast line can be drawn and it is best merely to say what the typical Javanese form is.

![Diagram of a typical Javanese Kēris Hilt.]

**Fig. 3.** Front and side views of a typical Javanese Kēris Hilt.

The sampir of the Javanese sheath (see PI: IV) is of a light design, with rounded edges, somewhat boat-shaped, and this may be developed by lengthening the ends and curling them over. The sarong of the sheath is narrow, tapers a little, and is rounded at the point, sometimes with a solid tip of metal or ivory or ebony. The whole sheath up to the sampir is often cased in metal—brass, silver or gold, plain or chased, but an open panel may be left on one side, to show the ornamental grain of the wood, or be filled in with a slip of tortoise-shell or ivory.
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Dr. W. F. Stutterheim in his ‘Cultuurgeschiedenis van Java on Beeld’ gives on p. 148, 149 illustrations of the two sides of the blade of an ‘old kēris’, which is inlaid with figures and patterns: this may be a Bali blade, or made by a Javanese smith for a man of the old Hindu religion, but may be put in the ‘special’ or ‘freak’ class, it is by no means an ordinary weapon.

(iii) The Peninsula or Northern type. (See Pl: V). Here too, as in later Java, we get a Muslim people, but as is so clearly shown in Skeat’s ‘Malay Magic’, they were not very bigoted and were ready to overlook all sorts of pagan survivals. As the kēris became known to them and won their approval as a weapon, they may have objected to the actual representation of a pagan divinity on the hilt, but might have been ready to compromise, in order to retain the supernatural powers of the blade, on the retention of the ‘Garuda’, the bird-headed human form, but making it more of a caricature: the god’s hands come off his knees—the attitude common to gods and kings in the temples of Egypt—and are folded across the stomach, the head is lowered, and we get the Java dēnum—the man shivering with fever, but a man scarcely human enough to offend against religion. In the earlier stages the figure may have hair carved on the back of the head: this is succeeded by the bird’s crest, then the arms may be left out, and the bird’s crest, then the arms may be left out, and the bird’s head and eyes and beak be left out, or changed after passing through a ‘cobra’ phase into foliated patterns until nothing is left of human or animal form, and only the shape of the hilt remains, as it gives an admirable grip for a weapon designed for a thrust. Gardner (Notes on two uncommon varieties of the Malay Kēris) says that the seated god on the Majapahit kēris hilt has a sort of hat on the head, which, from behind, looks like a cobra with hood extended. The so-called ‘hat’, in my opinion, is really the halo-like disc often seen in representations of the gods: when the Garuda took the place of the god the halo became a bird’s crest like a cock’s comb; the cobra and cobra-hood idea, as already noted, was quite independent and occurred to men who knew and cared nothing about the proper attributes of Vishnu. The cobra idea same quite early, for the kēris of Muzaffar Shah of Malacca is said to be of 15th century work: it also shows, from the inscription inlaid in silver that a Muslim sultan was willing to wear a weapon with a snake on its blade.

Wilkinson, dictionary s.v. ‘Arn’g states that in the Peninsula fretted work under the point of the ganja is only found on sinuous blades, but that this is not the case in Java, and as authority he quotes the plate in Raffles’ History of Java which shows 41 ‘common’ varieties of blades.

The Peninsula sheath (see Pl. VI) has a large sampir, with rather square angles, the sarong is wide, tapering little, if at all, and the buntut has a square shape with a flat base. The sheath may have a metal casing: the Malacca code confined the wearing of gold-mounted kēris to certain persons of high or royal rank. The sheath might also be fitted with a band and loop of silk or silk with gold or silver thread, the tuli-tuli and batir-batir, which could be used for fastening it in the belt.

The form of sheath, if metal cased, could also give a name to the kēris, Kēris Pēndok if the casing covered the lower half of the sarong Kēris Tērapang if the whole sarong was cased, and Kēris Tērapang Gabus or Kēris Bērsalut if the sampir also was encased.

Fig. 4. Bugis (Celebes), (1) Hulu, (2) Pēndongkok, (3) Sampir, (4) Buntut.

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(iv) The Bugis type. As great traders and pirates the Bugis would be familiar with all parts of the Archipelago, and they also had intimate connections with the Peninsula, especially in Selangor. As makers of kēris they had a high reputation, but they seem to have kept to the usual patterns and to blades of moderate length, so there is little or nothing to distinguish a Bugis from a Javanese or other specimen, except that as Muslims they would not be likely to use Hindu forms. A very elaborately curved hilt might be called 'Bugis' on account of its good workmanship, but they seem to have favoured a 'Java dênum' type which starts to bend very soon, and may have little or no trace of arms or features. The sheath is like the Peninsula one, not always quite so heavy, and the bundut may be more ornamental, with an edge, not a flat base.

(v) The Sumatran type. Dr. Smaack Hurgronje in his book on the Achenese says that their weapons were the skin or klewang (glickwang), a variety of sword, and the reunchong or rincheong, a single-edged knife, and he does not include the kēris in his list. This may be an indirect support to the theory of a Hindo-Java origin, as Acheh had early connections with the Arabs. P. 104 shows 2 'Kriss d'investiture' which are of the 'Java' type both for hilt and sheath. It may be assumed that these were imported for ceremonial use. On the other hand Menangkabau was famous for its kēris, and Newbold quotes Argensola, writing in 1609, as saying "at Menangkabau excellent poniards are made, called cresces; the best weapons of all the Orient". No doubt the workmen turned out Kēris of Java or Peninsula type if required, but the special Sumatra variety was the kēris bahari or kēris penjung, a long rapier-like blade, perhaps introduced to give extra reach in an encounter with an opponent armed with a sword. The type, an encounter with an opponent armed with a sword (see Pl. VII & VIII). The type, once introduced, was repeated with blades of ordinary or even short length—the kēris alang and kēris pendei. Bahari, Wilkinson, means 'young', vernal, or is simply a complimentary term, e.g. zaman yang bahari 'the good old times'; a Brunei Malay told me that the type, if wavy, was called Rēnti, and if straight Anjur or Hanjur; he could not explain the meaning of these words, but Wilkinson (1901 ed.) gives Pēnganjur as "The officer who hears the sword of state before a Raja". It is also called Kēris Pēngalang because that type was generally used for executions.

The bahari blade is long and narrow, sometimes flat, or diamond-shaped in section, but sometimes with a raised rib running down the middle: it may have pamur, or have a plain dull black surface, not unlike black sandpaper, but there are also cases where it has a smooth or almost burnished surface, when it called Kēris Mēlela. The Kēris Mēlela belonging to the Sultan of Kelantan.
described by Dr. Gimlette, 'Malay Poisons', p. 7, may have been one of the shorter form of the Sumatran type: Dr. Gimlette says it was short and straight and had no damask (besi mélula means undamasked steel) and was reputed to have magic power although the lack of damask, which the meteorite besi pamur produced, might be thought to involve the loss of it.

The typical hilt follows the general outline of the Java pattern, though a blade will often be found fitted with a hilt of the Java dēmu Peninsula type, doubtless to suit the taste of the owner. The longer Java pattern gives a better balance in the hand—more like the handle of a foil—but the plain Java design is given more ornament, and the tip is often of a flower-like or foliated design.

The sampir of the sheath combines the Java and Peninsula types; the two ends may be rather high, and the rest not so square and heavy as the Peninsula type. The strong is narrow, may have a number of silver bands, and may end on a rounded point, or, especially if metal-cased, in a square bumalat. A reason for the square tip, given to me by a Brunei Malay, was that the kēris could be worn at the back, and in an emergency a kick with the heel would jerk the blade up and enable the hilt to be grasped and the blade drawn over the shoulder. Gardner mentions the same trick, but neither of us have been able to see it demonstrated. The name Kēris Tunjang refers to this.

(vi) The Patani type. (See PI: IX.) This is also called the Kēris Pēkaka or Pēkakak 'The Kingfisher'. This is reference to the hilt, which may be derived from the bird-headed Garuda, but it is often much more like a demon, or one of the gods or demigods of the Wayang Kulit, though they do not have such long noses. It is worth remembering, however, that the Wayang Kulit was, and still is, very popular in Patani. Firth, 'Malay Fisherman' p. 18, speaking of some of the Kelantan boats, say that "the crutches to hold mast and sails on board when taken down are often highly sculptured in floral or bird designs, and even occasionally in the form of a figure from the local shadow-play." Whether the Ashmolean kēris with the broken nose is to be put down to Patani or Java is open to question. A form of hilt showing a demon head with the teeth and tusks and a long nose, though not a beak like the 'kingfisher' type, is given by Professor Bezemer in Indonesian Arts & Crafts, Nederlandsch Indie, Oude en Nieuw as 'Javanese'. This may be an early type of the Kēris Patani and show a connection with the old Hindu religion and the Wayang Kulit plays. The Patani blade is fairly long, and may be almost or quite as long as a Kēris Bahari. A blade of Mr. Gardner's which is fitted with a Pēkakak hilt, has 31 waves.
The sheath resembles that of the Kēris Bahari. Javanese influence coming through Menangkabau and Sumatra, as well as direct, was strong in the Patani district, and may explain why a Kēris of Sumatran type with a hilt recalling the Wayang Kulit should often have been chosen rather than one of the Peninsula or Bugis design.

(vii) The Kēris Suluk type. (See Pl. X & XI). This type is a very well defined development of the original kēris in the Peninsula it even has a distinct name, the sundang, but in Borneo it is always called either kēris simply or Kēris Suluk as opposed to Kēris Jawa or Kēris Bugis. The Suluk wanted a cutting rather than a thrusting weapon, perhaps as being more suited for piratical attacks at sea, a straight heavy type the Rajaah Laut—so they designed a new hilt, but retained the characteristic blade with a ganja.

**Blades.**

Some are still fairly short and light, but the tendency is towards extra weight and length, and the point is almost rounded. They may show pamur down the centre of the blade, often with a broad plain edge, or even the whole blade may be smooth if not actually burnished: in these cases there is often a floral design or an Arabic inscription inlaid in silver. Blade are straight or wavy, and often have a groove, or two grooves, with a ridge between, running down nearly to the point, with the pamur showing only in the grooves.

The hilt is set at a slight angle, leaning towards the dagu, with an upward crest on the upper, a-ring, side and a downwards prong on the lower side, which prevents the hand from slipping. It is made of wood or ivory or metal, and the grip is bound with plaited rings of rotan or silver or brass wire. There is also a metal loop on one or both sides of the blade which is held by the serrated edge of the a-ring or janggut, and is connected to a flat metal strip which runs up the hilt and is held there by the rotan or wire rings: the object is to prevent the blade from getting loose and twisting round when a blow is struck.

The sheath generally has a separate sampir of Peninsula or Bugis type, but occasionally the whole sheath is made of two pieces of wood stuck together with hands of metal or rotan. The bunlut, if there is one, is of any type, Java, Peninsula or Bugis.

**Kēris Manufacture.**

The actual process of manufacture in modern times—and there is no reason to suppose that it has changed in any essential since early days—is given by W. Rosenhain, *Notes on Malay Metal—1947* Royal Asiatic Society.
work, Journal Anthropological Institute, Vol. 31 February 1901, and again by J. H. N. Evans, *Ethnology and Archaeology of the Malay Peninsula*, p. 55, and Gardner, *Kēris and Other Malay Weapons*. A rough summary is that strips of different metals, when welded together, make up a laminated bar and the edges of laminations produce marks or lines, which are the *pamur*: this pattern is finally brought out by an acid bath which eats away parts of the softer metals and may also increase its visibility by altering the colour of some of the metals. The earliest workers could produce hair-like lines only but later smiths found out how to control the *pamur* markings and to produce any required pattern.

**Pamur.**

The nature of the *pamur* took an important part in deciding if a weapon was lucky or unlucky for any given purpose: one lucky for trade might be bad for war. Newbold, British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca, Vol. 2, p. 202, gives a translation of a Malay Manuscript on this subject and Wustedt's English-Malay Dictionary, s.v. 'damask' gives a long list of names of *pamur*, but to attempt the compilation of a complete list, though interesting to a collector, would not repay the time and trouble involved. The names are often fanciful and based on very far-fetched analogies—e.g. "fish-navel" or "the grass hopper's legs" and probably the names varied in different districts. Newbold gives a plate, apparently copied from diagrams in his Malay Manuscript showing ten forms described, but Professor W. W. Skeat's copy of this book has pencilled notes giving different *pamur* names to several of them.

One legend said that the straight *pamur* lines were derived from the hair of a girl who was sacrificed when the manufacture of the blade was begun, in order that her spirit might enter into it.

**Kēris Measurements.**

Various systems of measurements have been recorded by Newbold, Skeat, Gardner, Keith, Evans and others, but it is not necessary to repeat them here in detail. They fall into two classes, (a) comparative measurements depending only on the blade itself, e.g. the number of times that the width of a blade at a given place will go into its length, (b) a combination of a blade measurement with a personal measure of the owner, e.g. the width of his thumb joint compared with the length of the blade, with a formula of the 'soldier, sailor, tinker, tailor' type. The results will show whether a blade is lucky or unlucky either in itself or for a particular owner.

**Kēris Magic.**

It has already been suggested that the *kēris* in its original form in Majapahit had a magical or talismanic value rather than as
an actual weapon, being made from meteoric ore with supernatural qualities, strengthened by the figure of the god on the hilt. It cannot have been long, however, before the smiths thought of adding other metals and so forming a serviceable weapon. The introduction of Islam was bound to modify this: the figure of the god himself had to go, but, if one was not too strict, some type of monster or jin might be allowed, and be as efficient: the hési pamur, the supernatural ore, could still be used, and power be ascribed to the foreign metal: a kérís must have three kinds of iron, a good kérís would have more: the kérís of Hang Tuah was made up of 20 kinds, and in the story books the steel of the hero’s kérís was taken from “what was left over from the making of the bolt of the Ka’aba at Mecca”: it could kill a man if driven into his footprints in the sand, or poison the fish at the river’s mouth if washed in the headwaters. An Islamic magic could thus replace the Hindu, and the head of the deadly cobra could supersede the Garuda either deliberately or by a mistaken identification. Skeat, Malay Magic, p. 4, quotes from a Malay charm book’s account of the Creation, which describes a very anthropomorphic serpent, perhaps related to the Indian Nagas which in old sculptures are represented as having human form with a snake attached to their back and its headed head rising behind their necks. Some such figure may have suggested to a Malay workman the Jawa dæmam type of hilt, which varies from an accurate representation of the human form to one in which nothing but the hood is recognisable.

A kérís bérluaḥ might wound or destroy a man if it was merely pointed at him: the Bali carved kérís holders all hold the kérís point downwards: when on Malay ceremonial occasions, a kérís was carried on a cushion it must have pointed somewhere, but as it was not held in the hand the magic power perhaps was not evoked. McNair (p. 304) quotes an edict by the Sultan of Menangkabau, the preamble of which describes him as possessed of “a kérís formed of the soul of steel, which by a noise expresses its unwillingness at being sheathed, and shows itself pleased when drawn: of a date co-eval with the creation.”

The old stories of the ‘poisoned’ kérís may also have been started by these stories of its magic power. There is no clear evidence that blades were actually poisoned, even in older times, though poison was used for arrows and blow-pipe darts. The roughness of the blade, would naturally cause a rather jagged and dangerous wound, and the acids and sulphur and arsenic which were used in the manufacturing and cleaning processes might well tend to make any wound septic.

Kérís in the regalia. In spite of the respect paid to it and the powers attributed to it, the kérís had sometimes to give place
to the sword and spear, perhaps because the latter was the older weapon but Curtis seems to go too far when he says that for this reason the keris, though a royal weapon, does not form part of any coronation regalia. The Malay Annals, it is true, do not include a keris in the list of Perak regalia, but Swettenham (British Malaya p. 210) gives a photograph of 'Perak regalia' which shows four. Skeat (Malay Magic p. 26) includes a Keris Panjang, the Bêrok Bêrayun, in the Selangor regalia and in Jelebu a sword pedang pêmanuch and a keris panjang.

Caldecot says that the keris pêkaku of Jelebu was named Sigar jantau—why, he could not say, but no unimportant weapon would have a special name: this keris was also associated with a spirit called Biring Bêrkilang who guarded the Penghulus of Jelebu.

Newbold records a keris said to have come from Majapahit, in the regalia of the Bali State of Kloukong, and Collet illustrates a 'Kris d'investiture' from Acheh. Perhaps a distinction should be drawn between articles actually used in the Installation ceremony (tabal) and those brought out on other state occasions. In Remban (Parr and Macray, Journal of the S.B.R.A.S. No. 51) the Undang might display a naked keris panjang, and at an Undang's funeral four naked straight-bladed keris panjang are displayed in court-yard.

Wilkinson, Papers on Malay Subjects. Life and Customs, Pt. 1 states that 'at his Coronation a Sultan wears... a gold-sheathed keris, a golden-hilted sword and a silver seal. A Perak prince at his wedding does not wear the two last: the reason is breast ornaments, bracelets and keris are true regalia: the sword and seal are dynastic heirlooms, so the bridegroom does not copy them.' Winstedt, Papers on Malay Subjects. Life and Customs, Pt. 1 p. 74 says that the Sultan of Perak must wear the Keris pesluka at his installation, though the sword Chura si-manjakini is the most important of the all the regalia. The keris, which had no tradition or history attached to it, was also known as Keris têrjewa lok tima.

The Wearing of the Keris.

The anonymous Historical Description of Macassar says 'Sometimes 2 Cris are carried, one in each hand, that is the left is used for guarding; very much, one might think, as in the European 'sword and dagger' duels. Skeat has a note that Malays never, as a rule, carry more than two, one long and one short. Raffles (Vol. II p. 91) says that the Javanese, in full war costume, carry three, one on each side and one behind, one being a weapon of his own selection, one a pesaka heirloom, and one given to him on his marriage by his father-in-law, this last being worn on the left side for immediate use. Chester states that in the Peninsula it
is the kēris of the man's own choice which is worn on the left side. In ordinary dress, Raffles (see PI: XII, XIII & XIV) says that every Javanese carries one kēris, and in Court dress a knife of the kind called wedang is worn on the left side and one kēris stuck in the waist band, behind on the right side; in his illustration the kēris hilt projects in front of the right elbow. In other plates he shows a Madurese' wearing the kēris behind but with its hilt projecting behind the wearer's left arm and 'A Regent of Java, in undress' wears it behind. Crawfurd, History of Indian Archipelago, I p. 213, says 'in full dress, 2 or 3 or even 4 kēris are worn; their value and beauty are a test of rank and wealth'. In a photograph published in a Japanese paper in 1913 or 1914 showing the three great princes of Java at a meeting with the Japanese C. in C. or Governor of Java, each wears a short kēris, perpendicular, in his belt at the middle of his back.

The laws of Malacca—and doubtless other states had their own similar regulations—laid down rules as to who might wear a kēris with a gold hilt or sheath encased in gold, when the tip of the hilt was to be worn, in peaceful fashion, turned towards the body, or when, ready for action, with the tip pointing outwards, and again when, at Court, the hilt was to be concealed under a fold of the sarong.

**Execution by the kēris.**

In some cases the Sultan sent his own kēris to be used at an execution, to signify his consent or approval.

The condemned man was made to sit but there was no rule as to his being bound; in some cases an assistant may have stood on either side, holding an arm. The executioner stood behind, and placed the point of the kēris on a small pad of cotton-wool behind or over the collar bone on the left side (Newbold, Vol. 1 p. 237, describes an actual case when the kēris was used on the right side—perhaps the executioner chose whichever was more convenient to himself) the blade being held perpendicular, and it was then driven down to the heart. The sentence may have directed that the thrust should be made quickly or slowly. The use of the cotton-wool was important, it was to prevent a flow of blood, and was held in place with one hand as the blade was withdrawn. Caldecot, in his paper on Jelebu states that only the Ruler could use the beheading sword for executions, as it shed blood: the Pênghulu could use the kēris with its pad of wool.

**Acknowledgements.**

I have to express my thanks to Professor E. Evans-Pritchard of the Institute of Social Anthropology, Oxford, and to Miss P. H.

Puckle, the Secretary and librarian of the Institute, for permission to make use of its rooms and library, which includes many books from the library of Professor W. W. Skeat, some of which bear copious marginal notes by him. I also owe a great deal to Enche' Abu Bakar bin Pawanchee of the Raffles Museum, Singapore, who not only gave me valuable criticisms and suggestions, but typed out the whole of my somewhat illegible MSS, and prepared the line drawings and illustrations which do so much to elucidate the text. To the Secretary of the Royal Batavian Society I am indebted for a note on the temple sculptures in Java, and references to various books and papers: unfortunately I have not been able to consult these, as I am not at present within reach of the Raffles Library or any similar institution.

G. C. Woolley.

Note on the illustrations.

Most of the drawings have been made from specimens in Raffles Museum, Singapore. Some have been based on prints from certain publications because of expediency or where there are no such specimens in the museum. Where these occur, only essential points have been taken. For example, plates XII, XIII, and XIV have been made from Raffles' History of Java with the background and all unnecessary details left out. In plate XV a member of the museum staff kindly held the kāris in the required positions.

The following list shows from what publications some of the drawings have been based and are therefore acknowledged as such:


Plate XII. Raffles' History of Java. Nos. 1 & 2.

Plate XIII. Raffles' History of Java. Nos. 1 & 2.

Plate XIV. Raffles' History of Java. Nos. 1 & 2.

All the text figures have been drawn from the museum specimens.

Abu Bakar bin Pawanchee.

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Plate I. Types of Kéris Blades.

PLATE III. Development of Madurese Kèris Hiltts and Sheaths.
PLATE VII. Sumatran Keris Pajang and Sheath.
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PLATE XI. Types of Kèris Suluk (Sundang) Hills and Sheaths.
PLATE XII. (1) Raden (Javanese Prince) Wearing Kēris.
(2) Mēntri (Madurese State Minister) Wearing Kēris.
PLATE XIII. (1) Javanese Peasant Wearing Kéris.
(2) Javanese Chief Wearing Kéris,
Figure XIV. (1) Javanese Warrior Wearing Two Kéris. (2) Javanese in Court Dress, Wearing Kéris & Wedung.
Plate XV. Grip of, (1) Kēris Panjang seen from below, (2) with arm outstretched, (3) Common Kēris, seen from below, (4) with arm outstretched.
Glossary of Kēris Terms.

Alang: medium. K. Alang, a Sumatran type of medium length. (Also called K. Anak Alang, Skeat).

Angiti: (Bajau) the wire or rotan binding round the grip of the K. Suluk hilt.

Aring: fretted work under the pointed end of the ganja.

Asang-asang: (Bajau) the metal hook or ring that helps to fasten the blade of the K. Suluk to the hilt. See also Lakui-lakai and Stigi.


Awar = pénongkók. (G. C. W.)

Bahari: a complimentary term 'good'. v. K. Bahari.

Bari: a variant for Bahari.

Batang: the part of the sheath which covers the blade = surong (Dennis).

Batu-batir: gold loop ornament on the kēris sheath through which the tubi-tubi passes.

Bawang: b. kēris, the metal cup at the base of k. hilt.

Bawang: a bulb. v. K. Bawang.

Beka: a name for Pēlai tree. v. K. Buah Beka.

Bekang: K. Sudu Bekang, a trowel-like k.

Bēlas: elephant's trunk. A projection on the ganja of a kēris under the daju = Tulata (Java) or Kuku Alang.

Bēlurah: a groove in k. blade. (Skeat).

Bēluk: wavy, smooon, of k. blade.

Bēlpamur: damascened.

Bēsi: iron or steel.

Betala: (mentioned in Newbold. in MSS quoted but not explained). Buntu: a metal sheath casing with no slit in it (Gardner).

Buntu: posterior, butt-end: chap of a k. sheath = sumpak surong k.

Chamang: chap of k. sheath (= buntol) when made of precious metal and adorned.

Chērana: K. Cherina a k. with 9 or more waves (Skeat. 13-19).


Choban: a rough needle of horn or bamboo. v. K. Choban.

Dagu: chin, the short broad end of the ganja in a k. Burok Dagu, the rough natural corner under the ganja Rēlak Burok Dagu, a 'lucky' crack under the ganja.

Dongkok: = pēnongkók, metal cup at base of hilt.

Dulang-dulang: metal cup at base of k. hilt.

Duri Pandan: ornamentation on top of a k. blade, at back (Skeat), (? = janggu).

Ekor buaya: crocodile tail; a tool use in k. making.

Ekor Udang: prawn's tail; the back, long pointed end, of a ganja (Skeat).

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Gabus: *K. Têrapang* Gabus, a k. with the whole sheath, including the *sampir*, covered with gold plate.

Gandik: top of k. blade, under the *daqn* (Gardner, q.v. *gandin*).

Ganjá: Collar guard on k. blade: if made in one piece with the blade, *G. iras*; if separately, *G. mêmumpang*; if made with a fretted pattern on the underside, *G. rawin*, *G. bêrêrawang*.

Harubi: a k. with a golden hilt, also *mêruhibi*.

Hujong: the point, tip, of a blade, also *ujông*.

Hulu: the head, handle, hilt, also *ulu*.

Iras: parent stock, original block, v. *Ganjá iras*.

Janggut: beard; the fretted edge at the top of the blade under the *aanja* (Raffles).

Kachang-kachang: ornamentation on top of k. blade, in front (Skeat). (? = *janggut*).

Kalok: a crook, bend *lok, kelok, K. Bêrkalo, a wavy sinuous k.*

Kambing kachang: the hollow in the middle of the blade just under the *ganja* (Gardner), also *awak* (G. C. W. Brunei).

Kenchana: *ulu* k.; gold-hilted.

Kêris: the Malay dagger, also spelt, in English books, kris, kriss, creese, creese.

Kêris: the following meanings, where not otherwise stated, are those given in Wilkinson’s M-E dictionary. A number of other Javanese names are also given on the plate showing 41 ‘common’ varieties in Raffles’ History of Java.

K. Anák Alang: another name for *K. Alang* (Skeat).

K. Anùs: a *K. Suluk* with 21 or more waves (Banks).

K. Añjur: Brunei name for the *K. Paujang* of Sumatra. (G. C. W.)

K. Apit Liang: a *K. Suluk* with 5 waves. (Banks).

K. Bahari: a k. with a long narrow straight blade. Sumatran or Patani.


K. Bawang: or *Bawang su-Bonkol*, a gold-handle k.

K. Bêlingkong: a *K. Suluk* with 3 waves (Banks).

K. Bêrkalo: a wavy, sinuous k.

K. Bêrê: a wavy, sinuous k.

K. Bêrêpamor: a k. with a laminated or damasked blade.

K. Bêrsalut: a k. with a metal sheathing on the scabbard.

K. Buah Bekan: a trawl-like k. with a blade like *Pêlai* fruit, i.e. broad and rounded, (a k. with a rounded point Gardner).

K. Bugis: a k. of which the handle stands out at right angles.

K. Chêrita: a k. with 9 or more waves. (Skeat, in note on Newbold, with 11-13 waves; in note in Wilkinson’s dictionary, with 13-19 waves).

K. Choban: a k. with twin grooves down the centre of the blade, leaving a needle-like projection down the centre (Gardner).

K. Gâjah Tikor (? Likor): a k. with one wave *di-pangkal* (Skeat).

K. Hanuman: a k. with a monkey head under the dagu.
K. Harubi: a k. with a gold hilt, also mērubī.
K. Jalak Jantan: a straight k. which has no kachang-kachang (Sk eat).
K. Jalar Jantan: a k. with blade set at a slight angle to the hilt (Gardner).
K. Jawa Dēmān
K. Jawa Dēmu: a k. with a hilt of the 'fevered Javanese' type, or
K. Jawa Gīgil "Garuda' or 'Cobra' or raksaka (demon) type.
K. Jawa Sējok
K. Jēnaya: a Kēris Suluk with 7 waves (Banks).
K. Kakatua: a k. with a cockatoo hilt.
K. Lamba: a k. with 3 waves di-tēngah (Sk eat).
K. Langsunyar Bisa: (Wilkinson, s. v. 'Kēris' not explained).
K. Lemona: a k. with 21-31 waves (Sk eat).
K. Majapahit: earliest term of k.; hilt and blade in one piece.
K. Mēhel: a k. with a plain steel, undamasked blade.
K. Mērubī: a gold-hilted k.; also harubi.
K. Naga: a k. with a dragon down the centre of the blade.
K. Pandak: a short k. of Sumatran type.
K. Panjang: the long Sumatran type k.
K. Parong: a k. with 7 or less waves. (Sk eat, with 3 waves.
K. Parong Sari: or, elsewhere 15-29 or 21-29 waves).
K. Pasupatā: a Javanese type k. (illus. in Raflles).
K. Patani: the Patani type k.
K. Pēkakak: the Kingfisher hilted Patani type k.
K. Pēndek: = K. Pandak.
K. Pēndok: a k. with gold casing at bottom of scabbard.
K. Pēndua: a second or reserve k.
K. Pēnumbul: a k. with 5 waves (Sk eat).
K. Pēnyalang: the long Sumatran execution k.
K. Pēchit: a k. with 'finger-marks' showing on the blade.
K. Raja Laut: a K. Suluk with a straight blade (Banks).
K. Rantai: a K. Suluk with 9-19 waves (Banks).
K. Rēm: Brunei name for Sumatran type k. with many waves (G. C. W.)
K. Sapukul: a straight-bladed k.
K. Sēmpana: a wavy, simmons k. with 3, 5 or 1 waves. (5-7 Gardner).
K. Sēmpana Kēling: a k. with 3 waves (Gardner).
K. Sēmpana Bisa: a straight k. (Sk eat).
K. Sōnak Udang: a 3-waved royal k. in Raman. Sōnak = sting.
K. Sudu Bekang: 'cake-spoon', a trowel-shaped type of k.
K. Suluk: the Sulu sword-kēris, also called sundung.
K. Surau: (Wilkinson, s. v. 'kēris' but not explained.)
K. Tajang: = K. Patani, vide Tajang.
K. Tambang Sarai: a k. with 13 or 15 waves (Gardner).
K. Tējewa: = K. Tērjewa.
K. Tērapang: a k. with gold casing on whole sheath except the *sampir*, (in Menangkabau, on whole sheath).
K. Tērapang Gabus: a k. with gold casing over the *whole* sheath (including the *sampir*).
K. Tērjewa: a k. with 5 waves, in Perak regalia (Winstedt); with 1 wave *di-ujong* (Skeat); with 3 waves *di-ujong* (Skeat).
K. Tētarapan: a k. with a hollow along the blade.
K. Tuasik: a k. with 7-9 waves (Skeat).
Khērsanī: ḏēsī k. irong from Persian Gulf, Khorasan.
Kuku Alang: ‘hawk claw’ *bēlahai gajah*.
Kukut: *tulang k.* raised rib down centre of blade.

Lakai-lakai: (Brunei) the metal hook or ring that helps to fasten the blade of the K. *Suuk* to the hilt. see also *Asang-asang* and *Siçi*.
Lambai: *lambai gajah* = elephant’s tusk, a projection on the *ganja* end of k. blade = *lidah tióng*.
Lidah Tióng: *Tióng*’s tongue = *lambai gajah*, above the *bēlahai gajah*.
Lok: a wave in a k. blade.

Majapahit: Hindu-Javanese state, 1294-1400.
Mata: eye. Blade or cutting edge of weapon; the point, tip.
Mēlēha: undamasked.
Mērubi: gold-hilted = harubi.

Pajajaran: Javanese kingdom, 1300-1500 (associated like Majapahit with the oldest k.)
Paksi: the tang of a blade = *puting* or *tangkal*.
Panur: mixed i.e. meteoric iron, the damask on a k. made by the use of *bēsī panur*: in later times the pattern could be controlled and ornamented damasks be produced.
Pandak: short = *pēndek*, especially of the short Sumatran type of k. *Panjang*: long, especially of the long Sumatran rapier-keris.

Pasupati: a name of a Javanese type of k.
Patani: *Kēris P.*, the ‘kingfisher-hilt’ type.
Pēkakak: Kingfisher, K. *Pēkakak* = the Patani k.
Pēmendak: the cup-like ring at base of k. hilt = *pēnongkok*, *pēndongkok*.
Pēndek: short = *pandak*, especially of short Sumatran type of k.
Pēndon: metal casing on lower part of *kēris* sheath.
Pēndonkok: the cup-like ring at base of k. hilt = *pēnongkok*.
Pēndwaw: K. *Pēndwaw*, a second or reserve k.
Pēnimbul: K. *Pēnimbul*, a k. with 5 waves. (Skeat).
Pēnongkok: = *pēndonkok*.
Pēnyalang: K. *Pēnyalang*, the long execution k.

Pichit: K. Pichit, a k. forged by finger pressure.

Puting: the head or shank of a blade.

Röktak: a crack or crack-marking on k. R. Bandul, near the aring, is lucky; R. Dagu Burok at broad end of ganja, in a straight k. R. Mayat, ‘Corpse grooves’ (Skeat, Malay Magic, p. 30) start from the base of the blade.

Sampak: S. Sampak = Buntul, chap of Sheat.

Sampir: Sampiran, the cross-piece of k. sheath.

Sapukal: K. Sapukal, a straight k. (Peninsula). Javanese sapukal (v. illust. in Raffles Hist. of Java) is not always straight; also = ganja iras, a k. hammered out of one piece — sapukal — without a separate piece added as ganja.

Sari: flower-like. K. Parong Sari, a k. of 5 or 7 waves (Wilkinson) vide ‘Parong’.

Sarong: sheath, strictly the part covering the blade as distinct from the sampir and buntul.

Sélarak: a metal sheath casing with a slit closed at the top (Gardner).

Sëmpana: K. Sëmpa, a sinuous k. with 3, 5 or 7 waves (Skeat, 5 waves).

Sigi: band of thin metal round a k. sheath. Also (Gardner) the metal hook that helps to fasten the blade of the K. Saluk to the hill. See also Asang-asang and Lukai-lukai.

Silang: cross-wise. Silang k. the long, sharp end of the ganja.

Sudu: S. Beka, a variety of k. with a short broad blade.

Sundang: the Sulu K. Saluk.

Suru: name of the traditional maker of the K. Pichil.

Tajang: kicking with the heel. K. Tajang, a name for the K. Putané because it was worn at the back and could be ‘kicked up’ to be drawn over the shoulder. Also (Skeat) a k. with 3 waves.

Tangkai: stalk, the tang of a blade = puting, puki.

Tapet: a metal sheath casing with a slit in it (Gardner).

Teras: the cutting edge of a k. covered with wax when the blade is treated with acid to bring out the pamur (Skeat).

Telitu: the centre part of blade, treated with acid to bring out the pamur (Skeat).

Térápang: a gold casing over the sheath of a Malay k.; if it covers the sampir also, it is K. Térápang Gabus; in Menangkabau térápang covers the whole.

Terasck: a k. with 9-13 waves (Skeat).

Tétérapan: K. Tétérapan, a k. with a hollow along the blade.

Tuah: bërluah, lucky, luck-giving, of a talisman, etc.

Tulang: bone; the raised centre rib down the blade (Gardner) or kuku.

Tulì-tulì: the silver — or gold-thread loop attach to sheath of k.

Tuntong: the point of a k.

Warangka: = sampir (Javanese), the cross-piece of a sheath.

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Journal Malayan Branch [Vol. XX, Part II,
The Malay Keris: its origin and Development


The Secretary of the Royal Batavia Society has sent me the following list of works in Dutch concerning the Temple Sculptures:

(A). On Tjandi Sukui:
Dr. Martha A. Muusses. De oudboden te Soekoeh, (with photographs of Bima forging the Keris).

"Djawa", (a monthly magazine), September, 1924. Further illustrations on the same subject.

Dr. W. F. Stutterheim. Enkele oudboden van Java en elders, Chapter I "Bijl of Koedi", (illustrated as before) in "Djawa" 1936.

(B). On Tjandi Panataran:
Dr. J. L. A. Brandes, Beschrijving van Tjandi Singasari en de wolkentenneelen van Panataran, Batavia, 1909.

Dr. W. F. Stutterheim, Rama-legenden und Rama-reliefs in Indnesia, Teil. II. Die Rama-reliefs van Panataran.

A search in the "Oudheidkundig Verslag" (reports of the Government Archaeological Services), might also produce references.
A Note on Sai

By W. Linehan

The Portuguese writer, d’Eredia, writing in 1613 A.D., mentioned the river Cea as a gold-producing area. Cea has been identified by Mr. Justice Mills in his translation of d’Eredia (J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. VIII, Pt. I, 1930) with the Sai or Telubin delta in Patani.

The late Mr. V. B. C. Baker (J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XV, Pt. I, pp. 27-8) unwittingly referred to my "History of Pahang" (J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XIV, Pt. II, 1936) in such terms as would lead it to be believed that I had made mention of Sai therein. Mr. Anker Rentse (J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XX, Pt. I, 1947, pp. 24-5), following Mr. Baker’s account, also credits me with the mention of Sai. In fact there is not a single reference to Sai in my "History".

Mr. Baker appears to have thought that when the Malays spoke of orang Siam they meant “the men of Sai”. But, although Sai was a territory situated within the jurisdiction of Siam, the Malays never confused the names Siam and Sai. To them Sai meant the territory of that name in Siam, while Siam meant the country of Siam (and orang Siam meant the men of the country of Siam, from whatever stock they came).

Although Mr. Baker’s conjecture that, in the eyes of the Malays, the word Siam was equivalent to Sai is not correct, it is highly probable that he is right in his view that it was miners from Sai, entering Pahang by the Galas river and by Pulai (the route followed by the pre-war eastern railway) who played a notable part in developing some of the gold-fields in Ulu Pahang. In the Mukim of Gua, in the vicinity of the gold-field of the river Tui—prehistoric finds in which were described by Mr. Tweedie in J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XX, Pt. I, 1947—is a place-name, Gua Sai, “the Cave of Sai.”

Sai, at one period, was included in the kingdom of Patani. The rebellion of Patani against Siam in 1830—1831 resulted in its dismemberment into the petty States of Sai, Legeh, Jala, Jaring, Reman (or Raman), Nongchik and the present attenuated province of Patani.

Journal Malayan Branch [Vol. XX, Part, II.]
The Sources of the Shellabear Text of the Malay Annals

By W. Linehan

Shellabear, in the introduction to his Jawi edition of the Malay Annals, (Singapore, 1896), mentions the materials on which he based his text. These were as follows:

(1) Leyden's translation, London, 1821, (to which further reference is made below).

(2) A copy of an edition printed in Singapore (probably at the Mission Press subsequent to the year 1831) and obtained by Shellabear in the Logan Library, Singapore. It was without either date, imprint or title page, but had an introduction, probably by Abdullah Munsiri, who, however, did not indicate the source from which he got his materials. "The text of this old Singapore edition has ever since been considered as the standard". Shellabear based his edition mainly on this text.

(3) An uncompleted revised edition by M. Ed. Dulaupier (Imprimerie Nationale, Paris, 1849) almost identical with (2), but written after comparison with Leyden's translation, and with a MS. "A" which Pijnappel, in his account of the Malay MS. in the Leiden Library, considered to be the best of the MS. of the Malay Annals in that collection.


(5) An edition, printed in Holland in 1884, reproduced from (2) but with parts of Abdullah's introduction and sections of the text omitted.

(6) W. E. Maxwell's MS. which bears the copyist's date 1266 A.H. and in which "Quotations in Arabic and Javanese are for the most part omitted."

(7) Munshi Muhammad Ali's MS. Both this and (6) are practically identical with MS. "A" of Dulaupier (which differs very considerably from (2)). From this and from (6) Shellabear obtained additions which had not previously appeared in any published text.

In the Preface to his first (Romanised) edition (Singapore, 1898) Shellabear states that he was able to compare the text of his Jawi edition with an MS. in the possession of Mr. R. J. Wilkinson.

It will be seen, therefore, that although he bases his text mainly on (2) Shellabear has also used the other material specified above. This must be borne in mind when I refer to the “Shellabear text” in my paper “Notes on the Texts of the Malay Annals”, which appears in this issue of the Journal.

Col. James Low, in his translation of the Kedah Annals (Hikayat Marong Mahawangsaa), wrote the following note regarding Leyden’s translation of the Malay Annals:

“I have for convenience sake used Leyden’s Translation of these Annals where it gives the whole of the original (passage) but have reverted on the latter where that is not the case. The copy in the Arabic character in my possession, which was purchased from a shop-keeper, seems to have been made about twenty years ago and to have been in the possession of some English orientalist, as it has marginal annotations, where he thought the sense obscure. He states in a note that ‘this (Leyden’s) translation is merely a free rendering of some of the principal incidents it contains. Ibrahim the Moonshee made a copy of the Saclata Salatin (Malay Annals) at Malacca, and took it with him to Bengal, where he was in the service of Dr. Leyden. Ibrahim read the book to the Doctor and explained the meaning to him, and he wrote down what he seems to have considered as worthy of notice. This is the account which Ibrahim gives me. It would indeed be tedious to translate all the prolixity and repetitions of a Malay author, but this translation is tolerably faithful. There is considerable variation in the Malay copies.’ These remarks seem to me quite justifiable.”

Shellabear, it appears, was not aware of this reference to Leyden’s translation which may also have escaped the notice of other commentators on the texts of the Malay Annals.

Journal Malayan Branch [Vol. XX, Part II]
Notes on the Texts of the Malay Annals

By W. L. L. N. HAN

The text of the Malay Annals recorded in MS. No. 18 of the Raffles Collection in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, was published in romanised script by Sir Richard Winstedt in J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XVI, Pt. III, 1938. The body of this text is, on good grounds, considered to be one of the earliest, if not the earliest, version of the Annals, in the composite form in which we know them, yet discovered, and to have been written before 1536 A.D.1 The Preface to the text was written in 1612—1613. The view here put forward is that, not only the body, but the Preface is, in all respects, among the earliest and the least corrupt that we possess. Here, too, is discussed the identification of the place called Goa in the Shellabear Preface of the Annals.2

Following are the relevant extracts from the Prefaces of Raffles No. 18 and of Shellabear.3

1 The first written material (pedigrees etc.) which formed a basis for the chronicle that ultimately emerged as the Malay Annals, though in the Malay language, must have been expressed in an Indian alphabet or an alphabet derived from an Indian such as the Old Javanese script. Before the introduction of Islam this earlier alphabet was used in Malaya. One result of its replacement by the Arabic script was that any Malay records written in the earlier script, if they did survive, though in the Malay language, could not be read (or could only indifferently be read) by Malay writers almost certainly by the end of the 15th century. When was the earlier alphabet in use in Malaya replaced by Arabic? We may get an indication of the date from the "ordeal" stone in the ancient pre-Muslim and Muslim graveyard at Pengkalan Kemps in Negri Sembilan. On two faces of this stone is commemorated, in the Malay language, in Arabic script, the death in 1467 A.D. of a chief. On the two other faces, prefixed by a religious invocation in Arabic script, is a record of the same event written in the Old Javanese alphabet, in the Malay language but interspersed with Javanese words. The date on the tombstone (1467 A. D.) seems to provide the turning date by which the earlier script was replaced by the Arabic as the alphabet generally in use in Malaya. Accounts of the Pengkalan Kemps monuments by Mr. I. H. N. Evans, the late Mr. C. Boden Kloss and the late Dr. P. V. van Stein Callenfels are given in the Journal of the F. M. S. Museums, Vol. IX, Pt. III, 1921, and Vol. XII, Pt. IV, 1927. As to the writing used in Malacca, see the description of that country written in the Hai-Yu (1517)—Groenveld, "Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca," Second Series, Vol. I, p. 246—referring, no doubt, to the period prior to the Portuguese conquest of 1511, where it is said that the people "write with Indian letters".

2 See my note in this issue of the Journal entitled "The sources of the Shellabear Text of the Malay Annals".

3 Words which have no bearing on the present theme and which are not necessary for an understanding of the sense of the passages are omitted.

Raffles No. 18 Preface


Following is a translation of this passage:

"in the year 1021, in the year dal awal, on the 13th of the month Rabì‘ul-l-awal® on a Sunday at the hour of early forenoon, in the reign of Seri Sultan ‘Ala’u’d-din Ri’ayat Shah ... while he had a settlement at Pasir Raja, at that time Seri Narawangsa, who was named Tun Bambang, son of Shèri Agar Raja, of Patani®, came bearing a command from the Prince Down-stream. This was the Prince’s command: ‘I ask the Bendahara’ to make a history about the institutions

4 An archaic from of Seri.
5 13 May, 1612.
6 The correct translation is as given above, and not “Sri Akar, the ruler of Patani”. The eldest son of the late Raja of Patani is called Tengku Seri Akar Raja. The second son, Tengku Mahmud Mohaidin, considers that the original version was probably Seri Akar ‘di-Raja, the title of a chief. As to the name Tun Bambang, see the pedigree of the Orang Kayaa Maharaja Perba of Jelai, given on pp. 201—205 of my “History of Pahang” where mention is made of a “Tun Bandan” of Patani, a garbled reference, perhaps, to the same person. The Tun Bambang of Patani mentioned in the Preface may indeed have been a Patani Chief under whose direction miners from Sai (a territory at that time included in Patani) worked the gold-fields on the Tui in Ulu Pahang. The river Tui is in the vicinity of Gua where the associations with Sai are still commemorated in the name Gua Sai, “the Caves of Sai”. See my paper on Sai appearing in this issue of the Journal. Historical contacts between Patani and Pahang at the beginning of the 17th century are dealt with below.
7 Sir Richard Winstedt, in his translation of this Passage (loc. cit., p. 39), omits mention of the word Bendahara which appears in the corresponding Malay text.

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of all Malay kings and their customs so that our descendants who come after us may listen to it, and that they may know all that has been related and furthermore, that they may benefit by it.* When the humble writer . . . heard the command of His Highness, humbly and willingly did he accept the task laid upon his head, and heavy on his limbs it lay. And the humble writer bestirred himself diligently to carry out (the task) . . . And the humble writer composed this history . . . . and he compiled it from all the lore of the people of old in order to gladden the heart of His Highness. And the humble writer named this history Sulalatu’s-Salatina, that is to say, ‘The Institutions of Kings’.

THE SHELLABEAR PREFACE

(There is no interruption in the sequence of the text as written but to facilitate reference to its respective portions, these portions are here designated as Part I and Part II).

Part I.


Part II.


pada kita di-ingatkan oleh mëreka-itu shahadan bëroleh fa'idah-
lah ia dari-pada-nya...'.

A translation of this passage follows:

Part I.

"One day the humble writer was sitting engaged in light con-
versation in the company of chiefs. Among them was a chief of
higher station and rank than the others, and he remarked to
the humble writer, 'I hear there is a Malay history brought
by people from Goa. Could we not improve it, and all that
it relates, so that it might be known to all our descendants
after us, and be remembered by them and that they might
derive advantage therefrom?' When the humble writer heard
this, heavy on his limbs lay the task... Tun Muhammed
his name was, familiarly known as Tun Sri Lanang, and
Paduka Raja Bendahara was his title... by race a Malay
from Bukit Si-Guntang Mahameru, Malakat Iris country, Batu
Sawar the abode of peace.

Part II.

"And this is what he says. It was in the year 1021 of the
Prophet (God bless and save him) m'a Dal year, on the 12th
of the month Rabì'u'l-awal on a Thursday in the reign
of the late Sultan who died at Aceh, Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din
Ri'avat Shah... while the king was settled at Pasat, that
Raja Dewa Said came to me Sri Narawangs, named Tun
Bambang, son of Sri Akar Raja, of Patani, bringing a com-
mand from the Prince Down-stream, Sultan Abdur'llah Ma'ayat
Shah. This was the Prince's command: 'We ask the Bendah-
ara to make a history of the principal events and of all the
Malay kings together with their customs so that it may be
known by all our descendants after us and that it may be
remembered by them and that they may derive profit there-
from...'.

The following are among the points which indicate that the
Preface to Raffles No. 18 is earlier and less corrupt than, at least,
the sources from which Shellabear compiled the Preface to his
edition.

1. The Shellabear Preface mentions Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din as
dead at the time that Preface was penned whereas Raffles No.
18 makes no mention of his death. The inference is that
the latter was written between the 13th May, 1612, the date on
which the order was given to compile the Annals, and the 6th
June, 1613, the date of that Sultan's death. This inference is

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8 On 6 June, 1613.

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strengthened by the fact that the down-stream prince (who, on the death of his predecessor in June, 1613, became Sultan Abdull'ah Ma'ayat Shah) is not described as Sultan in Raffles No. 18 Preface, whereas he bears that designation in the Shellabear Preface. The Shellabear Preface was written certainly after the 6th June, 1613, as were all the other Prefaces that mention Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din as deceased and his successor Sultan Abdull'ah Ma'ayat Shah as reigning.

2. It is highly probable, as I attempt to show below, that the name written as Raja Dewa Said in the Shellabear Preface is a corruption of Raja Dewa Sail which itself originates from a corruption of an earlier text, perhaps, the Raffles No. 18 Preface. The name does not appear in Raffles No. 18, and, its absence, so far from being a defect in that Preface, as thought by Sir Richard Winstedt, appears to be yet another indication that the Preface is one of the earliest, if not the earliest, of which we have knowledge.

It is suggested that the creation of the words Raja Dewa Said occurred in the following way. A copyist, transcribing from the Preface of Raffles No. 18 (or its counterpart) made the mistake (not uncommon among copyists) of reduplication: he wrote twice the words de'wasa itu. This resulted in the juxtaposition of the words Pasir Raja de'wasa itu de'wasa itu. A later copyist, using this corrupted text, wrongly read Pasai for Pasir. This left the following word Raja disconnected with any word that made sense, but the copyist's difficulty was solved (for himself but not for others!) by interpreting the first de'wasa itu (ديواسميت) as Dewa Sail (ديواسميت), words which, it will be seen, are of exactly the same lettering in Malay script. Sail was not a name known to Malays, so in some instances, copyists transformed the word into Said (سالم), a word which has an almost identical pronunciation, and which, as a personal name, was well known to Malays. Then, to cap all the corruptions, later copyists of some texts of the Preface, with a knowledge of the historical correctness of Pasir Raja as the place of residence of Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din, changed Pasai back to Pasir Raja, leaving the other corruptions undisturbed.

The reading Raja Dewa Said or Raja Dewa Sail, to make sense necessitated further changes, and the copyist who wrote the text on which the Shellabear Preface was based proceeded to make these changes, it is suggested, in the following way. He transposed datung so as to come immediately before Raja Dewa Said: for bahawa wrote ka-pada; transposed hamba (a word used correctly in the Preface of Raffles No. 18 as a reference by a raja to himself in an affectation of humility) so as immediately to precede Séri

Narawangsa, and replaced it by the royal beta; and deleted ia-ilu. All these alterations gave some sense to the passage.

This explanation of the various processes involved in the creation of the fictitious Raja Dewa Sait would appear to cover all the corruptions, in this respect, of the various texts of the Prefaces to the Annals. Thus, for instance, of the MS. of the Annals in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, Raffles collection Nos. 35, 39 and 80 have Pasir Raja and Raja Dewa Sait; the Maxwell bequest No. 26 does not mention Raja Dewa Sait (or its variation)\(^9\). As we have seen, the Shellabear Preface has Pasai and Raja Dewa Sait. Leyden’s translation of the Annals has Pasai, and Raja Dewa Sait.

The Shellabear Preface appears to consist of two introductions written at different times, the one superimposed upon the other. I have designated them above as Part I and Part II and will here so refer to them.

Part II, as I have attempted to show, derived its source from the Raffles No. 18 Preface (or a counterpart of it) and emerged as a corrupted form of that Preface.

Part I (which does not appear in Raffles No. 18) refers to a chronicle or history brought from a place which is called Goa, the spelling of which, in old Malay script, was 有人 , or, in more modern script 有人 . Goa or Gua, in the Malay language, may mean either the Portuguese town of Goa, or a cape or cove. The Goa of the Shellabear Preface, and indeed of all the Prefaces that mention that name, has hitherto been generally accepted as the Portuguese headquarters in India. The view here put forward is that we need not look so far afield for the identification of this place, and that we are likely to find it much nearer home: that the term refers, not to the Portuguese Gua but to one of two localities in Pahang:\(^10\)

(1) a locality called Gua (centred about a place called Gua Sai) situated on the river Jelai north of Kuala Lipis, in the vicinity of the ancient gold-fields of the Tui, just south of Bukit Betong which has long been the head-quarters of one of the major chiefs of Pahang, the Orang Kaya Maharaja Perba of Jelai;

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10 Sir Richard Winstedt’s view as to the “history from Goa”, from which I differ, is given in J R A S M B , Vol. XVI, Pt. III, 1938.
(2) the Kota Gelanggi group of caves around which so many legends gathered and which are the principal and most famous caves of Pahang.  

For the purposes of the present theme it will be profitable to examine the history of Johore and of its sister State, Pahang, during that short but very troubled period between May, 1612 (the date on which the order was given to compile the Malay Annals) and the 6th June, 1613 (the date of the death of Sultan 'Ala'ud-din Ri'ayat Shah), and to endeavour to glean therefrom some information which would enable us to identify the Goa of the Shellabear Preface.

On the 13th May, 1612, the Yang di-Pertuan di-hilir (of Johore), then in the position of crown prince, ordered the Malay Annals to be compiled. In September, 1612, Johore forces sacked Pahang. According to Dutch records, the Johore ruler himself was making preparations to go to Pahang and drive home the attack on that country. In that year, according to the same authority, the Queen of Patani who had not seen her sister, the wife of the Sultan of Pahang, for 28 years sent a fleet to Pahang to collect her relative and bring her back to Patani. According to Chinese records, referring to events which may reasonably be ascribed to this particular time, the king of Pahang (Sultan Abdul Ghafur), having betrothed his daughter to the son of the "viceroy" of Johore, received his prospective son-in-law in Pahang. But there appeared to have been another suitor for the Pahang princess: the son of the king of Brunei. A quarrel broke out between the rival suitors; the "viceroy" of Johore went home, collected an army and attacked Pahang. The people of Pahang, taken unprepared, dispersed without fighting; and the king of Pahang fled to the "gold mountains". "At that time the spirits in the country waited for three days, and half of the people had been killed". Thus the Chinese record.

11 "History of Pahang", pp. 241-247. J R A S M B, Vol. XIV, Pt. II, 1936. See also pp. 29-34. That the fame of Kota Gelanggi extended beyond the borders of the present boundaries of Pahang is indicated by the Negri Sembilan legend (recorded by Wilkinson in his "Malay History, Pt. V, Notes on Negri Sembilan", pp. 7-8, Government Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1911) that Batin Siri Alam, the fabled ancestor of the ruling chiefs of Sungei Ujong, Kalng, Jelebu and Johol is still in hiding in the caves of Kota Gelanggi. This legend is worth comparing with that of Tob Sri Lam (perhaps a variant of Batin Siri Alam) described in the Appendix to my paper, "The Prince of Chini", which appears in this issue of the Journal.

12 "History of the Ming Dynasty", quoted in "Notes on the Malay Archipelago" by W. P. Groenveldt: Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China, referring to the period Wan-Li (1573—1619).

13 Probably Raja Bongsu alias Yang di-Pertuan di-hilir, later Sultan 'Abdullab Ma'ayat of Johore, who, when he was crown prince or "viceroy", ordered the compilation of the Annals.

On the 7th May, 1613, the Sultan of Acheh conquered Johore and carried off to Acheh the Johore Sultan 'Ala'ud-din Ra'ayat Shah who died there in captivity on the 6th June, 1613, and was posthumously known as Marhum Mangkat di-Acheh. In June, 1613, the Yang di-Pertuan di-hilir became ruler of Johore with the title of Sultan 'Abdu'llah Ma'ayat Shah.

We have seen that the ruler of Pahang, Sultan Abdul Ghafur fled to the "gold mountains" which, in Pahang, can be no other region but Ulu Pahang. According to Dutch records, the Sultan owned gold-mines which, in Pahang, are all situated in Ulu Pahang. From Perak Malay records we know that this ruler had special connections with Ulu Pahang because he gave the watershed of the Tembeling as a present to one of his sons on the occasion of the latter's marriage with a Perak princess. According to a family-tree of the Maharaja Perba of Jelaj it was this Sultan who gave the family its chieftaincy. A tradition in the family of the headmen of the Orang Kaya Setia Wangsa of Lipis relates that the Orang Kaya Maharaja Perba of Jelaj first settled in the Jelaj about 1591 A.D., that is to say, during the reign of Sultan Abdul Ghafur. All this information shows the close ties that existed between that Sultan and Ulu Pahang where, according to the present thesis, is situated the Goa of the Shellabear Preface.

On his flight to Ulu Pahang, Abdul Ghafur must have been pursued by his Johore enemies. Nowhere is this expressly stated, but it is not an unreasonable assumption. When Iskandar Muda of Acheh sacked Pahang, in 1617 A.D., his forces penetrated as far as the Bertam, and their incursion is still commemorated by the name of rapids on that river, Jeram Musoh Karan, "The Rapids of the Enemy's Boat-wreck." The Goa in Pahang (whether situated in the place at the present time so named, or at Kota Gelanggi) lie much further down the main waterway, and are much more accessible to invading fleets of boats coming from the estuary of the river Pahang.

The identification of Goa with the Portuguese possession of that name seems to have originated with Leyden whose translation of the relevant passage reads:

"I happened to be present at an assembly of the learned and noble when one of the principal persons of the party observed to me, that he has heard of a Malay story which had lately been brought by a nobleman from the land of Goa ..."

In fact, none of the Malay texts (so far as I am aware) give tanah Goa or negeri Goa of which "the land of Goa" would be an accurate translation. If the compiler of the Annals who mentioned Goa (or Goa) had meant the place of that name in India he would almost certainly have referred to it by one of these terms.
The view, then, here put forward is that the Goa of the Shellabear Preface is, not Goa in India, but a place in Pahang, and, leading from that conclusion, that the "history brought from Goa" was a history brought from Pahang, in fact one of the spoils brought back from that country by the Johore forces. This history was quite distinct from the history in Raffles No. 18 (though the materials on which both were based were in many respects the same). It was "improved" (da-perbaiki) by a Johore editor (who incidentally also had access to Raffles No. 18) and in its "improved" form eventually emerged as one of the sources of the Shellabear text.

But this "history brought from Goa" still retained something of its Pahang flavour even after "improvements". It retained, for instance, the passage describing Pahang at the time of its capture by the Malacca Malays from the Siamese (or Siamesedominated) ruler, Maharaja Dewa Sura, about 1454 A.D. A translation of this passage follows:

"In Pahang was a settlement called Pura. The river of the country was shallow, its strands pleasant; the waters of the river ran fresh right into the sea. Alluvial gold was to be found there, broad plains, and jungles stocked with elephants, bison (said to be not very much smaller than elephants), deer and monkeys."

The passage does not appear in Raffles No. 18 text. Similarly with the episode about the capture of Maharaja Dewa Sura, which event occurred about the same time; the Shellabear text relates how he was captured at a certain rapids (on the Tembeling) which, from the circumstances surrounding the capture, was thereafter called Jeram Koi. Raffles No. 18 text gives no indication of the locality of his capture except that it was in the hinter-land of Pahang. The accurate descriptive passage about Pahang and the Jeram Koi episode afford a local colour to the Shellabear text which can only have been given by somebody well acquainted with Pahang.

Again, (to go back to a much earlier phase of history), there is a legend recorded in both Raffles No. 18 and the Shellabear texts about the capture by a Raja Shulan (thought to be the Chola prince, Rajendra Chola I, who carried out raids in the region of Malaya about 1025 A.D.) of a place called Gelang Gui, "whose black stone fort still exists". Raffles No. 18 text does not attempt to locate Gelang Gui but the Shellabear text places it the upper reaches of the river Johore. A conjecture put forward in the "History of Pahang" (written before I had had the opportunity to read the relevant passage in Raffles No. 18) was that Gelang Gui (or its variant reading Lenggui) really referred to the caves of Kota Gelanggi in Pahang, and that the legends about the place were altered, in what emerged as the Shellabear text, to suit Johore pride.
by locating the place in Johore. The silence of Raffles No. 18 text as to the location of this place corroborates the view put forward in my "History". In fact the placing, by the Shellabear text of Gelang Gui in Johore was one of the "improvements" of that "history brought from Goa".

It may be contended that, while Goa does not refer to the Portuguese place of that name, it does not necessarily mean that Goa in Pahang is designated: there are many places in Malaya to which the term Goa "cave" could have referred. That contention is perfectly valid, but in the circumstances attending the period at which the sources of those Prefaces to the Annals which mention Goa were written, Pahang, for the reasons here given, has a special claim to preference.

To sum up the view here put forward. The nucleus of the Malay Annals was written in Malacca, and by 1511 A.D., no doubt, at least one copy of this nucleus was in existence. When Malacca fell to the Portuguese in that year the fugitive Sultan Mahmud fled to Pahang (where he stayed a year). His entourage must have brought with them this early version of the Annals, and also a copy (or we may assume that a copy was made during his sojourn in Pahang). When he departed from Pahang a copy remained behind, and Pahang writers took the opportunity to introduce into this version Pahang local colour in the respects indicated above. When Johore forces invaded Pahang in 1612 A.D., they managed to obtain, at a place popularly known as Goa (probably the Gun north of Kuala Lipis where ancient gold-fields were situated), this version of the Annals, and it became known as "the history from Goa". A Johore annalist then proceeded to "improve" it, and, in its "improved" form it eventually emerged as a source of the Shellabear text of the Annals. The other nucleus of the Annals, also emanating from Malacca before 1511 A.D., fortunately suffered comparatively few "improvements" (except that its record was brought up to about 1536 A.D.), and eventually emerged as the Raffles No. 18 text.

It may be asked whether Pahang, during the 16th century, showed any traces of literary endeavour which would support the view that a version of the Annals was worked upon in that country. This question will, it is hoped, be answered in the near future by the publication in this Journal of a Malay legal digest written in Pahang, about the end of the 16th century, and edited by Sir Richard Winstedt and Mr. J. E. Kempe.

14 Dr. Quaritch Wales (J R A S M B, Vol. XVIII, Pt. I, pp. 77-78) is satisfied that no such fort ever existed on the Johore river, and is inclined to accept the view put forward in the "History of Pahang" (pp. 241-247) that Gelang Gui emanates from a legend based on Kota Gelanggi.
The Kings of 14th Century Singapore

By W. LINEHAN

Mr. R. J. Wilkinson, in his "History of the Peninsular Malays", and Sir Richard Winstedt, in his "History of Malaya", are at one in rejecting the account given in the Malay Annals of the Kings of 14th century Singapore on the ground that the version is unreliable. Later, however, Sir Richard Winstedt, in the introduction to his edition of the Annals known as Raffles' collection No. 18 (in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London), appears to modify his rejection of, at least, part of this account given in that MS. The publication of the whole of Raffles MS No. 18 which, there is good reason to believe, is one of the earliest, if not the earliest and the most authentic version of the Annals yet discovered, provides a favourable opportunity for examining the chronology of the 14th century Singapore kings set forth therein, and assessing what value, if any, it possesses.

In the present paper, when the Malay Annals are mentioned, the Raffles No. 18 text is meant. In the preliminary examination the material which I use is, with one exception, taken entirely from the Annals: the only outside material utilized is the date, taken from the "History of the Ming Dynasty", of the death of the first king of Malacca (who was the last ruler of Singapore). According to the Chinese record that king died between 1112 A.D. and 1114 A.D. (say 1113 A.D.). Having thus arrived at a chronology for the kings of Singapore, I compare that chronology with material derived from other sources, and then I reach conclusions.

VERSION OF THE MALAY ANNALS.

The Malay Annals give us the following information. Sri Tri Buana, a prince from Palembang, of the fabled Bukit Si-Guntang royal stock from which the kings of Malacca later claimed descent, was the founder of the Settlement of Temasek, or Singapore. (The name Tri Buana did not occur only in the list of Singa-

1 2nd edition (Kelly and Walsh, Singapore, 1920).
4 The last chapters of Raffles No. 18 text had been published by Dr. C. O. Blagden in J.R.A.S.M.B, Vol. III, 1925.

pore kings: in the form Tribhuvana it appeared as the name of a ruler of Majapahit (1329—1350). Much later it emerged as the name of a Bendahara of Pahang.) As he approached the shore, at Telok Blanga, when first taking possession of the island, a storm arose, and to avoid ship-wreck he had to jettison his crown. As he and his retinue were amusing themselves on the plain of Kuala Temasek they saw an animal resembling a lion; (so) the name of the settlement was changed from Temasek to Singapura, “Lion-city”. Sri Tri Buana asked his adoptive mother, Wan Sri Benian, queen of Bentan, for help in colonizing the new settlement, and she sent him numbers of subjects, horses and elephants. By his wife Wan Sendari he had two sons. After reigning forty-eight years Sri Tri Buana died and was buried on the “hill of Singapore”.

He was succeeded by a son whose title on the throne was Paduka Sri Pikrama Wira. The Batara of Majapahit, angered that Paduka Sri Pikrama Wira had failed to do him homage, sent an expedition to conquer Singapore. The Javanese army landed on the island and bitter fighting ensued. “The history of the war between Singapore and Java is a very long one; if we related it all, the people who heard it would be bored, wherefore we abbreviate (simpulkan) it, for a slow and long-drawn-out narrative would not be pleasing to people of intelligence. Singapore was not conquered, and all the Javanese returned to Majapahit”.

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6 On the brow of the hill, now known as Mount Faber, directly behind Telok Blanga, on the opposite side of the road to Radin Mas English school, in the compound of a Government house is a grave formerly venerated as a shrine (kāramat) but now almost forgotten. The legends about this shrine, if they still exist, are worth collecting. It is possible (but not probable) that they have associations with the landings of the founder of 14th century Singapore at Telok Blanga. There is another sacred grave (outlined by bricks) in the compound of a Government house on the left-hand side of Nassim Road as one proceeds to Raffles College. This, too, merits investigation.

7 An attempt, perhaps, to explain away Sri Tri Buana’s lack of royal regalia, the possession of which was indispensable for the installation of a Malay king. These insignia of royalty even had their own guardian spirits. There were instances in Malay history where a ruler could not be installed because a rival had made off with the regalia. If a ruler were dispossessed, and later reinstated, one of his first concerns would be to secure the safety of these royal insignia.

8 This refers almost certainly to the hill, known in Malay history as Bukit Larangan “the Forbidden Hill”, and now known as Fort Canning; the neglected tomb there is probably the memorial of this founder of ancient Singapore. It is interesting to note that, on the very day on which the Japanese occupied Singapore and hoisted their flag on Fort Canning, Malays expressed to the writer their conviction that this was a bad omen for the invaders. The Japanese flags hoisted on Fort Canning, owing perhaps to their poor texture, deteriorated rapidly and had often to be replaced; this decay was especially noticeable in that part of the flag depicting the “Rising Sun”. The Japanese, eventually hearing the Malay legend about Fort Canning, at the end of 1943 had the flagstaff removed. A more pedestrian explanation may be that the flagstaff was got rid of because it was likely to attract the attention of allied bombers.
The Kings of 14th Century Singapore

After reigning fifteen years, Paduka Sri Pikrama Wira died and was succeeded by his son who assumed the title of Sëri Ruma Wikerma, or Sëri Rama Wikerma. This prince had friendly contacts with the Raja of Perlak (a little State in north Sumatra which, by 1290 A.D., according to Marco Polo, had come under the influence of Islam). He died after a reign of thirteen years, and was followed on the throne by a son called Damar Raja or Damar Raja who, on his accession, assumed the name of Paduka Sëri Maharaja.

The new king had a son, Raja Iskandar, whose head was dented by a mid-wife, from which deformity the child was called Raja Iskandar Dzul'Karnain ("Alexander of the Two Horns"). During the reign of Paduka Sri Maharaja occurred the attack by todak (translated by Wilkinson as gorfis) on Singapore. A boy (budak) came forward and suggested a successful way of meeting this attack. After the todak had been destroyed by the device suggested by the boy, the chiefs gathered around the king and said "Your Majesty, if this boy grows up his ingenuity will certainly be great. It is better that we kill him." Paduka Sri Maharaja agreed, and the boy was killed. His death laid a curse upon Singapore. (It is possible that this legend contains a veiled reference, not yet elucidated, to actual happenings in the Singapore of this period). After reigning for twelve years and six months, Paduka Sri Maharaja died and was succeeded by his son who assumed the title Sëri Sultan Iskandar Shah.

The new ruler took as one of his concubines the comely daughter of his treasurer, Sang Ranjuna Tapa. The new addition to the harem was slandered by the other royal concubines, and was punished by being publicly exposed9 in the market-place on the orders of the king. Her father, furious at his daughter's shame, violently protested, and them sent a message to Java to the effect that if the Batara of Majapahit wanted to attack Singapore he should come quickly, and that the writer of the message would assist the attackers. The Batara of Majapahit sent a big expedition to attack Singapore. The affronted chief, Sang Ranjuna Tapa, was in charge of the rice granaries. When asked for rice for the defenders he said that supplies were exhausted, for he was disaffected. At dawn Sang Ranjuna Tapa opened the gates of the fort to the Javanese who entered and engaged in a fierce battle with the defenders. Blood flowed like water, and that explained the blood which is still to be seen on the plain of Singapore10.

9 Raffles MS. No. 18 uses the word përajèngkikin. Che Zainal Abidin, Chief Malay Translator of the Education Department, identifies this word with jënggi, a term used in the Negri Sembilan, meaning "to expose for long in the sun".
10 The reference is to the red laterite formation of the ground.

The men of Singapore were worsted in the fight; Sultan Iskandar Shah broke off the battle and fled from Seletar to Muar. After conquering Singapore, the Javanese returned to Majapahit. The fugitive ruler, after sojourning in various places, eventually made his way to Malacca where he founded the kingdom of that name. "Sultan Iskandar Shah reigned in Singapore for only three years. When Singapore was conquered by the Javanese he went to Malacca and was established (khatar) in Malacca for twenty years. He was, therefore, a king (dnalas kera'ian) for twenty-five years." The vicissitudes of life came and Sultan Iskandar Shah died." Thus the Malay Annals.

Working back from 1413 A.D., the date given by the Ming chronicle as that of the death of the first ruler of Malacca (who is accepted as having been the last ruler of Singapore), and utilizing the periods of reign of the Singapore kings supplied by the Malay Annals, we arrive at the following chronology:

Sri Tri Buana, 1st ruler, reigned 1299—1347 A.D.

Paduka Sri Pikrama Wira, 2nd ruler, reigned 1347—1362 A.D.

Sri Raja Wikerma, 3rd ruler, reigned 1362—1375 A.D.
(Raja Muda)

Paduka Sri Maharaja, 4th ruler, reigned 1375—1388 A.D.
(Dam Raja or Damar Raja)

Sri Sultan Iskandar Shah, 5th ruler, reigned in Singapore 1388—1391 A.D.; in Malacca 1393—1413 A.D.

According to this chronology Singapore, otherwise known as Temasek, was founded in 1299 A.D., and was destroyed in 1391 A.D.; and Malacca was founded in 1393 A.D.

How does the foregoing chronology fit in with data from other sources? Let us here examine these sources so far as they are available.

In 1388 A.D., according to a Javanese history, the Pararaton (written at the end of the 15th century), Temasek was one of the ten countries that a famous minister of Majapahit, Pateh Gajah Mada, swore he would conquer. Writing in 1349 A.D. the Chinese chronicler, Wang Ta-Yuan, made mention of Tan-ma-hsi (Tema-

11 This statement may be read as meaning that he ruled in Singapore for three years, was a wanderer for two years, and was ruler of Malacca for twenty years. In the eyes of his Malay chroniclers he had the attributes of kingship for twenty-five years.

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sek), and said that a short time before that date the town had successfully resisted an attack by Siamese war-boats. In 1360, a Siamese record, the *Kot Monthierabau*, mentioned Ujong Tanah (the extreme southern part of the Malay Peninsula) as being subject to Siam\(^\text{12}\). If Ujong Tanah included Singapore, the Siamese account would fit into the Chinese account to the extent that both agreed that Singapore was subject to Siamese influences about the middle of the fourteenth century. The Malay Annals are silent as to Siamese aggression about this period. In 1365 A.D., a Javanese work, the *Nagarakrtagama*, made mention of Temasek, among other places, as being subject to Majapahit. This provides some indication that the chronological list is correct in assigning 1347—1362 A.D. as the period of reign of Paduka Sri Pikrama Wira, the second ruler of Singapore, for the Malay Annals record that while this prince was on the throne Majapahit made one of her attacks on Singapore.

In 1373 A.D., according to the "History of Ming Dynasty"\(^\text{13}\), a king *Tan-ma-su-na-ho* (a term which is sometimes conjectured to include a Chinese rendering of the word Temasek)\(^\text{14}\) was one of the three rulers of the empire of San Fo-ts'i (identified with Sri Vijaya). In 1376, according to the same record, this king died and was succeeded by a son Maharaja *Wuli*\(^\text{15}\) who dared not ascend the throne without the authority of the Chinese emperor. If we assume the correctness of the identification of *Tan-ma-su-na-ho* with Temasek, the date given for the death of this king (1376 A.D.) agrees substantially with the date given in the chronology for the death of Sri Rana Wikerma, the third ruler of Singapore, that is to say, 1375 A.D. In 1377 A.D., following the same Chinese account, the emperor sent a seal authorising Maharaja Wuli to succeed his father, but the Javanese, who had already conquered San Fo-ts'i, waylaid and killed the imperial envoys.

\(^{12}\) Siamese records relating to Malaya still await examination.

\(^{13}\) Groeneveldt, *loc. cit.*, pp. 192-194.

\(^{14}\) Coedes ("Histoire Ancienne des Etats Hindouises d’Extreme-Orient", p. 316) who renders the Chinese name as *Ta-ma-chu-na-a-tebo*, however, says "This name, which is doubtless, only a simple transcription of Maharaja has been restored by J. L. Moens (Kr?naya, Yawa en Katala, Tijd. Bat. Gen 77, 1937, p 416) to Haji Dharmacraya with the inversion of the two terms following the Chinese syntax. It will be remembered that Dharmacraya designated the region of the upper Batang Hari where the statue of Amoghapaca, brought from Java, had been erected in 1286". It may be that *Tan-ma-su-na-ho* is a rendering of Temasek-Ratu, that is to say, Ratu Temasek, "the king of Temasek".

\(^{15}\) It is possible that *Wuli* is the Chinese rendering of the Arabic word *wali* which has long been adopted into the Malay language. *Walis w’l-abd* means, in Arabic, heir-apparent or crown prince. If we accept this conjecture then Maharaja *Wuli* is the Chinese attempt at rendering the term *Raja Muda*, "heir-apparent". We need not be deterred from this conjecture by the use of the Arabic *wali* in describing a prince of Singapore of 1375 A.D., as the Malay Annals record that his father, the third ruler, had contacts with Perlak a place which, according to Marco Polo, had been converted to Islam as early as 1290 A.D.

Of the non-Malay records, it is only the Chinese and the Javanese that deal with events occurring in the reigns of the first three rulers of Singapore. Portuguese chronicles, to which we come later, treat only of the last and last-but-one rulers. It will be seen that there is nothing in the Chinese and Javanese records which conflicts with the chronology of the first three kings given above. On the contrary, these records, in the respects indicated, support the correctness of the chronology.

We now give the details set forth in the various Portuguese records which, it has already been mentioned, deal only with the last two rulers or chiefs of Singapore. It is evident that the Portuguese had access to sources which, unfortunately, are no longer available.

The younger d’ Albuquerque (whose account was published in in 1557) says that “Paramicura” (Parameswara), a pagan king of Palembang, married a daughter of a “Bataratamurul” (conjectured to be the Batara of Tumapel). Faithless to his promise to pay tribute and be vassal of his father-in-law, he was attacked and driven out of his kingdom by the Batara whereupon he fled to Singapore with his wife and children. The local chief “Tamagi” received him hospitably. After eight days Parameswara treacherously slew his host and made himself master of Singapore where, with the help of five thousand followers from Palembang, he held sway for five years. At the end of that period, the king of Patani, brother of the murdered Tamagi, with the help of Singapore subjects who were oppressed by the usurpers’ exactions, drove out Parameswara.

de Barros (writing in 1553).—After the death of a Javanese ruler “Pararisa” a dynastic war broke out and many nobles fled the country, among them a Parameswara who accepted the hospitality of “Sangesinga”, king of Singapore. After a short time

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16 Tamagi is a not improbable Portuguese corruption of Damar Raja, one of the names by which the Malay Annals describe the fourth magnate of Singapore.

17 Sir Richard Winstedt (“History of Malaya”, p. 38) conjectures that “Pararisa” may be a rendering of Bbru Hyang Wiceps, king of Tumapel 1389-1428 A.D., Tumapel being one of the two kingdoms into which Majapahit split on his accession, but the date of that king’s death (1428 A.D.) makes it impossible that it was in fact after this occurrence that Parameswara went to Singapore. If, however, we assume that “Pararisa” referred to the Majapahit ruler, the famous Rajasanagara who died in 1389, then the date of Parameswara’s coup d’etat in Singapore, as related by de Barros, substantially corresponds with the date given in the chronological list for the death of Paduka Sri Maharaja, that is to say, 1388 A.D. For the history of Rajasanagara see Coedes, loc.cit., pp. 310-314.

18 An attempt at Sang Singa (pura) = “Lord of Singapore”.

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Parameswara murdered his host, and with the aid of his Javanese followers and the “Cellates” (the local orang-laut or sea-gypsies) gained possession of Singapore. He was driven out by the king of Siam, the father-in-law and suzerain of the murdered king. Parameswara fled to the Muar river and built a wooden fort at Pagoh as a protection against an attack by the Siamese. The sea-gypsies followed him, but, fearful of their numbers, Parameswara bade them go elsewhere to make a settlement, so they went off and founded Malacca. Special attention must be paid to de Barros in view of the verdict of Fr. Schurhammer (quoted by Fr. Cardon in J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XX, Pt. I, 1947, p. 188) that he is the most trustworthy of all Portuguese historians.

de Couto.—This writer says that the last-but-one king of Singapore was of Palembang descent, and that the last king of Singapore and first of Malacca was called Raja Sabu or Iskandar Shah. Raja Sabu was betrayed to the Javanese by his treasurer whose daughter had been his mistress and had been publicly humiliated by him for infidelity. The Javanese invaders made him flee “to the coast of Malacca to a place called Sencender (conjectured by Winstedt to be Skudai) close to Ujantana (Ujong Tanah)”, where, before founding Malacca, he remained some time.

d’Eredia (writing in 1613).—Malays inhabited Patani and Pahang before the foundation of Malacca. Prior to the foundation Malacca the ruler of Pahang “governed” Singapore, and the ruler of Patani, then “the metropolis of the Malays”, was a tributary of the king of Siam. Parameswara (written by d’Eredia in the feminine form Permieuri), by birth a Javanese hailing from Palembang in Sumatra, fled to Singapore from the anger of his father-in-law “the Emperor of Java Major”. No sooner had he arrived in Singapore than he treacherously killed the “Xabandar” of Singapore, a relative of the ruler of Pahang, despite the hospitality offered him by the Singapore chief. After this murder, Parameswara decided to make a settlement in Malacca for his own safety,

19 Going up the Muar river towards Pagoh, one sees a screen of hills in the background. There is a tradition among the Muar Malays that on the occasion of an attack by the Siamese this screen of hills was pointed out to the invaders as being the end of the river, so they abandoned their attack. It is possible that this tradition relates to the Siamese pursuit of Parameswara after his flight from Singapore and his taking refuge in the Muar river. It may of course equally well relate to later Siamese attacks on Malacca in the first half of the fifteenth century.

20 A name possibly derived from Pulau Sambo which lies just off Singapore. If this conjecture is correct it would be an indication that this last magnate controlled Singapore only to the extent of being able to pester the town by his piratical activities directed from one of the islands in its vicinity.

21 Shahbandar, “Port Officer”. The use of the word to designate the chief magnate of Singapore indicates that Singapore had by then lost its status as a kingdom and that it was ruled from elsewhere.

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for he stood in fear of the lord of Pahang who was making warlike preparations to capture him because of his treachery. d’Eredia then goes on to say that (? after his establishment in Malacca) Parameswara allied himself in marriage with “the lords and monarchs of Patani and Pahang who belonged to the family of Malay”. Thus the Portuguese records.

It will be seen that all these Portuguese authorities, except de Couto, agree that the last magnate of Singapore was driven out by the Siamese (or by one of the Siamese-controlled kingdoms of Patani or Pahang). The Malay Annals, on the other hand, (followed by de Couto) state that the last magnate was expelled by the Javanese. All records which advert to the foundation of Malacca are agreed that the last magnate of Singapore was the founder and first ruler of Malacca.

The Chinese records (if Ten-mu-sa-ma-ho contains a reference to Temasek) indicate that Maharaja Wuli, here identified with Paduka Sri Maharaja of the Malay Annals, the fourth, and last-but-one magnate of Singapore, was never acknowledged as king, and that San Fo-ts’i (the Malay empire of Sri Vijaya of which Temasek formed part) had been conquered by the Javanese between 1376 and 1377 A.D., that is to say, the very time about which, according to the chronology above given—a chronology which, it may be repeated, with the exception of one date derived from Chinese records, is based entirely on the Malay Annals—Sri Rana Wikerna, the third ruler and the father of Paduka Sri Maharaja, died. d’Eredia refers to the last-but-one magnate merely as “Port Officer” (Vabandur), a title which corroborates the inference deduced from the Chinese records that this chief was never acknowledged as king, and which would also strengthen the belief that, although Singapore was almost destroyed by the Javanese about 1376 A.D., it still continued to be inhabited by a chief who was under the domination of the Siamese, either directly, or through the Siamese-controlled countries of Pahang or Patani.

From de Barros, if my conjecture as to his Paramita is correct, it may be inferred that the Palembang usurper murdered Paduka Sri Maharaja, the ill-fated chief of Singapura, the protégé of Siam, in 1388—1389 A.D., the time about which, according to the chronology above given, Paduka Sri Maharaja died.

The Malay Annals say that the fifth and last magnate of Singapore, Sri Sultan Iskandar Shah, was descended in a direct line from the founder of Singapore; they make no mention of what is recorded in almost all the Portuguese authorities that this last magnate was a usurper who had treacherously murdered the fourth magnate. This last ruler of Singapore appears to have married a daughter of the royal family of Majapahit (Coedss, loc. cit. p. 320).

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and this would explain the reason why his son who succeeded him as king of Malacca was designated in the Malay Annals as Sultan Megat (Megat being the title of the offspring of a royal mother and of a father inferior in rank to the mother).

One of the conclusions here reached is that the Malay Annals suppressed the fact that Sri Sultan Iskandar Shah, although himself of noble stock, was a usurper not descended from the royal line of Singapore. This magnate was the founder of the line of Malacca kings under whose direct patronage were composed the written materials, in the form of pedigrees, which formed a nucleus of the record that eventually emerged as the Malay Annals. It would have been a stain on their escutcheon had they acknowledged descent from the pirate prince of Singapore who had made himself master of that island by murdering his host. So the Malay record was altered to make it appear that Sri Sultan Iskandar Shah was a direct descendant of the Singapore royal line.

Then, the Annals attribute the attack on Singapore (culminating in its final abandonment) to the Javanese, whereas the Portuguese accounts (with one exception) state that this attack was made by Siamese or Siamese-controlled forces. It is difficult to give an opinion as to which is correct, for the last magnate of Singapore appeared to have been obnoxious both to the Javanese and to the Siamese: when he had established himself in Malacca we find him appealing to the emperor of China for help against Siamese aggression, and about 1408 A.D., according to the Ming chronicle, he was falsely laying claim to possession of Palembang which then was under Java, a claim which cannot have been pleasing to the Javanese. However, the Malay account of the Javanese attack on Singapore in the reign of Sri Pikrama Wira would appear to indicate a certain confusion in the mind of the Malay chronicler as to these attacks. The reason he gives for not dilating on the subject—its proximity—certainly did not deter him from violating the canon of conciseness in many other respects. Because of this admission by the Malay Annals, and of the practical unanimity of the Portuguese writers, including de Barros, I am inclined to accept the Portuguese version that the final abandonment of Singapore was due to the hostility of the Siamese (or of one of their satellite kingdoms, Pahang or Patani).

The great sack of Singapore by the Javanese, about 1376 A.D., did not mean the total abandonment of the city, but Singapore never regained its former status, and from that date until 1388 or 1389 A.D., the city was under the authority of a chief, the son of the preceding ruler but himself never acknowledged as king, who to safeguard himself against further Javanese aggression, had placed himself under the protection of Siam. This protection did not avail him against the treachery of the pirate prince, Sri Sultan

Iskandar Shah, the Paremeswara of the Chinese and Portuguese records, who murdered him and usurped his place. This pirate prince, however, must have been a man of parts for he laid the foundations of the kingdom of Malacca, and was successful in saving the infant State from destruction at the hands of its Siamese enemies.

The conclusions here reached are set forth briefly in the following table of the rulers or chiefs of 14th century Singapore.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date of Rule</th>
<th>Events during Rule</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>(M) Sri Tri Buana</td>
<td>c. 1299—1347 A.D.</td>
<td>First king and founder of 14th century Singapore. Buried on Bukit Larangan (Fort Canning).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>(M) Paduka Sri Pikrama Wira</td>
<td>c. 1347—1362 A.D.</td>
<td>Son of No. 1. Attacks on Singapore by Siamese and by Javanese.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>(M) Sri Rana Wikerma (alias c.</td>
<td>1362—1375 A.D.</td>
<td>Son of No. 2. Contact with Perak. Great sack of Singapore by Javanese at end of reign but this did not lead to abandonment of Singapore.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sri Rama Wikerma alias</td>
<td>Raja Muda)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(C) Tan-ma-sa-na-ho</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>(M) Paduka Sri Maharaja</td>
<td>c. 1375—1389 A.D.</td>
<td>Son of No. 3. Not acknowledged as king. In control of Singapore with the status of a chief under protection of Siam. Murdered by No. 5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(alias Dam Raja alias</td>
<td>Damar Raja)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maharaja Wuli</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(P) Tamagi alias Xabandar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>alias Sangeesinga</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(alias Raja Iskandar dzu'l-Karnain)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(C) Parameeswara</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(P) Parameeswara alias Raja Sabu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

M = the name according to the Malay Annals.

C = accepted version of the name according to Chinese records.

P = the name according to Portuguese records.
The Prince of Chini

By W. Lanehan.

The "history of the Ming dynasty" records that in the year 1411 a king of Pahang styled Pa-la-mi-so-la-la-la-si-i sent envoys with tribute to the Emperor of China, that, in the following year, Pahang was visited by the famous Cheu-Ho, and that in 1414 and 1416 Pahang again sent tribute to China. In my "History of Pahang" it was conjectured that the name of the Pahang king was the Chinese rendering of Parameswara Telok Chini, "the Prince of Chini Haven". There it was pointed out that Chini (a Siamese word meaning gibbon) was the name of a mountain, a lake, a stream and a village on, or near, the river Pahang about 40 miles from its estuary. Telok Chini designates the big bend in the vicinity of Chini. The locality is also known as Bintang, "The Star", possibly because from it radiated several routes. Mention was made, too, of the fact that relics of the civilized people who had inhabited Pahang before its conquest by the Malacca Malays about 1454 had been found in this, and in neighbouring localities. And I drew attention to the importance of Chini in Malay legends: "For the Malays, Lake Chini has associations with the past: in their eyes the lake and its adjoining mountain are sacred, and they credit the place with the possession of a white crocodile, styled 'Seri Pahang': the glory of Pahang." White has always been the colour of royalty with the Malays and also the magic colour denoting good luck. The Perak royal family, even to the present day, will not kill a crocodile, a taboo dating perhaps from the days when the crocodile was the totem of Perak royalty. On a panel of the Perak State Trumpet (illustrated in J. R. A. S. M. B., Vol. XX, Pt. I, 1947, p. 132), used on the occasion of the installation of a ruler, is depicted a dragon or crocodile, possibly a symbolic representation of this ancient crocodile cult of the Perak royal family.

In my "History", however, when describing the Chini region, I omitted to enlarge upon the possible significance of a place called Belukur Bata, and the importance of Chini as the starting-point of a section of one of the ancient trans-peninsular routes to the west of the Peninsula. I now write to repair the omission, and in the hope that archaeological investigations will be carried out in the Chini region, especially at Belukur Bata.


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Belukar Bata is mentioned in my "History" (p. 239) in the following terms: "A place now in the heart of the jungle between Lake Chini and Ulu Jeram (Ulu Rompin), Pekan District. The spot has not yet been investigated. The name indicates the presence of pre-Malaccan buildings". The name Belukar Bata may be translated "the secondary jungle marked by bricks". The significance of the name lies in the fact that the Malacca Malays who conquered Pahang about 1454 did not usually build in brick, and that such brick remains as have been found in Pahang (including remains at Kuala Chini) have been shown to be those of structures built by their predecessors. Apart from the name, however, there are indications, which I mention below, that Belukar Bata may contain ancient remains, perhaps those of an ancient temple or even of a town.

In 1925, as District Officer of the Pekan district of Pahang, in company with Mr. Mumford, the Police Officer, I had occasion to visit the Chinese penglong, or wood-logging concern, situated here and there on the river Rompin. Complaints had from time to time been received of the ill-treatment of workers employed in these penglong, and as our inspection to be of any use had to be a surprise one, instead of going to Kuala Rompin by launch and then going up that river, we decided to proceed from Pekan (our headquarters) up the river Pahang to Chini, from there to go overland to the river Jeram, one of the head-streams of the Rompin, and thence to proceed down the Jeram and the Rompin to Kuala Rompin, inspecting the penglong on our way. We put this project into practice.

After reaching Chini we camped for the night on the western shore of Lake Chini, a large expanse of water or, more properly, of water-logged land full of clumps of reeds, really a great marsh rather than a lake in our sense of the word. After spending the night warding off the attacks of swarms of mosquitoes, we broke camp early the next morning and proceeded on our way to the Jeram, following roughly the southern boundary of the Chini Forest Reserve. We had gone only a short distance when we came upon a mound of somewhat considerable extent covered with giant grass, evidently frequented by elephants for the imprint of their bodies could be seen all around. Che Puteh, the Chini headman who was our guide, said that this spot was called Belukar Bata. The mound, from a casual examination of it, appeared to be artificial. It was tempting to examine it further by digging a trial trench, but time pressed as we had to reach the Jeram before nightfall, so I regretfully left the place with the intention of returning later when the opportunity arose. That opportunity never came.

As we proceeded along the jungle track, the Malay guide came back with the news that there was a cow-elephant and calf ahead.

No ballerina could have exceeded the delicacy with which we tipped past that elephantine group. Later we startled a young gaur (seladang) heifer which clattered off along the track ahead of us and then plunged into the jungle.

Well before nightfall we struck the river Jeram at a point marked by a Sakai clearing called Kebun Pa' Nyatoh "Old Nyatoh's clearing" (aborigines are often named after an animal or, as here, after a tree). We found the river Jeram to be a delightfully cool, crystal-clear stream flowing—where there no clearings—between dark aisles of forest. Bathing in the stream we found to our surprise that its bed was littered over a large area with potsherds. The few fragments which were picked up appeared to be of the plain, common variety, but the quantity in which they were present was impressive. None were carried away for examination. Next morning we departed down-stream in aboriginal canoes which skillfully negotiated rapids the existence of which gave their name to the Jeram river.

From the abundance of the pottery found in this remote, now little-known river, and from the historical associations of Chini outlined here and in my "History", it appears highly probable that the Chini-Jeram route which we followed was one of those long-used portages, or trans-peninsular land-river routes which were the highroads of communication from the east to the west of the Peninsula from ancient days right up to the time when rail and road communications were first established in the country. From the Jeram, access to the Bera lake, either direct or by going downstream to meet the jungle track from Kuala Leper, was easy, and from the Bera led the well known route by Ul Muar (the Penarekan or "Portage" so well-known to the Malays and the Portuguese) to the mouth of the Muar river and to Malacca.

Questions arise as to the prince of Chini who flourished about 1411 A.D., and was given the dignity of record in Chinese annals. If he was the king of Pahang why did he live 40 miles or so up

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3 The Lepar track appears to have been one of the routes by which merchandise arriving at Kuantan by sea was carried to the Penarekan and thence into the Straits of Malacca either at Muar or Malacca. This Lepar track may also have been used for the transport of goods brought to Kuantan from the region of the river Tembeling, for there was an ancient route leading from that river via the Tekai to Kuantan. Before Malacca was founded (at the end of the 14th century) one of the islets in the Straits of Malacca situated between Malacca and the mouth of the Muar (possibly Pulau Besar which lies at the entrance of the Muar) was used as an entrepot for barter between the east and the west. Pulau Besar merits archaeological investigation. The word Muar is derived from the Sundanese (?) term muara meaning estuary (the Malay kuala). The fact that the river was known as "the river mouth", without any further definition, is an indication of its importance in the past. Similarly Kuantan which also means estuary.

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the river Pahang instead of living at or near its mouth where he might have been expected to get the immediate benefit of sea-borne trade? And was this king of Malay, or Thai, or pre-Thai Siamese stock?

* There was little trade in those days, as now, via Kuala Pahang because of the silting caused by the north-east monsoon at the estuary. Any sea-borne trade of importance must have been unloaded at Kuantan, the only port which remained open during the north-east monsoon. Then sea raids, especially by the Javanese and to a very much lesser degree by Siam, were prevalent about this period, and it was natural for the Chini prince to seek a settlement which was not in too close proximity to the sea-coast. Towns in the vicinity of the sea were always liable to sudden attack by sea; if they were up-river, warning would always be conveyed to them. And there were the advantages of having a settlement which lay astride a well-known land-route. Apart from these considerations it is likely that the Thais, and their Mon-Khmer speaking predecessors in Siam, penetrated the lower part of the Malay Peninsula overland, and that they did not worry much in those days about sea-control, chiefly, perhaps, because they could not gain control of the sea in the face of the opposition of Javanese sea-raiders.

Near Chini, on its down-stream side, there is a village called Kampong Melawy, "the village of the Malays", a thought-provoking name for a place on a river which today, and for the past 500 years or so, has been occupied almost exclusively by Malays. The inference is that the village was so named at a time when people other than Malays were in occupation of that part of the river which lay above Kampong Melawi. This inference is corroborated by traditions current among the Malays inhabiting the Pahang immediately above Chini that they were partly of "Siamese" stock, and by the record in the Malay annals that, when the Malaccan Malays conquered Pahang about 1454, they found there a prince of "Siamese" stock of the family of "Paduka Bubumya". The fact that this "Siamese" prince made practically no resistance against Malaccan is perhaps an indication that he was a ruler, alien either in race or religion, to at least a part of his subjects. Then, a short distance above Chini, in the vicinity of Lubok Paku, is a village Singgora, called after the town of that name in Patani.

Let us mention some of the chief events, about this period, relating to the southern part of the Malay Peninsula, which may have a bearing upon the origins of the king of Chini.

In 1360 A.D., the Siamese record, Kot Monthierban, claimed Ujong Tanah (the southern end of the Malay Peninsula) as tributary to Siam. The Portuguese writer, d’Eredia, referring to the history of the Peninsula in the period preceding the foundation of

Malacca (which event occurred about 1393 A.D.) described the king of Pahang as of Malay stock, the lord of Ujong Tanah, and a relative of the last-but-one chief of Singapore.

In 1365 A.D., according to the Nagarakrtagama, Pahang (meaning the whole of the southern part of the Peninsula) was a dependency of Majapahit. As the Dutch, even to-day, call Malaya Malacca, deriving the name from the Town and State which at one time was the most important in the south of the Peninsula, so, at a much earlier period the Javanese knew the same region as Pahang, deriving that the name from the, then, most important State in the south. This conquest of Pahang by Majapahit, which appears to have taken place about 1286 A.D., may have been in the nature of a successful raid rather than a permanent subjection of that country.

In 1378 A.D., according to Chinese records, a king of Pahang, Maharaja Tajau, sent tribute to the Emperor of China, seeking, perhaps, Chinese assistance against an attack by the Javanese. In the preceding year the Javanese had waylaid and killed envoys from the emperor of China as they were conveying a warrant to Maharaja Wu Li, conjectured to have been a prince of Singapore, authorising him to succeed his deceased father as ruler of Singapore.

In 1411 A.D., the king of Pahang (the prince of Chini) sent envoys to China.

About 1447 A.D., a Siamese expedition invaded Malacca overland through Pahang, but was destroyed. The invaders must have followed the Bera and the Chini tributaries of the river Pahang, routes which converged at Lake Bera to form the Penarekan “the Portage”, which led through Ulu Muar to the estuary of the Muar and to Malacca. By this date Pahang was certainly a tributary of Siam and must have afforded free passage, if not active assistance, to the Siamese forces.

4 Dr. Quiritch Wales, “Archaeological Researches on Ancient Indian Colonization in Malaya” M B R A S, Vol. XVIII, Part I, 1940 (p. 83).
5 The emperor of China was almost universally regarded in the Malay Archipelago of those days as the suzerain and protector of the little States. The sending of missions to him by one of the latter often meant that the State was in trouble of some sort, for instance, that it was being attacked, or was in danger of attack, by an enemy. The States placed all the more confidence in the emperor because China was so remote and so disdainful of these distant “barbarians” that there was little danger of active interference from that quarter. Then the magnificence of the gifts presented by the Emperor to these envoys from outlying countries was a personal inducement to the States to send tribute from time to time.
6 See the paper on “The Kings of 14th century Singapore”, appearing in this issue of the Journal.
About 1454 A.D., the Malacca Malays invaded and conquered Pahang by sea, concentrating their attack on a settlement called Para (or Inderapura), afterwards known as Pekan. The Malay Annals, describing Pahang at the date of this conquest, say: "In olden days Pahang was a great kingdom, it was subject to Siam, and was ruled by Maharaja Dewa Sura of the family of Paduka Bubunnya." About 1500 A.D., the Raja of Ligor, on the command of the king of Siam, invaded Pahang over-land but suffered an overwhelming defeat.

The indications are that the pre-Malaccan Kings of Pahang were of the Ligor royal dynasty; and that dynasty appears to have been of Malay, non-Muslim stock. Ligor, in the 13th century, whether on her own initiative, or at the dictate of the Thai ruler, was powerful enough to send two expedition against Ceylon, and the extension of Ligor influence in Pahang and the south of the Peninsula was not surprising. When the Thais conquered Ligor the latter's outlying vassals fell, too, into Thai hands, but the Thais may well have allowed the royal family of Ligor, with whom, no doubt, they eagerly formed connections, to rule in Pahang.

After writing the above note, I happened to come upon a copy of "Fasciculi Malayenses. Anthropology. Part I" which has a bearing upon my remarks about the sacred crocodile of Chini and the conjecture that the Chini prince was of Ligor royal stock. As the Fasciculi Malayenses are not easy of access, I append the relevant extract here (Appendix A). Attention is invited to the mention of Ligor in the extract as being the place about which centred the crocodile cult, to the names Toh Sri Lam and Toh Saribung, and to the occurrence of the term Sri both in the first and second names (Toh Saribung = Toh Sri Lang = Toh Sri Lam) and in the name of the sacred crocodile of Chini. Toh or Datoh, with reference to ancestral worship, means an ancestral deity or spirit.

Appendix A

 Extract from Fasciculi Malayenses. Anthropology. Part I.

"Anthropological and Zoological Results of An Expedition to Perak and the Siamese Malay States, 1901—1902", undertaken by

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7 Both Para (Sanskrit) and Pekan (Malay) were the generic names for a town, or mart.
8 The typical name used in the Malay Annals for the Thai royal dynasty.
10 Right up to the end of the 19th century Kedah and Kelantan, loose dependencies of Siam, sent their tribute of "golden flowers", not to the king of Siam, but to his vassal the raja of Ligor—an indication of the ancient greatness of the Ligor State.
While questioning people regarding the fish cults at Patani, I heard that there was also a family whose members might not kill, or even be present at the capture of, a crocodile, and was so fortunate as to meet a very old woman belonging to this family who had a clearer idea of her family obligations than any other observer of an animal cult whom I came across. She told me that her family was called Kaun Lomak, and that it was a branch of 'Toh Sri Lam's Family,' and she gave me the following legend to account for the latter name and the origin of the family. At a village on the Patani River, formerly called Parek, but now as Petiaw (Pteiah), there once lived a maiden whose name was Betimor. Her father's name was Jusuf, the descendant of Maw Mi. She had three sisters, who were named Bedjitan, Berbunga, and Meh Sening. Her two brothers were called Maw Mi and Pandak. Betimor went down to the river to bathe and was lost in the water; the bubbles rose up where she disappeared, and her jungle knife was left on the bank. Three days after she appeared in a dream to her father and told him that she had become a crocodile and must now be called 'Toh Sri Lam. So her father made 'turmeric rice' (nasi kunyit), parched rice (berilis)\(^{11}\), and 'red rice' (nasi merah), and took them with a white fowl and some wax tapers to the bank of the river where his daughter had been drowned. There she appeared to him, turned to a crocodile as far up as her waist. Afterwards she became altogether a crocodile, and, leaving her own village, went to a place called Anpat Pamal, where her footprints were formerly shown. So far the old woman: the following additions to the legend were told me by a boatman on the Patani River, who was not himself a member of the crocodile family. In her old age, 'Toh Sri Lam went to war in the State of Ligor. (Another Patani man told me that she went to fight with the Datooh of Kelah). She came out of the water in the likeness of an old woman and asked some people in a passing boat to take her with them. When they reached Ligor, she begged them to put her ashore and to watch what would happen. Then she dived into the water and swam away, gradually turning into a large crocodile before their eyes. She still remains in the Ligor River, where she causes a great whirlpool by continually turning round and round and lashing about with her tail. The boatman said that he had gone up this river himself in the train of some great Siamese official, and had seen the footprints of Toh Sri Lam on the bank. When the procession of boats approached the pool in which she lives, they lit torches and lamps and made as much noise as possible, firing off guns and beat-

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\(^{11}\) Usually, bérith.
ing drums, in order to drive her away and to prevent the boats being overwhelmed in the whirlpool.

The old woman claimed descent from Maw Mi, one of Toh Sri Lam's brothers, and said that other branches of the family had another brother or sister as an ancestor or ancestress. All collateral descendants of Toh Sri Lam call her Datoh, and regard her as their guardian. Formerly they made sacrifices to the crocodile of Patani River, but the custom has now died out. They believe that Toh Sri Lam had direct crocodilian descendants, which are distinguished from other crocodiles by being 'white,' that is, of a pale colour. 'White' crocodiles are kramat, or sacred; they are held in reverence by other people as well as those who belong to the crocodile family, and, like all animals that are kramat, are believed to refrain from doing injury to human beings except under special circumstances. It is only descendants of Toh Sri Lam who are prohibited from killing or capturing ordinary crocodiles; but if a person who belongs to her family is present when any crocodile is killed or captured, he will have a bad attack of fever.

All descendants of the brothers or sisters of Betimor can invoke the aid of Toh Sri Lam in sickness or other misfortune, or they may even do so on behalf of other people for hire. A shrine still exists at the place where Betimor became a crocodile, and any one may dedicate offerings and make petitions to Toh Sri Lam there; members of the crocodile family being privileged to do so, either at the shrine or at home, wherever they may happen to live. My informant, though herself one of the privileged family, had visited the shrine at Petioh no less than three times. On one occasion, a raft loaded with merchandize belonging to herself and her husband had stuck on a snag in the river, and it was found impossible to get it free until the pair 'went to their ancestor' and offered three fathoms of white cloth to cover the shrine. As a rule, however, the old woman sacrificed to her Datoh in her own house offering three wax tapers and some parched rice. She told me that she made use of no special formula in making her request, but said, 'Datoh Sri Lam, your granddaughter begs to be freed from sickness and brings you food.' If the petition happened to take any other form in her mind, she made use of it. After the offering had been dedicated at home, it was taken and laid on the bank of the river. If my informant was ill or unfortunate she would make a vow to dedicate an offering once a month or oftener for a stated time.

It is dangerous for anyone to promise an offering to Toh Sri Lam if he does not really intend to make it, for persons who do not fulfill their vows to her become very sick and are irresistibly attracted to the river, into which they rush and in which they remain until

the incensed Datok is appeased with an enormous offering of food and wax tapers.

The family of Toh Sri Lam reckons descent in both the paternal and the maternal line; thus, the grandchildren of my informant, whether they were the children of sons or of daughters, were both liable to the prohibitions, and are able to perform the private sacrifice. Her husband, who was not a member of the family by birth, had become, as it were, affiliated to it by marriage; he was in the family, but not of it. He was not allowed to take part in the capture or killing of crocodiles, but could not make the private sacrifice, not being an actual descendant of Betimor’s parents.

The cult of the crocodile as an ancestor or ancestress does not appear to have been originally confined in the Malay Peninsula to Patani, where it is now all but extinct. I believe that at least one important native official in the State of Perak claims to be descended from a crocodile, and what is evidently no more than another version of the Patani legend of Toh Sri Lam, is related by Mr. W. W. Skeat who had heard it from a Labu Malay in Selangor. In it, Toh Sarilang is a little boy who is turned into crocodile in the same manner as Toh Sri Lam, and who tells his mother how to cure the crocodiles when they become ferocious. Mr. Skeat, however, makes no mention of any ancestral cult connected with Toh Sarilang. In other parts of the Peninsula the crocodile is regarded as a being of extraordinary discrimination, and many curious beliefs are held regarding it. (For example, it is believed, both in Patani and in Kedah, that if a mosquito curtain is washed in the river all the crocodiles will become ferocious and attack human beings). At Lampam, in the State of Patalung (Muang Talun), the brother of a local Siamese raja has set up in the marketplace of a crocodile shrine in which fishermen, about to set out to their work, make petitions before the skulls of crocodiles arranged upon a shelf.

13 Skeat, t. c. pp. 290, etc.
14 Scott. Geogr. Mag., 1900, p 121
A Note on the "Orang Liar" of Ulu Kēpasing, Pahang

By Edna Windsor.

I am indebted to one of our "Sakai" jēlutong(1) headmen for the following information about a group of aborigines who live in the Kēpasing area, a tributary of the Kēratong in Ulu Rompin, eastern Pahang. I had collected data and a vocabulary from him before the Japanese invasion, but lost my papers during the war. When the headman came into Kuantan hospital in April, 1947, I visited him daily and made notes. Unfortunately he died after an operation for a tumour, which proved to be a malignant growth of the liver. He, a very trustworthy man, was one of very few jungle dwellers who have had any contact with these "Orang Liar"(2) as they call them. As the name they call themselves is not known, I shall call them that throughout this paper. The group numbers twenty or thirty people.

Appearance: "Orang Dalam", "Orang Sungai", or "Orang Bukit" are the names by which we differentiate the peoples in Pahang, who are usually lumped together under the name "Sakai". The "Orang Liar" are a little shorter in stature than these and their hair is short and very woolly. They wear no clothes except a breechclout of bark cloth; that of the women being smaller than the men's. The women do not wear anything over the breasts. Their eyes are very bright and keen and they quickly discern any movement of bird or monkey. Their heads are never still as they take darting glances about and around them all the time.

Habits: The "Orang Liar" live in the head waters of the Kēpasing and never come out to the larger rivers, such as the Kēratong, Rompin, or Jēram. They are difficult to contact, being very shy and scared of the other jungle folk. They live in caves, but as they are nomadic, they build shelters of leaves and branches where they choose to stop at night when wandering. They make fire from a spark obtained by hitting a stone and a piece of iron together. Their vessels are short lengths of hollow bamboo, but they do not cook their food to any great extent. When they have finished a meal they throw away what remains, and do not keep anything for the next. When our headman was with them they

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1 A tree, Dyera costulata Hook, widely distributed through the jungles of Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. The latex is an important constituent of chewing gum.
2 "Wild Folk"—Malay.

were eating ten monkeys a day. Their other food is fish, which they catch in the streams with hooks made of bamboo. They also rely a great deal on a very large tuber, as big as a man’s head, which they half roast in the embers of their fires. The “Orang Liar” dig pits to trap wild pigs. They shoot birds and monkeys with their blow-pipes, which are made in two halves joined and bound with rotan. They have large-headed iron spears, and long jungle knives with blades two fingers wide; my informant could not find how they obtained these, or if they made them themselves.

The “Orang Liar” do not plant any crops, and their nomadic life seems to result from camping where fruits are ripe in the jungle, and going back to the caves for the rainy season. The point about them which amazed our headman most was that they did not eat salt. They located some jelutong trees for him and he tried to pay them in salt, tobacco, and cloth, but they would have none of these things. They had not the slightest interest in tobacco and knew nothing of money. He tried to get them to tap the jelutong trees for him, they refused as it would restrict their movements.

They have a small kind of dog, but no cats. They keep bêrok monkeys (Macaca nemestrina) but will not have gibbons, as apes make too much noise and would give away the whereabouts of the tribe. As they live in the hills where the streams are small, they have no dug-out boats of any sort and cannot make them, though they have a name for boat. All the “Orang Dalam” I have met had dug-out canoes.

The dead “Orang Liar” are not burned or placed in trees, but are left as they die in the jungle. The rest of the tribe wanders on, taking care to cross a stream. They told our headman that in days gone by, before their grandfathers’ time, they used to eat human flesh, but as far as he could find out this seemed to be a kind of ritual. The rest of the jungle dwellers are in awe of this group of people. When our headman went into their area to find jelutong trees, several of his tribe tried to dissuade him from going. It took him a long time to meet them, though he was aware of them. Whenever he did meet them the women were always pushed into the back-ground, or in the caves if they were living there, and he never heard any women’s names. He became very friendly with two men, Pa’ Sentap and Pa’ Memalun but he could never persuade them to come down to the river, and back with him to his village. The “Orang Liar” have no names for numbers at all, only using words for “few” or “many”, although it is usual for “Orang Dalam” to count at least up to “three”.

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**Speech:** I have a list of forty-four words used by the "Orang Liar", thirty-three of which, Mr. H. J. Collings, of the Raffles Museum, tells me, are Sêmêlai. (A Mon-Khmer speaking group of Tasek Bêra in Pahang). The remaining eleven words are given below as their origins are uncertain. In writing these words, ṭ is short as in romanised Malay, and the glottal stop is shown by '.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Orang Liar</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Possible kinship. (The numbers refer to Skent and Blagden’s word list)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tê lung</td>
<td>trap</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da da</td>
<td>few</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ran yi</td>
<td>ill</td>
<td>nyi = sick, S. 187.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sah may</td>
<td>don't want</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da' rah in</td>
<td>small river</td>
<td>da' = water, Sêmêlai,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gan hong</td>
<td>elephant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pên yow</td>
<td>tiger</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cha roh</td>
<td>spear</td>
<td>taro' S. 369.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dêr</td>
<td>house</td>
<td>deh. H. 153.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kêr lum pong</td>
<td>boat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka luna</td>
<td>wild tuber</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is possible that the words for “elephant”, “tiger”, and “wild tuber” are tabu words.

Mr. Collings in a letter to me suggests that these “Orang Liar” may be a branch of the Têmo’, a group of negritos who live to the east of Tasek Bêra. The fact that they are short and have woolly hair bears this out. But there would also seem to be some mixture with the Jakun as is shown by such names as Pa’ Sentap and Pa’ Menalum: Pa’ means father of and it is a wide spread “Malayan” custom for a man to drop his own name and take on that of his child. The wooden blowpipe bound with rotan is also a Jakun weapon: That so many Sêmêlai words were recorded, although in a rather gutteral form, may be due to my informant himself being a Sêmêlai; it is often hard to get a jungle dweller to be critical about such things.

In conclusion it would seem that these “Orang Liar” are very different from their neighbours the Sêmêlai, although they may have many words in common, and they also differ much from the Jakun of Ulu Bêba, Merchong, Rompin and Endau.
Notes on the Cocos-Keeling Islands

By C. A. Gibson-Hill, M.A.

The Cocos-Keeling Islands lie out in the eastern portion of the Indian Ocean, between $11^\circ 49'$ and $12^\circ 12'$ south of the equator, and $96^\circ 49'$ and $96^\circ 56'$ east of Greenwich. They are approximately 600 miles south-west of Java Head, and 530 miles from Christmas Island, the nearest point of land. The group consists of an atoll of about twenty-five islands surrounding a pear-shaped lagoon, seven miles wide and nine miles long, and a single island, 1,250 yards wide and 2,250 yards long, fifteen miles further north.

The group has been known since the beginning of the seventeenth century. The northern island appears to have been called Kerling Island or North Keeling continuously since its discovery. The main atoll has borne several different names. From the references in Dampier's *New Voyage Round the World* (Chapter 17) it would seem that at least as early as the late seventeenth century English sailors called it Cocos. This is not a very distinctive appel-

lation, though eminently suitable: it is derived from the name for
the coconut, and has also been given to several other islands, in-
cluding one in the eastern Pacific, 625 miles south-west of the
isthmus of Panama, and an islet in the Andaman group. The
Dutch at this time and later usually referred to it as the Triangular
Islands, and mark it thus on their charts. Early in the nineteenth
century it became known as the Borneo Coral Reefs, from the name
of the boat in which the founder of the present settlement reached
it. He himself, in his journal, always refers to the group as
Keeling’s Islands or Keeling Island. The use of a collective title,
to include both the north island and the main atoll, dates from
the work of Horsburgh (1762-1836), the hydrographer to the East
India Company, who evolved the present name of the Cocos-Keeling
Islands in 1805. In the latter part of the nineteenth century the
owner changed this to the less euphonic Keeling Cocos Islands.
Cocos-Keeling is, however, the form accepted in the Colonial Reports
(1897-1904), and it is accordingly adhered to here.

Landing is difficult on North Keeling, and the island is only
visited at wide intervals. The main atoll has been inhabited per-
manently since 1827. The principal settlement is now on the island
known locally as Pulo Selma, or Home Island. There are also a
few people living on the most northerly island in the atoll, Pulo
Luar (or Horsburgh Island), and a relay station for the trans
Indian Ocean submarine cable, with a staff of about thirty, on
the neighbouring island of Pulo Tikus (Direction Island). The
native inhabitants are descended largely from men from the ports
and coastal districts of Java. They speak a form of Malay exhibit-
ing certain definite differences from that current in Johore.
Wherever Malay names are quoted in the following account they
are the local words. They are spelt as nearly as possible in accord-
ance with local pronunciation, using the same system of phonetics
as that followed by R. J. Wilkinson (A Malay-English Dictionary
(Romanised), Mytilene, 1932). I have every sympathy with at-
tempts to standardise spelling, but this course must be adopted here,
for consistancy, as certain of the words are of European origin.

I lived for the first ten and a half months of 1941 on Pulo
Tikus. At this time the Malay community, following over a hun-
dred years of development in semi-isolation, had come to present
a number of points of interest. Towards the end of my visit small
garrisons of Ceylonese troops were established on the two northerly
islands, Pulo Luar and Pulo Tikus. These were withdrawn early
in 1942, but in 1944 part of the atoll was taken over by the R.A.F.,
who established a large air base on Pulo Panjang. Both these
contacts with the outside world must of necessity have made con-
siderable alterations in the economy and social life of the native
inhabitants. Finally in 1944 the owner of the islands died, and
in the very altered financial circumstances in which his son inhe-

rited them it is inevitable that further changes will take place. Already it has been announced that a proportion of the inhabitants whom the produce of the atoll cannot support are to be transferred to Singapore or the Malayan Union.

During my stay on Pulo Tikus I made extensive notes on the atoll and its inhabitants. A great deal of the data thus collected, including the manuscript of a book on the islands, disappeared from the Raffles Museum during the Japanese occupation of Malaya. Nevertheless, in view of the changes that have taken place and that are likely to follow, it seems of value to attempt to reconstruct what is left to give an account of the development of the settlement, and a summary of its form as I knew it. In this context is should be understood that throughout, the islands described are the Cocos-Keeling Islands of 1941, a world before the deluge came.

Physical Background.

The islands of the main atoll vary in length from fifty yards to over five miles. For the most part they are between one and three furlongs wide. Each is connected to its neighbours by a barrier of coral reef, which is usually dry or practically dry at low tide. This barrier is broken at the north end of the lagoon, between Pulo Luar and Pulo Tikus, where there is a broad channel, deepening at its centre to five fathoms. There are also several shallow gaps in the long stretch of reef between Pulo Luar and Pulo Panjang, but at the time of my visit it had not been investigated thoroughly. The southern half of the lagoon is sitting up, and large areas of it are dry at low water.

The islands are built of coral clinker, thrown up from the surrounding reef. The majority have fairly steep, shingle beaches on their seaward side, and more gently shelving, sandy beaches towards the lagoon. For the most part they are saucer-shaped, with higher ground round the edge and lower areas in the centre. The differences, however, are slight. Pulo Tikus has a rim ten to fifteen feet above high tide level, while the centre of the island is only five to ten feet above the water. The highest point on the atoll is a dune of blown sand rising to about forty feet, known locally as Gunong, at the south-east corner of Pulo Atas, where the prevailing wind strikes it.

There is no real soil on the Cocos-Keeling Islands, but in places the coral fragments are covered with a thin layer compounded of decayed vegetables fibres and finely powdered sand. This is useless for most forms of cultivation, but on Pulo Tikus and Pulo Selma it is augmented in selected areas by soil brought from Christmas Island, and here a few fruits trees and some vegetables are grown. The garden of Pulo Tikus is completely artificial and.

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Sketch map of the main atoll, usually known as Cocos Island or Cocos, in the Cocos-Keeling Islands, drawn partly after Wood-Jones (Coral and Atolls, 1912, p. 138). The uneven, wavy lines represent areas of coral which are dry or largely dry at low tide. Pulo accords with local pronunciation of the more usual Malay Pulau, meaning an island.

covers only about an acre; it is used to supply the members of the cable station with a small, regular quantity of fresh vegetables. The range of imported fruit trees grown on Pulo Selma is fairly wide and is given in detail later in this paper.

1947], Royal Asiatic Society.
There is no free fresh water on the surface of the islands, but on the majority of the larger ones the rain water which filters down between the coral fragments is arrested at a depth of ten to fifteen feet by a saucer of coral breccia. In the case of Pulo Selma, Pulo Luar and at least the south end of Pulo Atas this water exists in great underground reservoirs, uncontaminated by the sea, and can be reached by sinking wells. Unfortunately on Pulo Tikus the sea finds its way into the fresh water catchment; the cable station is therefore entirely dependent on roof water, or in an emergency on well water brought over from Pulo Selma in kerosene tins.

In spite of paucity of the growing medium the islands are densely covered with vegetation, except where it has been cleared for the settlements. It consists largely of coconut palms, Cocos nucifera Linn., which must have been there since before its discovery. Certain authorities maintain that the coconut cannot established itself on an island without human aid, and that its presence must therefore indicate past inhabitants. Another, quoted by Burkhill (A Dictionary of the Economic Products of the Malay Peninsula, 1935, Vol. 1, p. 598), suggests that the Cocos-Keeling Islands are its place of origin. Both theories are untenable. There can be no doubt, as Ridley (Dispersal of Plants, 1930, pp. 322-324) shows that seahorn coconuts can and do colonize suitable islands unaided. Wood-Jones (1912, p. 17), refuting Dana’s statement that “there is no known instance that any island never inhabited has been found supplied with coconut trees,” proves that there were palms on the Cocos-Keeling Islands at least two years before it was settled. He overlooks, however, a much earlier reference. Dampier, giving his reason for attempting to find the islands in 1688, says “... they designed also to visit the Island Cocos, ... hoping there to find of that Fruit; the Island having its Name from thence.” (ibid. last lines Chap. 16). Finally one might point out that there are coconut palms growing on one of the beaches on Christmas Island, which have sprouted from nuts thrown into the sea off the reef, and left to float ashore on their own.

On the seaward side the coconut palms are flanked by a thick growth of Tournefortia, Tournefortia argentia Linn., and Scaevola, Scaevola frutescens Krause. In a few places there are groves of Sea Trumpet, Hibiscus tiliaceus Linn., Gérongang, Cordia Subcordata Linn., Waru Hutan, Thespesia populnea Soland, Mélati, Guettardus speciosa Linn., Calophyllum inophyllum Linn., or Sea Lettuce, Pisonia sp. The majority of these trees, together with several scarcer species which will be mentioned later, are used locally for timber, and they are therefore almost certainly much less plentiful now than when the islands were first inhabited. There are also a few large patches of Pemphis, Pemphis acidula Forster, on the lagoon side of the islands at the south end of the atoll. In

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some places, particularly on Pulo Selma and Pulo Luar, there are
open areas covered with a coarse sea grass. Unfortunately this is
too salt to be used for grazing. Attempts have been made to keep
goats on it, but they soon became distended with colic and died.
There were a few old sheep on Pulo Selma in 1941; they were fed
only on leaves pulled from certain trees, and carried a flesh as
tough as might be expected in the circumstances.

The island of North Keeling is similar in general formation
to the islands in the main atoll, except that the interior is occupied
by a shallow lagoon. The vegetation is like that on the main atoll,
but owing to the difficulty of effecting a landing the timbers of eco-
nomic importance have been worked less extensively. It thus has
a rather smaller proportion of coconut palms in relation to the
other trees. Several wells have been sunk, but in all cases the water
obtained has been brackish. The Malays from the main atoll
regard it as a good medicine for beri-beri and tuberculosis, but
quite unfit to use for normal purposes. A more detailed account

Historical Note.

According to the accepted tradition the Cocos-Keeling Islands
were discovered by William Keeling, a captain of the East India
Company, while homeward bound from Bantam, in Western Java,
in 1609. There is, however, no reference to them in the abridged
version of his journal of the voyage which Purchas published in
Purchas His Pilgrimes, in 1625. Keeling died at Carisbrooke, in
the Isle of Wight, on September 12, 1619, in his forty-second year,
and is buried in the parish church there. His memorial tablet,
which depicts him standing on the deck of a ship, describes him as
groom of the chamber to James I, and "General for the Hon. East
India Adventurers, where he was thrice by them employed". At
the time of his death he was also captain of Cowes Castle.

William Keeling's first recorded voyage to the east began in
March 1603-4 when he sailed with Sir Henry Middleton, on the
East India Company's second official expedition. Middleton had
with him four ships, of which Keeling commanded the smallest.
She was the Susan of 240 tons, and carrying 88 men. This is the
earliest traceable reference to Keeling, but he must have been a
man of some achievement to carry a command while still in his
twenty-sixth year. The object of the expedition was trade with
the Moluccas, but when they reached Bantam, Middleton left two
ships, the Hector (300 tons) and the Susan, there. While they
were at Bantam the men were attacked by a tropical fever which
killed a number of the crew and several officers, including the cap-
tain of the Hector. After this Keeling took command of the larger
ship, and sailed her back to England. He is said to have rounded

the Cape with a ship's company of fourteen sick men, ten of whom were Europeans and four Chinese.

Keeling reached England in May 1606. On March 12, 1606/7, less than a year later, he set out again in command of the East India Company's third expedition, sailing in the Red Dragon, a ship of over 600 tons burden and a veteran of the two previous expeditions. On this occasion he went as far as Banda, in the Moluccas. After obtaining a cargo of spices and pepper there he returned to England by way of Bantam and the Sunda Straits, arriving in May 1610. It is on this voyage that he is supposed to have sighted the island which bears his name. Keeling's third voyage, begun early in 1615, took him to India, Acheen and Teko, on the west coast of Sumatra, whence he returned to England in 1617. He had hoped to take his wife with him, but the Company forced him to leave her at home, awarding him £200 in compensation for doing so.

The islands are first mapped, but not named, in Blaeu's appendix to the Theatrum Orbis Terrarum of Ortelius, which appeared in 1631. They are among the additions subsequent to the edition


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of 1606. They also appear, charted in almost their correct position but again not named, in Robert Dudley's *Arcano dell Mare*, published in Florence in 1645-46. The islands must have been well known to navigators by at least the last quarter of the seventeenth century. William Dampier on his way home from Sumatra in 1688 attempted to put in at Cocos, but he was carried by contrary winds until he was forty or fifty leagues east of the island. In this neighbourhood he found Christmas Island, where in spite of the absence of an anchorage, he was able to put two boats ashore and obtain the drinking water, timber and sea birds which he had hoped to get on the Cocos-Keeling Islands, but no coconuts. In his text Dampier refers to the position of the Cocos atoll as 12° 12' north, but there is no doubt from the map that he gives that he meant to write 12° 12' south. He places the group a little too far east, but it would seem that sailors were at least well aware of its correct latitude by this date.

The Cocos-Keeling Islands were at this time uninhabited, and they remained so until the beginning of the nineteenth century. The first settlement, which was only a temporary one and lasted less than a year, was made by a Captain Le Cour of the brig *Mauritius*, early in 1825: an account of it by A. S. Keating, one of the residents, is quoted in Holman's Travels (Holman, 1846, Vol. 4, p. 378). The next settlement, which proved permanent, was made by John Clunies-Ross and Alexander Hare in 1827.

Clunies-Ross was born in a crofter's cottage on the island of Yell, in the Shetlands, in 1785. His grandfather had moved there about forty years earlier to escape from the consequences of his participation in the rebellion of 1745. His early life was spent in the whaling industry, which he entered as apprentice to a Greenland fleet at the age of thirteen. By 1813 he had risen to the position of mate and harpooner on a ship working the tropical Pacific. In that year she was lying at Kougang, in the island of Timor, taking on water and stores preparatory to returning home. While she was there the *Olivia*, a small coasting brig hired by the British Government of Java, put in in need of a captain and navigator. The master of the whaling vessel was asked to supply a suitable man, and John volunteered for the job, on condition that his younger brother he allowed to accompany him to the *Olivia*. For the next two years he served as master of the brig, during the course of which he met its owner, Alexander Hare.

Alexander Hare was the eldest son of a respectable London watchmaker. He appears to have been charming, idle and dishonest. Darwin (1842, p. 541) dismisses him as a worthless character, but his information came from Clunies-Ross's agent. He began his working life as a clerk for the East India Company.
in Lisbon. From there he drifted eastward to Malacca by way of
of Calcutta, obtaining a succession of jobs by his charm and losing
them fairly quickly by his dishonesty. While in Calcutta he met
Sthamford Raffles, who succumbed to his manner and seems to have
been unaware of his shortcomings. As a result he was asked to join
Lord Minto’s expedition when the British occupied Java in 1811.
The Dutch had abandoned the last of their ports in Borneo in
1809, and their withdrawal was followed by a period of lawlessness
and piracy. On his arrival in Java, Raffles was asked for assistance,
and he sent Hare to Banjarmassin as resident and commissioner
for Borneo, with orders to suppress piracy. In this Hare was at
least partially successful and he was given a grant of land by the
Sultan of Banjarmassin.

Under the convention of London, signed on August 13, 1814,
the British Government agreed to return Borneo and Java to the
Dutch, but the islands remained in their hands until 1816. In the
interval Clunies-Ross, himself apparently charmed by Hare, accepted
the latter’s offer of the post of harbour-master at Banjarmassin,
which he held until 1823. Hare himself remained nominally in
office until 1824, though for part of the time at least he was absent
and the work was done by a younger brother, John Hare. While
Clunies-Ross was harbour-master he began the construction of the
Borneo, a ship of 428 tons. It would seem that labour and material
were provided largely by John Hare, as the shares in her were held
by John Hare (55/61), Alexander Hare (1/61) and Clunies-Ross
(8/61), with Alexander Hare as manager. The ship was not com-
pleted at the time that Clunies-Ross’s appointment terminated, but
he remained on in Banjarmassin to see her launched early in 1825.

Clunies-Ross, who probably inherited some of his family’s
Jacobite feelings, does not seem to have wished to return to England
permanently. Instead he was anxious to find a suitable island on
the route between the East Indies and the Cape on which to estab-
lish his family. He considered several possibilities, including such
remote places as Melville Island, Kerguelen, St. Paul’s Rock, the
Poggies and Christmas Island. Finally he decided on the Cocos-
Keeling Islands. He arranged with Hare that they should occupy
the islands jointly and use them as a depot for their merchandise.
They hoped to buy spice and pepper in the east when the price was
low, store it on the Cocos-Keeling Islands, and ship it on to Europe
when there was a shortage.

In 1826 Clunies-Ross reached England on the first and only
homeward voyage of the Borneo. The trip was not a success com-
mercially and after taking on board his wife (an Englishwoman
named Elizabeth Dymoke), his mother-in-law and several possible
colonists, he returned to the Cocos-Keeling Islands to settle there.
He reached the main atoll on February 27, 1827, and found Alexan-

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der Hare, with his followers, already in residence. Clunies-Ross put his wife and the other Europeans ashore and went on to Java for stores, returning to the islands later in the year.

Alexander Hare seems to have settled on the island known as Pulo Beras, which must then have been much larger than it is now. He had with him a few menservants and a large harem of women collected from most of the ports and countries that he had visited. These he described as his "Fiddle faddle, which whether wise or no", he was "in the habit of considering necessary". They would appear to have included women from Sumatra, Borneo, the Celebes, Java, Madura, Bali, Sumhawa, Timor and New Guinea, and South Africa, India and China. The only account of his activities that survives is that contained in Clunies-Ross's journal, which is definitely hostile. The latter appears to have objected to the fiddle-faddles on moral grounds, and to have thought that Hare treated his servants as slaves, rather than as nominally free employees. The distinction is often a subtle one.

Clunies-Ross had with him, in addition to the European colonists who appear to have been unmarried, only the crews, mostly men from Sumatra and Java, of their two trading vessels. Pulo Beras is near the north-east corner of the atoll. Clunies-Ross seems to have appreciated as soon as he arrived that it would be neither wise nor to his taste to settle too close to Hare. He therefore established his colony near the middle of Pulo Atas, at the extreme south-east corner of the lagoon. It is interesting that he should have been able to do so, as it is no longer possible to take a boat of more than a fathom draught within five miles of the place.

In spite of the distance between them quarrels between Hare and Clunies-Ross seem to have been frequent. An important consideration was the fact that whereas Clunies-Ross had with a number of men and few women, Hare had a considerable excess of women. The sailors made frequent attempts to persuade the latter to leave Hare and join them. When they did so Clunies-Ross refused to send them back, provided that the man was willing to go through what was taken to be a binding marriage service. After two or three years Hare, his retinue considerably depleted, gave up the unequal struggle and withdrew to Batavia where he died about 1832.

Alexander Hare's retreat from the Cocos-Keeling Islands left Clunies-Ross in sole possession of both the atoll and the Borneo. Three or four years later he moved the settlement to Pulo Selma where it has remained ever since. This island had the considerable advantage of a channel nearly a fathom deep running to within thirty yards of it. Clunies-Ross seems to have abandoned the idea

of trading with Europe in eastern commodities after his first voyage, and instead turned his attention to the coconut palm, the only natural product of the atoll of economic importance. Initially he dealt largely in the whole nuts, which he exported to Mauritius and Singapore, where they were "chiefly used, when grated, in making curries" (Darwin, 1842, p. 542). He also shipped a small amount of coconut oil, mostly to Mauritius. Later, in the time of his descendants, copra and oil became the important commodities, and the trade was transferred to a great extent to Java, which is much nearer to the Cocos-Keeling Islands.

The first account of Clunies-Ross's settlement is that given in the report of Captain Sandilands who visited the islands in H.M.S. Comet, in February, 1830. He had been sent there because Clunies-Ross, who had applied to the British Government to acknowledge his ownership of the islands and received no satisfaction from them, was believed to be negotiating with the Dutch. A Dutch gunboat, the Blora, under the command of Van der Jagt, had arrived there in October the previous year. Van der Jagt's report is not available, but that of Captain Sandilands survives in quotation. At the time of his visit the atoll had a population of 175 persons, of whom 20, including 10 children, were of European descent. The remaining 155 were mostly natives of Borneo, Sumatra and Java, but they included the wide range of women from Hare's harem.

The next visit of interest is that of Charles Darwin, who arrived on April 1, 1836, and left eleven days later. His examination of the coral reefs is of peculiar significance, in that Cocos is the only atoll that he ever visited. Its structure, as he saw it, is therefore described in some detail in both his journal of the voyage of the Beagle (1842), and his monograph on the structure and distribution of coral reefs (1842a). Clunies-Ross was absent on a visit to Java during Darwin's stay on the atoll, and he viewed the island with a Mr. Liesk, who had been chief mate on the Borneo. Liesk does not appear to have got on well with Clunies-Ross and left shortly after Darwin's visit. Possibly as a result of this the general impression that Darwin gathered of the colony is rather unfavourable. He describes Clunies-Ross's house as "a large barn-like house open at both ends, and lined with mats made of woven bark". Of the kampong he says,

"The Malays are now nominally in a state of freedom, and certainly are so as far as regards their personal treatment; but in most other points they are considered as slaves. From their discontented state, from their repeated removal from islet to islet, and perhaps also from a little mismanagement, things are not very prosperous." (p. 542)
"The houses of the Malays are arranged along the shore of the lagoon. The whole place had rather a desolate aspect, for there were no gardens to show the signs of care and cultivation. The natives belong to different islands in the East Indian archipelago, but all speak the same language. . . . They appeared poor, and their houses were destitute of furniture;" (p. 547-8)

Nevertheless, Darwin is prepared to admit that on first entering the lagoon he found the scene "very curious and rather pretty" (p. 542). He also notes that already the whole prosperity of the islands was based on the coconut, and that pigs were kept for food, a point to which we will return later.

John Clunies-Ross died in 1854, 27 years after his establishment of the settlement. His journal ends in 1836, and there is little information about the remaining years of his life. The colony appears to have prospered. It is probable that the system followed by his son of importing male convicts from Batavia to work in the coconut plantations began during this period, but we have no statistics of the population at the time of his death. He is supposed to have spent much of his later years in study and writing, but only two publications have been ascribed to him. One is an essay criticising Darwin's monograph on coral reefs, which was published at Batavia the year after his death. Dr. Guppy (1889) ascribes it to the second Clunies-Ross: the Royal Society's Catalogue of Scientific Papers ascribes it to Sir J. C. Ross, the arctic explorer: only Forbes (1885, p.15n), and Wood-Jones (1912 p.24) following him, suggest that it was by John Clunies-Ross. The second work attributed to him is a two volume treatise answering Malthus's *Essay on Population*. Unfortunately there was a copy of this book on Pulo Selma during my stay on the atoll, and I read it. There can be no doubt from internal evidence, particularly its copious use of local illustration and example, that the J. C. Ross on its title page was an embittered gentleman farmer residing in the northern lowlands of Scotland.

John Clunies-Ross was succeeded as owner of the Cocos-Keeling Islands by his eldest son, John George Clunies-Ross. The date of his birth is not known, but he is thought to have been born at Stepney, possibly about 1809, during or following his father's stay in England before his last whaling voyage. In 1841 he married a Malay woman named S'pia Dupong, who is said to have been of the royal house of Solo in Java. He died late in 1871, from a sudden sickness described as Java fever. His ownership of the islands was relatively uneventful, except for the long-awaited inclusion of the group in the British dominions.

in 1857, and a disastrous cyclone about the year 1862. The latter was followed by a second official visit from a British man-of-war, the *Serpent*, in 1864, and a certain amount of discontent among the imported Bantamese labour which ultimately lead to rioting and the destruction of Clunies-Ross's house.

The ceremony of incorporating the Cocos-Keeling Islands in the British dominions was performed by Captain Fremantle of H.M.S. *Juno*, who arrived on March 31 and remained there for three months. It was commemorated by a large inscribed board, which has long since disappeared, erected near the landing-place on Pulo Selma. The reason for this move on the part of the British Government, for which the first Clunies-Ross had petitioned as far back as 1826, is not clear. It has even been suggested that Captain Fremantle had really meant to take formal possession of a Cocos Island in the Andaman group (Forbes, 1885, p.16). It is more likely that the government, fearful of the attempts of other countries to out-flank its communications with India, was anxious to forestall them. The Clunies-Rosses, both father and son, had negotiated with the Dutch on several occasions, and appear to have flown the Dutch flag on their trading schooner. The atoll was visited by Dutch reconnaissance vessels in 1842 and 1844. While the *Juno* was still in the lagoon a Russian warship entered, and seeing a vessel already there merely saluted and withdrew.

The formal occupation of the Cocos-Keeling Islands altered the status of its owner. Instead of being absolute possessor of the atoll he became a governor under the crown, and was held to be responsible for the conduct of the colony. Probably as a result of this J. G. Clunies-Ross spent some time recording and codifying the local laws which had been formulated by his father. These, with certain modifications, remained the official legal code of the atoll until its incorporation in the Straits Settlements in 1903. In actual practice many of the local regulations remained effective much longer, and were still being enforced in 1941.

J. G. Clunies-Ross had seven sons and two daughters. He was succeeded as owner of the islands by his eldest son, George Clunies-Ross who had been born in 1842. After a childhood on the atoll he was sent to Elizabeth College, Gurnsey, and later to Glasgow University to study engineering. He returned to the Cocos-Keeling Islands in 1862, without completing his course at the university, to assist in repairing the damage caused by the cyclone. He would seem to have been an energetic and enterprising administrator, and during his ownership of the islands they reached their greatest prosperity. His early years on the

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atoll left him with an intimate understanding of the Malays which he never lost, and this, combined with his fine physique, earned him a respect and personal ascendency far beyond that achieved by any of the other members of his house.

In 1876 the island was struck by a second cyclone, which in some respects seems to have been more destructive than its predecessor. The recovery under George Clunies-Ross was, however, fairly rapid, and when Dr. H. O. Forbes visited the atoll early in 1879 he found conditions almost normal. From his account (1885, pp. 11-47), the first of a succession by different authors during the next twenty-five years, the islands would seem to have been well administered, and the inhabitants fairly contented. The kampong was divided into two portions, one for the native Cocos-Keeling Malays and the other for the imported Bantamese labourers. The Clunies-Ross family occupied "a commodious and comfortable house midway between the two villages, surrounded by a high wall, enclosing a large garden in which fruit-trees and shrubs", including roses in grand profusion, flourished well in spite of the scanty soil. Each of the local-born families had "a neat plank house, comfortably furnished, enclosed in a little garden," with a trim shed containing one or more boats on the shore of the lagoon. The labourers' village is also described as neatly kept, with comfortable houses. When the head of one of these families died his widow was allowed to decide whether the children should be sent back to Java, or remain on and be absorbed in the local community.

George Clunies-Ross had stopped the practice of importing convicts in 1875, and begun instead to recruit free Bantamese labour. Nevertheless some of the convict element still remained, and at the time of Dr. Forbes's visit they were the principal problem on the atoll. As a result of their unruliness a strict curfew was being imposed. Everyone had to report at the guard-house at a fixed hour in the evening, and all fires had to be extinguished at dusk. No one was allowed to be absent from Pulo Selima at night without the permission of the captain of the guard, and every boat had to be in its registered place by an hour before sunset. If one was missing a muster was called, the absentee noted, and a search made for him. At intervals individuals did escape to one of the other islands, and hide in the dense vegetation for days or even weeks. While they were there the community appears to have remained in a state of considerable tension. The whole picture that this evokes makes a strange contrast with the natural beauty of the atoll, and the neat, well-ordered kampongs that Dr. Forbes describes.

Dr. Forbes carried with him to the islands a copy of the _Ceylon Gazette_ for November, 1878, which contained an official proclamation transferring their ultimate control from the British crown to the Government of Ceylon, "to prevent any foreign power stepping in and taking possession of them, for the purpose of settlement, or for a coaling station". This is the second of the nominal changes in the government of the island. The proclamation of 1878 granted George Clunies-Ross administration of the group, answerable to the Government of Ceylon. Eight years later, in August 1886, the islands were visited by H.M.S. _Zephyr_ bearing a new proclamation transferring them to the Government of the Straits Settlements, and giving George Clunies-Ross a grant-in-fee. On September 25, 1903, the Government of the Straits Settlements gazetted an ordinance (No. 84) "to provide for the better administration of the Cocos Islands" incorporating them in the Settlement of Singapore, and giving the supreme court of the Straits Settlements jurisdiction in all legal matters. This ordinance decrees that the law of the Straits Settlements, and no other, shall be enforced on the Cocos-Keeling Islands, except for three acts,

Ordinance No. 57 (Native Passenger Lodging-houses).
Ordinance No. 61 (Pawnbrokers).
Ordinance No. 64 (Defence Contribution).

It also states that any ordinance coming into force in the Settlement of Singapore after September 1903 shall automatically apply to the islands, unless a clause in it specifically exempts them. This ordinance was reaffirmed in 1920, still without making any appreciable change in local administration.

In 1885 the atoll was visited by E. W. Birch, who stayed there for eight days and submitted a report to the Government of the Straits Settlements. He gives an interesting account of its economy. At that time Clunies-Ross was exporting about 700 tons of copra annually to Batavia, at an average price of £19 per ton, and using just over five million nuts to do so. In 1883 and 1884, together, he sent nearly half a million coconuts to Batavia and elsewhere, at a price of 38/- per thousand. He was also exporting about 140 tons of coconut oil annually at £29-£31.10s a ton and sixty tons of Mengkudu wood at about £38 a ton. At a conservative estimate the average income of the islands must have been over £20,000 a year, at a time when the pound sterling was good currency.

Most of the trade and contacts at this period were with Batavia. The greater part of the cargo was carried in Clunies-Ross's own schooners, some of which were built on the Cocos-Keeling Islands.

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The returning vessels brought with them rice, which could not be
grown on the atoll, curry stuffs, cloth and turtles. On certain
occasions they also brought back wives for those of the Bintamese
coolies who could afford them. It would seem, however, that wives
were not easy to get, and as late as 1896 Keyser (1922, p. 199)
found that the chief complaints of the men were a shortage of
women and new clothes.

Occasionally ships from Europe and America put in at the
atoll. Some of these arrived to take cargoes of copra, and others
merely to obtain shelter, or water or coal, of which a stock was kept
on Pulo Selma. Their visits did not always have happy conse-
quences, and in general it would seem that the Cocos-Keeling
Islands managed better without contact with the distant world.
One of these boats, an American schooner the Robert Portner,
which arrived in 1878, became a wreck in the atoll through mis-
handling by her crew. The men and the ship's rats got ashore.
Clunies-Ross was able in time to get rid of the men, but the rats
remained and now infest every island clockwise from Pulo Beras
to Pulo Panjang. Another visiting boat, claiming to be the Italian
barque Luigi Raffo, which put in February 1892, also became a
total wreck. Her crew of mixed nationalities caused considerable
disturbances on Pulo Selma, and have left some obvious descendents.
In an attempt to get rid of them Clunies-Ross put the men on his
own schooner, the J. G. Clunies-Ross, a vessel of 178 tons which
had been built on the Cocos-Keeling Islands and launched there
in 1884. She had a Norwegian captain and a crew of eight Cocos
Malays. They set out for Batavia on February 29, 1892 and were
never heard of again. Later the genuine Luigi Raffo was found
intact in Genoa harbour.

In October, 1887, Captain Pelham Aldrich of H.M.S. Egeria
put in at Christmas Island, with instructions to make a brief
survey. He remained there for about ten days. This was the
third investigation of the island, and in it results the most signi-
ficant. The British Admiralty appears to have been interested in
it as a possible coaling base, but it was of no value for such purposes
as it lacks a sheltered anchorage. Eight months after Captain
Aldrich's visit it was, however, formally annexed by the British
Government and placed under the Straits Settlements. At this
time it was uninhabited, and no attempt had ever been made to
establish a permanent settlement there, though the Clunies-Rosses'
schooners had sometimes lain off the reef, while men went ashore
to collect pigeons for food and timber for boat building.

The geological specimens collected by Captain Aldrich's party
were examined by Sir John Murray and others. Certain of the
rock fragments were found to consist of almost pure phosphate of
lime, and in view of the islands scientific interest and commercial

possibilities it was decided to send Dr. H. B. Guppy to make a prolonged survey. His only chance of reaching the island was to be put ashore there by one of Clunies-Ross’s boats returning from Batavia. He was granted the required passage, but warned that if the weather was bad when they passed he would have to be taken on to the Cocos-Keeling Islands, and attempt to get back from there later. The weather was bad. Dr. Guppy spent five months on the Cocos-Keeling Islands, during which he was several times informed that conditions were not suitable for getting ashore on Christmas Island. While at Cocos he made a thorough survey of the atoll, the results of which were published in the Scottish Geographical Magazine in three papers in 1889. Finally he was forced to leave, as he was due back in England, and he accordingly returned to Java without ever having visited Christmas Island. During this period, however, one of George Clunies-Ross’s younger brothers was somehow able to make a landing, and he established a small colony of Cocos-Keeling Malaya in Flying Fish Cove. This settlement remained active until about 1898. There is a photograph of a portion of it taken in 1896 in Arthur Kever’s People and Places (1922, p. 200). It was then in the charge of Andrew Clunies-Ross, and consisted of twenty-two persons, mostly Bantamese.

The occupation of Christmas Island had two consequences for the people of the Cocos-Keeling Islands. It gave them a good source of timber, at a time when their own supplies were running a little short, and of fresh meat in the form of the Christmas Island Imperial Pigeon. They even tried to introduce this bird, among others, on the Cocos-Keeling Islands, but the habitat was not suitable and the stock died out in about twenty years. They also attempted to grow certain crops, including coffee, on Christmas Island, for which the soil was quite unsuitable on the Cocos-Keeling Islands. Of much more lasting importance was the fact that the Clunies-Rosses’ occupation of Christmas Island resulted in their family being awarded nearly half the shares in the Christmas Island Phosphate Co., when it was founded in 1895, to avoid litigation over the ownership of the island.

Birch’s visit in 1885 was followed almost annually by tours of inspection of officers from the Straits Settlements Government until 1904 (see appendix B3). Two of these officers, Hugh Clifford, who was there in 1894 (1906, pp. 29-60), and Arthur Keyser, who was there in 1896 (1922, pp. 202-213), wrote popular descriptions of the islands. The atoll was also visited by Captain Joshua Slocum in July 1897, during his voyage round the world single-handed in the Spray (1900, pp. 210-221). These three accounts, taken together with some of the official reports, give a fairly complete picture of the islands at the end of the last century, when they were approaching the height of their prosperity.

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Conditions seem to have improved with the cessation of recruitment of convict labour. As early as 1885 they were much better than they had been at the time of Forbes’s visit. The guard house was still maintained, with watches throughout the night, but the evening muster had been abandoned. Kitchen fires had to be extinguished at sundown, unless there was sickness in the house, but lamps were allowed, and apparently the Bantamese never slept without them. On the other hand there was still an amount of stealing, and there were regulations laying down the penalties for theft or receiving stolen property. For the first offence the fine was $25, for the second $50, and for the third deportation to Batavia, accompanied by a letter branding the man as a disreputable character.

Economically the islands were prosperous at this time, and between 1895 and 1898 Clunies-Ross rebuilt the family house, putting up a large, two-storied structure with bricks imported from England and teak from Java. On the other hand it would seem that only a small proportion of the money reached the kampongs. Families were provided with up to half an acre of land each on Pulo Selma, and such fish and coconuts as the men could gather. Against this wages were not high, and they were paid in a token coinage of notes stamped on sheepskin. These could only be converted into silver money, at 5/6 of their face value, or exchanged for goods, at the Clunies-Rosses’ store. Several of the reports complain of the high prices that were charged there for provisions, of the shortage of clothes and of the absence of any other shops. It would seem, from an examination of the population figures, that a number of people left the islands after the turn of the century. From 1880 to 1901 the native population rose as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Cocos-Keeling born</th>
<th>Bantamese</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>377</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>390</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>403</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>594</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>570</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>638</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1904 it was still 638, and by 1912 (the last official visit before the first World War) it had dropped to 594.

The people appear to have been healthy, though in the light of modern knowledge it would be said that they suffered to some extent from avitaminosis of the B-1 complex. The principal conditions referred to are beri-beri and dropsy, both of which can be ascribed to it. It is interesting to note that George Clunies-Ross was of the opinion that beri-beri was infectious, and that some of

the outbreaks were due to the clearing of the vegetation while extending the plantations. The house and property of a diagnosed case were burnt, and special care was taken to see that in fatal instances the body was buried deeply. The only treatment was to send the infected person to North Keeling, or failing that to give them the brackish well water from that island. There was no venereal disease in the kampongs, and no serious tropical diseases, except for occasional epidemics of dysentery. Clunies-Ross believed that the latter were carried to the islands by winds from Java, and gave Keyser a most interesting circumstantial account of an attack.

“One day his attention was called to the banian tree in the court yard. Its leaves were dropping off, and appeared as though scalded. A few moments afterwards the pigeons, whose cots were close by, seemed also strangely affected. Their droppings were constant and of a watery nature, till finally the birds died in large numbers. Then ducks, which were kept in the same court yard, were similarly attacked and died. A few hours later it was reported to Mr. Ross that some of the people had dysentery, his own son amongst the number. For three days this illness made head, and 16 deaths were recorded, when the wind changed and the sickness disappeared as suddenly as it had arrived.” (Col. Rep., 1896, para. 10).

The points that seem to have struck the visiting officers most forcibly were the conditions of family life in the kampong. The people were nominally Mohammedans, though Keyser found them drinking whisky and toddy, just as Darwin had found them keeping pigs. The women were never veiled, and normally wore only a bodice, slightly open at the neck, and a skirt, shaped like a sarong. The men wore a brightly coloured cotton shirt, a pair of white duck trousers bound round the waist with a sash, and a large straw hat. They used tables, stools, knives, forks and a white table-cloth at their meals, and decorated the walls of their houses with pictures. In the evenings the family sat round on chairs, the father and elder sons reading, while the mother and her daughters sewed.

By local law a man was allowed only one wife at a time, though the service followed the Mohammedan pattern. Divorce was by mutual consent, but advantage was seldom taken of it. Marriages were arranged largely by the young people concerned, though their parents’ approval was needed. There does not appear to have been any regulations prohibiting marriage with near relations. According to George Clunies-Ross the men had made a practice of beating their wives when he first inherited the islands, but he had forced them to abandon the custom. Their independence and immunity, however, seem to have lead in some cases to their neglecting their husbands and children, while, in Clunies-Ross’s opinion, the majority were the heads of their families. A woman
might refuse to cook a meal for her husband, and he would then go
to a neighbouring house where custom dictated that, as a guest, he
must be fed. They appear also to have taken little interest in their
children, and the infant mortality was high in relation to the general
health of the kampong. Several of the visiting officials seem to have
formed the opinion that infanticide was practised, where the child
was not wanted. Slocum is at pains to contradict this impression,
but he makes his contribution so naively that one feels that it must
have been inspired—"My first impression upon landing was that
the crime of infanticide had not reached the islands of Keeling
Cocos. 'The children have all come to welcome you', explained
Mr. Ross, as they mustered at the jetty by hundreds, of all ages
and sizes" (Slocum, 1900, p. 214).

In 1904 the Eastern Extension Telegraph Company established
a relay station for their cable across the Indian Ocean on Pulo
Tikus (Direction Island). The company obtained the lease of
forty of the island's seventy-two acres, and built on them offices
and bungalows for the staff. At one time the latter included over
thirty Europeans, but with the introduction of automatic machinery
the number dropped to eight in the years before the recent war.

The staff of the station included a European doctor who, by
agreement between Clunies-Ross and the company, also acted as
consultant for the kampong on Pulo Selma. One of the first
medical officers was Dr. F. Wood-Jones, who later became Professor
of Zoology at Melbourne University. He resided on Pulo Tikus
from June 1905 until the end of September 1906. He visited the
atoll again for a few months in 1907, as the guest of George Clunies-
Ross, and ultimately married one of his daughters. He was parti-
cularly interested in the formation and growth of coral atolls, but
he also made collections of other elements in the fauna, and exten-
sive notes on the history and state of the settlement on Pulo Selma.
His summary of the fauna was published in a series of papers in
These were later reprinted, together with an account of the kampong
in book form (1912). His papers on the fauna and flora provide
the first systematic account of the biota of the islands. They con-
tain much of value, but they suffer in parts from a considerable
carelessness, and an over-optimistic acceptance of unconfirmed
visual records.

The great interest of Wood-Jones's account of the kampong
lies in the customs which he describes which have now disappeared,
probably largely as a result of the islands' poverty. This refers
particularly to the exchange of presents during courtship, and
to the feasts celebrating special occasions. In Wood-Jones's time
a young man called on the parents of his prospective fiancée, and
offered them a token gift made of gold. If they approved of the

match they accepted it, and the young couple were then considered to be formally engaged. The girl would receive a succession of presents of increasing value, which it was incumbent on her to return if she should change her mind. The exception would seem to have been the initial gift, which traditionally consisted of a tortoiseshell comb, made by the man, for her hair. This she kept whatever happened; one of the Colonial Reports quotes an instance of a young unmarried girl with eight. The feasts described by Wood-Jones which have largely disappeared are a Harvest Festival (N’Kuda Bumi), a name-day festival (Sumalan) and an annual feast for children (Branchuhan). At the harvest festival little wicker baskets were prepared, containing food, and hung up in the branches of trees so that the spirits might come and share the feast. At the children’s festival aromatic substances were burnt in small smouldering flames placed under the beds of all the children in the house. The ashes of these were preserved carefully. If one of the children in the family of the man giving the feast was away, his portion was put into a bowl and placed on his bed, so that though absent he could still partake in the proceedings.

George Clunies-Ross married twice. Both his wives were taken from the Cocos-born Malays on Pulo Selma. He died in the Isle of Wight in 1910, and was succeeded as owner of the islands by his second son, John Sidney, who was still alive at the time of my stay there in 1941. The year before his death the islands were struck by one of the worst cyclones in their recorded history. Over ninety per cent of the coconut palm are said to have been blown down or decapitated, and the output of copra was reduced to a negligible amount for several years. In addition the destruction was so extensive that it was not possible to clear away the debris. Many of the nuts on the fallen trees sprouted under the cover of the decaying fronds, and as a result too many palms came into being. This was never rectified, and within ten years most of the islands were so thick that none were bearing fully. Eighty-one mature trees cut down in 1941, to clear ground for the defence of the islands, had only 125 nuts between them.

The islands suffered a second blow, which ultimately deterred their economic recovery, four years later. In August 1914 the German cruiser Emden, commanded by Captain von Müller, was in eastern waters. Shortly after the outbreak of war she sailed from Tsingtao, in China, with a roving commission to attack allied shipping in the Indian Ocean. By the beginning of November over seventy armed vessels were searching for her. On the ninth of the month she arrived off the Cocos-Keeling Islands, and Captain von Müller sent a party ashore to destroy the cable station. While she was waiting for their return the Australian cruiser H.M.A.S. Sidney, which had been summoned by wireless as soon as she was sighted, came up with her. In the running fight which ensued the

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Emden was out-manoeuvred and out-gunned by the younger ship. Finally she was set on fire, and in an attempt to save as many lives as possible von Müller drove her on to the reef fringing the south coast of North Keeling.

The landing party behaved with considerable courtesy, in spite of the fact that the employees of the cable station had been provided with Boer War pith helmets and rifles, and might therefore have been considered to be armed. They cut down the wireless mast, situated between two hard tennis courts, but lowered it so that it damaged neither. They smashed the machinery in the relay station, but spared the generating plant as it also provided electricity for the staff's ice-plant. Then they sat with the Englishmen on the roof of one of the bungalows to watch the fight. When it became apparent that the Emden was defeated the landing party took possession of a three-masted schooner, the Ayesha, belonging to J. S. Clunies-Ross, which was lying at anchor in the lagoon. They sailed under cover of nightfall, and reached Batavia successfully. The Dutch authorities allowed them to take on stores and water, and from Java they crossed the Indian Ocean westward to Lourenço Marques in Portuguese East Africa. There they abandoned the Ayesha, and some at least succeeded in making their way back to Germany to rejoin the Imperial Navy. Clunies-Ross was never able to recover his ship, and the compensation which he received long afterwards was quite inadequate to buy another at current prices. Shortly after the loss of the Ayesha he sold his other seagoing vessel, a motor yacht, formerly the property of the Kaiser, as he was unable to run her during the war, and was afraid of losing her.

In 1920 J. S. Clunies-Ross, still believing that the islands might recover their economic prosperity, rebuilt the kampong, in its present form, as a single unit. The work took the greater part of the good timber still on the atoll, and, coupled with the high price of sound wood in Java, made it impossible for a large boat to be built locally. As the post-war boom faded the price of copra dropped. This might have been offset by an increased output, but the congested plantations seldom produced more than a small proportion of their pre-war yield. The annual export of copra never exceeded five hundred tons, and was usually far below this figure. At the same time the population increased steadily. Clunies-Ross, though he would not permit the return of a Malay who had once left the islands, refused to force any of his men to leave. The result was that the excess of income over expenditure diminished until finally it disappeared completely. By the early nineteen-thirties it had become necessary for him to draw on his dividends from the shares in the Christmas Island Phosphate Company, and later even borrow money against an insurance policy on his life, to buy the rice and other foodstuffs that could not be

grown on the atoll. In 1941 the Cocos-Keeling Islands had a native population of over 1,150. In that year they produced just over six hundred tons of copra, their highest output since the cyclone of 1909. After deducting selling commission and freight charges to Singapore, Clunies-Ross received less than $10 a ton for it, where his father had been making £20.

**The Cocos-Keeling settlement in 1941.**

The sub-sections which follow this introduction contain summaries of certain aspects of the settlement on the Cocos-Keeling Islands as it was in 1941. The material and organisation were roughly the same as in the period covered by the published colonial reports, but the whole had been damped down by isolation and the islands’ economic condition.

The settlement still had many of the characteristics of a large private estate in the eighteenth century. The laws were nominally those of the Straits Settlements, but in actual practice the regulations enforced were mostly from the local legal code. Every family was provided with a house, which was maintained, and re-roofed

**Token coins in use on the Cocos-Keeling Islands in 1941. Some are shown obverse and some reverse. They all had the crest of the islands and the date 1910 on one side, and the name J. S. Clunies-Ross, with the date 1913 and their value, on the other. The values in the upper row are rupees 1, 2 and 5, in the lower cents 50, 25, 10 and 5, in each case reading from left to right. They are depicted approximately 4/5 of their natural size.**

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when necessary, by labour paid by Clunies-Ross. The people were at liberty to gather whatever coconuts they wanted from parts of the plantations, and to fish whenever they were not nominally working. All males between the ages of fourteen and sixty, the unmarried girls, and those married women and widows who wished to work, were employed, even if there was nothing productive for them to do. On the other hand the wages were low, and they were paid in a token coinage which could only be realized through Clunies-Ross’s store or office. They were calculated in Cocos-Keeling rupees, worth 5/7 of a Singapore dollar. Owing to the general economic conditions the goods for sale in the store were limited almost entirely to rationed quantities of rice, a little tea, sugar and tobacco, and occasionally small amounts of cloth or fishing lines. Men were allowed to buy in proportion to the size of their families. The remainder of their income accumulated in a paper balance which they could touch only if they wished to leave the islands permanently, or to transfer it to friends who were leaving.

Many of the households were very poor in worldly goods. The older ones had lost them to more enterprising families during the transition period. The younger ones had never had a chance to acquire them. The widespread shortage had, in some respects, produced certain admirable qualities. There was practically no stealing, except for occasional raids on Clunies-Ross’s orchard. Prosecutions for theft were very rare. The last murder had occurred nearly thirty years earlier. There was no prostitution: there was so little to receive that those so inclined gave themselves solely from natural affection or desire. Any man who had a good catch of fish, or a present of cigarettes from a member of the cable station, distributed most of his surplus to his neighbours and friends. Not to have done so would have laid him open to the charge of being mean (sokikir), the worst epithet that could be applied to anyone. If a family did decide to leave, their friends would often give them high proportions of their own credit balances, in exchange for promises of small quantities of goods to be sent down by the next supply boat. This was done repeatedly, even though experience showed that the emigrants usually forgot their promises as soon as they reached Singapore. In this way some households carried credits for several thousand dollars with them, though their own savings might have been only as many hundreds.

Income, residence, fuel, and in practice food, were assured to the people. It might be thought, as casual visitors often assumed, that their state must have been one of complete content. If it was the word needs qualification. The absence of all minor luxuries and all incentive to extra effort made it a colourless, listless content, from which the best would have escaped if they had dared. The factors that kept them back were the regulations forbidding

their return, strong family ties, and an almost complete ignorance of the outside world.

Recruitment of Javanese labour had virtually ceased by the end of the last century. The edict forbidding the return of those who had once gone away had been in force for nearly as long. Less than a dozen of the fourteen hundred residents on Pulo Selma had ever seen more of the world than the little group of islands, and the wall of sea that surrounds it. The majority had not even been as far as North Keeling. The last occasion on which men had been out into the great unknown and come back was when, shortly before 1914, the Ayeshia had sailed to England to fetch the body of George Clunies-Ross from the Isle of Wight. My boatman had gone on the voyage as a young lad. All that he could remember of it was that Southampton had been wet and cold, and he had paid a pound to sleep with a woman.

The absence of a real, cognate outside world seemed to have strengthened their natural indolence. There was no source of stimulus for most of the islanders. Times had been better, men had probably worked harder, there had been more rice and more clothes, but all that was in the past. In 1941 the mood of the people in the kampong was to take what was given to them, and do without what was not. The whole place had an aura of decay. The workshops in which George Clunies-Ross had built his boats, even the last of the boats themselves, mouldered gently. The stores and even the owner’s house seemed to be decaying quietly and unobtrusively. There was an almost complete lack of energy and initiative. A man who knew the islands well was asked in London what the people were like: he parted the questioner on the shoulder and said merely, “They lounge, dear boy, they lounge.” The settlement was an aged person, slowly slipping out of life, and nearly content to see it go.

**Physical Appearance** The greater part of the stock from which the islanders were descended came from Java. As might be expected the physical appearance of the majority fell within the category loosely known as Malay, with the wide range of modifications common to a sea port. They were mostly of medium height, slightly built, with light brown skins and straight black hair. To this it must be added that some were definitely thick-set, a few were tall, and the head-shape and features varied considerably. Two young girls clearly had the full, round face and the honey brown skin of the Balinese.

The most obvious departures from the mean, each represented by very few families, were in the direction of the Zulu, Papuan, Chinese and European stocks. The majority of these have been recorded by previous visitors. Darwin noticed the presence of the

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Chinese strain in some of the women in 1836 (1842, p. 547). Wood-Jones comments on the traces of Chinese, Papuan and Negro stocks discernible in 1905 (1912, p. 21). Forbes writes lyrically of a Papuan girl whom he saw in 1879,

“She was a tall Papuan ... in whom all the grace of body and limb that she inherited from her race had developed, under the happy circumstances under which she had come, into the perfection of the human female figure ... With all the respect of a servant, she mingled a kind solicitude in looking after my comfort and attending to my wants, which as a daughter of the island to its guest, she might without presumption use. A fresh rose was daily laid on my pillow and on the folded-down counterpane, while, that the water in my basin might seem fresher than its sparkling self, she sprinkled it with fragrant rose leaves.” (1885, p. 18).

It is interesting to note, as one saw in 1941, that the extraneous elements seem in most cases to have appeared most obviously in the young women. This was unfortunate for the individuals concerned in the case of the Zulu and Papuan stocks, as the general feeling in the kampong was that a light skin was more attractive than a good figure. Some of these girls were still unmarried, though past the age at which the majority had one or more children. The Chinese element was clearly apparent in about six families. Nearly all of them had a poor physique, well below the average for the kampong, and four out of the six cases of tuberculosis were among them. In spite of this the girls appeared to have no difficulty in getting married.

The traces of European admixture were not as conspicuous as might have been expected. It seemed to appear in the small children, several of whom had fair, and one red, hair, and to disappear later as the hair grew darker and the skin tanned from the sun. One old lady, who always wore a singlet, was dark brown on the exposed parts of her body; but when I had occasion to examine her chest and back I found that they were a very light café-au-lait, seeming almost white in contrast to the arms and face. All the members of one family, said to have been descended from the “Italians” on the Luigi Raffo, resembled Europeans from the Mediterranean coast. Normally this would obviously not have been a bar to marriage, but in the case of the girls of the family a concomitant factor seemed to be. They were unduly amorous, and it was the feeling among the young men that while they could not be sure that their wives would be faithful after marriage, they did at least expect them to be during courtship. It was also, I gathered, thought that it would be a great labour to keep them satisfied, and more than the seductive value of their large, doe-like eyes and pale skins were worth.
The staff of the cable station at this time consisted of twelve Europeans, six Malays from Singapore and about twenty Chinese, all men. The Malays and Chinese were allowed to spend occasional week-ends in houses on Pulo Selma, and the latter may have helped to keep up the Chinese strain in the population. Unfortunately a similar concession was granted to the Ceylonese troops. This privilege was not, and had never been, extended to the Europeans on Pulo Tikus, and except for the medical officer they were not, in practice, allowed to move freely through the kampong even in daylight. The greater part of the slight European element in the population must therefore date from the time when the Clunies-Ross family employed Danish or Norwegian masters on its trading schooner, or even earlier.

Health

The islanders were sturdy and the general level of health was high, though at the beginning of 1941, when over-milled rice was being imported, it seemed that some of the families at least were close to vitamin deficiency. Chronic ulcers on the legs and feet, which might take several months to heal, were not uncommon, but they represented the greater part of the conditions requiring medical treatment. The only other troubles that were at all widespread were round worms and amoebic dysentery, which appeared to be endemic. There were no cases of patent beri-beri, and the only dropsy that I saw was clearly due to cardiac failure. Inevitably the visits of boats from the outside world were invariably followed by epidemics of feverish colds, leading to several deaths.

Koch's bacillus was present in the kampong, but very few families were infected. During 1941 I saw only six cases of tuberculosis. On the credit side it can be said that there was no venereal disease of any form on Pulo Selma, and no tropical diseases other than dysentery. The happy state of affairs in regard to the former may not, of course, have survived the military occupations.

The mosquitoes present were Culex pipiens, and two species of Stegomyia (Aedes). The first was abundant in the kampong. The Stegomyia were breeding mostly in the coconut plantations, either in the rain water held in abandoned husks or in pockets below the surface among the coral clinker. They were most active from the middle of the afternoon to sundown, and were distressingly plentiful in certain areas. They invaded the bungalow in which I lived on Pulo Tikus in such numbers that it was necessary to wear boots, trousers, a long-sleeved shirt and a shawl over one’s head during this period. Nevertheless, apart from the irritation that they occasioned, they caused no harm.

The women were delivered by women of their own families or by two aged, unofficial midwives. Childbirth did not seem to worry

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either party, and in general was accomplished remarkably success-
fully. There were no death of mother or child during 1941.
I was only consulted once, and that was when I was called to a
girl of about twenty who had been in labour for three days with an
obstructed breach presentation. Four days later she went to a
dance, giving as her only comment on her actions that it was in
honour of the birth of her brother's first son. On the other hand
one must recorded that she did not feel equally strongly about her
own child, and it died suddenly when it was some six months old,
without, one was told, ever being sufficiently ill for anyone to be
informed about it: it was a healthy infant, but it had a hare-lip
and cried a great deal.

Relatively little use was made of local substances in cases of
sickness. The castor oil plant, *Ricinus communis* Linn., was grown
fairly widely, and a laxative prepared from the crushed seeds. The
sap from cut branches of the Waru Bétul, *Hibiscus tiliaceus* Linn.,
was applied to sore eyes, and the white exudate from several trees,
particularly Nangka-Nangka, *Sideroxylon* sp., and Poko Sémbojah,
*Plumeria acutifolia* Poir, put into the cavities of carious teeth to
stop them aching. Turtle fat was believed to be a good embrocation
for use in rheumatism. The islanders' principal remedies, how-
ever, were fasting, perhaps prayers, and removal to another place,
either to a different house or even, for a short time, to one of the
other islands.

The atoll was relatively free from obnoxious animals. A small,
flat scorpion, *Isometrus maculatus* De Geer, and the poisonous
centipede, *Scolopendra subspinipes* Leach, were fairly plentiful in
the roofs of the houses and among piles of fallen nuts, but barely
caused trouble. There were also two ants, one known as Sémut
 Api, *Solenopsis* sp., which had a painful bite, and the other, known
as Sémut Aman, *Odontomachus* sp., which bit and stung. There
were no snakes, and the latter was considered to be the most
objectionable of the land animals, followed by the centipede.

The reef and adjacent waters also contained several poisonous
animals, but there were no records of fatalities from them. The
Portuguese Man-of-War, *Physalia* sp., was seen fairly frequently
in the lagoon, but the islanders avoided the shoals carefully. There
were also Scorpion Fish, *Pterois russelli* V.H., and Ikan Lépu, *Syn-
anceia verrucosa* Bloch and Schh., in the reef pools. Several of the
sea-urchins left painful wounds, and the mucous from one of the
corals, *Acyonaria* sp., and a sea anemone produced a painful, irritat-
ing rash, sometimes lasting for several days, if it came in contact
with the skin. The most troublesome of the reef animals was
probably a marine worm, *Chloeia flava*, pinkish in colour and grow-
ing to a length of about four inches, which was plentiful in shallow,
rock-stream water. It was covered with long, fragile spines, re-

sembling spun glass. These pierced the skin easily, and gave rise
to sloughing ulcers which healed slowly. Cases occurred mostly
among women gathering clams and shrimps on the reef for food,
and those going into shallow water at night to defaecate.

Language

As early as 1836 Darwin had noticed that, in spite
of the diversity of their origins, the islanders were
all speaking a common language (1842, p. 547). This was com-
pletely so in 1941. They were using, as far as one could analyse
it, a slightly distorted form of the dialect of Malay current in
Batavia. It could be regarded as impoverished, in that they had
no knowledge of a number of words, such as religious terms and
those employed in connection with important personages, for which
they had no use. On the other hand they had formed new words,
particularly in relation to sailing and introduced customs, from
distortions of English or Dutch ones.

When speaking to strangers they talked moderately slowly,
and with breaks between the words. Among themselves they con-
versed with a strong rising and falling rhythm, almost like a sung-
song, and frequently with the words run into each other. It was
sometimes impossible to distinguish even the simplest statements
when made by one to another, though the meaning became clear
when the same words were repeated for the benefit of an outsider.
In some degree also difficulties were caused by changes that had
grown up in the initial consonants. These changes were applied to some words,
but not to others beginning with the same
letter. Thus kér had
become qér in such words as kérapu (kind of fish) and kériru
(an octopus), but not in kérani, kéras or kéring. Jendela (a
window) was called Jendela, and Delima (a pomegranate) Gélima,
but jémur and dèleng remained unchanged. There were also occa-
sional modifications of the final vowels, and the sound represented
in Johore Malay by au was, as pronounced on the Cocos-Keeling
Islands, best written o (e.g. pulo and ija not pulau and hijau).

Some words appeared to have altered their meaning slightly.
Thus bēchēra was employed for all forms of talk, including to tell
or instruct, while chakap was scarcely used. One of the most deadly
modifications had occurred with the word chantek, which was not
used for all meanings of pretty, where it was usually replaced by
bagus, but had come to signify only the condition best described as
"all dressed up to meet the boy friend." Shortly after my arrival
I was in a crowded house waiting for the head of the family to
take me fishing. A small girl walked across the room, naked except
for a string of bright red beads. It was an attractive picture, and,
making conversation, I turned to the young woman next to me and
said innocently Bangak chantek. This was taken for a daring
sally that I was never allowed to forget, and I was promptly assumed
to be kōkō, a term used there for any person or animal that was

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considered to be unduly amorous. The boobies, which occasionally flew over to the main atoll from North Keeling, were usually seen in short skeins. These were taken to signify males chasing a female, and the bird was thought to be always hēruhī, like the cocks in the kampong. Biäu, from biâsa (accustomed to), was frequently used in place of boleh, in the sense of being able to do a thing. There were other of these minor changes of meaning or implication, and no doubt many that I did not notice. They would make an interesting study, but it would have to be done, like that of determining the proportion of genuinely new words, by someone well acquainted with the Malay spoken in Batavia. There can be no doubt that many apparent modifications were merely the common usage of the Javanese ports as opposed to Johore.

**Names and Forms of Address**

The system of personal names was in on some respects peculiar. The majority of the women, and almost all the men, had different names. The number available in Malay is limited, and many parents had found it necessary to go outside their own language when they came to register their children. There were therefore men or women bearing the English terms for most of the common colours, of several of the men who had served for a term on the cable station, and of a strange assortment of public figures from Sloeum to Jellicoe and Haig. The pronunciation of some of these presented difficulties to a Malay tongue, and in these cases it might be found that person would have one name in Clunies-Ross's register, and a rather different one in conversation. A man recorded as Balwhinny was always referred to as Borl, a girl named Darling as Dulan and a Diana as Daini.

A further complication was caused by the custom, occurring fairly widely in this part of the world, of parents changing their name when their first child was born. The father would then become known as Pak followed by his child's name, and his wife as Mak followed by the child's name. These would be retained even if the child died shortly afterwards. At about the appearance of the first grandchild the old couple would both become known as Nek-nek followed still by the name of their own firstborn, who, if a man and still alive, would by then usually have changed his name. The practice of using bin and binte was followed only on the registration and other forms in Clunies-Ross's office.

In cases of serious illness a young person was usually moved to another house. If they recovered their name was changed, but the parents would not change their's again. When older people were seriously ill they seldom troubled to move, but they might change their name on getting better. Childless couples were generally referred to after a number of years as Wak, followed by their
own names, and later as Nek-nek. If they were popular, however, they might by courtesy be credited with a fictitious child, assumed to have died young, and so be known as Pak and Mak.

A man usually addressed his wife by her registered name, or an affectionate corruption of it. He would continue to use this after the birth of their first child, or address her as Mak without anything following it. Unghu was never used. Lu was used only to children, or to imply that the person addressed was inferior. The correct forms of address varied with the sex of the person addressed, and their age in relation to the speaker. They can be listed as follows,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>To a female</th>
<th>To a male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Younger than the speaker</td>
<td>Adek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The same age</td>
<td>Kaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A little older</td>
<td>Bibi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appreciably older, or old</td>
<td>Wak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very much older, or very old</td>
<td>Nek</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be noted that Wak and Nek were used in addressing a person, as well as in referring to them. To address a man as Nek- or Nok-nek certainly did not imply that one was trying to claim him as a grandparent. Dalo was never used.

**Beliefs and Customs**

The islanders were nominally Mohammedians, though their practices had in many respects been affected by the Clunies-Rosses' regulations. In a few small points they seemed to be following the minor observances of their faith more closely than during the last century. There were no pigs on Pulo Selma, and they would not take gifts of tinned pork or sausages. Spirit drinking had ceased, and very few families were indulging in toddy. The men who did assert that they had done to N.P. Trevenen in 1888, that the Prophet had never forbidden people to drink, but only admonished them not to get drunk.

Work stopped at mid-day on Saturday, and Sunday, not Friday, was the non-working day. A small proportion of the men went to their mosque on Sunday, but the majority attended only on special occasions. There were no daily services or prayers. Bulan Puasa was observed, but rather laxly and not by all the members of the kampong. The only festivals to which importance was attached were Hari Raya Puasa and New Year’s Day. The latter was celebrated by a holiday, and a lunch given by Clunies-Ross to the headmen of the kampong at which the principal dish was two of the venerable sheep curried.

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The people were certainly superstitious, but only a few of the superstitions could be said to be of Mohammedan origin. The father of the medical orderly resolutely refused operation when he had a strangulated inguinal hernia, even though he accepted the warning that he would die if nothing was done. He insisted that he preferred to go to paradise then with an intact body rather than a few years later with an eternal scar. The mother of a small boy to whom it was necessary to give an anaesthetic was convinced that he died when he became unconscious, and that a soul was put back into the body as he came round. She regarded the performance as showing great cleverness. Her only complaint during my remaining six months on the island was that the soul that I had put back into the body was not the one that went out. Her own child, she always said, had behaved much better. The north end of Pulo Selma was regarded as inhabited by spirits, Bungak Shaitan, and no one would go there after dark. It was thought that a girl, too young to marry, who became pregnant and did not confess her transgression would cause bad fishing weather until she did so. On the other hand, an unfavourable wind could sometimes be turned by burning the leaves of the Kayu Sireh.

The men were allowed only one wife, and marriages were arranged largely by the individuals concerned. The restriction on wife-beating was believed to limit the man to a stick of the thickness of his little finger. The women were not similarly confined in their activities, and there was one woman who was popularly thought to attack her husband regularly with a quanting pole. In general the children were well cared for, but there was no doubt that in some of the larger families the youngest were neglected, and one felt that in a few cases deaths of breast fed infants were due to a deliberate withholding of nourishment. It certainly cannot be said that children were invariably regarded as blessings from heaven, and a number of women asked for advice on birth control. It was a popular belief on the island that there had formerly been Javanese midwives who had been able to prevent conception, for a suitable sum, by retroverting the uterus. Unfortunately the secret had been lost, and the population increased by over sixty in 1941.

Young men were not allowed to marry before the age of eighteen, and girls before sixteen. The penalty, if it became inevitable that a couple should marry before the requisite age was reached, was a beating for both parties or a fine of twenty-five rupees each. In either case the man was allowed to pay for both. In view of the balance in token money which most families possessed the offence was always met by paying the fine. Pre-marital intercourse was probably not invariable, and there was a family of very attractive girls who had failed to get husbands in consequence of
their liberality. Nevertheless about a third of the brides were already pregnant. Marital fidelity varied considerably with individual temperaments. In some households it was virtually non-existent, and the head man of the kampong had a mistress with whom he used to discuss decisions of importance, after he had debated them with his wife and legitimate children. In some cases it seemed that the woman’s only complaint was if she thought the second woman was inferior to her in physical attraction. Divorce was by mutual consent, but permission had to be obtained from Clunies-Ross. It was rarely invoked, but then in some respects little was to be gained by it.

The public portions of the marriage ceremony were much reduced from the traditional Malay form, and occupied only an hour or two in the middle of the afternoon. Weddings were always solemnized on Saturdays. Both participants wore a modified version of the full costume, with their head-dresses decorated with artificial flowers. The bridegroom had his face rubbed with turmeric, and painted with thick black eyebrows and a false moustache. If possible he wore shoes or sandals. Thus equipped he went, under an old umbrella, to the bride’s house, accompanied by several of his male friends beating on tambourines and a drum at intervals. At the door there was always a slight delay, while he conducted a token argument with his future mother-in-law. After a short time one of his followers would discharge a single shot into the air, and the party then entered the house. Once he was inside the bride came forward and washed his feet with scented water. Then the pair sat on the floor together at one end of the room. On a pillow between them would be a dish of Rogat, from which both eat. The invited guests filled the remainder of the room, and were given cakes and sweetmeats. During this part of the proceedings the bride’s mother and her near relatives took portions of the food to friends and neighbours who had been invited, but had not been able to come. After a time the young pair would rise, and return demurely together to the house of the bridegroom’s parents, walking under umbrellas held by small children. A second shot was usually fired as they left the bride’s house. At the entrance to the bridegroom’s house they were met by his mother, who tied a long scarf round the pair as soon as they had passed through the door. Then she fed them several mouthfuls of saffroned rice with a spoon, and afterwards left them to sit side by side on the floor, each looking shyly straight to the front. Those who had followed them in received a second token meal. The whole proceedings had a perfunctory air, and the central figures seemed as uneasy and bored as at an English wedding. Owing to the shortage of houses the married couples generally took up residence with the bridegroom’s father until death gave them a vacancy.
The afternoon ceremony was generally followed by an evening entertainment. This was normally at the house of the bridegroom. It took the form of one of the usual kampong entertainments—a Dansa or a Selon. These might also be staged at any time, to celebrate a personal event, when a family thought that they could afford it. The house was stripped of its internal fittings, and one wall removed. A tarpaulin was usually extended outwards from the roof on the open side, and under it would be placed chairs, benches and tables for the spectators. If possible several members of the cable station were persuaded to attend, in the knowledge that they would take with them sufficient aerated waters to supply at least a fair proportion of the other guests. Inside the house three of the older men of the kampong, lead by the head man, played on antique fiddles. The Dansa was the more popular of the two entertainments. The music consisted largely of distorted versions of old highland tunes, to which couples, men and women, danced a form of Sir Roger de Coverley, with a number of interpolated movements. A single dance lasted about ten minutes, and usually exhausted the majority of the participants. The spectators generally kept time to the music by clapping their hands. Sometimes the sequence of dances would be broken by a scarf dance (Méleng-gok) performed by two of the men.

The Selon was usually danced only by men, and was not unlike the Malay Ronggeng. During the course of it one of the performers would quote or compose pantuns, which had to be answered by the other (though responses sometimes came from the audience). The pantuns were generally introduced by the lines,

Raksaksa yang sayang he!
Raksaksa yang sayang he!
Liah bara yang jau,
Raksaksa yang sayang he!

A considerable number of these verses were written down for me, but unfortunately the texts are now lost. A great many of them were very similar to, or identical with, pantuns that have been published from the Malay Peninsula. A few had definite local allusions, and would seem to have been produced on the island. Some certainly were, as they contained references to events on Pulo Tikus, of which details had reached the kampong. Two, which were explained to me with great delight by my boatman, brought in my peculiar habit of collecting bird skins, and putting dead fish in glass jars.

In addition to the Dansa and Selon the islanders sometimes staged a Bangsawan. This lasted over three hours, and was much less popular as more preparation was needed, and the audience could
not take part in it. I only saw it performed twice, and then could stay for only a section of it. As elsewhere the greater part appeared to consist of gagging and by-play by the actors, and it seemed unlikely that any of them had more than a vague idea of the general run of the plot. The principal performer was a Malay from Singapore, one of the only two men who had joined the colony during the nineteen-thirties. He was the comedian. To us his greatest asset was his habit of summing up ten minutes declaiming, in as many words of terse, if vulgar and limited, English.

Clothes The normal daily dress for the men was a pair of shorts or a brief sarong, with or without a singlet. A few had European shirts which were worn at work. The islanders were very adverse to going on the lagoon in full sunlight, unless they were adequately covered, and the majority also had sun-helmets for use when sailing. These had been begged from members of the cable station, and were treated with considerable respect. About twenty were the Boer War army helmets which had been issued for the defence of the islands in 1914.

The women normally wore only a sarong, but a few had singlets as well. When only a sarong was worn it was always folded above the breasts in public, until the woman had had several children. Then it was often fastened round the waist. The change was probably occasioned by the frequency with which the mothers allowed babies carried on the hip to feed publicly. Young women in company generally drew attention to themselves by adjusting their sarongs. Children were usually left naked until they were four or five years old. The boys then wore shorts or sarongs, and the girls sarongs or, more often, dresses, which they called Gowau.

On ceremonial occasions the men had a much more elaborate costume. Those who were fortunate enough to possess them wore long white trousers underneath an ornamental sarong. The older men generally preferred check patterns, either green and white or black and white; red and white was unpopular. The younger men frequently wore a sarong like the young women, with a broad flowered panel down the back. Above they wore a singlet, and over it a jacket of organdie or muslin, known as a Beskat. This had long sleeves, with several rows of tucks and frills round them, terminating in a frilled cuff. The body of the jacket, which was short and extended only to the waist, was similarly frilled and had a broad jabot. The colour of the beskat varied with individual tastes, but the most popular shade was a pure pink known locally as Merah Jambu. There were several pairs of shoes on the island which were much prized for dancing, a man’s prowess being rated in proportion to the noise that he made on the wooden floor. A few of the men had black songkoks which were worn for circumcisions, weddings and funerals: the remainder had small, flat hats.

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with coloured bands round them. They had words for socks and stockings, but there did not appear to be any extant. A few had European style coats, which they called a Jëkîl, and these were occasionally seen at dances.

The women's dress for ceremonial occasions consisted of a sarong, and above it a muslin or organdie këbâyak worn over an undergarment. The form of the latter varied with the means of the family. In the majority of the households it was only a singlet, which they referred to as a Buju Tidor. The older fashion, which survived in a few households, was a white, frilled, short-sleeved poplin jacket. The këbâyak differed from the men's bëskat in having short sleeves, a longer jabot and extending down to cover the hips. Two patterns existed, the more popular, though more expensive, had a broad frill on the sleeve, and a second at the cuff. The plainer version had only a single broad frill at the cuff. The këbâyak was always fastened across the bust with a brooch, unlike the bëskat which was usually worn open in front. The brooch was usually made of turtle shell mounted on a metal base; it was known as Pëniit and was often in the form of a sailfish or a flying bird. They also used brooches made of the operculum of the sea snail Turbo miroukarii Desh. The older women, and the younger if they had inherited them, wore gold or silver ear-rings. There was little jewellery in circulation in the kampong, but a few also had necklaces of red seeds (Adenanthera parviflora Linn.) or brown beads. The younger women, especially if they were unmarried or courting, often put several fresh flowers in the bun of their hair, and sometimes over their ears; they generally chose Këmbang Mëlatì Hutan (Gnetum niveum Linn.), Poko Patok Gëletel (Bougainvillea sp.) or Gëronggang (Cordia subcordata Linn.). The women much preferred, and on ceremonial occasions nearly always wore, sarongs with a flowered panel. The most popular patterns were those in which the panel contained a high proportion of pale areas. Green was the favourite colour among the younger women; the older ones usually wore appreciably darker sarongs with brown or black mixed in with the green.

The Kampong In 1911 the main settlement consisted of 213 houses, all identical in size and outward appearance, arranged regularly in straight, parallel rows. An aerial photograph of the kampong is shown on Plate 2, and a sketch plan of it as it was in 1911 on page 176. The roads were all named (one was called Piccadilly), and each house had a board over its front door, giving the name of the head of the family inhabiting it. There were four round mosques, rather like Kafir huts in appearance, placed neatly in pairs at the ends of two of the roads. Each had its own iram. Every family was attached to a particular mosque. The parishes were formed by inheritance, and not by sections of the kampong. Each household attend the same mosque as the
head of the family, who himself was supposed to go to the one that his father had frequented. As a number of families had left the islands at different times, the congregations had, by 1941, be-

A sketch plan of the settlement on Pulo Selma in 1941, showing the arrangement of the houses in the kampung and the garden and house belonging to the Clunies-Ross family.

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come unequal. One was much larger than the others, and one much smaller.

Clunies-Ross’s house was a big, two-storeyed structure, built on an L-shaped ground plan. At the junction of the arms was a square tower rising a further two storeys, and giving a magnificent view over the lagoon. The ground floor of one of the wings consisted of a single room, well over sixty feet long, panelled with teak brought from Java at the end of the last century. In contrast the walls of the entrance hall were covered with glazed white tiles, reminiscent of a public lavatory on the London Underground. The house was surrounded by a large garden, growing a wide range of fruit trees, and enclosed by a brick wall, ten feet high.

The cemetery was on the neighbouring island of Pulo Gangsa, which could be reached at low tide by walking across a sand bar through water a few inches deep. Formerly the dead had been buried on Pulo Selma itself, and the graves of the early settlers were still there. George Clunies-Ross had discontinued this practice when he became convinced that beri-beri was infectious, and he himself lies on Pulo Gangsa. Each grave was marked by a single piece of wood, about two feet high, pointed at the top if it was for a man and square-cut if for a woman. A clay skull containing water for the departed spirit was placed above it at the funeral, and in many cases cut flowers, which were sometimes renewed at intervals for several years.

There was also a small settlement on Pulo Luar. This was an old institution, dating back to the time of the third Clunies-Ross, who for a time had a herd of imported deer, both Rusa and Kidang, there. In 1941 there was only a vegetable farm, growing mostly pumpkins. It was presided over by a Malay from Pulo Selma, who lived with his wife and family in a house on the south shore of the island. No other men were allowed to land without special permission from Clunies-Ross. A number of the young girls were sent over to Pulo Luar for a year about their fifteen birthday. They went nominally to learn house-keeping from the farmer’s wife, but largely so that they should not become pregnant before they reached the official marrying age. In actual fact they merely worked in the vegetable gardens, and once every one or two years one was found to be pregnant when it was time for her to leave. The farmer then paid a fine. I asked Clunies-Ross why, since the man was obviously at fault, actively or passively, he was not sacked, and was assured that that would be impossible: he was the only islander who knew how to grow pumpkins.

Houses The houses were all identical in structure and plan. They were plain, rectangular buildings, about eighteen feet wide and twenty-six feet long. In most cases the interior was
divided by partitions to form two small rooms, which were used for sleeping, and a large room which was used for the reception of visitors. There was a door in the centre of each end, and usually one half way along one of the sides. These were flanked by window spaces, protected by shutters. The floor, which was about a foot above the ground, was of wood boarding and known locally as Dek. The houses were surrounded by gardens, approximately thirty feet wide and eighty feet long enclosed by a pagar. These invariably contained a small kitchen, about eighteen feet by ten, which was the normal living room for the family.

The houses were constructed on a wooden frame, with six vertical posts, as shown in the accompanying sketch. In most cases the outer wall, which was known as Dinding, was made of thin

A diagrammatic representation of a house in the Kampong on Home Island, with part of the wall and roof removed to show the internal structure. The supporting beams have been labelled with their local Malay names.

wood panelling (Dinding Papan) or atap (Dinding Kelapa). In a few cases it had unfortunately, been repaired with corrugated iron or asbestos boarding obtained from the cable station. The roofs were covered with ataps, made of the trimmed, fallen fronds of the coconut palm. These were dried for one to three weeks before they were used. A thatch was normally laid by about ten men in one and a half days, and generally had to be renewed every three years. It was believed locally that the roofs would have lasted longer if the slope had been steeper, but three years is a fairly reasonable period for the material employed.

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The principal woods employed are given below, catalogued under the portions of the house for which they were used.

Frame-work. Made of Kēlapa (Cocos nucifera, Linn.), Mēngkudu (Morinda citrifolia Linn.), Nyamplong (Calophyllum inophyllum Linn.) or Kēmbang Mēlati Hutan (Guettarda speciosa Linn.), as available. In many cases Kēlapa had been used as, though soft, it is light, easy to work and can be obtained without difficulty in long, straight pieces. The centre uprights, supporting the crown of the roof, were nearly always made of it.

Doors and shutters. Usually made of Nyamplong, Jambu Hutan (Hernandia peltala Meissn.) or Sēraya Merah (? Shorea sp.).

Floor. Made of Kēmbang Mēlati Hutan, Jambu Hutan, Kayu Sireh (Torrefortia argentea Linn.), Kayu Laki (Ochroma ? oppositifolia K. Schum.), or Kētapang (Terminalia catappa Linn.).

Walls. Made of Kayu Laki, Kayu Sireh or Kētapang, when wood was used.

Fences. Usually made of Mēngkudu, Nyamplong, Kēmbang Mēlati Hutan, Kayu Kankong (Schefflera frutescens Krause), Kēlenchi (Guettarda hundar Art.), Waru Bētul (Hibiscus tiliscus Linn.) or Waru Hutan (Thespesia populnea Soland.), as available, when wood was used.

The condition of the house varied very much with the character of the owners. Some were clean, tidy and in good repair, while others were dirty and messy. A small minority made no attempt to keep their fences intact, and a few had even abandoned them completely. The same contrasts could be seen in the furnishing. Some of the houses were almost bare, with only a little, broken furniture. Others had chairs, tables and sideboards, shelves on the walls covered with clean cloths and glass ornaments, mirrors, and extensive galleries of pictures cut from illustrated magazines. In a few cases these rivalled the collections of star-struck soldiers, and concentrated on the same subject. The semi-nude is undoubtedly of almost universal appeal. The better equipped houses had mosquito-nets, as Culex pipiens was troublesome at night, but the poorer families appeared to manage without them. Mosquito-nets were, nevertheless, among the many things for which those who begged freely asked frequently.

Boats. In general the Cocos-Keeling Malays are excellent boat builders. The craft has a long tradition on the islands, and in 1941 it seemed to be limited only by shortage of suitable
timber. In the last century they were able to import Teak, *Tectonia grandis* Linn., from Java, and to obtain Bastard Teak, *Berrya ammonilla* Roxb., from Christmas Island. With these, in the eighteen-seventies, they built a schooner of 178 tons, which was sailed to England, where she was granted a certificate of AI for sixteen years by Lloyds. They also had good local supplies of *Géronggang*, *Cordia subcordata* Lam., *Mengkudu*, *Morinda citrifolia* Linn., *Kembang Mélati Hutan*, *Guettarda speciosa* Linn., *Waru*, *Hibiscus tiliceus* Linn. and *Waru Hutan*, *Theespesia populnea* Soland. The small boats used on the lagoon in 1897 were described by Slocum (1900, p. 218) as exquisitely modelled, and by far the best workmanship in boat building that he saw on the whole of his voyage round the world.

The present boat, known locally as a *Dukong*, dates from the beginning of this century. The sides are vertical, or nearly vertical, and at the mind point the bottom is almost flat, being inclined to the horizontal at an angle of approximately six degrees. This angle increases towards the bow and stern, so that by the time the stems are reached the planking is vertical. These boats, which were made in three lengths, have a draught of about a foot and a keel of about six inches. Their measurements, taken from the average of three representative specimens of each group, run as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Breadth</th>
<th>Depth of Side</th>
<th>Keel</th>
<th>Total Depth</th>
<th>Draught</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15’</td>
<td>49”</td>
<td>11”</td>
<td>5.75”</td>
<td>24.5”</td>
<td>11”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17’</td>
<td>51”</td>
<td>16”</td>
<td>6.0”</td>
<td>27”</td>
<td>11.5”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19’</td>
<td>55”</td>
<td>18”</td>
<td>6.5”</td>
<td>29.5”</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The boats are steered with a rudder and lines, like an English skiff. They carry one mast, with two sails, a jib and mainsail. In a nineteen-footer, as shown in the accompanying diagram, the mast is set about six feet back from the bows and is twelve feet tall. In 1941 the kampong was very short of canvas, and as a result a number of the boats were laid up. Those that were still being used were carrying about fourteen square yards of canvas. This represents a good, minimum working sail for the hull. In earlier days, when the men could afford it, they generally carried slightly more sail, and most of them also had a much larger suit for racing.

These boats, even the larger models, could be sailed single-handed with safety in reasonably calm water, and they were light and pleasant to handle under all normal conditions. The defects were that they went about slowly, as a result of their long keel, and they crabbed if sailed too close to the wind. Inside the lagoon the men usually sailed alone, or with one or two of their

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Profile and (top left) stern and bow plan of a Cocos-Keeling Island dukong. The diagrams were drawn from a nineteen-foot boat built about 1928. The sail plan shows the working sails in use in 1941, the jib carrying approximately 28 square feet of canvas and the mainsail 96 square feet.

Children to act as ballast. When sailing single-handed the men sat on the floor or gunwale on the windward side, with the main sheet in one hand and one tiller rope in the other. When sailing outside the lagoon they were compelled by local law to carry at least one additional man. In very shallow water, especially when working with the seine net, they normally shipped the rudder, and punted the boat. At such times, with a man at each end, it could be propelled backwards or forwards with equal ease, and at a fair speed.

The majority of the boats were made in the Clunies-Rosses' workshop. They were sold to those who wanted them at half the
price of the timber and labour used, the family nominally retaining a half share. The construction of a boat would normally occupy six men for about a month, the time varying slightly with their energy and skill. The cost of the finished product worked out at about $250 for a fifteen-footer, $280 for a seventeen, and $320 for a nineteen-footer. The boats built in the workshop usually had the keel, stern and bow of Chenghai, the side of Teak, the ribs of Gêronggang and the mast of Mêngkudu or Kêmbang Melati Hutan. Of these only the last three could be obtained locally. A number of the boats had been built by the islanders in their own homes, in their spare time, one man taking about nine months to complete the work. These boats were built of any material available. As far as possible they used Gêronggang for the hull and Mêngkudu or Kêmbang Melati Hutan for the mast and spars. Occasionally Waru, or better Waru Hutan, both of which are fairly resistant to water, were used for the sides. It was not easy for them to obtain timber as there were few suitable trees left, and officially they were not supposed to cut these without permission.

**Natural Products**

The only tree of economic importance was the coconut palm. It was the basis of a number of essential articles in the kampong, and provided the islands' only export. Its uses for food are discussed under the appropriate heading, and for timber towards the end of this section. In addition to its employment in cooking, oil made locally was also used for lamps and, boiled with wood ash, in making soap. The latter product was caustic, and such families as had contact with the staff of the cable station always endeavoured to obtain European toilet soap for personal use. The residue of the flesh from which the oil had been extracted was fed to the chickens and ducks.

In 1941 thirty to thirty-two men were employed as nutters. Only fallen nuts were used, and they were dehusked where they were found. The men gathered between 2,500 and 4,000 nuts a week each, with an average of about 3,000, making a total of approximately 90,000 nuts from the whole unit. The shells were split on Pulo Selma, and the flesh extracted by girls and the younger married women. About sixty were employed, and on an average each opened 250 nuts a day. The men were paid at the rate of 2 Cocos-Keeling rupees per 1,000 nuts collected, and the women at the rate of 1.50 rupees per 1,000 opened. The flesh was arranged on long flat trolleys running on tram lines. These were pushed out into the open in clear weather, and returned to shelter at night or when it rained. Under average conditions the copra was dried for three to four weeks. The product was sent to Singapore in this form, and no oil was made locally for export.

The great majority of the palms were of the form known on the atoll as Kêlapa Bêtul. There was also a larger nut, known

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as Kēlapa Bēsar, occurring on parts of Pulo Luar, Pulo Panjang, Pulo Selma and North Keeling which was used occasionally. In addition there were small numbers of each of the following forms, growing on the islands given in brackets after their names, but they were not as a general rule gathered for copra.

Kēlapa Bali (parts of Pulo Luar and Pulo Selma).
Kēlapa Gading (parts of Pulo Luar, Pulo Panjang and Pulo Selma).
Kēlapa Ijo (parts of Pulo Selma only).
Kēlapa Merah (parts of Pulo Luar, Pulo Panjang and Pulo Selma).
Kēlapa Kandi (parts of Pulo Luar and Pulo Selma only).
Kēlapa Pēranan (parts of Pulo Luar, Pulo Panjang and Pulo Selma).
Kēlapa Povu (parts of Pulo Luar, Pulo Panjang and Pulo Selma).
Kēlapa Povu Puteh (parts of Pulo Panjang and Pulo Selma only).
Kēlapa Rambai (parts of Pulo Selma and North Keeling only).
Kēlapa Puteh (parts of Pulo Panjang and Pulo Selma only).

The copra produced was of a very good quality. Fallen nuts are generally ripe, and if gathered early have a high oil content. The principal difficulty seemed to be in obtaining and dealing with a sufficient quantity. There was no doubt that more could have been collected if a greater proportion of the islands' 250 men had been employed, instead of being used for non-productive work. On the other hand many of the nuts could not be reached owing to thickness of the undergrowth, and, as was mentioned earlier, the yield of nuts per tree in many sections of the plantation was extremely low. The part that the rats played in this is interesting. The rats on Pulo Tikus, which would seem to have been there since before the establishment of the settlement, lived in the crowns of the coconut palms, but had retained their normal food habits. On the other hand the rats which came ashore from the Robert Porter, in 1871, and rapidly spread over all the other islands except Pulo Luar, was feeding to a large extent on the stalks of the growing nuts. As a result a high proportion fell when they were about the size of an apple. This diet habit must have been acquired fairly quickly as George Clunies-Ross was complaining of it as early as 1896 (Keyser, Col. Rep. Para. 17). He appears to have considered using mongooses or poison to deal with them, but the former method was certainly never tried and the latter, if attempted, was soon abandoned. In 1941 J. S. Clunies-Ross was employing two men and a pack of eight dogs, to hunt

them whenever they came down to the ground. In this way he was accounting for about 100 rats a week, which must have worried them considerably.

No other vegetable products were exported, but the following plants and trees, growing wild, were used to a varying extent in the kampong. All of these except Kapas, and possibly Turi, were indigenous. Birch in his report of 1885 lists only ten species apart from the coconut palm, but it is probable that in his short stay he had overlooked the others.

Géronggang. *Cordia subcordata* Lam. The wood of this tree, which turns a dark slate grey with age, is hard and resists water well. It was used for boat building and in the construction of the houses. For the boats it was employed particularly for the ribs, but in some cases the complete hull was made of it. Its use for houses was not encouraged in view of the small number of mature trees.

Kélapa. *Cocos nucifera* Linn. The wood of the coconut palm was not judged to be suitable for boats, but it was employed in building the houses for the posts, uprights and cross-beams, particularly the Tiang Kuda Kuda. The fronds were used for the thatch, and occasionally for fencing and walls. They were also plaited to make baskets for carrying fish.

Kapas. *Gossypium brasiliense* Macf. The cotton tufts were used for lamp wicks.

Kayu Burong. *Pemphis acidula* Forster. Also known as Kayu Kériting. The wood was utilised for making knife handles and pestles.

Kayu Dékap. *Erythrina variegata* Linn. The wood was used for making small trays. The tree was not employed for any other purpose.

Kayu Jambu Hutan. *Hernandia pellata* Meissn. The timber is soft, but it was used for the floors of the houses, and occasionally for window shutters and doors.

Kayu Kankong. *Scavola frutescens* Krause. The wood was used for making fences.

Kayu Laki. *Ochrosia populifolia* K. Schum. This was considered to be a good, hard wood, very suitable for furniture, but the tree was scarce. It was also used for walls, floors and doors posts, but it was said to rot when exposed frequently to water.

Kayu Sireh. *Tournefortia argentea* Linn. The timber is soft, but it was used in some cases for the walls and floors of houses. The inner layer of the bark was cooked and eaten by a few families.
Kêlenchi. *Guiseudina bundoc* Ait. Firm stalks were used for making fences.

Kêmbang Mêlati Hutan. *Guettarda speciosa* Linn. The timber, though a little soft, was employed for house posts, beams, floors and fences. Suitable lengths were used for masts and spars in the boats.

Kêtapang. *Terminalia catappa* Linn. The wood was not considered to be fit for boats, but it was used when obtainable for floors, walls and doors in the houses.

Mêngkudu. *Morinda citrifolia* Linn. The timber was employed for railings and house posts, and the masts and spars of boats. Formerly the bark of the roots was used for making dyes, and it was even exported to Java for this purpose.

Nyanglong. *Calophyllum inophyllum* Linn. The timber was said to warp and twist on drying, and it was considered useless for boat-building. It was employed in the houses for beams, windows and doors, and for fences.

Pandan. *Pandanus* sp. The leaves were occasionally used to make baskets and plaited trays, but it seemed that few people in the kampung had the skill for the work. It was easier to make an impromptu basket of coconut fronds, and that sufficed.

Turi. *Nehania grandiflora* Pers. The inner bark was formerly rubbed on fishing lines to lengthen their life, but the practice seemed to have stopped by 1941.

Waru Bêtul. *Hibiscus tiliaceus* Linn. The timber was used for fences, the sides of boats, and the floats for seine nets. The fibre from the bark could be employed for cordage.

Waru Hutan. *Thespesia populnea* Soland. The timber was employed for the sides of home-built boats, like that of *H. tiliaceus*, and was considered to be of slightly better quality. The bark was also used for cordage, but it was inferior to that of the other tree.

**Food**

The islanders live largely on rice, augmented by fruits and meats obtained locally. The rice has to be imported, and in view of the economic conditions in 1941 each family was permitted to buy only a limited amount, calculated on the number of persons in it. They were also provided with tea and a small amount of curry stuffs and sugar bought from outside. The remainder of their food was obtained locally.

The tree of greatest importance to their diet was the coconut palm. The islanders were allowed to gather as many fallen nuts as they required. These provided them with oil for cooking, and in this connection was their principal source of fats. Either the grated flesh or santan were used in many of their dishes, and the...

former in making cakes with rice. A few of the more enterprising men occasionally tapped the growing spathes. The fluid obtained could be evaporated to give sugar, or allowed to ferment to produce vinegar. An intermediate stage in the latter process is toddy, which was drunk by some families. Nuts were often allowed to germinate until the centre cavity was filled with a sweet pith. They were then broken open and the contents, known locally as Appel, eaten. The growing points of felled palms were also used, though they were seldom obtainable.

Apart from the coconut palm the fruits eaten most frequently were the papaya and banana, and sugar-cane. Most houses had one or more flourishing banana and papaya plants in its compound. About one house in three also had a lime tree. About ten different kinds of banana were grown, but none of them were of exceptional quality. Clunies-Ross had a number of other fruit trees in his garden, the produce of which was stolen at fairly regular intervals and distributed through the kampong. The full range of cultivated plants, with edible fruits or leaves, which were obtainable on the islands is given below, in alphabetical order, under their local Malay names. It does not seem likely that any of these were indigenous.

Belimbing. Averrhoa bilimbi Linn. Used only for making sambals and Rogat. Grows only in Clunies-Ross's garden.

Buah Ciri. Muntingia calabura Linn. Eaten raw. Very plentiful in the kampong, a number of the families growing it in their front gardens, so that it gave shade to the road.


Cheremai. Cissus acida Merr. The unripe fruits were used as a flavouring in cooking, particularly to make Rogat. Grown by a few families.

Dendah. Manihot utilisima Pohl. Used to make Kolak, or cooked to serve as a vegetable in curried dishes. Grown widely.


Jambu. Eugenia jambos Linn. Eaten raw or as Kolak. Grown widely. This may have been more than one species, as the islanders recognised four kinds—Jambu Ayer, Jambu Kélam-pok, Jambu Muyet, and Jambu Puch.


Lombok. *Capsicum annuum* Linn. Used for flavouring sambals and curries, but not as extensively as in the Malay Peninsula. Grown widely.

Katis. *Carica papaya* Linn. Eaten raw or cooked. The male fruits were sometimes preserved in syrup, to make a sweetmeat. The flowers were also eaten in some cases. Grown by about half the families.

Kêladî. *Colocasia esculenta* Schott. Used to make *Kolak*. Grown by only a few families.

Labu. *Cucurbita pepo* DC. Eaten cooked. Grown by a few families. This and the next were also grown in some quantity on Pulo Luar, by the "farmer" and his labourers.

Labu ayer. *Cucurbita pepo* DC. Eaten cooked, as a vegetable. Grown by a few families.

Pigu. *Ficus carica* Linn. Used to make *Kolak*, or eaten raw. Grown widely.

Pisang. *Musa paradisiaca* Linn. Eaten raw or cooked. Grown by most families. The following forms were recognised: Pisang Gaji, P. Jarum, P. Kêpar, P. Lampong, P. Pulo Pinang, P. Mas, P. Raja, P. Rotan, P. Sêribu, P. Udang. There was said to have been another, P. Tandok, formerly, but it had died out a number of years before my visit. Of the above, P. Raja, P. Rotan and the young P. Kêpar were thought to be the best flavoured when eaten raw. Pisang Raja, which was large, and slightly reddish in colour, could be eaten straight from the tree. Pieces of the sensitive plant, *Mêniran*, were placed among stacks of cut bananas to hasten their ripening.


Sêntek. *Alocasia macrorrhiza* Schott. Used to make *Kolak*. Grown by only a few families.


Térong (Ijo). *Solanum melongena* Linn. Eaten raw (with *Rogat*), cooked in curries, or fried. Grown by only a few families.

*Rogat* was a paste made of a mixture of Bélimbing, sugar, salt, chili, and dried Térasí, which was eaten, uncooked, with raw eggplant or papaya. *Kolak* was a dish in which the fruit was cooked with sugar, and then santan added: it could be eaten hot or cold.

Little use was made of wild plants, except that the Jambu and Buah Chéri had spread to several other islands, including Pulo Luar, and they were, of course, taken where they were found. There was an edible fungus, known as *Jémor*, which grew on rotten, fallen trunks in parts of the plantations, but the islanders did not bother to gather it. Its flavour, when lightly fried, was rather pleasant, tasting, by itself, like a mushroom omelette.

The majority of the families kept chickens or ducks, and a few pigeons. The condition of the birds was usually poor, and their flesh singularly tough. For the most part they were killed only for ceremonial occasions, though if one was exchanged with the cable station for tinned goods the latter meat was eaten immediately. Many of the hens had a peculiar appearance in that their feathers curled outwards, instead of towards the body. Cattle and pigs were formerly kept on Pulo Selma, and goats had been tried unsuccessfully, but in 1941 the only supposedly edible mammals were the sheep, to which reference has already been made.

The principal source of flesh, and almost the only one for most of the members of the kampong, was fish. The lagoon and the waters adjacent to the atoll are well stocked, and though there was not enough to serve a profitable industry, there was more than sufficient for the population of the islands. The most popular method of fishing was with a hand line from a boat, which under suitable conditions was very successful. The boats were seldom taken out at night, but the men would try in all weathers during the day, except when the water was very rough. Trolling was sometimes tried inside the lagoon, but the yield was usually poor in return for the time spent, and this method was seldom employed except by men sailing home from one of the further islands. Hooks were usually made locally from nails, but in most cases the lines were imported. The usual bait for hand line fishing was one of the small land hermit crabs, which are abundant, or the Kepting Mata Pendek, *Oceypodo* sp. The best bait for trolling was a young mullet; spinners of white cock's feathers were occasionally fitted as a substitute, but small fish appeared to be more successful and were easier to obtain.

Two kinds of nets were used, a *Jaring* or seine net, and a *Jala*, or casting net. The casting-net was generally employed on

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the barrier or fringing reef, where small shoals could be found in shallow clear water. A standard net had a radius of eighty inches and a circumference of about thirty-one feet. The minimum mesh that was allowed by local law was three-quarters of an inch. The nets were made by the islanders in their own homes, but in 1941, owing to their inability to buy freely in Singapore, they had great difficulty in obtaining material. At that time a net required about four dollars worth of thread and five dollars worth of lead chain.

The seine nets were about six feet high and 144 feet long, with a mesh of one and a quarter inches. They were made in Clunies-Ross's workshop and sold to those who wanted them on the cost of the material and labour. It took two men about twenty-four days to make a net, using twenty pounds of twine. The purchase price of a net in 1941 was thus about $55. Owing to the amount of coral in the lagoon a net used three times a week would, even with patching, last only about eight months.

The seine net was used round the edge of the southern part of the lagoon, in water of a depth of three to four feet. The nets were generally worked in pairs, each being carried in its own Dukong. The two boats, with the rudders shipped, were punted close together over suitable shallow areas, while others worked out forward as wings, searching for the fish. When a large enough shoal was sighted it was driven in towards the centre boats, which were turned to meet it. As soon as it was in front of them a man from each jumped into the water, holding one end of a net, and joined up with his opposite number. The two boats in the meantime were punted rapidly round the shoal, paying out the net as they went, until the circle was complete. During this process the other boats came in from the wings, ready to head the fish off if they should attempt to escape. Once the shoal was surrounded one net was worked slowly inside the other, until the area enclosed was only about fifteen feet across. Then the fish were caught by hand as they attempted to force their way through the net, or lifted up tangled in sections of it. A good day's casting with two nets and six boats was said to bring in about four to five hundred fish, with an average weight of a pound. The majority of the catches in 1941 appeared to be only in the neighbourhood of 150 pounds. From this total each of the men helping expected to receive about fifteen fish for his labour. This applied to the men searching for the shoals on the wings as well as to those actually carrying the nets. It was thus fairly profitable to assist, but the margin for the owners of the nets was slight.

The Malays also used a Tumbak or casting spear on the barrier and fringing reef, often with considerable skill. They normally worked with it singly, but they sometimes gathered together in a line of about twenty men and drove the fish into the corner of a

pool. This massed attack was most successful on a rising tide, about two hours after low water. An alternative use of the casting spear was at night, with the aid of a torch. The latter was generally made of about three feet of broad guttering, stuffed with gunny rag or coconut fibre soaked in kerosene. When first disturbed by its light the fish were dazed, and if the man were quick enough, could be speared before they started to move. Palisade traps (Empang), set between two islands, and basket-traps (Bubu) were formerly used, but they were not being operated in 1941. The palisade traps had been forbidden a number of years earlier on the grounds that they required too many coconut fronds and killed too many young fish.

There would appear to be over 150 different species of fish in the lagoon and the waters immediately adjacent to the atoll. About one third of these were regarded as edible. The most popular and plentiful are given below, listed alphabetically under their local Malay names.

(Ikan) Bambungan. A snapper, *Lutjanus bohar* (Forsk.), usually taken on a hand line outside the lagoon.

Bandang. A white mullet or milk fish, *Chanos chanos* (Forsk.), taken in sandy water inside the lagoon, with a hand line, casting net or seine net.

Bélanak. Two species, *Mugil borneensis* (Flkr.) and a second *Mugil* sp. at present unidentified, taken in shallow, sandy water with a seine net or casting net.

Gérapu. Several kinds of snapper, *Plectropoma* sp. and *Epinephelus* spp., differentiated by the islanders by epithets based on their markings. They were usually taken by trolling, or on a line from a stationary boat.

Ikan Kongkol. *Scarus* sp., taken by trolling outside the lagoon.

Ikan Ijo. *Pseudoscarus* sp., a large fish taken on a hand line from a boat working over coral patches inside the lagoon.

Ikan Janggut. Several different kinds of red mullet, *Mulloidichthys* spp., differentiated by the islanders by epithets based on their colouring. They were usually taken on the reef or barrier, with a casting net or spear.

Ikan Kakatua. The parrot wrasses, *Scarus* spp. and *Callyodon* spp., of which a number of species were taken, mostly with a casting net or spear.

Ikan Kuning. *Lutjanus vaigensis* (Q.G.), usually taken with a seine net or casting net in shallow, coral-strewn water.

Ikan Kuror. *Polynemus indicus* (Shaw), usually taken with a seine net in the shallow, sandy water north of Pulo Panjang.

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Ikan Mata Bésar. *Scolopsis* sp., usually taken with a casting net on the barrier or fringing reef.

Ikan Puteh. *Hepatus triostegris* (Linn.), taken with a hand line, seine net or casting net in shallow, sandy water.

Ikan Törbang. A flying fish, *Cypselurus bohiensis* (Ranz), taken by trolling outside the lagoon, or inside in the vicinity of the entrance.

Ikan Wak Malam. Squirrel fish, *Halocentrus* spp., of which several species were taken with a hand line or casting spear.

Jolong-jolong. A small garfish, *Belone* sp., usually taken with a spear on the fringing reef at night.

Kakap and Kakap Kuning. Sea perch, *Lates calcarifer* (Bloch) and *Leithurus recticulatus* C.V., usually taken on a hand-line in coral-strewn water inside the lagoon, or, Kakap Kuning Lautan. *Lates* sp., in open water outside.

Karangsluit. The albacore, *Thunnus* sp., usually taken by trolling outside the lagoon.

Menarel. Two species, *Truthis* sp., usually taken with a seine net or casting net in shallow, coral-strewn water inside the lagoon.

Sayap Hitam. *Magil waigensis* C.V., usually taken with a seine net in shallow, sandy water.

Sembak. Several species, *Euthynnus* spp., usually taken on a hand line, working inside or outside the lagoon. The largest species caught, probably *E. alleratus*, was taken by trolling outside the lagoon.

Tenggiri. *Cybium* sp., probably *C. guttatum* (Val.), taken by trolling outside the lagoon.

Todak. Barracuta, *Sphyraena* spp., probably two or more species, taken by trolling inside or outside the lagoon.

Any of the edible fish, when fresh, were eaten fried with rice. This, as the easiest method, was the usual way of consuming them. It was customary for men after a successful day's fishing to give the greater part of the surplus catch to their friends and neighbours. Only six kinds were considered really fit for boiling: they were Bawal, Bélanak, Ikan Janggut, Ikan Puteh, Sayap Hitam and Sembak. A number of species were curried, but the best curry was said to be made from Bandang, Ikan Dongkol or Kakap.

There were several dishes, to be eaten with fresh fish or as a condiment to curry, based on Térasi. This, as prepared on the Cocos-Keeling Islands, was a kind of fish paste. Usually it was made from Gérapu, Ikan Puteh, Kakap, Kakap Kuning, Kakatua Buntal Panjang, Sembak or Todak. The fish, after gutting, flinging and cleaning, was placed in a tub or basket, protected from
flies, and left for two or three days to become slightly putrid. Then it was scraped, mixed with salt and put out in the sun to dry for one or two weeks. The finished product was eaten fried, with rice, or incorporated in one of the following,

*Bérêngkas.* The basis of this dish was usually Ikan Janggut, Ikan Ijo, Ikan Kuning, Ikan Puteh, Kakap Kuning, Menaret or Sayap Hitam. The fish (fried or fresh according to taste) was cleaned and then surrounded with a coating of a paste made from a mixture of coriander, turmeric, chilli, onions, tērasi and santan. This was kept in position with a wrapping of banana leaf, and the whole cooked gently for about an hour. It was eaten with boiled rice.

*Sambal Merah.* This dish, which was a light brownish red in colour, was made from a large number of fish, of which the most usual were Gērapu, Gubal, Ikan Dongkol, Ikan Kēlapu, Ikan Kuror, Ikan Peteh, Kakap, Kakap Kuning, Kakatua Bēsar, Katatua Kuning, Kakatua Merah and Sēmbak. The fish, after cleaning and gutting, was fried. Then it was broken up and mixed with tērasi, onions (preferably the larger variety), tamarind, chilli and a little coconut oil, and cooked gently. Sambal Merah was eaten with boiled rice, or as the condiment to a curry.

*Sambal Santan.* This dish was made with any of the soft-fleshed fish, of which Bandang, Bawal, Bēlanak, Ikan Dongkol, Ikan Kuror, Ikan Peteh, Kakap, Sayap Hitam and Sēmbak were thought to be the most suitable. The fish, after cleaning and gutting, was broken up and mixed with tērasi, onions, tamarind, chilli and a little coconut oil. Then it was placed in a pot with santan, and heated gently for about an hour. It was eaten alone with boiled rice, or as a condiment to fish and rice.

*Sambal Cholet.* This was a mixture of tērasi, chilli and lime. It was eaten as a flavouring with fried fish. Unlike Sambal Merah and Sambal Santan it was never taken with boiled rice alone.

*Sambal Tēlor.* This dish, a mixture of tērasi, onions, tamarind, chilli and eggs, was eaten with boiled rice.

*Sambal Tumis.* This was a mixture of tērasi, onions, tamarind and chilli, cooked gently with a little coconut oil. It was eaten as a condiment with fried fish or curry.

Any excess of fish retained was, if suitable, dried, partly to provide a change of flavour and partly as a precaution against a run of bad luck. Three different methods were employed, the choice depending on the kind of fish. They were,

*Ikan Kēring.* For this the fish was headed, gutted and slit open. Then it was placed in strong brine for two to three days, and

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sun-dried for two to three weeks, the period varying with the state of the weather. The finished product, which was eaten toasted or fried, was always stored in the open. This was the usual way of treating Bêlanak, Ikan Pêteh, Ikan Puteh, Menaret and Sayap Hitam.

Dendeng. This was the manner of dealing with the larger fish, such as Bambangan, Ikan Ijau, Karanduit, Sêmbak, Sêmbak Hitam, Tenggiri and Todak. The flesh was cut from the fish in vertical strips, washed and placed in pure dry salt for one night. After this it was dried in the sun for two to three weeks.

Pêda. Only six species of fish, Ikan Bordu, Ikan Janggut, Ikan Mata Bêsar, Ikan Kuning, Ikan Puteh and Ikan Serup Merah, were considered suitable for the making of Pêda. The fish was finned and cleaned. Then its throat was slit, without cutting off the head, and the guts and gills removed. Next it was stuffed with salt, and placed in a tub of salt for a night. Finally it was dried in the sun for a week or more, depending on the weather. The finished product was eaten fried.

In addition to the fish several molluscs and crabs were also eaten. One of these was a large swimming crab, Scylla serrata (Forsk.), found in shallow water at the south end of the lagoon. The only reef crab taken regularly was the swift-running Grapsus lenuicrustatus, known locally as Têrelek. They also ate a large rock-lobster, Udang Galah, which made an excellent curry, and the largest of the islands’ mantis-shrimps, Udang Pêlatok, Gonodactylus chaeraegra, which was usually boiled. Only three kinds of shell-fish were taken regularly. They were an octopus, Gêrita, reaching to a length of about three feet down the arms, which was boiled, a gastropod known as Siput Kêpala Viola from its shape, Turbo iajonkaitii Desk., which was plentiful on the barrier and was used for making soup, and a clam, Tridacna squamosa Lam., known as Kîma, which was generally eaten boiled or fried. We found that it also made a quite possible clam chowder soup. We also discovered another bivalve which made a good substitute for oysters, but though the Malays would gather them for us, they did not consider them worth collecting to eat themselves.

A great delicacy during the early years of the settlement was the robber crab, Birgus latro Linn., but in 1941 it had become scarce and I saw only five small examples during the whole of my stay. In the days when it could be obtained easily the crab was caught alive and fed on the flesh of the coconut for several weeks. It was then boiled, and after death the flesh removed from the claws and thorax. A large specimen would yield nearly a pound of meat. This was curried. Dampier describes the flesh as a very good, sweet meat. It is not unlike chicken, but with a rather fuller, almost Teal-like flavour.

The Malays also formerly ate turtles, *Chelone mydas* Linn., and turtle eggs. The majority of the turtles were taken to the islands from Java, and kept alive in the large enclosure on the east side of Pulo Selma. This practice had ceased long before my visit, and the resultant drain on the local stock had made the animals scarce. Only three of appreciable size were caught during the time that I was there.

The principal surviving alternative to fish was the sea birds from North Keeling. Their flesh, in the case of certain species, was regarded as a delicacy, and it was no doubt this which drove them away from the main atoll. A number of the islanders possessed shot guns, but they were without ammunition. The birds were therefore usually killed by means of a *Chambu* or flail. This consisted of an eighteen foot bamboo pole with about twenty-five feet of pliable wire, terminating in a small lead weight, fastened to one end of it. It was used from a boat, to which the birds were attracted by ground baiting, or from the top of a coconut palm over which they were gliding repeatedly. The man held the stick slanting back over his shoulder with the wire dropping down behind him. As the bird passed overhead the stick was raised sharply, and the weight thrown over its outstretched wing. Frequently this broke the bones, or at least entangled the bird in the wire so completely that it could be captured easily. The birds usually taken were the frigate-birds, tropic-birds and boobies. The best meat is provided by the frigate-birds, whose breast muscles when well cooked are definitely pleasant eating. The flesh is thick, rather like liver, and the flavour well marked and characteristic. It is reminiscent of both game and the smaller goose, and neither fishy nor salty. The adult boobies are rather indifferent eating, the flesh being stringy and somewhat tasteless. Juvenile birds on the other hand, when salted and fried in coconut oil, are well flavoured, and almost suggest smoked salmon. Tropic birds have the flavour and quality of a sheep that has been kept in cold storage for several years.

**Acknowledgements.**

The collection of much of the data in the latter part of this paper was only made possible by the zeal and co-operation of Sakmat, one of the Cocos Keeling islanders, who acted as my boatman throughout my stay on the atoll. I was also assisted considerably on many points by Mr Raymond Acton and the late Elton Young, who served successively as secretaries to J. S. Clinics-Ross during this period. The sections on boats, fishing and fish are based on another paper carefully preserved throughout the Japanese occupation of Singapore by Mr T. D. Rée, clerk to the M.B.R.A.S.; and certain of the earlier sections on notes that I had made in the margin of a book which was found in the Raffles College Library, and kindly returned to me, by Prof. N. R.
Notes on the Cocos-Keeling Islands

Alexander. Finally I am much indebted to Mrs R. Hough, who typed the first draft, and to Mr Chew Choo Seng, who retyped the expanded version.

APPENDIX.

(A) De facto owners of the Cocos-Keeling Islands, to 1944.

1825 Captain Le Cour.  
Master of the brig Mauritius.

1827—1829 Alexander Hare and John Clunies-Ross.

1829—1854 John Clunies-Ross.  
Born on Yell, in the Shetlands, August, 1785.  
Married Elizabeth Dymoke.  
Died on the Cocos-Keeling Islands, in 1854.

1854—1871 John George Clunies-Ross.  
Eldest son of the above.  
Born in London, 1809.  
Married Spia Dupong, in 1841.  
Died on the Cocos-Keeling Islands, in 1871.

1871—1910 George Clunies-Ross.  
Eldest son of the above.  
Born on Pulo Selma, Cocos-Keeling Islands, in 1812.  
Married (a) Lini, in 1868, (b) Ayeshah, in 1895.  
Died in the Isle of Wight, July 7, 1910.

1910—1944 John Sydney Clunies-Ross.  
Second son of the above.  
Born on Pulo Selma, Cocos-Keeling Islands, on November 13, 1868.  
Married Rose Alexander Nash.  
Died on Pulo Selma on August 4, 1944.  
Succeeded by his eldest son, John Cecil Clunies-Ross, born November 29, 1928.

(B) Selected Bibliography (Printed Sources).

(1) William Keeling.

The only biography of William Keeling is the note by Professor J. K. Laughton, in the Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. 30, 1892, pp. 300-301.

Original references occur in,

Purchas his Pilgrimes, compiled by Samuel Purchas, 5 vols., 1625 (reprinted MacLehose, 20 vols., 1905).

A Complete Collection of Voyages and Travels, compiled by John Harris, 2 vols., 1705.


Keeling himself wrote an account of his second voyage to the east, of which an abridged version was printed by Samuel Purchas. This is in Vol. 2, pp. 502-549 of the MacLehose edition (1905).

(2) Cocos-Keeling Islands, 1609-1941.

The following authors provide accounts of the Clunies-Ross family, or original descriptions of the Cocos-Keeling Islands, of varying length and accuracy. Clifford's essay in particular includes several misstatements, but it would seem in general that the atoll has prompted loose or over-credible writing.


Forbes, Dr. H. O. A Naturalist's Wanderings in the Eastern Archipelago, 1885, pp. 11-47.


Slocum, Joshua. Sailing Alone Around the World, 1900, pp. 210-221.


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John Clunies-Ross (1785-1854) wrote a journal of his life up to the year 1836, after settling on the Cocos-Keeling Islands. It has never been printed in full, but a number of extracts from it are quoted in Wood-Jones (1912, pp. 1-23).

(3) **Official Reports, 1885-1912.**

The following official reports were published on the tours of inspection by government officers and naval commanders between 1885 and 1912, inclusive. The lists below give only the name of the recording officer, and the date of his visit.

(i). Published in *Papers relating to the Cocos-Keeling and Christmas Islands, March 1897.*

- **E. W. Birch** 1885 (August)
- **Lt. H. R. Adams** 1885 (August) *(H.M.S. Espoir)*
- **A. P. Talbot** 1886 (August)
- **R. S. O'Connor** 1887 (September)
- **N. P. Trevenen** 1888 (June/July)
- **Lt. W. Maitland Dougall** 1889 (August) *(H.M.S. Ratller)*
- **Henry N. Ridley** 1890 (July)
- **Walter Egerton** 1891 (August)
- **Com. L. M. Bell** 1892 (June) *(H.M.S. Plover)*
- **A. R. Venning** 1893 (June)
- **Hugh Clifford** 1894 (June)
- **Arthur Keasler** 1896 (June)

(ii) **Colonial Reports** subsequent to 1896, issued separately.

- **A. J. Leach** 1897 (July)
- **R. J. Farrer** 1898 (September)
- **A. S. Baxendale** 1899 (August/September)
- **W. Langham-Carter** 1901 (September)
- **L. H. Clayton** 1902 (July)
- **A. S. Baxendale** 1903 (July)
- **Com. D. St. A. Wake** 1904 (June) *(H.M.S. Rinaldo)*
- **Herbert C. Robinson** 1912 (October)

(C) Cyclones.

The Cocos-Keeling Islands are subject to severe cyclones at fairly wide intervals. The following have been recorded during the last hundred years.

1862. Wood-Jones (1912, pp. 29 & 205) refers to a cyclone which wrecked the settlement in 1862. The Eastern Archipelago Pilot (1934, p. 19) gives two about this period, one in March 1861, and the second in 1863.

1876. There was a cyclone on January 28, 1876, whose effects are described by Forbes (1885, pp. 18-20). The barometer is said to have dropped to 26.5 inches. It was accompanied by a tidal wave which destroyed the storehouses, oil mills and most of the houses in the kampong. Corrugated iron from some of the roofs was carried for several miles by the wind. At the same time there was also a slight earthquake, as a result of which a black sulphurous fluid came up in the southern part of the lagoon, and killed nearly all the fish and coral in this area.

1893. On February 4, 1893, there was another cyclone, with the wind mostly from the north and north-west. The storm lasted for two days. Over 30,000 coconut palms are said to have been uprooted, in addition to other damage, during this period (Wood-Jones, 1912, p. 205).

1902. On March 4, 1902, there was a fourth cyclone, with the wind veering from south-west to north-north-west. The storm appears to have lasted for only a few hours, and to have been less violent that its predecessors. Nevertheless, according to Wood-Jones, over 300,000 palms were destroyed.

1909. The last serious storm was on November 27, 1909. The peak lasted about six hours, during which the wind blew first from the south, and then, after half an hour’s calm, equally hard from the north. The barometer dropped to 27.92 inches. It again was accompanied by a tidal wave, which left only five buildings standing. According to George Clunies-Ross about 800,000 coconut palms were uprooted or decapitated: the Eastern Archipelago Pilot (1934, p. 19) puts the figure lower, at 200,000.

(D) Word Lists.

No attempt was made to compile a complete vocabulary, in view of the high proportion of ordinary Malay words in use. A number of lists, relating to specific subjects, were made, however, to provide some indication of the range of terms, and the local modifications.
Five of these survived the war, of which two are printed below. Comments are given in brackets after the English translations where it seems advisable. Words or usages apparently peculiar to the Cocos-Keeling Islands are marked with an asterisk. Words employed widely in the Malay-speaking world are printed without comment.

(i) Terms relating to Dress

*Anting-anting.* Ear-rings.
*Baju Kawas.* Singlet, worn by a man.
*Baju Tidor.* Singlet, worn by a woman.
*Bêskat.* Coat worn by men or ceremonial occasions (= waistcoat, which it usually signifies).
*Bêrpinggang.* Bare above the waist. (An unusual connotation, but pinggang is the normal word for the waist or loins).
*Buntong.* Cut off short, used of trousers or sleeves (= Malay guntong or kotong).
*Chêlana Buntong.* Shorts (= Malay chêlana kotong).
*Chêlana Panjang.* Long trousers, European style (Sêlvar was never used).
*Dasi.* Necktie (= Dutch dasje).
*Gowen.* Dress with sleeves for a very young girl (= English gown).
*Isap Konde.* Hairpin (= Javanese-Malay tusok konde).
*Jêkit.* Coat, European style (= English jacket).
*Kain.* Sarong.
*Kaus.* Socks (= Dutch kous). Kaus Panjang was used for stockings.
*Kêbayak.* Woman's jacket with plain sleeves. Sometimes also called Kêbayak Pakai Pêril (frill) or Kêbayak Pakai Renda. (Javanese Malay).
*Kêbayak Tangan* Serong. Woman's jacket with frilled sleeves.
*Kêmeja.* Shirt, European style. Several kinds were recognised, K. buntong (with short sleeves), K. butang (the same, but opening all down the front) and K. tangan panjang (with long sleeves).
Kondi. Bun of hair. The hair was usually worn brushed straight back and curled in a bun at the nape (from kundai).


Pènitu.* Brooch. Brooches were nearly always made of turtle shell (tortoise-shell), and the word is derived from Kulit Penyu, turtle skin.

Sayak.* Dress without sleeves for a very young girl (= Javanese Malay for a stiff, pleated sarong).

Sèpatu. Shoe.

Songkok. Songkok.

Topi. Sun Helmet.

(ii) Parts of a House

Atap. Roof. To put on a thatch was Pasang atap.

Chagak.* Supports raising the house off the ground (cf Malay Kuay chaqak, the mount on which a gun or telescope is placed).

Dèk.* Wooden floor (from English deck, but normally only used of a boat).

Dündela. Window (= Malay jendiflu).

Dindung. Outer wall of a house. Internal partitions were Dündung Kain.

Lobang. The passageway through a fence.

Pagar. Fence or palisade.

Pintu. Doorway. The posts were called Tiang pintu, and the door itself Dawn pintu.

Rajak. Uprights supporting the roof truss.

Sètran Pís.* The beam of roof (presumably = strain piece).

Tiang Kuda-kuda. Upright supporting the crown of the roof from the tie beam.

Tulang Usok.s Rafter (Javanese Malay).

(E) A Note on the Plates.

The picture used for Plate 2 and Plate 3 upper arc Royal Air Force Official Photographs (Crown Copyright Reserved), taken

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An aerial view of the village on Pulo Selma (Home Island) in the Cocos-Keeling group. (Royal Air Force Official Photograph: Crown Copyright reserved)
Views of the village on Pulo Selma, in the Cocos Keeling Islands. The upper picture is a Royal Air Force Official Photograph (Crown Copyright reserved).
Exterior and interior views of one of the mosques on Polo Selma, in the Cocos-Keling Islands.
Young women on the Cocos-Keeling Islands, showing the range in facial types.
Ceremonial dress on the Cocos-Kerling Islands above, the male guests at a wedding: below, young boys attired for circumcision.
A wedding group on the Cocos-Kingding Islands, showing the bride, groom and bride and their mothers.
after I left the islands, and kindly supplied by Mr. E. Lloyd-Jones. The remainder are prints from my own negatives.

Plate 2. An aerial view of the settlement on Pulo Selma, with the lagoon on the left, and the sea just visible on the right. Some of the items in this picture can be identified by the reference to the sketch on page 176. The irregular clear area dropping down the plate from the landward end of the pier is damage caused by a Japanese bombing raid. In 1941 there were no breaks in the regular lines of the houses.

Plate 3 (upper). An oblique aerial view of the kampong, taken from above the seaward shore of Pulo Selma. The irregular lines in the water beyond the island are the walls of the turtle pond (on the left), and the breakwaters protecting the pier and anchorages (on the right). This picture also would seem to have been taken after the Japanese bombing raid.

Plate 3 (lower). A row of houses in the kampong on Pulo Selma, showing their general appearance. This is from the only line overlooking an open space. The other roads, with houses on both sides of them, were too narrow and overhung with Buah Chéri trees, to allow of a satisfactory photograph.

Plate 4. The exterior and interior of one of the four mosques. The lower picture was taken during a service at Hai Raya Besar, and shows the worshippers in appropriate costume, with a patch of white powder on their left cheeks. Some are beating tambourines, to mark the rhythm of the prayers. Women were not allowed to attend the service, but a few young girls usually stood unnoticed inside the doorway.

Plate 5. Portraits of four of the young married women in their party clothes, showing, to some extent, the range of facial types seen in the kampong. The girl at the top left is wearing a jacket with frills at the shoulders and lace at the cuffs, known as a Kêbayak Tangan Serong, Pakai Renda. That at the top right is the plainer pattern, known as Kêbayak Pakai Fêril. The one at the lower left, who had a rather dark complexion, is wearing a Kêbayak Tangan Serong, with the cuffs terminating in a frill instead of lace. The last, who had a unusually light complexion, is wearing a Kêbayak made of patterned material, in place of the routine uni-coloured muslin.

Plate 6 (upper). The bridegroom's friends accompanying him on his way to fetch the bride, showing, except for the
man in the centre, the ceremonial dress generally worn by the men. The man on the left is carrying one of the island's two drums. The bridegroom can just be seen under the parasol at the back right of the picture. The majority of the men are wearing the black caps known as songkok; the others have the small, round, flat hats, peculiar to the island.

Plate 6 (lower). Three small boys dressed in the correct traditional costume on their way to the mosque to be circumcised. They are about six to eight years old, which was the usual age at which this rite was performed.

Plate 7. A wedding group, showing the bride and bridegroom, accompanied by their mothers. The young couple are wearing the traditional costume. He has his eyebrows blacked, and a prominent moustache painted on his upper lip. She has her eyebrows thickened, and four black spots painted on her face; she is also, as she should be, wearing as much jewelry as she could borrow for the occasion. Around the bridegroom's waist is the long scarf which will be used to tie the couple together when they enter his parents' house.

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The Old Church on the Malacca Hill

by

Fr. R. Cardon, M. ap., of the Paris Foreign Missions Soc.

Addenda and Corrigenda

p. 189 Paragraph 2, ninth line: instead of "from 1521 to 1547."
read "to 1555—date of the Assentamento (treaty)
concluded with Leonel de Sousa."

p. 193 Last Paragraph, last line: instead of "On Sunday, the
27th November. . . " read "On the 3rd December, about
2 o'clock in the morning, on the beach of Sancian, Father
Master Francis Xavier surrendered his soul to God."
The first date is that given by Antonio the Chinese, in his
letter to Father Manoel Teixeira. It is now known to be
erroneous. The Rev. Father Henry Bernard, S.J., of the
Ecole des Hautes Etudes de Tientsin, tells me that all
recent authorities agree on the 3rd December as being
the correct date of the death of the saint.

p. 198 Paragraph 4, thirteenth line: instead of "Nossa Senhora
da Monte, though commenced in 1556 or 1567 was
not. . . " read "1566 or 1567."

p. 206 Paragraph 3, last line: instead of "only the foundations
had been laid in 1535," read "had been laid in 1635."

p. 208 After the last paragraph, add—According to Father
Manoel Xavier, S.J., Don Martim Alfonso de Castro,
Viceroy of Portuguese India, whose coming forced Mate-
lief de Jonghe to raise the siege he had laid before
Malacca, in 1606, died the following year (June 3rd)
of dysentery; "He rests in the major chapel of the Com-
p any's Church" (i.e., in the sanctuary of the Church of
the Company of Jesus)—Compendio de todos os Viso
Reys e Governadores do Estado da India.—In O Oriente
Portuguez, 1917).

