

GEOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

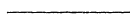


XII.

SHAY-PO 閩婆 DJAVÂ

BY

G. SCHLEGEL.



This country has been quite arbitrarily identified with the island of *Yava* (Java major) ¹⁾ by the authors of the Great Geography of the Ming-dynasty, who boldly assert that *Djao-oa* is the old country called *Shay-po* ²⁾; and, since, this statement has been accepted by all later chinese as well as european authors without verification.

Groeneveldt, in his "Notes on the Malay archipelago etc." ³⁾ placed implicit belief in this statement, and without troubling himself about the question that the geographical situation, the customs, dress and products of *Shay-po* clashed in the extremest degree with those of *Java*, took it for granted that *Shay-po* was *Java*.

1) In Chinese 爪哇 *Djao-oa*, always incorrectly written 瓜哇 *Kua-oa* by the authors of the Ming-dynasty. A.D. 1742.

2) 按明一統志瓜哇國○○本古閩婆國。

3) Batavia, 1876.

Now it is curious to observe that neither the Mongol *Toktagha* (脫脫)⁴), who wrote the History of the Sung-dynasty, and who was therefore well-acquainted with the unsuccessful expedition of Kubilai Khan in 1292 against Java, nor the authors of the History of the Mongol-dynasty themselves, tell us that Java (爪哇) was the old *Shay-po* (闍婆). On the contrary, they expressly state that "the customs and products of Java (*Djao-oa*) were not ascertained", which can not be said of *Djavá*, whose products and customs were perfectly well known.

When *Shi-pih* (史弼) came back from his unsuccessful attack upon *Java*, he was punished with 17 lashes and the loss of one third of his property. In 1295, a memorial was presented to the Emperor pointing out that he and his associates had gone over the sea to a distance of 25,000 *li*, had led 5000 men to a country, which had never been reached in the latter dynasties⁵), had captured its king and awed into submission the neighbouring smaller countries, so that mercy should be shown to him on that account, etc. So *Java* had never been reached by chinese envoys before the expedition of *Kubilai Khan*, and thus not during the preceding *Sung-* or *T'ang-*dynasties. With such a pertinent statement before us, it is impossible to say that *Djavá*, on the Peninsula, was the same country as *Java* major.

In fact, nothing warrants such an identification. The old name of *Java* was *Yava dvípa*, the Island of Millet, a name given to it by the first Hindu colonists. In Prâkrit this was pronounced *Yava-diu*, the Ἰάβαδιον of Ptolomy, and the *Yava di* (耶婆提) of Fah-hian, who was accidentally driven by storm to Java in A.D.

4) A.D. 1313—1355. Cf. D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, II, 565.

5) 弼等以五千人渡海二十五萬里、入近代未嘗至之國 etc. Cf. Groeneveldt, *op. cit.* p. 27; *Pien-i-tien*, Chap. 97 I, fol. 4 *recto*. The text has 250,000 *li*; but this is a mistake for 25,000 *li*.

414, although he intended to pass by the strait of Malacca on his voyage home to China from Ceylon.

Now the characters 閩婆 *Shay-po* are the transcription of the sanskrit name of the China Rose (*Hibiscus rosa sinensis*) *Djavá* or *Djapá*, as I have proved in my article on *Kaling* ⁶). It is therefore impossible that *Yava* and *Djavá* can be the same country, as the sounds and the meanings are quite different, *Yava* meaning "Millet" and *Djavá*, the "China Rose".

A protracted and conscientious examination of all the geographical notices about *Shay-po* in chinese authors, have convinced me that this famous state was situated upon the Malay Peninsula, and was well known to the neighbouring countries and to the arab navigators who traded with it.

Now if I had only to prove that *Shay-po* (*Djavá*) was such a state in the Malay Peninsula, I could content myself with quoting the authority of the Arab *Dimachqí*, who mentions a city called *Djaouah* upon the Malay Peninsula (*Merveilles de l'Inde*, p. 257), or of Mgr. Pallegoix (*Siamese Dict.* p. 883) that *Xáva* (pronounce *Djává*) was a principality in the Malay Peninsula, or that of the author of the *Tung-si-yang khao* (東西洋考) that *Tani* (i. e. *Patani*, upon the Malay Peninsula) was formerly a tributary state of *Djavá*, but that it now pertains to Siam; or that of the Books of the first *Sung*-dynasty, which state that in A.D. 430 *Kalatan* (or *Kalantan*), upon the east coast of the Peninsula, ruled over the island of *Djavá* ⁷); with which island, evidently the Malay Peninsula, and not Java, is meant.

We could quote *Kazwini*: "Up to this time the merchants came no further into China than to this country (*Jáva*) on account

6) Note 39. *Toung-Pao*, IX, p. 283.

7) 呵羅單國治閩婆洲。See "Geographical Notes", N^o. XI.

of the distance and difference of religion"; or *Yakut*: "Ma'bar (Coast of Coromandel) is the last part of India; then comes the country of *Şin* (China), the first part of which is *Jāwa*, reached by a difficult and fatal sea"; and further on: "only the merchants seek its (China's) outlying parts, to wit the country known as *Jāwa* on the seacoast, like to India; from it are brought Aloes wood, *Camphor*, and Nard, and clove ⁸⁾, and mace, and China drugs and vessels of China-ware" ⁹⁾. Friar Jordanus (1328) says: "There is also another exceeding great island which is called *Jaua*. "There are also trees producing *cloves*, which when they are in flower emit an odour so pungent that they kill every man who cometh among them, unless he shut his mouth and nostrils. "In a certain part of that island they delight to eat white and fat men when they can get them" ¹⁰⁾. Cloves do not grow in Java, and cannibalism is a feature ascribed to the Negrito-tribes (Orang panggang) in the interior of the Malay Peninsula.

Abulfeda says: "Au sud de l'isle de *Djāwah* on remarque la ville de *Fansour*, d'où le camphre de Fansouïri tire son nom" ¹¹⁾.

Now *Fansur* (Malay *Panchur*) is mentioned by Dimachqî as being a city upon the Malay Peninsula ¹²⁾, etc.

We could adduce that in Cochinchina the Malay people (Malaccenses) are called *Dân* (people) *Chàvâ*, whilst Java is only known as Batavia *Giang-lu-ba* (江盧巴), *Kêlapa*, or as Holland *Ôlo'n* (烏蘭) ¹³⁾ etc.

But this is not sufficient, for since the publication of Groeneveldt's

8) Neither *camphor* nor *cloves* grow in Java.

9) Yule, Hobson Jobson, p. 348.

10) Yule, op. et loc. cit.

11) *Ibid.* op. et loc. cit. Merveilles de l'Inde, pp. 238 et 241.

12) Merveilles de l'Inde, p. 257.

13) Cochîn-chinese Vocabulary, Appendix ad Dict. Latino-Anamiticum, p. 55. — Petit Dict. pratique à l'usage du Cours d'Annamite par Abel Des Michels.

Notes, Geographers are so accustomed to consider *Djavá* being Java (Yava) that it will be as difficult to prove it is **not** that island, as it was difficult to demonstrate, as I have formerly done, that the famous country *Fu-sang* ¹⁴⁾ was **not** America, but the island Saghalien.

I have thus first to demonstrate that *Shay-po* is not, and cannot be *Java*, and next to prove that it was a state upon the Malay Peninsula, and I hope not only to convince Geographers in general, but even my friend Groeneveldt himself of this fact.

We shall commence to lay before our readers the chinese texts upon which our enquiry is based, these being the same which Groeneveldt used, but to which we have added many other texts, (among others that of *Chao Ju-kwah* 趙汝适, kindly placed at my disposal by Prof. Hirth in Munich), not copied in the official history of China, and which throw an unexpected and welcome light upon the question.

The *Pien-i-tien* only mentions two embassies from *Shay-po* (閩婆) during the *Sung*-dynasty: one in A.D. 433, the other in 435, and then passes straight on to the Mongol-dynasty, A.D. 1292, when the country is called 爪哇 *Djao-wa* ¹⁵⁾.

Both statements are incorrect.

The first embassy is not mentioned in the Nan-king edition of the first *Sung*-dynasty (A.D. 1873), and the second is mentioned as coming from the state of *Shay-po po-tah*, sent by the king *Srī Páda Dhará* (or *dhara*) *Varma(n)* ¹⁶⁾.

14) *T'oung-Pao*, Vol. III, 1892, p. 101.

15) 文帝元嘉十年、六月、閩婆國遣使獻方物。元嘉十二年、秋七月、閩婆國遣使獻方物。
Pien-i-tien, Chap. XCVII, Article 爪哇 *Djao-wa*.

16) 閩婆婆達國元嘉十二年國王師黎婆達

Groeneveldt (Notes, p. 9) writes the name of this country only 閩婆達 *Shay-po-tah*, which he transcribes *Dja-va-da*, and tries to identify it with the *Yava-di* (耶婆提) of *Fah-hian*. He seems to have been misled by the incorrect statement in the *Nan-shi* (南史), or "History of the South" ¹⁷⁾, wherein the country is indeed named *Shay-po-tah*. But *Djapáda* gives no sense at all, and can never stand for *Yava-dvīpa*, this being transcribed 耶婆提鞞波 *Yapo Thi-pi-po* ¹⁸⁾, or simply (in the Prákrit-form) by 提 *thi*, as in 閩浮提 *Chen-fau-thi*, the chinese transcription of *Djambu dvīpa* ¹⁹⁾. *Shay-po po-tah* (*Djapá vāta*) can hardly represent anything else but *Djapá vāta*, "China-rose Garden" ²⁰⁾.

The China-Rose (*Hibiscus rosa sinensis*) grows everywhere in India, the Peninsula and Sumatra. In Java it is only found in gardens according to the researches of Blume and Junghuhn ²¹⁾. It is called *Djaba* in Siamese; in Macassar *Bānga bissú* and in Java, either *Bānga rádja*, "king of flowers", or *Bānga sapatu*, "Shoe-flower"; because the leaves of the flowers are used to blacken

陔阿羅跋摩遣使奉表。The *Nan-shi* (南史) transposes the two characters and writes 呵陔羅跋摩 *Hadhara varma*; 陔呵 stands for *dha*. Julien, Méthode, N^o. 2078.

17) 南史, written by 李延壽 *Li Yen-show*, in the middle of the 7th century. Wylie (Notes on Chinese literature, p. 17) remarks of this book: "A negligence of execution is observable throughout the work, frequent repetition of events, and some *unaccountable omissions*". Of course, this is not Wylie's judgment, but that of the editors of the imperial library's catalogue (Cp. Preface, p. IV).

18) Eitel, Skt.-Chin. Dict., p. 39.

19) *Fan-yih Ming-i*, Chap. VII, fol. 6 verso. Eitel, op. cit., p. 36, where the character 提 has been dropped after 閩浮 *Djambu*.

20) *Vāta* means an enclosure, a grove, a pen; *govāta* is a cow-pen; *pushpavāti* a flowergarden (Benfey, Skt. Dict. p. 833). That the Chinese, as less as the Malays, do not make a difference between *t* and *t*, can be proved by numerous examples. The Skt. *koṭṭa* (a stronghold) is pronounced by the Malays *kōta*. Hindustani *ṭaṭṭa* (a native-bred pony) is pronounced *tātū* by the Arabs, *tattoo* by the Anglo-Indians; Hind. *ṭaṭṭi* (mat of fragrant grass) is pronounced by the Anglo-Indians *tatty*. (Yule, Hobson Jobson, pp. 686—687).

21) Miquel, Flora van Nederl. Indië, I. 2. p. 156; Bijvoegsel I, p. 163.

European shoes ²²). Both names prove that the flower is not indigenous in Java, and that it has been imported from elsewhere.

The Books of the later *Sung*-dynasty say that the embassy from *Shay-po* in A.D. 435 was the first which came to China.

Another embassy from *Shay-po* came to offer tribute to China in the 10th month of the year A.D. 820 under the reign of *Muh-tsung*. This passage is found in the particular History of *Muh-tsung* ²³) and is not repeated in the Supplement (Book 197) treating of foreign countries. This is the reason that it has been overlooked by all European and Chinese authors, except by those of the *Pei-wen-yun-fu* ²⁴).

I now shall try to prove that the country called *Djapá-váta* or *Djavá* does not apply to Java (Yava) or Sumatra, but to the Malay Peninsula, as will appear immediately from the geographical position assigned to that country in the Books of the *Sung*-dynasty. I shall first give the Chinese text of the Notice on *Djavá* in these books.

22) *Filet*, *Plantkundig Woordenboek van Nederl. Indië*, Nos 1144 and 1175. Cf. *T'oung-pao*, Vol. IX, article *Kaling*, Notes 1 and 39.

23) 元和十五年冬十月、庚午朔 闍婆國遣使朝貢。 *Vide* 舊唐書穆宗紀, Chap. XVI, fol. 6 *recto* of the Nan-king edition (Vol. V).

24) Chapt. XX 下, fol. 85 *recto*.

Chinese text of the Notice on Djavà in the History of the Sung-dynasty
(Book 489, fol. 11—12) with the variants found in CHAO JU-KWAH
and in MA TOAN-LIN (Book 332, fol. 6).

- § 1 闍婆國在南海中。其國東至海一月。汎海半月至崑崙國。西至海四十五日。南至海三日。汎海五日至大食國。北至海四日。西北汎海十五日至勃泥國。又十五日至三佛齊國。又七日至古邏國。又七日至柴歷亭。抵交阯、達廣州。
- § 2 其地平坦宜種植。產稻、麻、粟、豆。無麥。民輸十一之租。煮海爲鹽。多魚鼈、雞鴨、山羊、兼椎牛²⁵)以食。果食有木瓜、椰子、蕉子、甘蔗、芋。出金銀、犀牙、箋沈、檀香、茴香、胡椒、檳榔、硫黃、紅花²⁶)、蘇木。
- § 3 亦務蠶織。有薄絹絲、絞吉貝布。剪銀葉爲錢博易。官以粟一斛二斗博金一錢。
- § 4 室宇壯麗、飾以金碧。
- § 5 中國賈人至者待以賓館。飲食豐潔。地不產茶。其酒出於椰子、及蝦蟇丹樹。蝦

²⁵) Read 椎牛, a peculiar kind of ox. *Chao Ju-kwah* has: 椎馬牛 for 騅馬牛, piebald horses and oxen.

²⁶) The *Hibiscus Rosa sinensis* (China-rose or Shoe-flower); in Sanskrit *Djapā* or *Djavā* (闍婆 Shay-po). Groeneveldt has skipped these two characters in his translation. *Chao Ju-kwah*'s list is more complete; he enumerates besides the products mentioned in the Sung-shi: 象牙、眞珠、龍腦、瑇瑁、丁香、荳蔻、葦澄茄、降眞香、花葶、番劍、白鸚鵡, Elephant-tusks, Pearls, Camphor, Tortoise shell, Cloves, Nutmegs, Cubebs (see Morrison's Commercial guide, 3d Ed., p. 189, and the Dict. of Medhurst i. v. 葶), *Myristica iners*, Flowery mats, Foreign (probably arab or persian) swords, Cockatoos. — There are in Java *no* elephants, *no* pearls, *no* Camphor and *no* Cloves, all of which are found in the Malay Peninsula.

- 蝮丹樹華人未嘗見。或以桃榔檳榔釀成²⁷⁾。亦甚香美。
- § 6 不設刑禁。襍(=雜)犯辜者、隨輕重、出黃金以贖。惟寇盜者殺之。
- § 7 其王椎髻、戴金鈴。衣錦袍、躡革履、坐方牀。官吏日謁三拜而退。出入乘象、或腰輿。壯士五七百人、執兵器以從。國人見王皆坐俟其過、乃起。
- § 8 以王子三人爲副王。官有落佶連四人、共治國事、如中國宰相。無月奉。隨時量給土產諸物。次有文吏三百餘員目、爲秀才。掌文簿、總計財貨。又有卑官殆千員、分主城池、帑廩、及軍卒。其領兵者每半歲給金十兩。勝兵三萬、每半歲亦給金有差。
- § 9 土俗婚聘無媒妁。但納黃金於女家以娶之。
- § 10 五月游船、十月游山。
- § 11 有山馬可乘跨。或乘輦兜。
- § 12 樂有橫笛、鼓板。亦能舞。
- § 13 土人被髮。其衣裝纏胸以下至於膝。
- § 14 疾病不服藥。但禱神求佛。
- § 15 其俗有名而無姓。
- § 16 方言謂眞珠爲沒爹蝦羅。謂牙爲家羅。謂香爲崑燉盧林²⁸⁾。謂²⁹⁾犀爲低密。

27) These last 20 characters are a little too freely translated by Groeneveldt as "and other palmtrees". The 蝦蝮丹 is probably the *Areca horrida*; the 桃榔 is *Caryota ochlandra*, a kind of sago-palm (Bretschneider, *Botanical Discoveries*, I, p. 13, 634, and *Notes & Queries on China and Japan*, 1869, p. 139 seq.); the 檳榔 is the *Areca catechu*.

28) Ma Toan-lin 崑燉盧麻。

29) Ma Toan-lin reads 諸。

- § 17 先是宋元嘉十二年遣使朝貢。後絕。清化三年十二月。其王穆羅茶遣使陀湛、副使蒲亞里、判官李陀那假澄等來朝貢。陀湛云。中國有真主、本國乃修朝貢之禮。
- § 18 國王貢象牙、真珠、繡花。銷金。及繡絲綾。雜色絲綾。吉貝織。雜色絞布、檀香、玳瑁、檳榔盤、犀裝劍、金銀裝劍、藤織花簞、白鸚鵡、七寶飾檀香亭子。
- § 19 其使別貢玳瑁、龍腦、丁香、藤織花簞。
- § 20 先是朝貢使汎船船六十日至明州、定海縣。掌市舶監察御史張肅³⁰⁾先驛奏。
- § 21 其使飾服之狀與嘗來入貢波斯相類。
- § 22 譯者言云。今主舶大商毛旭者³¹⁾、建谿人、數往來本國。因假其鄉導來朝貢。
- § 23 又言其國王一號曰夏至馬囉夜。王妃曰落肩娑婆利。
- § 24 本國亦署置僚屬。
- § 25 又其方言曰舶主爲勃荷。王妻曰勃荷比尼贖。
- § 26 其船中婦人名眉珠。椎髻。無首飾。以蠻布纏身。顏色青黑。言語不能曉。拜亦如男子膜拜。一子項戴金連³²⁾銷子。手有金鉤。以帛帶繫之。名阿嚕。
- § 27 其國與三佛齊有讎怨、互相攻戰。
- § 28 本國山多猴。不畏人。呼以霄霄之聲³³⁾、卽出。或投以果實、則其大猴二先至。土

30) *Chang-siao*.

31) *Mao Hinh-ché*, Amoy: *Maw Hiok-tsia*.

32) *Ma Toan-lin*: 蓮, a lotus-flower.

33) *Ma Toan-lin*: 呼以霄之聲。

- 人謂之猴王、猴夫人。食畢、羣猴食其餘。
- § 29 使既至、上令有司優待久之³⁴⁾。使還賜金帛甚厚。仍賜良馬戎貝、以從其請。
- § 30 其使云。鄰國名婆羅門。有善法、察人情。人欲相危害者、皆先知之。
- § 31 大觀三年六月³⁵⁾遣使入貢。詔禮之如交阯。
- § 32 又有麻逸國。太平興國七年載寶貨至廣州海岸。
- § 33 建炎三年以南郊恩制授闍婆國王懷遠軍節度³⁶⁾、琳州管內觀察處置³⁷⁾等使、金紫光祿大夫、檢校司空使持節琳州諸軍事、琳州刺史、兼御史大夫上柱國。闍婆國王食邑二千四百戶。實封一千戶。悉里地茶蘭固野可特授檢校司空。加食邑實封。³⁸⁾
- § 34 紹興二年復加食邑五百戶。實封二百戶。

We shall begin with § 1, treating of the geographical position of *Djavá* of which I give Groeneveldt's translation as well as mine which differs somewhat, that the reader may judge for himself.

34) *Ma* writes 之久。

35) *Ma Toan-lin*: 闍婆復遣使入貢。§ 31 and 32 are transposed by him.

36) *Ma* has: 建炎三年制授懷遠軍節度。

37) *Ma* has: 制。

38) *Ma* adds: 以南郊加恩也。自後、每遇大禮、必加食邑。

Groeneveldt.	Chinese Text.	Schlegel.
Djava is situated in the southern ocean.	闍婆國在南海中。	The state of Djavâ is situated in the southern ocean.
Going from the capital to the east, one comes to the sea in a month, and from here it takes a ship half a month to go to Pulo Condore. On the west the sea is at a distance of forty five days. On the south it is three days to the sea and from there five days sailing to the Tazi [Arabs on the west-coast of Sumatra]. On the north the distance from the capital to the sea is five days and embarking there it takes fifteen days to go to Borneo, fifteen days more bring one to the East-coast of Sumatra, seven days more to Kora [Malay peninsula] and lastly seven days again to Ch'ai-lih Ting, which is on the way to the land of the Giao-chi [Northern Annam] and to Canton.	其國東至海一月。汎海半月至崑崙國。西至海四十五日。南至海三日。汎海五日至大食國。北至海四日。西北汎海十五日。又十五日。又十五日。又七日至佛齊國。又七日至古羅國。 ³⁹⁾ 又七日至柴歷亭、抵交阯、達廣州。	Eastward of this country one reaches the sea in one month, and in half a month's sailing one reaches the state of <i>Kwen-lun</i> (P. C.). Westward one reaches the sea in 45 days. Southward one reaches the sea in 3 days, and 5 days sailing bring one to the state of the <i>Tadjih</i> . Northward the sea is reached in 4 days; and when one sails in a northwestern (read north-eastern) direction for 15 days, one reaches Brunei (Borneo). Again in 15 days Sâmbodja (Palembang) is reached. [From there] it takes 7 days to reach <i>Kora</i> . (Malacca) and 7 days more to reach <i>Ch'ai-lih Ting</i> which borders upon <i>Kiao-chi</i> ⁴⁰⁾ , and so one reaches Canton.

39) The editors of the *Pien-i-tien* read 暹羅國 *Siam*.

40) The present *Hanoi* 河內.

Djavâ was thus situated at a month's distance walking from the sea which watered its eastern coast, and embarking there and sailing up (northeastwards) one reached Pulau Condore in half a month. Now the distance from Java to P. Condore takes at least 20 days sailing ⁴¹).

Besides, if *Djavâ* were Java proper, the sailors would not have started from its eastern, but from its northern coast, whilst the sailors from *Djavâ*, on the Peninsula, can be said to have left their eastern coast for P. Condore.

Going southward from this *Djavâ*, the sea was reached in three days, and then sailing five days further by sea, the country of the *Tadjih* was reached.

This again does not suit Java, for certainly the distance from the north to the south of Java is much more than 3 days journey, and, besides, the south coast of Java was in those days totally unknown ⁴²); and if the sailors wished to reach from this south coast the western shores of Sumatra, they would have made an unnecessary circuit and wanted a good many days more, whilst they could have arrived there much easier by the strait of Sunda. But if we place *Djavâ* on the Peninsula, all is explained. The southern part of that country was three days walking distant from the sea. Suppose the sailors embarked at, let us say, *Kědah*, they could easily reach in five days sailing the N.W. coast of Sumatra or the present *Atjeh* (*Atchin*), which was, according to the *Tung-si yang K'ao*, formerly called *Ta-shih* (*Tazi* or *Tadjik*) ⁴³).

41) Cf. Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 39.

42) Even at the end of the 16th century, Linschoten says of Java: Its breath is as yet unknown; some conceiving it to be a part of the Terra Australis extending from opposite the Cape of Good Hope. However it is commonly held to be an island (Chap. XX) Yule, Marco Polo, II, p. 218.

43) 啞齊國即蘇文答刺國也。其先名大食。今一名蘇文達那。廣東通志曰、自滿刺加九

By taking *Djavá* to be Java major, instead of the Peninsula, Groeneveldt has placed upon the southwestcoast of Sumatra some hypothetical persian colonies, of which not a trace is to be found in native, chinese or european sources.

But not only the *Tung-si-yang K'ao*, but also the General Topography of Canton (廣東通志); both expressly state that “*Ta-shih* was the old name of *Atjèh* or *Atchin*, which formerly belonged to the jurisdiction of *Samudra*” (啞齊即蘇門答刺國, *Tung-si-yang k'ao*, Chap. IV, fol. 3 verso). “*Samudra* is the old kingdom of the Tadjiks” (蘇門答刺古大食國也, General Topography of Canton).

Now, according to Dr. Snouck Hurgronje (*De Atjèhers*, Vol. I, p. 18), *Atjeh* was probably islamized from Hindostan. *Teungku kutakarang* pretends that the Atchinese are “a mixture of Arabs, Persians and Turks (*ibid.* p. 19). It is a fact that all saints and masters of the law, and most of the big merchants, Shahbandars (harbourmasters), scribes and confidants of the princes were strangers” (*ibid.* p. 21). So we have to localize the *Tadjik* (arabian and persian) colonies in *Atchin* itself, which could by no possible means be reached in 5 days sailing from the southern shores of Java. We shall return to this subject, in our article on the states of Sumatra.

From the northern part of *Djavá* the sea could be reached in 4 days, and sailing hence, Borneo could be reached in 15 days. For Java this statement would be impossible, as the seavoyage from Java to the N.W. coast of Borneo takes some 40 to 50 days, and not 15 as is said in the narrative ⁴⁴).

晝夜可至。The state of *Atjèh* is the state of Sumatra. Its former name was *Ta-shih*; now one of its names is Sumundana. The general Topography of Canton says, that it could be reached in nine days and nights from Malacca. (東西洋考, Chap. IX, fol. 7 recto and Chap. IV, fol. 4 recto).

⁴⁴ In Fa-hian's time (A.D. 414), the voyage from Java to Canton took generally 50 days. (Cf. Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 8).

From *Djavâ* (on the Peninsula) *Sĕmbodja* (Palembang) could equally be reached in 15 days, which is exactly the same time it takes nowadays. From Java to Palembang the voyage lasts at the utmost 8 days⁴⁵). Then leaving Palembang, and sailing in a N.E. direction, Malacca (Kora) is reached in 7 days; and in another week *Ch'ai-lih Ting*, upon the borders of *Kiao-chi* (the modern *Hanoi* 河內 in Cochinchina), and hence Canton, were reached.

By this interpretation all difficulties are solved. By wishing to make *Djavâ* to mean Java proper (as Groeneveldt does) and not the Peninsula (as I do), the whole passage is unintelligible; and it is in vain that Groeneveldt (op. cit. p. 19) tries to extricate himself out of this dilemma by imputing the fault to the bad chinese maps. For if chinese *maps* are confessedly bad (as we readily grant), their descriptions and sailing directions are fairly exact, as the above narrative again shows.

For we must not forget that the ancient geographers, Greek as well as Chinese, did not place the Malay Peninsula in its proper situation, from N.W. to S.E., but curved its southern extremity up northward, so as to form with Cambodja a crescent or horn; with other words they placed the Peninsula as lying nearly parallel West to East.

All the bearings given in the narrative have therefore to be modified according to the imagined situation of the Peninsula, and not according to its actual true situation.

§ 2. "*Djavâ*", it is further said in the books of the *Sung*-dynasty, "produces *gold*, silver, rhinoceroses, *ivory*, lignum aloes, sandalwood, anise, pepper, pinang, *sulphur*, *China-roses* and sapanwood".

45) 舊巷古名三佛齊國。自爪哇順風八晝夜可至其處。Vide 星槎勝覽, Description of Ku-kang.

Now no **gold**, or nearly none, is found in Java ⁴⁶⁾, and there are no **elephants**, so that *ivory* can not be said to be a product of this country. On the contrary, the Peninsula teems with elephants and is renowned for its great quantity of gold. It is a staple export of *Kalantan*, *Tringano* and *Pahang*. Barbosa says, gold was so abundant in Malacca, that it was reckoned by Bahars of 4 cwt. Hamilton, at the beginning of last century, says *Pahang* alone in some years exported above 8 cwt.

Sapanwood is abundant on the coast ⁴⁷⁾.

The *Hibiscus rosa sinensis*, called in Sanskrit *Djapá* or *Djavá*, is not indigenous in Java, whilst it is found in the Peninsula, as I have stated above (p. 249, or p. 5 of the reprint).

§ 3. The Books of the Sung-dynasty further say that the inhabitants of *Shay-po* cut *leaves of silver* and use them as money ⁴⁸⁾.

Now the coarse *chopped* ⁴⁹⁾ lumps of silver found in Java are *very thick*, as may be seen in the works of Millies, "Recherches sur les Monnaies des Indigènes etc.", Plate I, and Van der Chijs, "De Munten van Nederlandsch Indië", Plate XII and XIII.

Such light silver coins as the Chinese describe, are only found in Nepaul (Millies, op. cit., p. 114) and in Kědah, upon the Malay peninsula; one of these last had a diameter of 21 mill. and weighed 3,13 gram (*Ibid.* p. 133).

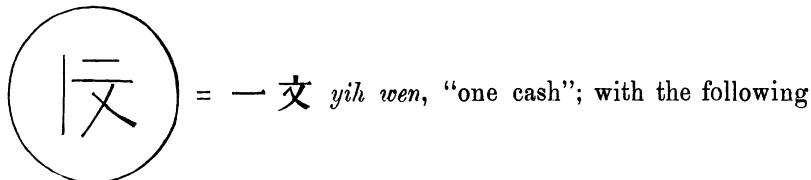
46) Yule, Marco Polo, II, p. 217, note 1. Aardrijkskundig en Statistisch Woordenboek van Ned-Indië, i. v. *Goud*. *T'oung-pao*, Vol. IX, p. 277, note 14.

47) Yule, op. cit. II, p. 222.

48) 剪銀葉爲錢博易。 Cf. Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 16.

49) Millies, op. cit., p. 12, says: "Les monnaies d'argent de Java sont en partie moins rares. . . . Ce sont des morceaux d'argent assez épais, irréguliers, plus ou moins courbés, comme coupés d'une petite tasse ou hémisphère, ou bien la moitié ou le quart d'une soucoupe, toujours avec une forte incuse dans la partie concave". Some weighed 61^{gr.}, 50, others 28^{gr.}, 26, 53^{gr.}, 5, 21^{gr.}, 9, 14^{gr.}, 7, etc. *Ibid.*, p. 12—13. Much too heavy for coins cut of *leaves* of silver. Van der Chijs, p. 131, says: that they are partially fragments of concave or flat lumps of silver, probably first cast in a regular, flat round form, and afterwards roughly chopped into pieces and stamped.

Such a coin was in the imperial chinese numismatic cabinet, and is described in the *K'in-ting tsien-luh* (欽定錢錄), Chap. XIV, fol. 3 *verso*, as coming from *Shay-po*. It is a circular coin, of a diameter of 22 mill., having in chinese characters the legend



description: "The coin (represented to the) right, is from *Shay-po*". On the aversé stands "one cash". According to the new books of the T'ang-dynasty *Kaling* was also called *Davá* or *Djavá*. They possessed there characters and letters which they wrote upon palm-leaves. According to the books of the Sung-dynasty, *Shay-po* (*Djavá*) was situated in the southern ocean, where they cut silver leaves as money which they used for barter. Now as the aforesaid coin is *extremely light*, and does not look as if it had been *cast*, we believe that it is the cash of which the historian of the Sung-dynasty says that it was made of *cut leaves*"⁵⁰).

This coin is thus from *Kaling*, which I have proved to have

50) 右闍婆國錢。面曰一文。新唐書訶陵亦曰社婆曰闍婆。有文字。以貝多葉寫之。宋史闍婆國在南海中。翦銀葉爲錢博易。今按此錢輕甚、不類鑄造、蓋宋史所云翦葉爲之者。

Chao Ju-koah says that the inhabitants of *Shay-po* (闍婆) cast money consisting of an alloy of copper, silver, calamine and tin; that 60 pieces of this coin were worth one tael of gold, and 32 half a tael of gold 以銅銀鋤錫雜鑄爲錢。錢六十準金一兩。三十二準金半兩。V_{de} 趙汝适諸蕃志。 This proves again that *Shay-po* is the Malay Peninsula, and not Java, or no tin is found in Java, whilst it abounds in the Peninsula.

been situated upon the Malay Peninsula, whereupon also *Kedah* was situated ⁵¹).

We have here a new proof that *Shay-po* is not Java, but the Malay Peninsula.

The Javanese never used silver as a currency, but always Chinese copper coins.

This is proved a. o. by a collection of 35 Chinese copper cash, counting 18 different casts, dug up in Djokjokerto by Dr. Karl Ritter von Scherzer, and described by Dr. Pfizmaier ⁵²). Thereunder were two specimens of the period **開元通寶** of the T'ang-dynasty, A.D. 713—741; one of the later Sung-dynasty, of the period **聖宗元寶**, A.D. 983—1031; one of the period **景德元寶** of the Sung-dynasty, A.D. 1004—1007; one of the period **天禧通寶** A.D. 1017—1021; one of the period **天聖元寶**, A.D. 1023—1031; three of the period **皇祐通寶**, A.D. 1049—1053; two of the period **嘉祐通寶**, A.D. 1056—1063; two of the period **熙寧元寶**, A.D. 1068—1077; six of the same period and legend in Chüan-characters; two of the period **元豐通寶**, A.D. 1078—1085; three of the same period in current characters **草字**; three of the period **元祐通寶**, A.D. 1086—1093; two of the same period in Chüan-characters; two of the period **紹聖元寶**, A.D. 1094—1097; one of the same period in current characters; one of the period **政和通寶**, A.D. 1111—1117, and one of the period **宣和通寶**, A.D. 1119—1125.

The finding of these coins does not positively prove that there existed intercourse between China and Java during the T'ang- and

51) In *Kora*, upon the Peninsula, taxes were paid by the people in silver **哥羅國。賦稅人出銀一銖**. Cf. Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 121.

52) Bericht über einige von Hrn. Dr. Karl Ritter von Scherzer eingesandte Chin. und Jap. Münzen. Wien, Karl Gerold's Sohn, 1861.

Sung-dynasties; for coins of this period are actually still in currency in China, and Mr. E. W. THWING enumerates among them cash of 開元 A.D. 620 and 乾元 A.D. 756 from the T'ang-dynasty, and 宋元 A.D. 960, 太平 A.D. 976, 淳化 A.D. 990, 至道 A.D. 995, 咸平 A.D. 998, 景德 A.D. 1008 etc. all from the *Sung*-dynasty⁵³). The Javanese never had any currency but chinese cash, and those found in Djokjokerto may have been imported at a comparatively late period.

Even as late as 1416, the Javanese only used chinese copper cash as a medium of currency⁵⁴).

§ 4. According to the Historian of the *Sung*-dynasty, the houses in *Shay-po* were handsome and adorned with gold and green jadestone.

Groeneveldt (p. 16) translates: "their houses are handsome and adorned with green and yellow tiles". He seems to have confounded 碧 with 甃, both pronounced *p'ih*, and which latter character means "tile". But 碧 never has this meaning.

Even when adopting Groeneveldt's interpretation, the fact does not apply to Java, where, as late as 1416, only *siraps*, or wooden shingles, and straw was used for roofing⁵⁵).

In Malacca (1537) the forepart of the king's house was covered

53) *China Review*, Vol. XXIII, 2, p. 105.

54) 中國歷代銅錢通行使用。 *Ying-yai Shêng-lan*. Cf. Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 47. Millies, *Monnaies indigènes* etc. p. 37 seq.

55) 屋上用硬木板爲瓦、破縫而蓋。國人住屋以芳草蓋之。 *Ying-yai Shêng-lan* and Groeneveldt, p. 46. Compare also *T'oung-pao* III, p. 440 and Prof. Wilken's "Handleiding voor de vergelijkende Volkenkunde van Nederl. Indië", p. 76—77 and p. 533.

We read in the history of Birmah (驃國) that the king's dwelling was covered with golden tiles, and that his kitchen was covered with silver tiles [王居以金爲甃。廚覆銀瓦]. Cf. *Pien-i-tsen*, Chap. CII, fol. 9 verso.

with tiles, left there by the chinese envoy *Chêng-ho* in 1403 (Groeneveldt, p. 126). In the whole archipelago tiling the roofs was only introduced at a later period by the Chinese ⁵⁶).

§ 5. The historian of the *Sung*-dynasty tells us that what they (the natives of Djavâ) **eat and drink is copious and clean** ⁵⁷).

The historians of the *Ming*-dynasty (1465) tell us that "the natives of Java are very dirty, are fond of eating snakes, ants, insects and worms, and sleep and eat together with the dogs" ⁵⁸). The same is said by *Ma-Hoan* (1416): "The third kind are the natives, who are very ugly and uncouth; they go about with unkemmed heads and naked feet. . . . The food of these people is very dirty and bad, as for instance, snakes, ants and all other kinds of insects and worms, which are roasted a moment upon the fire and then eaten half raw; the dogs they have in their houses eat and sleep together with them, without their being disgusted at all" ⁵⁹).

It would be curious if the Javanese had so changed their diet in the 15th century, after having been cleanly eaters in the 10th.

§ 6. It is further said that in *Shay-po* were no corporal punishments (better: were no penal laws); that all transgressions were punished with a fine in gold, and that only robbers and thieves were made to suffer death.

56) Cf. *T'oung-pao*, Vol. III, 1892, p. 440—442.

57) Cf. Groeneveldt, Notes, p. 16.

58) 其本國人最汙穢。好啖蛇蟻虫蚓。與犬同寢食。 *Pien-i-tien*, 97, 1, fol. 8 verso. Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 40.

59) Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 50. 人吃食甚是穢惡。如虵蟻及諸蟲蚓之類。略以火燒、微熟便吃。家畜犬、與人同品而食、夜則共寢、甜無忌憚。 *Vide* 瀛涯勝覽, fol. 11 verso.

This is in flagrant contradiction with the state in Java, where, according to the law-books, which the Hindu colonists brought along from their mother-country, *caning* was one of the principal punishments ⁶⁰).

According to *Ma-Hoan*, in Java, for all great and small offences, the hands of the culprit were bound on his back, and he was then stabbed ⁶¹).

§ 5. "*Shay-po*", the author continues, "does not produce any tea; but they brew wine from cocoa-trees and from the *Hiajutan*-tree, a tree which the Chinese never saw before. Sometimes they also make wine from the Sagopalm ⁶²) and the Betelpalm ⁶³), which is also very fragrant and fine" ⁶⁴).

The characters 蝦蟇丹 are pronounced, according to the Amoy dialect, *Hadziutan* or *Hedziutan* or, if only regard is paid to the phonetic 段 *ka* or *ke*, *Kedziutan*. This would answer

60) Wilken, op. cit., p. 466.

61) Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 47.

62) *Caryota ochlandra* (Bretschneider, History of European Botanical Discoveries, Vol. I, pp. 13 and 634). This palm grows wild in western *Kwang-tung* and *Kwang-si*. It is now cultivated in Canton. It does *not* grow in Java; but an allied species *Caryota sobolifera* grows in Malacca (Miquel, Flora van Nederl. Indië, III, p. 41, N^o. 8). We see once more how important is the mention of natural products of a country in order to identify its geographical position.

63) *Areca catechu*.

64) 地不產茶。其酒出於椰子及蝦蟇丹樹。蝦蟇丹樹華人未嘗見。或以枕榔檳榔釀成。亦甚香美。Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 16, simply translates: "The country does not produce tea, but they make wine out of cocoanut and other palmtrees, which is very fragrant and good".

The same passage literally occurs in the chinese description of *Champa* in the Books of the Sung-dynasty for the same epoch (A.D. 961): This country does not produce tea, and the art of brewing spirits is unknown there. The people only drink cocoanut-wine and chew betel 地不產茶、亦不知醞釀之法。止飲椰子酒、兼食檳榔。Vide 宋史、占城。

to a malay form *Kĕdjutan*, which name, however, is not found in Miquel's *Flora van Nederlandsch Indië*, or in Filet's useful alphabetical botanical Dict. of Netherlands India. So it cannot be a Javanese name.

In Malay the word *Kĕdjut* (also written *Kĕddjut*), means frightened, to shudder at, the flesh creeping from fear. The form *Kĕdjutan* would mean "what frightens, horrifies or makes the flesh creep".

Now there grows in Malacca a kind of Beteltree to which Griffith gave the name of *Areca horrida* ⁶⁵). It is true that he adds that it is called *Bijas* in Malay; but in the malay dictionaries this word has not the signification of a tree; so that we suppose the name must be erroneous, or that this tree also bore the name of *Kĕdjutan*. We give, however, our etymology for a better one. At all events, the name is Malay and not Javanese.

§ 3. In *Shay-po*, the Books of the *Sung*-dynasty say further, the people are also engaged in rearing silkworms and making silk ⁶⁶).

We strongly doubt that the Javanese ever made silk. Their name for it *sĕttĕra* or *suttĕrĕ* is Sanskrit: *Sūtra*, which properly means a thread or fibre, and not silk.

Strabo (p. 1025) says that silk was found in India, but not as a native product; though it was told by some that it was stripped from the leaves of a tree ⁶⁷).

Besides it is curious that none of the chinese authors from the Mongol- and Ming-dynasties mention silk as a product of Java.

Of Sumatra *Ma-hoan* distinctly states that there grow there mulberrytrees and that the people rear silkworms, but do not

65) Calcutt. Journ. Nat. Hist., V, p. 465.

66) 亦務蠶織。有薄絹絲。 Cf. Groeneveldt, p. 16.

67) Mannert, Geographie der Griechen und Römer, Vol. V, 1, p. 308.

understand how to spin the silk, and only make a wadding of it ⁶⁸).

If even in 1416 the spinning of silk was unknown in Sumatra, how much more will this have been the case in Java in 992.

§ 2. We read again that *Shay-po* only produced rice, hemp and peas, there being no wheat; and that the tenth part of their produce is paid as taxes ⁶⁹). Absolutely the same thing is said of *Champa* in the Books of the Sung-dynasty of the same epoch: "Of cereals they have no wheat, but only dry rice, common rice, peas and hemp. The magistrates give one pecul seed, for which a hundred pecul are required as taxes" ⁷⁰).

§ 7. According to the Books of the Sung-dynasty, the king of *Shay-po* had his hair stuck up into a knot on the top of his head whereupon were golden jingles; he wore a silk robe and **leather shoes**. He sat upon a square couch ⁷¹).

This does not agree at all with Java, where, according to the *Ying-yai Shêng-lan* (A.D. 1416), the king wore his hair loose or wore a crown of ornamental golden leaves. He wore no garment on (the upper part of) his body, but around the lower part he wore one or two green embroidered ⁷²) cloths..... He went *barefoot* ⁷³).

68) 桑樹亦有。人家養蚕。不會繰絲。只會做棉。*Ying-yai Shêng-lan*. In the corrected edition we read for the last phrase 但成綿. Cf. Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 87.

69) 闍婆產稻麻粟豆。無麥。民輸十一之租。Cf. Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 16.

70) 五穀無麥。有杭米、粟豆、麻子。官給種一斛。計租百斛。

71) Cf. Groeneveldt, p. 16.

72) *Lik-k'am* in Amoy-dialect. Cp. the malay verb *mērākam*, to fill up the open spaces of an embroidery with something having another colour. Von de Wall, Malay Dict. II, p. 144. *Lik-k'am* represents the groundword *rākam*.

73) 爪哇國王之絆鬘頭、或帶金葉花冠。身

Even among the common people the men wore their hair loose, and only the women stuck it up into a knot ⁷⁴).

The late professor Wilken says in his Handbook for the comparative ethnology of Netherland's India, p. 44, under the heading *Shoeing*:

"The people in the Indian Archipelago naturally go barefoot. They have adopted, however, some species of shoeing from the foreigners, viz a kind of wooden sandals called *těrompah* in Malay, *Gamparan* in Javanese; a kind of slippers, called *tjarpu* in Malay, *tjirpu* in Javanese. Very rich natives wear now-a-days european shoes, called *sěpatu* in Malay, *sapata* in Javanese, a loanword from the Portuguese *sapato*.

"According to old portuguese reports, the Javanese wore their long hairs flowing wildly on their heads" ⁷⁵).

So little were *shoes* and *stockings* known in Java that when, in 1452, king *Prabu* of Java sent an embassy to China, the Emperor, who was probably formalized that the javanese ambassadors were barefoot and half dressed, presented to the ambassadors a dress of gold embroidered plain silk, *boots* and *stockings* ⁷⁶).

無衣袍。下圍綠嵌手巾一二條○○○赤脚。Cf.

Groeneveldt, p. 46. In the corrected edition of the *Ying-yai Shěng-lan* we read 王蓬頭、頂金葉冠。胸縈嵌絲帨○○○跣行。The king wears upon his loose-hanging hair a crown of golden leaves and around his breast a silken napkin. . . . He goes barefoot.

74) 國人之絆男鬢頭、女子椎髻。Ibid.

75) Oorspronkelijk hebben alle volken van den Archipel het hoofd bloot. De lange haren fladderen wild en woest om het hoofd, gelijk dit bijv. bij de Dajaks het geval is, terwijl dit vroeger, althans volgens oude Portugeesche berichten, ook bij de Javanen regel was Wilken, op. cit., p. 43.

76) 按明會典爪哇國景泰三年、因王求討。給傘蓋一把。蟒龍衣服一領。使臣通事頭目人等、初到。賞織金素羅衣服靴鞵云云。

Pien-i-tien, Chap. 97, 1, fol. 8 *recto*.

頓遜國



Man from Tun-sun (Tenasserim).

爪哇國



Natives from Java.

On the contrary, we read in the corrected edition of the *Ying-yai Shêng-lan*, that the king of Malacca wore round his head a fine white cloth of native cotton and on his body a long robe of small flowered, green calico. **His shoes were of leather** ⁷⁷).

In the description of *Champa* in the Books of the Sung-dynasty of the same epoch, we read that the king had his hair stuck up into a knot behind his nape, and wore a loose robe of cotton; that he wore a golden ornamented crown, that his legs were quite bare, and that he only wore **leather shoes** without stockings ⁷⁸).

In the Description of Cambodja (A.D. 616) we read that its king wore **leather slippers** ⁷⁹).

In order better to show the difference in dress between the Javanese and the Malays of the Peninsula, we reproduce here from the *San-tsai Tu-hwui* the engravings of a man from *Tun-sun* (Tenasserim) and of a man from *Djao-oa* (Java). The description of the dress of the people of *Shay-po* (Djavâ) tallies exactly with the engraving of the man of Tenasserim, and that of the dress of the people of *Djao-oa* (Java) precisely with that of a Javanese.

It is also said that the natives of Malacca squatted down upon a couch ⁸⁰).

This couch is called in Sanskrit *prastâra*. It is in use in the whole Archipelago, Siam and Cochinchina ⁸¹).

77) 滿刺加國王服用以細白番布纏頭。身穿細花青布、如袍長衣。脚穿皮鞋。 Cf. Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 123.

78) 其王腦後髻髻、散披吉貝衣。戴金花冠。脛股皆露。躡革履。無襪。 *Pien-i-tien*, CIII, 1, fol. 1 verso.

79) 眞臘王足履革屣。 *Pien-i-tien*, CI, fol. 2 recto.

80) 連牀就榻、盤膝而坐, *Ying-yai Shêng-lan*; or, as in the corrected edition: 民舍如暹羅、聯榻跌坐, "The dwellings of the people are like those of Siam; they squat down upon connected couches".

81) Salmon, op. cit., II, p. 597.

§ 16. The books of the Sung-dynasty give us some native words of *Shay-po*; but they are unluckily either Sanskrit or belonging to another language, not Javanese. They say: "In their language pearls are called *But-tia-ha-la*, ivory they call *Kala*, incense *Kun-tun-lu-lim*, and the rhinoceros *Ti-mih*⁸²). The first word Groeneveldt has rightly identified with *Mutihāra*, *Mutihāra* (Skt. *Mutya*, pearls); the other words he has not been able to identify. The second word is evidently *Kara*; but this word does not mean in Sanskrit an elephant's tusk, but its trunk. *Karin* (*kara* + *in*) is one of the names of the elephant in Sanskrit⁸³). The chinese informant evidently has misunderstood the native who gave him this name. Ivory is called in India *gāding*. The characters *kun-tun* (崑屯) are used by the Chinese for transcribing the Malay word *kundur*, which gave its name to Pulau Kundur (P. Condore); it is a kind of gourd, called in Javanese *bēligu*.

Incense is called in the Archipelago *ganda* (Skt. *gandha*), *Dupa* (Skt. *dhūpa*), *Ukup* or *Rābun*, none of which words answer to the Chinese *kun-tun lu-lim* (or *luma*). Here again our chinese informant seems to be at fault.

A Rhinoceros is called throughout Java and Sumatra *bādak*, in Skt. *Khaḍga* or *Gaṇḍa*. This does not look like *timih* at all. The characters 低密 are pronounced *té-bit* or *té-bat* in Amoy, *tai-mat* in Canton⁸⁴), perhaps *ti-mah* at the time of the Sung-dynasty.

82) 方言謂真珠爲沒爹蝦羅。謂牙爲家囉。謂香爲崑燉盧林。謂犀爲低密。 *Ma Toan-lin*, Chap. 332, fol. 7 verso, writes 崑燉盧麻 *Kun-tun-lu-ma*.

83) Benfey, Sanscrit Dictionary, p. 159 and 161.

84) In a Chinese Malay Manual, published in Singapore, 密 is also used to render the sounds *bal*, *bel*, *bar* and *per*; but this does not help us, as neither *tibal* nor *tibel*, *tibar* or *tiper* give any meaning relative to a rhinoceros.

Can the chinese informant have meant the malay word *timah*, "tin"? He can hardly have meant the Sanskrit *timi*, a large fish, a whale, for this is transcribed 坻迷 or 坻麤 or 坻麤. St. Julien, Méthode, n^{os} 1981, 1139, 1142 and 1143. All this looks very suspect and doubtful.

§ 23. The same is the case with the following words. "The envoys of Shay-po said that one of the titles of their king was *Adji Malaya*⁸⁵); that the king's concubines were called *Loh-kien-so-po-li*; that a superintendent of trading vessels (Harbour-master) was called *Poh-ho*, and that the wife of the king was called *Poh-ho-pi-ni-shuh*⁸⁶).

The king's title represents perhaps *Adji Malaya*, "Malaya Lord", or "Lord of Malaya".

The character 落 is used in transcription for the syllables *lak*, *lók*, *rak* and even for *râd* in *râdjan*; *kien* represents *kan*, *gan* or *ghan*; the characters 娑婆 are used to transcribe the sanscrit word *saha* (Eitel, op. cit., 107a), whilst 利 *li* represents *li*, *ri*, *lé*. The reduction would give *Rakkan sähari*. *Râkan*, also pronounced *Rëkkan*, means "a companion", "partner", "mate", etc. *Sähari* means in Malay "for one day". *Rëkkan sähari* could thus mean "Companious for one day", though I must candidly avow never to have met with such a title⁸⁷).

85) *Malaya*, generally transcribed 摩羅耶, is a. o. the name of a mountain and city in Ceylon, and that of a kingdom upon the coast of Malabar about A.D. 600, also called *Mälakuta* (Eitel, Skt.-Chin. Dict., p. 70).

86) 其使又言其國王一號曰夏至馬囉夜。王妃曰落肩娑婆利。其方言目船主爲勃荷。王妻曰勃荷比尼贖。Groeneveldt omits the last character, which evidently pertains to the title, for the following phrase runs: 其船中婦人名眉珠, In their vessel was a woman named *Mei-chu* (*Bitju*, "black beetle"?).

87) In Siamese *râkkân* means to love each others, and also lovely, as in *Äbsö-räk-*

As for the words *Poh-ho*, for Superintendent of trade, and *Poh-ho Pinishuh*, as the title of the king's spouse, it strikes immediately that both the words *poh-ho* are written with the same characters 勃荷 of which the old sound was *put-ha*. The characters *put* 勃, 勃, 字 or 淳 are used for *bru* in *Brunei* 勃泥 or 淳尼 *put-ni* (*pur-nei*)⁸⁸. They are used for the aspirated *p* in the siamese honorific title 勃刺 *put-lat* for *p'ra* (*phra*, as it is generally written), a term of honour placed before the name of all things belonging to the king (Pallegoix, p. 578)⁸⁹.

Thus the *poh-ho* in both titles corresponds to the Siamese *p'ra* (*phra*). Now before the Persians had introduced the name *Shah Bandar* (king of the harbour, harbourmaster) in the East, this high personage was called *Phra Khlang*, something like H. E. the Treasurer. He was the chief officer with whom foreign traders and shipmasters had to transact⁹⁰.

In the *Sēdjarah Malayu* the title of *Phra-Khlang* is corrupted to *Pērkelang* or *Bērkelang* as that of a Siamese general. The king of Siam is titled in the same book *Pērtjau* or *Bērtjau*, from the Siamese *Phra-chau*, a title given to saints and princes (H. N. van der Tuuk, *Taalk. Opmerkingen*, etc., p. 214).

kän-ja (a woman), as beautiful (lovely) as an angel (*äbsón*). Pallegoix, *Siamese Dict. i. v.* — *Räk*, means "love". In Malay the bridegroom, when he is brought in state to his bride, is called *Rādja Sähāri* (king of one day), because the king, when meeting the procession, goes out of the way for the bridegroom. (Von de Wall, *Malay Dict.* II, 138).

88) Groeneveldt, *op. cit.*, p. 108; *Pien-i-tien*, Chap. CIV.

89) As in the name of the king of Siam, who reigned from 1470—1540, 字刺 藍羅者直波智 *Put-lat-Lam-lo-chia-Tit-p'o-ti*, *Phra:Rama Radja Thibodi*, or in *Phra Lakkhon* (or *Nākhon*) *sīla jūtī* 勃刺略坤息刺尤地 *put-lat liak-k'un sit-lat iu-ti* (*Pien-i-tien*, CI, fol. 8).

In a Malay-Chinese vocabulary the province of *Probolinggo* is transcribed 勃勞 磨凌臥, according to the Amoy pronunciation *put-lo* (= *pro*) *bo-ling-go*; the malay *pērnt* or *prūt* (belly) is transcribed 勃律 *put-lut*. Likewise 勃荷 *put-ha* would give *pērha* = *p'ra*.

90) Yule, *Hobson Jobson*, pp. 551—2.

This word *Phra Khläng* has been corrupted by the Portuguese to *Barcalon* and by the English and Dutch to *Berklam*.

La Loubère (Siam, I, p. 282) says: "The *Práklang*, or *Berklam*, as he is wrongly named, has also his place here and has the superintendency of the inner and outer trade as also of the king's Magazines. With him, as a minister of foreign affairs, foreigners have to transact".

If this etymology is correct, we are far from Java, and nearer to the Malay Peninsula, the neighbour of Siam. If our surmise that *Put-há* is the honorific title *P'ra*, or *Phra*, is right, it would explain why it forms the first part of the queen's title; which is followed by *Pi-ni-shuh* = *Vi-ni-ça* or *Vi-nyá-sa* (?), which means entrusting, a deposit, according to Benfey's Skt. Dict. p. 860. For *pi* is used for *vi*, and *ni* for *ni* and *nya* ⁹¹).

P'ra Vinyása would then mean "The saint or honorable Trust", a proper designation for a king's spouse ⁹²).

This title exists also in the malay language as *Para* (in Bali also *Pra*) as a honorific title.

Para-putëra or *Pra-putëra* means a princess ⁹³): "The honorable princess" or "H. E. the princess". The name of the king who reigned in Malacca in 1403 bore the name of *Parāmisura* (拜里迷述刺 or 巴刺密瑣刺) i. e. *Pārameçvara*, composed of *Para*+*ma*, "most excellent", and *îçvara*, "Lord" ⁹⁴).

91) St. Julien, Méthode, N^o 1367 and 1268.

92) One of the titles of the queen in Siam is *Phra nang-cháo*, H. M. the lady-lord.

93) Von de Wall, Malay Dict. II, p. 399 and 404.

94) Benfey, Skt.-Engl. Dict pp. 515 and 544; Yule, Marco Polo, II, 225.

§ 7. According to the same Books of the Sung-dynasty the king of *Shay-po* has his hair tied up into a knot upon the top of his head, whereupon were golden jingles; he wears a silk robe and **leather shoes** and sits upon a square couch. His functionaries salute him daily thrice and then retire. When he goes out, he rides upon an elephant or sits in a sedan, escorted by five to seven hundred sturdy soldiers holding arms in their hands.

When the people meet the king, they squat down until he has passed by, when they arise again.

§ 8. Three sons of the king are made vice-roys ⁹⁵), and there are four officers called *Lö-ki-lian*, who manage together the affairs of the state, just as the ministers in China. They have no monthly salary, but they get, at stated intervals, products of the soil and other things of this kind ⁹⁶). Next there are more than 300 civil officers, which are *Siu-tsai* ⁹⁷), who keep the civil registers and enregister in them the revenues.

There are also about a thousand functionaries of lower rank, who attend respectively to the walls and moats of the city, the treasury, the granaries and the soldiers etc. ⁹⁸).

As regards the name of the four officers called *Lö-kü-lien*, it is till now unexplained. The suggestion that it might answer to the Javanese *Rakryan* or *Rakarayan* is only based upon the preconceived idea that Shay-po was Java. The word clashes with the chinese system of transcription, for *Rakryan* would be transcribed in Chinese

95) When it is said of *Tun-sun* (Tenasserim) that there were five kings, this is to be understood as indicating the king and his four viceroys. We have likewise to consider the 5 brother kings, which Marco Polo found in Ma'bar and in Cail, as the king and his four viceroys. (Yule, M. Polo, II, pp. 267, 291, 305 and 306. 1st Ed.)

96) Exactly as formerly in Siam. Cf. La Loubère, I, p. 247.

97) Graduates of the lowest degree in China.

98) See the *Sung-shi* § 8, and cf. Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 16—17.

落吉栗安 *Lok-kit-lit-an* (Julien, Méthode, nos. 1053, 508 and 6), whilst *Rakarayan* would be transcribed 落迦羅延 *Lok-ka-lo-yan*; cf. the transcription of *Nārāyaṇa* by 那羅延 *Nāloyan* (Julien, Méthode, N°. 2245).

Kri or *Gri* is always rendered by two chinese characters as in *Rādjaḡriha* 曷羅闍姑利呬 *R'ra-dja kit-li ha*; in *Gridhra kúta* 姑栗陀羅矩吒 *kit-lit (= grid) t'a-la (= dhra) ku t'a*. The javanese port *Grissé* (in Arab *Gersik*) is transcribed 吉力石 *kit-lik* (for *kir, ger, gri*) -*sik*. The *Kirghises* are called in Chinese 吉利吉思 *kit-li* (for *kir*) *kit-sze* (for *ghis*) or 乞里乞思 *kit-li* (for *kir*) *kit-sze* (for *ghis*). The malay word *nagĕrĭ* (contracted to *nĕgrĭ*, a country) is transcribed 那齒里 *na-git-li*, where *git-li* stands for *gĕrĭ* or *grĭ*, etc.

In *Chao Ju-kwah's* Ethnography (趙汝适諸蕃志), kindly placed at my disposal by prof. Hirth, the passage in question runs so: 官有司馬傑落佶連、共治國事 etc. "There are, "among their officers, *Sze-ma's* (called) *Kiĕ-lò-kĕ-lian*, who manage "together the affairs of the state, etc."

We detect here immediately, in the first syllable *kiĕ*, the malay prefix *kĕ*, which, of course, requires the suffix *an* at the end of the word.

The slovenly author of the *Sung-shi* has dropped this prefix *kĕ* as immaterial⁹⁹).

The character 落 *lò* (Amoy *lok*) is used by the Amoy-Chinese in the archipelago to render the syllable *dok* or *doc* in *Doctor* 落突 *lok-tut*, the syllable *lĕk* in *tumpĕlĕk* (a heap) 遁勃落

99) The *Sung-shi* (宋史) were compiled by the Mongol *Toktagha* (脫脫) in a very slovenly way. He has much copied from *Chao Ju-kwah's* work, without mentioning this author. *Chao Ju-kwah's* text is therefore much more reliable than the text of the *Sung-shi*. (Cf. Hirth, "die Länder des Islam" in Supplement of Vol. V of the *T'oung-pao*, p. 18; Wylie, Notes on Chinese Literature, p. 18; Giles, Chin. Biogr. Dict., p. 739).

tun-put-lok, the syllable *duk* in *duduk* (to sit down) 屢落 *lu-lok* etc.

The character 吉 *kit* is used for *kir* or *ker* in the transcription of the malay word *këring* (dry) 吉寧 *kit-ling* = *kir-ring*; for *kèr* in the transcription of the dutch word *kijker* (a spyglass) 家吉 *kèkit*, and for *kar* in the transcription of the skt. word *karpāsa* (cotton) 吉貝 *kě-peï*, old sounds *kat-pa* for *karpā*.

The character 連 *lian* is used in transcription for the sound *ran* (Julien, Méthode, N°. 885). The reduction to a malay form gives *kě-dèkār-an*, the groundword of which *Dèkar*, also spelt *Dèkir*, means one accomplished in sword-fighting, a fencingmaster, a champion, a brave warrior, a hero¹⁰⁰).

Sze-ma, literally "Master of the Horse", was the title of the chief of military affairs during the Chow-dynasty¹⁰¹). The four *Dèkars*, who managed the affairs of the state, thus formed the military council of the four governors (*kědèkār-an*)¹⁰²) for the four quarters of the compass, exactly as in Champa.

In the old kingdom of Johore they were called *Pěrdāna*, from the Skt. *Pradhāna*, a chief¹⁰³).

All this does not look javanese at all, but tallies exactly with the description given of the king and court of **Champa** in the Books of the Sung-dynasty for the year 961:

"The king has his hair stuck up into a knot behind his nape; he wears a loose cotton gown, a golden ornamented crown and a necklace (*Māla*) ornamented with the *sapta ratna*¹⁰⁴).

100) See the Malay Dict. of Von de Wall and Pijnappel, s. v.

101) 司馬謂總武事也, K'ang-hi.

102) Cp. *Kě-rđjah-an*, kingdom, royalty, royal dignity; *Kě-běsar-an*, insignia of greatness; *Kě-lapar-an*, famine. See Pijnappel's Introduction to his malay dictionary, § 75. When the groundword begins with an *m*, the prefix *mě* is used, as in *Mě-mūsoh-an*, in Chinese 馬毛思安 *ma-mò-su-an*, from the groundword *mūsoh*, an enemy. *Měmūsohan* means enmity, the enemies.

103) Von de Wall and Van der Tuuk, Malay Dict., Vol. II, p. 407.

104) The 7 precious things: *Suvarņa* (gold), *Rāpya* (silver), *Vaidurya* (Lapis lazuli),

“His legs are bare, but he wears **leather shoes** without stockings.

“The women have equally their hair stuck up into a knot behind their nape, without using hairpins or combs. Their garments and mode of saluting are the same as with the men ¹⁰⁵).

“The king daily sits in contemplation (*dhyāna*) at noon. When his officials come to audience, they bow down once and not more. When the affairs of the state are cleared off, they again bow once and retire. Sometimes he goes out to look after his elephants, to enjoy the chase or to look at the fishing, which takes many days before his return. When the distance is not great, he sits in a litter; for great distances he rides upon an elephant, or sits down in a wooden sedan carried by four men.

“One man goes before him carrying a betel-tray. More than ten fellows follow him, carrying bows and arrows, swords, spears and hand-shields a. s. f. When the people see him, they only bow once.

..... “The king sometimes makes his elder brother viceroy, or his younger brother second king. He has eight high officials, two for each of the four cardinal points (East, West, South, North), who separately administer affairs. They enjoy no salary, but they are sustained by the population under their control.

“Besides he has more than 50 civil officers who have the titles (equivalent to the chinese titles) of *Lang-chung*, *Yuen-ngai* and *Siu-tsai* ¹⁰⁶) and who attend respectively to the precious wares in the Magazines, etc. They also enjoy no salary, but only get turtles and fish for their sustenance, and are dispensed from statute labor.

“There are, besides, 12 officials who attend to the treasury and

Sphaṭika (crystal), *Rōhitamukti* (pearls or rubies), *Açmagarbha* (amber or coral or diamond or esmerald) and *Musāragalva* (cornelian).

105) Exactly what is said of the woman (or women) called *Mei-chu* (眉珠) aboard the ship of the ambassadors of Shaypo. See Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 18.

106) Gentleman usher, Clerks in the tribunals, and graduates of the fourth rank (exactly as in *Shay-po*).

granaries, and more than 200 officers who command the army, and who also enjoy no monthly salary. Their army consists of more than 10,000 men, who get each two picul of dry rice, and 3 or 5 pieces of cotton for clothing in summer and in winter" ¹⁰⁷).

Every unprejudiced and impartial reader, who attentively compares both narratives and descriptions of *Shaypo* and *Champa*, will acknowledge that they correspond in all respects and that we therefore have to look out for *Shaypo* (Djavâ), not in Java, but in a country in the neighbourhood of Cochinchina, i. e. in the Malay Peninsula.

Ma-Hoan's account of *Champa* confirms our supposition. He tells us that its king wore upon his head a triple golden ornamented crown with jingling jewels, in shape of the middlesize jingles of

107) 其王腦後髻髻。散披吉貝衣。戴金花冠。七寶裝纓絡爲飾。脛股皆露。躡革履、無襪。婦人亦腦後撮髻、無笄梳。其服及拜揖與男子同。王每日午坐禪。官屬謁見、膜拜一而止。白事畢、復膜拜一而退。或出遊看象、采獵、觀漁。皆數日方還。近則乘軟布兜。遠則乘象、或乘一木杠、四人舁之。先令一人持檳榔盤前遵。從者十餘輩、各執弓箭、刀槍、手牌等。其民望之、膜拜一而止。○○○○○其王或以兄爲副王、或以弟爲次王。設高官凡八員。東西南北各二。分治其事。無奉祿。令其所管土俗資給之。別置文吏五十餘員。有郎中、員外、秀才之稱。分掌資儲寶貨等事。亦無資奉、但給龜魚充食、及免調役而已。又有司帑廩者十二員。主軍卒者二百餘員。皆無月奉。勝兵萬餘人、月給秬米二斛、冬夏衣布各三匹至五匹。Vide 宋史 and *Pien-i-tien*, Chap. CIII, fol. 1

verso and 2 *recto*.

China ¹⁰⁸). He goes barefoot; and when he goes out, he rides upon an elephant, or sits in a small carriage drawn by two yellow oxen" ¹⁰⁹).

Fei-sin says the same thing: "The chief of Champa wears a triple golden crown. . . . He rides upon an elephant and is preceded and followed by more than 500 native soldiers, some of which carry pointed weapens and short lances, whilst others brandish leather shields ¹¹⁰), beating drums and blowing upon trumpets made of cocoa-nut shells" ¹¹¹).

§ 9. We further read in the Books of the Sung-dynasty that it was not the custom in *Shay-po* to use matchmakers in contracting a marriage; that some gold was paid to the relations of the girl, and that she then was married ¹¹²).

This is not true of Java. Prof. Wilken (op. cit., p. 281) says "that in marrying, it is the rule to employ a matchmaker. In Javanese they bear the name of *Patjuk* = matchmaker. Their principal business consists in enquiring in a covered way, if the parents of the girl are inclined to agree to the proposal made to her by the lover ¹¹³).

108) A crown or diadem is called in Malay *Makóta* from the Skt. *Mukúta*; when it has three elevations, it is called *Trikúta*. Benfey, op. cit., i. v. *Kuṭa* and *Mukúta*.

109) 占城王頭戴金級三山玲瓏花冠、如中國中淨 (read 錚 or 琤) 之樣。跣足。出入騎象。或乘小車以二黃牛前拽而行。 *Ying-yai Shéng-tan*.

110) These shields are called in Malay *dálap* or *děddap*. Cf. Von de Wall's Malay Dict., Vol. II, pp. 87 and 98.

111) 占城酋長頭戴三山金花冠○○○乘象。前後擁番兵五百餘。或執鋒刃、或舞皮牌。槌鼓、吹椰殼筒。 *Vide* 星槎勝覽。

112) 閩婆土俗婚聘無媒妁。但納黃金於女家以娶之。 Cf. Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 17.

113) Cf. also Van Eck in the *Indische Gids*, 1879, Vol. I, p. 695.

“He is called *Waluk* in Tumbululuse and *Ghagharen* in Tumpakewash language.

“In Malacca no matchmakers were employed ¹¹⁴).

“The institution of the dowry (money paid to the relations of the girl) is a genuine Malay-Polynesian institute and is only found in Sumatra, where it is called *Djudjur* or *Kulo*; with the Battaks *tuhor* and *bali*; with the Dajaks, Makassarese, Buginese, the Alfuros of the Minahasa, etc. It is to be distinguished from the mahomedan dowry called *Mahr* or *Mas Kawin*. The difference is that the *Mahr* is given to the bride herself, whilst the Malay-Polynesian dowry is paid to the parents of the girl. In modern Javanese the *Mas kawin* is called *Sri kawin*” ¹¹⁵).

The chinese historian now distinctly states that the dowry was paid “to the parents of the girl”, so that it is impossible that Java is meant, because in that country the dowry was paid to the girl herself. In the *Hai-yu* (A.D. 1537) we are told that the Malays in Malacca, in contracting a marriage, attach much importance to the marriage-presents (dowry). The bridegroom has to provide a certain amount, but in his turn expects that the dowry of the bride will be as many times as much; and, moreover, the bride brings five or six slaves with her ¹¹⁶).

§ 10. “The inhabitants of *Shay-po*”, says the historian of the Sung-dynasty, “go in boats for their amusement in the fifth month” ¹¹⁷). The same thing is said in the History of *Champa* of the same epoch: “In the fourth month they have the sport of going in boats” ¹¹⁸).

114) Wilken, op. cit., p. 280.

115) Wilken, op. cit., pp. 268—269 and p. 271.

116) Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 127.

117) 五月游船。 Cf. Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 17.

118) 四月有遊船之戲。 Regattas are one of the most beloved sports

§ 13. The Books of the Sung-dynasty further say that the people in *Shay-po* wear their hair hanging loose; that their dress is wrapped round their breast and goes down below the knees¹¹⁹).

The same is said of the inhabitants of *Champa*: "They wrap "around their breast a white cotton cloth which goes down till "their feet"¹²⁰).

Now this is not at all Javanese, for in Java, not only the lower classes, but also the higher ones, and even their headmen, when they do not expect a call from Europeans, have the upperpart of their body naked. They are only clothed with a *Kain* or *Sarung* which is fastened above the hips and never covers the upperpart of the body or the breast. It is from the Arabs that the Indonesians have learnt to wear upperclothing¹²¹).

§ 17. In the 12th month of the year 992, the king of *Shay-po*, named *Mâlada*¹²²), sent an embassy consisting of the chief ambas-

in Siam. (La Loubère, du Royaume de Siam, I, p. 152). They are not practiced by the Javanese, at least Professor Wilken does not mention them in his book. Neither does Salmon. The only people who hold regattas in Java are the Chinese, at the occasion of the Dragon-boat festival (扒龍船); these boats are called *sampan bĕrlaga*, "contending sampans or boats", where the Chinese word *sampan* sufficiently indicates that the boats are Chinese. The only Malay names for a boat are *pĕrahu* (prow) and *bĭduk*; for *bahtera* is Skt. *vahitra*, and *rambaya* is a vessel of state covered with a canopy.

119) 土人被髮。其衣裝纏胸以下至於膝。 Cf. Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 17.

120) 以白氎布纏其胸垂至於足。

121) Wilken, op. cit., p. 41.

122) 穆羅茶. Groeneveldt reads *Maradja*, but 穆 is only used for transcribing *mu*. (St. Julien, Méthode, N^o. 1171); and by the Chinese in the Archipelago for *bok* as in *ĕmbok* 庵穆 *am-bok*, an elder sister. 茶 *cha* is never used in transcription for *dja*, but only for *da* (達羅毗茶 *Drāvīḍa*), for *dā* (旃茶羅 *Chāṇḍā*), for *dhya*, for *ta* and for *dha* in *Uttarāśhāḍha* (嗚怛羅額沙茶). Julien, o. c., nos. 1760—1765. I must persist in the transcription *Mâlada* (or perhaps *Mūrhdā*, head), which I already gave in 1870 in my first essay on Java "Iets omtrent de betrekkingen der Chineezen met Java".

For non-sinologues I remark that the old pronunciation of 茶 *cha* was *ta* (Amoy

sador *Da: tam*, the second ambassador *Bu Ali* ¹²³), the judge *Rēdāna Kāting* (?) a. o.,

§ 18. to bring tribute consisting of Elephant-tusks, Pearls, Embroideries, gilded articles ¹²⁴), embroidered silken sashes, multi-coloured silken sashes, multicoloured sashes of woven cotton, sandalwood, tortoise-shell, betel-trays, swords ornamented with rhinoceros-horn and with gold and silver, fine flowery rattan-mats, white parrots and a small pavilion carved of sandalwood, adorned with the seven jewels (*sapta ratna*). [The ambassador offered, besides, as a special tribute: tortoiseshell, *Camphor*, *Cloves* and fine, flowery rattan-mats] ¹²⁵).

This does not at all suit Java, which produces no *Elephants*, no *Silk*, no *Camphor* ¹²⁶) and no *Cloves*, all which products are té, our *tea*, *thee*, *thé* on the continent of Europe). When tea was introduced into China, the Chinese called it *tu*, "bitter herb", which character is written 茶. Later on they made, by leaving away one stroke, the character 茶 which was pronounced *ta*, (茶直加切 *t(it+k)a*. See K'ang-hi's Dict., i. v. 茶 and 茶). The Chinese transcribers made no distinction between the Skt. *t* and *ṭ*, *d* or *ḍ* as appears a. o. from their transcription of *pandaka* by 般茶迦 *pan-taka* or 半擇迦 *pan-tak-ka* (old sounds, now read *pwantukia* and *pwantsikkia*); of *gōkaṣṭha* 俱昏茶 *kuhunta* (now pron. *kū-hwan-cha*); of *dhṛitaka* 提多迦 *thitaka* (now pron. *ch'i-to-kiā*); of *ch'andaka* 闍鐸迦 *ts'ian-tak-ka* (now pron. *ch'en-toh-kiā*); of *Saṃghāṭi* 僧伽胝 *Sang-ka-ti* (now pron. *Sing-kiā-chi*). The same character 陁 *t'o* is used for *da* in *Pada* and for *da* in *Puṇḍarīka* (Julien, Méthode, nos. 2060—61). The Malays pronounce the Skt. *koṭṭa* (a stronghold) as *kōta*. Cp. note 20.

The envoy of *Shay-po* told the emperor a little further on (§ 23), that his king was named *Adji Malaya* (夏至馬囉夜). We find the name *Malaya* in the name of a mountain range S of Mālakuṭa, upon the coast of Malabar, called *Malayagiri*, transcribed by the Chinese 南海摩羅耶山, the mountain *Malaya* of the southern ocean (Cf. Eitel, Skt.-Chin. Dict., p. 70—71, and above § 23).

123) *Bu* is an abbreviation of *Abu*, a name till the present day in use in Sumatra, meaning "Father". *Bu Ali* is thus "Father of Ali".

124) 銷金, washed with gold, gilded. Wells Williams, Chin. Dict.

125) This last passage in brackets has not been translated by Groeneveldt.

126) To give an idea how confused arab authors are in the application of the name *Zānij* (*Zābaj*), we quote that *Mahomed Ben Zakaria Al-Rāzi* tells us that the Camphortree grows there. *Zābaj* = *Zābedj* generally designs Java; but here it evidently means Su-

found in the Peninsula. Tenasserim produces a. o. rice, pepper, cotton and *silk* ¹²⁷).

§ 28. I do not attach much importance to the story of the monkeys told by the ambassador of *Shay-po* ¹²⁸). Such ape-colonies are found everywhere in the Archipelago, and are not confined to Java alone, where they are not only found at Pasuruan, but with which I have met myself in the residence *Kădu*, near the source of the R. *Progo*.

The naturalist of the french expeditionary ship *Favorite*, narrates that the *Duck* (*Semnopithecus nemeus*), found in the interior of Malacca and in Cochinchina, lives in numerous colonies in the dense forests of the coast, being not at all shy, and coming daily into the villages of the Cochinchinese.

They are called, according to Captain REY, *Vénam*, which word would mean "Woodmen". REY met numerous colonies of them, of which he killed several individuals ¹²⁹).

In Siam such colonies of monkeys are equally found, and the

matra, where Junghuhn found this tree, the *Dryabalanops Camphora*. Cf. Yule, M. Polo, II, 246. We remark that Camphortrees also grow in the Peninsula.

127) Algemeen Aardrijkskundig Woordenboek i. v. *Tanasserim*. Cloves were totally unknown in Java at that time. The malay name is, according to Rumphius, *Lawang*, but this is the Skt. *lawañga*, the name of the Clove-tree (*Caryophyllus aromatica* or *Myristica caryophyllata*). The fruit itself is called in Skt. *lawa* (Benfey, Skt. Dict. p. 791). The malay word *gāgung*, which Miquel (Flora van Ned. Indië, Vol. I, p. 463) gives as the name of the blossom, means the stalk by which the fruit is attached to the branch of the tree (cf. the dict. of Pijnappel and Von de Wall). The names in Amboina *Bubulawang* and in Ternate *Bobolawa* are both derived indirectly from the Skt. and Malay; likewise the later Javanese *labang*. In modern Malay in Java, the original name is entirely lost and replaced by the name *Tjəngké* which is the Chinese 丁芽 *ting-gé*, as I have shown already in the first Volume of the *T'oung-pao*, p. 403. This would seem to indicate that Java got its first cloves by means of chinese traders.

All the experiments tried to cultivate cloves in Java have signally failed (Miquel, op. et loc. cit.).

128) Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 18.

129) Pöppig, Naturgeschichte, I, p. 18—19.

largest or chief of them is called *Tha:món*. (Cf. Pallegoix's Siamese Dictionary, p. 795). The king of such a colony of monkeys is called also *Phäja Kābī* (*Ibid. i. v. Kābī* = monkey), or *Vanärin* and *Vanärèt* (*Ibid.*).

In the *Si-hu Chi* ¹³⁰) or Topography of the Western Lake at Hang-chow, Chap. VI, fol. 19, mention is made of the *Apes'-call-Grotto*, at the foot of the *Fei-lai-hill* ¹³¹). This grotto has a passage leading all the way to India (天竺). Under the Sung-dynasty there was a monk, called *Chi-yih*, good at whistling, who used to keep white apes among the hills. When he went down to the stream and gave a long whistle, every one of the apes would assemble. They called him "Father of Apes" ¹³²).

The expression 呼以霄霄之聲 in the Books of the Sung-dynasty, translated by Groeneveldt (p. 18) "when they are called with the sound *siao-siao*", has to be corrected to 呼以嘯嘯之聲, "when they are called with a whistling (*siao-siao*) sound". The reason why monkeys are called by whistling, is that the males are able to whistle, whilst the females cannot ¹³³). According to the *Pi-ya* (埤雅), monkeys are in the habit of whistling in serene nights ¹³⁴).

It is evident that the Chinese have transplanted their native legend into the colonies they visited.

130) 西湖志纂, Wylie, Notes on Chin. Lit., p. 44.

131) 飛來山。

132) 呼猿洞在錢塘。宋僧智一養白猿于山間。臨澗、長嘯、衆猿畢集, *Vide* 增補事類統編, Chap. XIII, fol. 1 verso and fol. 2 verso. Cf. Yule's Extract from Rev. G. E. Moule's translation of this book in the *Geographical Magazine*, Lond., 1875, pp. 137—8, and H. Cordier, *Odoric de Pordenone*, p. 338.

133) 猿雄能嘯。雌不能也。(格致鏡原, Chap. 87, fol. 15 verso).

134) 猿性靜夜嘯。 *Ibid.*, l. c.

§ 21. The special mention that the ambassadors from *Shay-po* were dressed like the Persians who had brought tribute before ¹³⁵), likewise excludes the idea of *Shay-po* being Java, as the Javanese never have worn the long persian *Kaftan* or the arab *Khil'ah*.

§ 30. I have already called attention to the fact that the envoys from *Shay-po* had told the emperor that they had as a neighbour a country called *Brahman*, and I have pointed out that this was Birmah, which is a close neighbour of the Peninsula, but not of Java ¹³⁶). Groeneveldt's identification with *Bali*, east of Java, will thus have to be given up. The old Chinese never went farther south than Palembang in Sumatra, and knew absolutely nothing of the existence of the islands east of Java ¹³⁷).

I have likewise called attention to the fact that the island of *Ma-it* (Bintang) is mentioned in one breath with the embassy of *Shay-po* ¹³⁸).

§ 31. The whole passage runs thus: "In the third year of the eponyme *Ta-koan* (1109), in the 6th month, (*Shay-po*) sent ambassadors to bring tribute. They were received with the same ceremonies as those of *Kiao-chi* (*Hanoi*).

§ 32. [Likewise the state of *Ma-it* brought a cargo of precious wares to the sea-shores of Canton in the 7th year of the eponyme *T'ai-p'ing Hing-kwoh* (A.D. 982)] ¹³⁹).

¹³⁵) 其使飾服之狀與嘗來入貢波斯相類。
Cf. Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 18.

¹³⁶) *T'oung-pao*, IX, p. 380; Geogr. Notes, no. VI.

¹³⁷) As late as A. D. 1618, the author of the *東西洋考*, Chap. IX, fol. 7 verso, states that *Timor* is the farthest of all countries 池悶諸國最遠處也。

¹³⁸) *T'oung-Pao*, Vol. IX, p. 380; Geogr. Notes, no. VI.

¹³⁹) The passage put between [] has been skipped by Groeneveldt in his translation.

§ 33. In the third year of the eponyme *Kien-yen* (A.D. 1129) the emperor, bestowing favors on the southern countries, bestowed upon the king of the state of *Shay-po* several honorary titles, as also a nominal apanage of 2400 houses, which in reality were only 1000.

§ 27. That Malacca (*Kaling* or *Djavá*) had often been in warfare with Sěmbodja (Palembang), as the ambassador said, is no proof that *Shay-po* (*Djavá*) is *Yava*. The Malay Peninsula, being only separated from Sumatra by the strait of Malacca, ought necessarily to come into conflict with the latter land ¹⁴⁰). And just in the year 992 Sěmbodja was invaded by *Shay-po* ¹⁴¹).

The first invasion of Java took place in 1377, and then Java is properly transcribed 爪哇 *Djao-wa* ¹⁴²).

If the Javanese had already conquered Palembang in 992, there was not the least necessity to reconquer it a second time in 1377. The Arabian authors who say that in the 10th century Serboza was a dependency of *Java*, have equally confounded Java proper, with *Djavá* on the Peninsula ¹⁴³). No other conclusions can be drawn from these contradictory reports, but those derived from their internal evidence, and this, as we have shown, is in favour of *Djavá* (*Shay-po*), being a kingdom upon the Malay Peninsula,

140) In 1408 the king of Malacca claimed possession of Palembang, which had been conquered by the Javanese, under the false pretence that the Emperor of China had empowered him to do so (Groeneveldt's Notes, p. 37); and in 1672 Djambi conquered Johore, but in 1678 it was in its turn overpowered by Johore.

141) 淳化三年冬、廣州上言蒲押陁黎 (Bu Abdalla) 前年自京廻、聞本國爲闍婆所侵。 *Pien-i-tien*, 98, fol. 3 *recto*; Groeneveldt, *op. cit.*, p. 65, who, according to his system, makes *Djavá* to mean *Yava* (Java proper).

142) 是時爪哇已破三佛齊。據其國。 Cf. Groeneveldt, pp. 69 and 71.

143) See above, note 126.

whilst it is in flagrant contradiction with the geographical situation, the customs, dress and products of *Java* or rather *Yáva* as the name ought to be pronounced ¹⁴⁴).

We believe to have demonstrated that *Shay-po* must have been situated upon the Malay Peninsula, and shall try to circumscribe its position somewhat nearer.

We have seen, in N°. XI of these notes, that there was upon the Malay Peninsula a mighty state called *Kalatan*, of which the actual *Kélantan* is the poor remnant ¹⁴⁵). This *Kalatan* reigned over *Djavá*, which must have thus been equally situated upon the Peninsula ¹⁴⁶), for it is out of the question that *Kálantan* would ever have reigned over Java, which latter island never was subject to any other country in the world, as Marco Polo expressly states.

And this is confirmed by the Arab authors. *Dimächqî* quotes the sea of *Kalah*, so called after the island of *Kalah*, with the capital of the same name, the largest of the four cities situated upon it. The island of *Kalah*, he continues, is of a dangerous approach; its length is 800 miles and its

¹⁴⁴) Wilken, op. cit., p. 352.

The Hindu Colonists gave to this island the name of *Yáva-dvîpa*, "The island of Millet", which name is pronounced in Prâkrit *Yava-diu*. Hence the Ἰάβαδιόν of Ptolemy and the 耶婆提 *Ya-po-thi* of *Fah-hian*; whilst they gave to the Malay peninsula the name of *Djavâ Vâta*, "The China Rose Garden"; just as the Malays called a part of the Peninsula *Tānah sâri*, "The Land of Flowers". The change of *Yáva* to *Djavâ* is of relative late date, according to professor Kern about the 13th century.

The character 闍 is, moreover, never used to transcribe the sound *ya* for which generally 耶 is used, as in 闍耶毘多 *Dja-ya-pi-ta*; in 闍耶補羅 *Dja-ya-pu-ra*; in 闍耶犀那 *Dja-ya-sê-na*, etc. Consequently 闍婆 *Dja-vâ*, cannot be the same as 耶婆 *Yâ-va*.

¹⁴⁵) *Kalantan* was formerly one of the most powerful states in the Peninsula. Stokvis, Manuel de chronologie, I, 350.

¹⁴⁶) According to the *Orang kûtan* of the Malay Peninsula, *Kélantan* was not conquered by the Malays, but by another race which, at the time, occupied permanently the territory of *Kédah* and *Pèrak*. (Albert Grünwedel, in Veröffentlichungen aus dem Königl. Museum für Völkerkunde, Vol. III, fasc. 3—4, Part II, p. 97. Berlin, 1894.)

breadth 350. It contains the cities of *Fansur*¹⁴⁷), **Djaouah**¹⁴⁸), *Helâbir* (Malâiur), *Lâweri* (Lambri) and *Kalah*¹⁴⁹).

As M. van der Lith has clearly demonstrated that with *Kalah* is meant the Malay Peninsula and its capital *Kadah* or *Kĕdah*¹⁵⁰), and as I have shown that *Malâiur* or *Maliur*, about whose situation M. van der Lith was still in doubt in 1886¹⁵¹), was also situated upon the Malay Peninsula¹⁵²), I have not the least hesitation of identifying the *Djavâ* or *Djapâ* (閩婆) of the chinese geographers with the *Djaouah* upon the Malay Peninsula, quoted by the arabian geographers. *Edrîsî* (middle of 12th century) says that in *Kalah* lives a king who is named the Djaba or indian prince, and that in this island is found an abundant tin-mine¹⁵³). M. van der Lith (op. cit. p. 262, note 4) thinks Edrisî to be in error, and that his *Djaba* refers to another island in the neighbourhood of Kalah, and that with *Djaba*, *Zabedj* or Java is meant, because Ibn Kordadbeh says that Kalah belonged to the Djaba of India. But when we bear in mind that *Kazwînî* distinctly states that the king of *Kalah* was subject to the king of China; that his "qiblah"¹⁵⁴) was towards this king, and that he obeyed all his orders¹⁵⁵), the island of Java is out of the question, because it was never subject either to China, Siam, or to any other country in the world. The *Djaba* quoted by

147) *Fansur*, the arabian transcription of *Pantjur* (Panchur), in Chinese 班卒兒 *Pan-tsu-r*, is till to day the name of an island upon the east coast of Sumatra, belonging to the group of the Brouwers-islands, and pertaining to the jurisdiction of Siak.

148) We have seen in our Geographical Notes N^o. 111 (*T'oung-pao*, IX, p. 275), that the king of *Kalîng*, in the Peninsula, lived in the city of *Shay-po* (*Djavâ*).

149) P. A. van der Lith et L. Marcel Devic, "Livres des Merveilles de l'Inde", p. 257.

150) Op. cit., p. 259—263.

151) Op. cit., p. 263, note 1.

152) *T'oung-pao*, Vol. IX, p. 288—290, 1898; Geogr. Notes, no. IV.

153) *Merveilles*, p. 256—257.

154) *Qiblah* (Arabian) is the point of the horizon to which Mahomedans turn their head when praying.

155) *Merveilles*, p. 257. It is far more probable that we have to read *Siam* instead of China, as Tennyson in his Description of Ceylon says.

the arabian authors is, without the least doubt, the *Djapá*, *Djavá* or *Djabá* of the chinese geographers.

This is also confirmed by the statement in the *Tung-Si-yang Khao* (東西洋考, Chap. III, fol. 11 *recto*), in the Description of *Patani*, where we read that *Tani* was originally a tributary state of *Djapá*, but that it is now annexed to Siam¹⁵⁶).

It is evident that here *Djapá* upon the Peninsula is meant, and not Java, which never exercised any supremacy over *Patani*.

It is further confirmed by the name *Djavá* of a state in the Peninsula mentioned in the Siamese Dictionary of Mgr. Pallegoix, pp. 883—884, where we read: *Xáva* (pr. *Djavá*), principality in the Malayan peninsula; *pí xáva*, Malay flute, *nók kháo xáva*, turtledove of Xava. With a slight variation, a *b* for a *v*, we find *Xába* (*Djába*) the siamese name (from the Skt.) of the *Rosa Hibiscus sinensis*.

We may add that, in the Books of the *T'ang*-dynasty (A.D. 785), *Kédah* (偈陀) and *Djavá* (闍婆) are enumerated among the 18 dependent states of *Birmah* (驃國十八屬國). *Pien-i-tien*, Chap. 102.

The position of *Djavá* is further determined by the situation of a state, called in the Books of the Sung-dynasty *Tan-mi-liu*, but, in the encyclopedia *San-tsai Tu-hwui*, *Ting-liu-mi* (登流眉). *Chao Ju-kwah* also calls it by the latter name.

According to the books of the Sung-dynasty, this *Tan-mi-liu* came to offer tribute in A.D. 1001. This state was 50 stages distant from *Cambodja* to the east; 15 stages by water from *Lowak* to the south; 35 stages distant from *India* to the west; 60 stages distant from *Ch'ing-liang* to the north; 25 stages distant from *Lohak* to the north-east; 45 stages distant from *Djavá* to the south-east; 15 stages distant from *Ch'ing-joh* to the south-west;

¹⁵⁶) 大泥本闍婆屬國。今隸暹羅。The *Tung-Si-yang Khao* was published in 1618. Cf. Groeneveldt, Notes, p. VIII.

25 stages distant from *Lo-hoa* to the north-west, and 135 stages distant from *Kwang-chow* (Canton) to the north-east ¹⁵⁷).

The place called *Lo-wak* (羅越) is without the least doubt the Siamese *Lävék* ¹⁵⁸) which Pallegoix says to be the name of an ancient town in Cambodja. But it was the capital of Siam, when Siam still belonged to Cambodja. The late king of Siam said: "Our ancient capital Ayuthia, before the year A.D. 1350, was but the ruin of an ancient place belonging to Kambuja, formerly called *Lawék*, whose inhabitants then possessed Southern Siam or Western Kambuja" ¹⁵⁹).

The country called 洛華 *Lo-hoa*, situated to the N.W. of *Tan-mi-liu*, is probably the savage tribe living west of Siam called by Pallegoix *La.va*.

We cannot, according to the abovementioned bearings, admit Yule's identification of *Lo-hak* (羅斛) with *Lawék* ¹⁶⁰), but must stick to the old definition of the Chinese, that *Lohak* was a state belonging to Siam. The books of the Ming-dynasty distinctly state that the "Red soil" of the *Sui*- and *T'ang*-dynasties was later divided into two countries: *Lohak* and *Shan* (Siam) ¹⁶¹). The soil

¹⁵⁷) 眞宗咸平四年丹眉流國來貢。丹眉流國東至眞臘五十程。南至羅越水路十五程。西至西天三十五程。北至程良六十程。東北至羅斛二十五程。東南至闍婆四十五程。西南至程若十五程。西北至洛華二十五程。東北至廣州一百三十五程。 *Vide* 宋史, Book 489, fol. 16.

¹⁵⁸) *Serāwak*, in Borneo, is transcribed to the present day 沙莪越 *Sü-lao-oat* (Amoy-pronunciation) by the Chinese. *La-wék* was famous for its cloths, called 羅越布, "Lawek-cloth". Probably the Malay *Kain Rāwā*, a name applied to a kind of light chinese stuff for bedcurtains, etc.

¹⁵⁹) Cf. Yule, Marco Polo, II, 221.

¹⁶⁰) *Ibid.*, l. c.

¹⁶¹) 隋唐赤土國、後分爲羅斛、暹、二國。 *Vide* 明史。

of Siam is meagre and unfit for cultivation, whilst that of Lohak is flat and moist, and yields abundant harvests wherewith it supplies Siam ¹⁶²).

During the time of the Mongol-dynasty (1260—1367) Siam always brought tribute. But later on *Lohak* made itself forcibly master of the territory of Siam and then called its country "The state of Siam and Lohak" ¹⁶³).

This explains why the Chinese call to the present day the kingdom of Siam *Siam-lo* (暹羅).

Consequently *Tan-mi-liu* or *Ting-liu-mi*, must have been situated upon the upper course of the *Menam* river, at a distance of 15 posts or stages journey, by water, from *Lawék*.

Now as *Tan-mi-liu* was distant 45 stages journey S.E. from *Djavá*, it is clear that we have to look out for it in the Malay Peninsula, and that the idea of Java (Yava) is totally excluded.

The houses of the common people in *Tan-mi-liu* were built of wood. They went barefoot and dressed in cotton. They wore no girdle, but wound a piece of white linnen around their heads. They bartered goods for gold and silver. The place where their chief resided was five *li* in circumference, but was not walled in. When he went out, he rode upon an elephant, or in a carriage with four ponies. The country produces rhinoceroses and elephants, Calaminestone, *Lithospermum erythrorhizon*, Sapanwood and all sorts of medicines. The climate is always excessively hot, and there is never snow nor frost. They had never come to China before, but in the 4th year of *Kien-ping* (A.D. 1001), the lord of this country

¹⁶² 暹土瘠、不宜稼。羅斛地平衍、種多穫。暹仰給焉。 *Ibid.*, l. c.

¹⁶³ 元時暹常入貢。其後羅斛強併有暹地。遂稱暹羅斛國。 *Ibid.*, l. c. Professor Summers' statement that it was Siam which overpowered Lohak is thus wrong (Cf. Yule's *M. Polo*, II, 220, note 3).

Ta:Suki sent an ambassador *Ta:Kitma*, a second ambassador *Ta:Lap*, his judge *P'i-ni* (*Vinya?*), together 9 persons, to offer in tribute 1000 pounds of Putchuk, a hundred pounds of Calamine and Tin each; 35 pounds of foreign *Coptis*¹⁶⁴); one hundred pounds of *Lithospermum erythrorhizon*, a set of red rugs, four pieces of flowered chintz; 10,000 pounds of Sapanwood and 61 Tusks of elephant-teeth. They were admitted to audience in the *Tsung-tèh*-hall, and gifted with caps, girdles and clothing. When they returned to their country, H. M. gave a letter for (their king) *Ta:Suki*, as a reward and praise¹⁶⁵).

I doubt very much that the *Ting-liu-mi* of the *San-tsai Tu-hwui* and of *Chao Ju-kwah* (趙汝适) is the same country as *Tan-mi-liu*; for the former country is evidently a malay state as we will presently see.

The first mentioned *San-tsai* says that in the state of *Ting-liu-mi* the lord of the country is chosen by general suffrage. He has his hair stuck up into a knot, and his body wrapped with taffety. When the barbarian king goes to hold court, it is said that he

164) Bretschneider, Bot. Sinic., III, no. 26

165) 其俗以板爲屋。跣足，衣布。無紳帶。以白紵纏其首。貿易以金銀。其主所居廣袤五里。無城郭。出則乘象。車亦有小馬四。地出犀象、鑰石、柴草、蘇木、諸藥。四時炎熱。無雪霜。未嘗至中國。咸平四年國主多須機遣使打吉馬、副使打臘、判官皮泥等九人來貢木香千斤。鑰鐵各百斤。胡黃連三十五斤。紫草百斤。紅氈一合。花布四段。蘇木萬斤。象牙六十一株。召見宗德殿、賜以冠帶服物。及還、又賜多須機詔書、以敦獎之。 *Pien-i-tien* CIV; 宋史, Chap. 489, last leaf.

ascends the arena. When all the natives have accomplished their salutations, they seat themselves with crossed arms and clasp their shoulders as a sign of respect ¹⁶⁶).

Chao Ju-kwah says that the country of *Ting-liu-mi* is situated west of Cambodja. That the lord of the country wears flowers in his stuck up hair, wears (a) red (garment) over his shoulders, but white (cloth) to cover his nether limbs ¹⁶⁷). At the days of audience, he ascends a tribune, for primitively he had no palace. They use palmleaves as plates, and do not make use of either spoons or chopsticks, but pick the meat up with their fingers. There is a mountain called *Bulong*, where Çākya's nirvāna was shown by a metamorphosis into a copper elephant, and which is still there. Their products are cardamons, lignum aloes, yellow wax, kinogum and such like ¹⁶⁸).

But what makes *Ting-liu-mi* a malay country, is the curious way how the subjects made their obeisance, by crossing their arms over their breast and clasping their own shoulders, of which the *San-tsai Tu-hwui* gives an exact engraving.

Now this is a common malay form of respect, and it even has

166) 按三才圖會登流眉國選人作地主。椎髻。纏帛蔽身。番王出座名曰登場。衆蕃拜罷、同坐交手、抱兩膊爲禮。

167) 肩 *kien*, shoulder, means, as a verb, "to shoulder". Cf. Davis, "Chinese moral maxims", N^o. 147. 雲肩 is a ladies' mantilla. For 蔽 cp. the quotation in the *San-tsai Tu-hwui* above, note 165. I cannot understand professor Hirth's misgivings about this simple passage. (Sitzungsberichte der bayer. Akad. d. Wiss. 1898, Heft III, p. 498).

168) 登流眉國在眞臘之西。地主椎髻簪花。肩紅、蔽白。朝日登場。初無殿宇。飲食以蔡葉爲椀。不施匕筋。掬而食之。有山曰無弄。釋迦涅槃示化銅象、在焉。產白荳蔻、箋沉速香、黃蠟、紫礦之屬。

a special name: *Sěngkělang*, defined in Von de Wall's Malay Dictionary as: "the arms crossed over each other, so that the right hand is applied upon the left and the left hand upon the right shoulder" ¹⁶⁹).

The same custom was in use in ancient Cambodja during the Sui-dynasty, A.D. 617. It is said in the Notice on that country that when the lower officials come to audience to the king, they knock thrice their heads at the foot of the throne. When H. M. calls them to ascend the steps of the throne, they kneel down, clasp their shoulders with both hands, and sit down around the king in order to deliberate upon the government affairs ¹⁷⁰).

With respect to the name of *Tan-mi-liu*, which may be or not be a transcription of a native name, we would remark that the Great Geography of the Ming-dynasty says that the Siamese are the remainder of the band of the famous robber *Red-brow* of the Han-dynasty ¹⁷¹).

"Redbrow" was the nickname of the brigand-chief *Fan Ts'ung* (樊崇) who ravaged northwestern China in about A.D. 30. It is said that the leader, with his whole army, adopted the practice of dyeing the eyebrows blood-colour, in order to increase the terror their appearance inspired ¹⁷²).

If we take 丹眉 *tan mi* in its literal signification, it would mean likewise *Redbrow*, and 流 *liu* would then mean "vagrants",

169) Crossing one's arms behind one's back is called in Malay *sěngkěling*, and *sing-gang* is a punishment for boys in Malay schools, when the culprit is obliged to hold his left ear with the right, and his right ear with the left hand, and has to rise and sit down in that position without ceasing. Cf. Pijnappel's Malay Dict., II, p. 24—25.

170) 按真臘本傳○○○○及諸小臣朝於王者、輒以階下三稽首。王喚上階、則跪。以兩手抱膊、遶王環坐、議政事。 *Pien-i-tien*, Chap. CI, 1, fol. 2 *recto*; Rémusat, Nouveaux mélanges asiatiques, I, p. 79.

171) 暹乃漢赤眉遺種。 *Vide* 明一統志。

172) Mayers' Chinese Reader's Manual, no. 111; Giles, Biographical Dict., no. 536.

“vagabonds” = “the redbrowed rabble”. But we leave this etymology for what it is worth.

Java was so little known by the Chinese Officials ¹⁷³), that even as late as the Mongol-dynasty, when *Kubilai Khan* sent in A.D. 1293 an expedition to call it to allegiance, the historians remarked that “**the customs and products of this land are not investigated;**” “but that, as a rule, the barbarian countries over the sea produce “many rare and valuable things, which fetch a high price in China” ¹⁷⁴).

This important remark shows evidently that the authors of the History of the Mongols did not consider Java (爪哇) as the same country as *Djavá* (閩婆) of which, as we have seen, the customs and products were perfectly well known.

In the books of the following *Ming*-dynasty (1368—1643), Java is always called 爪哇 *Djao-oa*. We find mention of embassies to China in 1370, 1372, 1375, 1377, 1379, 1381, 1393, 1403, 1405, 1415 etc., all under the name of *Djao-oa* ¹⁷⁵). But in the midst of these embassies we find one mentioned in 1378 as coming from *Djavá* (閩婆) ¹⁷⁶). The entry runs:

“In the 11th year of the period *Hung-wu* (1378), the king of “*Shay-po* (*Djapá* or *Djavá*) sent envoys to bring tribute” ¹⁷⁷).

¹⁷³) I purposely say *officials*; the merchants from *Fuh-kien*, who traded with Java, knew the country well enough; but as they were illiterate men, who did not write books on the countries they traded with, we know nothing of them. It is only when a foreign country had *official* intercourse with the chinese government, that the chinese historians took notice of it and noted down what they heard of it.

¹⁷⁴) 其風俗土產不可考。大率海外諸蕃國多出奇寶取貴於中國。 Cf. *Pien-i-tien*, Chap. 97 1, fol. 4 *verso*, and Groeneveldt's Notes, p. 20.

¹⁷⁵) Cf. Groeneveldt's Notes, p. 34 *seq.* The chinese geography 海國聞見錄, fol. 17 *recto*, calls the Malays of Java 無來由繞阿番 *Bu-lai-iu* (Malayu) *Dziao-a* (*Djava*) barbarians.

¹⁷⁶) Not mentioned by Groeneveldt.

¹⁷⁷) 洪武十一年閩婆王遣使朝貢。 Cf. *Pien-i-tien*, Chap. 97 1, fol. 5 *verso*.

The editors of the *Pien-i-tien* say in a note upon this passage: "According to the other books, *Djao-oa* is the old *Shay-po*. Alone in the outlandish history of the Ming-dynasty there was, besides *Djao-oa*, (a country called) *Shay-po* which brought tribute. We merely append it here in order to provoke researches" ¹⁷⁸).

The editors then continue: "According to the outlandish History of the Ming-dynasty, History of *Djao-oa*, *Shay-po* was formerly called *Shay-po-tah*, which came first to pay homage to the court (of China) during the period *Yüan-kia* of the *Sung*-dynasty (A.D. 424 - 453). During the *Tang*-dynasty it was called *Kaling* ¹⁷⁹) or *Davâ* ¹⁸⁰), whose king dwelt in the city of *Shay-po*.

"In the books of the *Sung* there is always spoken of *Shay-po* which brought tribute, and then again mention is made in 1378 of its king *Mâna dâlam?* ¹⁸¹) sending a letter and offering products of his country. Afterwards they never came again. Some say that *Djao-oa* is the same as *Shay-po*; but no mention is found of this statement in the Books of the Mongol-dynasty, in which it is said, besides, 'that their customs and products have not been ascertained'. Now (at once), during the reign of the founder of the *Ming*-dynasty, both countries come to bring simultaneously tribute; but the names of their kings are not the same ¹⁸²), so

178) 按他書皆言爪哇即古闍婆。獨明外史爪哇之外別有闍婆入貢。姑附予此以待參考。

179) I have shown already that *Kaling* was situated upon the Malay Peninsula.

180) The inhabitants of the island Nias (west coast of Sumatra), call to the present day the Malays of Sumatra *dawa* (*dava*). Merveilles de l'Inde, p. 238.

181) 摩那駝喃. If the name is Malay, the characters could be read *Mânah-dâlam*, "the Honorable of the royal palace"; cf. *bahâsa dâlam*, the language of the court; *orang dâlam*, the courtiers. (Malay Dict. of Von de Wall, Vol. III, 116 and II, 92.)

182) The king of central Java, who sent embassies in 1377 and 1379, was called *Wêdânâ Prâbu* (八達那巴那務) and the king of *Shay-po*, who sent an embassy in 1378, was called *Mâna dâlam* (摩那駝喃). *Panabu* is probably

“that it must have been two countries. If one of them was later “destroyed by *Djao-oa* (Java) is not to be ascertained”¹⁸³).

The latter surmise is wrong, for it was only in 1406 that the king of West Java fought a decisive battle with the king of East Java, in which the latter was defeated and his kingdom destroyed¹⁸⁴).

There is no question of *Shay-po* being either west or east Java, for in 1377 the king of east Java, *Buwânâ Bangkit*, and the king of west Java, *Mula Prābu*¹⁸⁵), both sent envoys to bring tribute¹⁸⁶).

to be read *Pa-ra-bū* = *Prābu*. The character 那 is used in transcription for the syllable *ro* in *Roma* 那嗎 (*Vide* 海國聞見錄, fol. 33 *verso*, with the definition that it is the capital of the Pope: 那嗎者天主國王處也); and for *Ra* in *Sungora* 順姑那.

八, *peh* in Amoy-dialect, stands for *wé* (*wé*). *Wédânâ Prābu* means “First (supreme) king”.

183) 按明外史闍婆古曰闍婆達。宋元嘉時始朝中國。唐曰訶陵。又曰杜婆。其王居闍婆城。宋曰闍婆皆入貢。洪武十一年其王摩那駝喃遣使奉表貢方物。其後不復至。或曰爪哇卽闍婆。然元史爪哇傳不言。且曰其風俗物產無可考。而太祖時兩國並時入貢。其王之名不同。或本二國。其後爲爪哇所滅、不可考, *Pien-i-tien*, Chap. XCVII.

184) 永樂四年西王與東王構兵。東王戰敗。國被滅。 Cf. Groeneveldt's Notes, p. 36.

185) In Chinese *But-lo p'o-bu*; the aspirated *p'o* serves to render *pra*. 波 *p'o* is abbreviated from 波羅 *p'o-lo* (Julien, Méthode, N°. 1450) like 陀 or 陁 *t'o* is abbreviated from 陀羅 *t'o-lo* (Julien, Méthode, N°. 2075) in 留陁 *liu-t'o* for *Rudra*; and 多 for 多羅 *to-lo* in 根多 *pei-to* for *patra*, etc.

186) 其 (i. e. *Djao-oa*) 國有東西二王。東蕃王勿院勞網結、西蕃王勿勞波務、各遣使朝貢。 *Pien-i-tien*, Chap. 97 1, fol. 5 *recto*; Groeneveldt's Notes, p. 35. *Buwânâ* = Skt. *bhuvāna*,

Now the king of *Shay-po* was called *Mána dâlam* and thus can not have been either the western or eastern king of Java.

We know by tradition that in West-Java reigned Hindu princes, which explains the name *Mula Prābu* (principal king). Two princes in India were called *Mula Rādja*¹⁸⁷⁾ (principal king).

The princes of East-Java all had names composed with *Buwânâ* and followed by an *epitheton ornans*.

We have had in Mataram a *Paku Buwânâ* I, surnamed *Puger* (1704—1719); a *Paku Buwânâ* II, *Lawean*; a *Paku Buwânâ* III, *Prābu* II.

The Susuhunans of Surakërto were:

Paku Buwânâ III, *Prābu*, 1755—1788.

» » IV, *Bāgus* (the fair) 1788—1820.

» » V, *Sugi*, 1820—1823.

» » VI, *Saperdan*, 1823—1830.

» » VII, *Puroboyo*, 1830—1861.

The Sultans of Djokjokërto bore the names of:

Amangku Buwânâ I, *Swargo*, 1755—1792.

» » II, *Sepu*, 1792—1812.

» » III, *Rodjo*, 1812—1814.

» » IV, *Djarot*, 1814—1822.

» » V, *Menol*, 1822—1855.

» » VI, *Gatot*, 1855—1877¹⁸⁸⁾.

the world). The characters 院, 冤, 堯, pronounced *yuen* in Mandarin, are all pronounced *oan* in Amoy; *oan* = *wan*; 勞 *lo, la* becomes *na* on account of the end-consonant of the preceding syllable *wan*; *wan-la* becoming, by assimilation, *wanna* (*wāna*). The character 結 *kieh*, "to tie", is pronounced *kiet* in Amoy, *kit* in Canton. Groeneveldt's reading *Bogindo* is open to objection. In the first place it should be read *Baginda*, a Sumatran word, derived from the Skt. *Bhagyanda*, "His Felicity", a title given to royal persons; it is placed after the name or title. (Von de Wall, Malay Dict., I, 247—248). In the second place 勿 is never used in transcription for *ba*.

187) Stokvis, Manuel de Chronologie, I, p. 257.

188) Stokvis, op. cit., p. 362—363.

My colleague, Dr. Vreede, professor of Javanese in Leiden, suggests that the Chinese historian has omitted the word *Paku* or *Amangku* before *Buwânâ*, which is very likely, as the Chinese did not know Javanese.

Bangkit is a high Javanese word, used in poetry for the more common word *bisâ* or the Malay *pintar*, "knowing, wise, intelligent". The full title will have been *Paku* (or *Mangku*) *Buwânâ*, *Bangkit*, "The Pin of the World (surnamed) *The Intelligent*".

So ignorant are the Chinese of the true position of Java and the Peninsula, that even a modern author *Ts'ai Fang-ping* (蔡方炳), who gave, under the present dynasty, a revised and enlarged edition of the *Kwang-yü Ki* (廣輿記) by *Luh Ying-yang* (陸應陽), a work written in the commencement of the 17th century, muddles both countries. In Chap. 24 he says of Java (爪哇國), that it borders to the west upon Sëmbodja (Palembang), to the east upon the old kingdom of the women¹⁸⁹), that to the south it is a neighbour of the old kingdom of the Tadjiks (*Atjeh*), and that its northern frontier is Champa¹⁹⁰).

Now this indicates, not the situation of Java, but that of the Malay Peninsula.

Besides, he names among the products of the country "Rose-oil"¹⁹¹); but, as well known, there are no roses in Java¹⁹²), and rose-oil is imported by the Arabs to Java. The Malays call it now *ajar mawar*¹⁹³).

189) I have described in my "Problèmes géographiques", N^o. XX (*T'oung-pao*, Vol. VI, 1895, N^o. 3) this 女人國 which was situated east of China.

190) 爪哇國西抵三佛齊國。東至古女人國。南隣古大食國。北界占城。

191) 薔微露。

192) Miquel, *Flora van Nederl. Indië*, Vol. I, pp. 385—386. Cf. my *Nederl.-Chin. Wdb. s. v. Rozenolie*, where I have shown, that Persian rose-oil was imported to foreign countries.

193) From the Persian *Mawara'*.

The Great Geography of the Ming-dynasty repeats the same statement: "The kingdom of Java borders in the east upon the old kingdom of women, to the west upon Sëmbodja, to the south upon the old kingdom of the Tadjiks, and to the north upon Champa. This state is properly the old state of *Djavá*"¹⁹⁴). In reality these geographical bearings indicate the old *Djavá* upon the Malay Peninsula; but the characters 閩婆 *Djavá* are changed for those of 爪哇 *Djao-oa*. For we must once more remark that south of Java (Yava) is **no land**; and therefore the country of the *Tadjiks*, which we have shown to have been situated in *Atjeh*, cannot be said to lie south of Java, which is, on the contrary, the case with respect to the Malay Peninsula.

Besides, the old "Country of the women" lay east of China and not east of Java.

This is clearly indicated by *Chao Ju-kwah*, who tells us that "east of *Shay-po* the force of the sea gradually lessens, and that the "Country of the Women" is found there. Going still further east, is the place where the *Mi-liu* runs out, and where is an end of the human world. . . . Half a month's sailing (from the eastern coast of *Shay-po*) brings us to *Pulau Condore*", etc.¹⁹⁵). Now this "lessening of the sea" is equally said of the channel of *Formosa*¹⁹⁶). The "Country of the Women" was probably in or near *Japan*¹⁹⁷); whilst I have demonstrated, and I think even proved beyond doubt,

194) 按明一統志爪哇國東抵古女人國。西抵三佛齊國。南抵古大食國。北抵占城。國本古閩婆國。

195) 閩婆國○○○○東至海、水勢漸低。女人國在焉。愈東則尾閭之所泄、非復人世。泛海半月至崑崙國。Vide 趙汝适諸蕃志。

196) Problèmes Géographiques, XIX, *T'oung-Pao*, VI, 170.

197) Problèmes Géographiques, XX, *T'oung-pao*, VI, 247 seq.

that the *Mi-liu* is the *Kuro syo* or black current of the Japanese, running from the east coast of Japan to California¹⁹⁸).

The homophony of 閩婆 *Djavâ* and 爪哇 *Djao-oa* has created the deplorable confusion which has misled all Chinese and European geographers.

According to the Books of the *Sung*-dynasty, *Sëmbodja*, identified with the present Palembang in Sumatra, is said to be a neighbour of Champa, and to lie between Cambodja and Djavâ¹⁹⁹). The author has here confounded *Djava* (*Yava*) with *Djavâ*. The author of the General Topography of Canton (published in 1731), likewise says: "Sëmbodja is the old *Kënderi*; it is situated five days journey south of Champa²⁰⁰), and lies between Cambodja and Djao-oa (*Yava*)"²⁰¹).

It is clear that they had not the least idea where Palembang was exactly situated; for certainly it is no neighbour of *Champa*, and cannot be reached in five days sailing from that place²⁰²).

Ma Hoan, in his *Ying-yai Shêng-lan* (A.D. 1416) says: "*Ku-kang* is the country formerly called Sëmbodja; Palembang is a tributary state of Java. To the east it borders upon Java; to the west (*sic!*) upon the frontiers of Malacca. To the south are big mountains, and to the north it lies near the great ocean (the Indian sea)"²⁰³).

198) Problèmes Géographiques I, *T'oung-Pao*, III, p. 166—167.

199) 按宋史三佛齊國與占城爲鄰。居眞臘閩婆之間。Book 489, A.D. 960.

200) 按廣東通志三佛齊國古于陀利也。在占城之南、相距五日程。居眞臘爪哇之間。

201) This whole absurd geographical statement reminds one of the old Dutch nursery ditty: "tusschen Keulen en Parijs ligt de weg naar Rome" (between Paris and Cologne lies the road to Rome). Can it be that the authors have confounded *Sëmbodja* (三佛齊) with *Këmbodja* (甘字智) which are only variants of the same name, the prefixes *sëm* and *këm* being interchangeable in Malay?

202) The voyage from Champa to Palembang takes about 30 days. Cf. Groeneveldt, Notes, p. 63.

203) 舊港卽古名三佛齊國是也。淳淋邦屬

In the corrected edition of this work, the text runs: “*Ku-kang* was anciently called *Sěmbodja*, and is (now) called *Palembang*. It belongs to Java. To the east it borders upon Java; to the west (*sic!*) upon Malacca; to the south upon big mountains and to the northwest upon the sea”²⁰⁴).

We have here again a gross error, for certainly Palembang does not border to the *west* upon Malacca, but to the *east*. To the west Palembang borders upon the mountain-range of Bencoolen.

In the same book (489) of the History of the *Sung*-dynasty, the distance between Brunei (N.W. coast of Borneo) and *Shay-po* is estimated at forty five (45) days sailing²⁰⁵); whilst in the Description of *Shay-po* in the same books of the *Sung*-dynasty, the distance from the northeast coast of *Shay-po* to Brunei is only estimated at fifteen (15) days sailing²⁰⁶).

Evidently the first *Shay-po* refers to *Djava* (Java) and the second to *Djavá* upon the Malay Peninsula²⁰⁷).

I am surprised Groeneveldt was not struck by this incongruity.

I shall return more at length upon this question, when treating of Sumatra; but I feel confident that I have established beyond doubt that the *Djavá* (*Shay-po*) described in the Books of the *Sung*-dynasty, was a principality situated upon the Malay Peninsula.

爪哇國所轄。東接爪哇。西接滿刺加國界。南
大山。北臨大海。*vide* 瀛涯勝覽。

204) 舊港古號三佛齊。曰淳淋邦。隸爪哇。
東距爪哇。西居滿刺加。南距大山卜。西北
濱海。

205) Description of Brunei. Cf. *T'oung-pao*, IX, p. 381 and Groeneveldt's Notes, p. 108.

206) See above p. 258 [14], and Groeneveldt's Notes, p. 15.

207) The mongol historiographer, of course, wrote after an oral communication, and the characters 闍婆 *Djavá* being the only ones he knew for rendering this sound, he used them to transcribe as well *Djao-oa* as *Djavá*.

When we now resume our inquiry into a tabular form, we shall get the following results:

Djavâ (Champa, Siam).

- 1 Very thin silver coin cut from silver-leaf with scissors, and bearing a chinese mark. § 3.
- 2 No penal laws, only fines of gold. Death only inflicted upon robbers. § 6.
- 3 Rearing of silkworms and fabrication of silk. § 3.
- 4 The king has his *hair stuck up into a knot*, wears a golden crown upon his head, a long cotton gown and *leather shoes*. § 7.
- 5 Titles of functionaries explainable in Malay and Siamese. § 23.
- 6 No matchmakers employed in marriage. § 9.
- 7 Dowry paid to the parents of the bride. § 9.
- 8 Regattas. § 10.
- 9 Produce Elephants, Silken stuffs, Gold, Camphor, Cloves. § 18.
- 10 Djavâ is ruled by *Kalatan*,

Java.

- 1 Thick lumps of silver chopped into irregular pieces, without inscription. Chinese copper cash as a currency.
- 2 Penalty of death for all offences.
- 3 No silk known, before it was indirectly obtained from China through Hindustan.
- 4 The king wears his *hair loose*; has only a cotton sarung (the breast being bare) and goes *barefoot*. *Shoes* only introduced in recent times, but not worn by the natives.
- 5 The same unexplainable in Javanese.
- 6 Matchmakers (*Patjuk*) indispensable.
- 7 Dowry only paid to the bride herself.
- 8 Unknown in Java.
- 9 Java has *no* elephants, *no* silk-manufacture, *no* gold (or nearly none), *no* Camphor and *no* Cloves.
- 10 Java was never tributary to a

- a state lying south of Siam, upon the Malay Peninsula.
- foreign state. Marco Polo states expressly that Java is subject to a great king and tributary to no one else in the world. (Yule, II, 217).
- 11 Mention of a city called *Djao-uah* in the Malay Peninsula by *Dimachqi*. p. 289 [29].
Mention of a principality called *Djáva* in the Malay Peninsula by the Siamese. p. 291 [31].
- 11 Java only known in Siam as *Jäkka:tra* (Javan. *Jacatra*) and *Ka:la:pā*, old name of Batavia (*Kēlapa*, cocoanut).
- 12 *Djavâ* was one of the 18 dependent states of Birmah, p. 291 [47].
- 12 Java was never tributary to Birmah.
- 13 The Natives in *Djavâ* were cleanly eaters. § 5.
- 13 The natives in Java are very dirty, eat snakes, ants, insects and worms, and sleep and eat together with the dogs.
- 14 Persian or arabian colonies in Atchin, south of *Djavâ*.
- 14 South of Java is **no land**, and are no persian or arabian colonies.

These differences are too great to allow the identification of *Shay-po* with Java. We lay especially stress upon the differences in coin (no. 1), in dress (no. 4), in the titles of functionaries (no. 5), in the use of matchmakers and dowries (no. 6 and 7), in the products of the country (no. 9), in food (no. 13), upon the name of *Djavâ* as that of a state upon the Malay Peninsula (no. 11 and 12) and upon the persian or arabian colonies in Atchin (no. 14).
