

II. THE NAVIGATORS' CONCEPTION OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA

By the fifteenth century most of the old empires on the shores of the Indian Ocean, which had monopolised the trade in the eastern products were in decline. The Mamlukes and the Timurids had now no longer any direct influence in the Indian Ocean, although as centres of luxury they still encouraged maritime commerce. The rising civilisation in Europe demanded ever more products from the east. Thus trade prospered although it was now in the hands of the small principalities and trading ports dotted round the coasts of the ocean. Most of these were thriving by the latter half of the fifteenth century, and in the western half of the Ocean, Aden, Shihr, Hurmuz and Muscat in Oman—all semi-independent—were the main ports from which the Arab ships set out for the East.

In South-East Asia, the most important trading state was Malacca. Founded as a commercial entrepôt at the very beginning of the fifteenth century at the time when numerous other independent seaport states were coming into existence round the coasts of Sumatra, Java and the Malay peninsula, Malacca gained the upper hand and dominated most of the other ports in the neighbourhood of the Straits, forming them into a loosely-knit trading empire. However it was never a very united empire, the general impression was that of a number of ports of varying importance sending tribute to Malacca, while the latter itself sent so-called tribute to China. The navigators give us no idea of the importance of Malacca politically, but the impression gained from the texts is that Malacca was the commercial centre of the whole of the South-East, at least for the Arabs. It is to Malacca that the main Arab routes go and beyond Malacca, the sailing directions seem only half-hearted. In fact the only real sailing-directions beyond are for China and Java and these are mere ghosts of the directions given for other parts of the Ocean.

Among the other ports in the area which are prominent in the texts of the navigators are Fanšūr (Barus), Lāmūrī (Acheh), Palembang and Singapore: the first two of course appear in the classical texts. The ports of Java again were independent of each other, although Ibn Mājid once refers to Demak, inland, as the capital of the kingdom. The port of Java in the strait between Madura and Java is the terminus of the Arab route and is distinguished from both Jarshīk (Grēsik) and Surabaya. On the

Burmese coast trade seems to have been in the hands of Tenasserim, Martaban and Chatgaon (Chittagong). The latter according to the Arab navigators was the great port of the Bay of Bengal, but although nominally part of the kingdom of Bengal, it remained independent under local merchant princes.

After the fall of Pagan, Burma was left in the hands of several smaller dynasties whose main preoccupation was beating back the immigrating tribes who were pushing down from the north and the east. Ava was an internal empire with no interest in the sea. The Talaing kingdom of Pegu in the south was then at the height of its power and its ports Cosmin, Syriam and Martaban were among those visited by the navigators. With Gujerat it was one of the two kingdoms of the period which showed a strong interest in the Ocean trade. Further north up the Burmese coast the Arakanese, a race of traders and pirates maintained their independence and were important to the commerce of the Bay of Bengal, although they later became an obstacle to the Portuguese. Tenasserim to the south must have been an independent trading kingdom throughout the 15th century although it may at times have been dominated by Pegu.

The influence of China was predominant in the South China Sea during this period so much so that the navigators refer to all the coasts of the mainland past Singapore as the coasts of China. Nevertheless the influence politically was slight and a considerable number of kingdoms great and small lay along these coasts. The ports here which interested the navigators were the entrance points to the main kingdoms unlike the Indian Ocean ports which existed in their own right mainly supported by trade. A port like Shahr-i Naw (Lopburi) was the commercial entrance to the new Siamese kingdom. Shanbā (Champa) as the name implies was the port for the kingdom of Champa. Kiao-Chi was the port of the Annam kingdom of the Tonking delta and Bāb-i Šin (Canton) and Zaitūn (Ch'üan-chou) were the southernmost ports of the Celestial kingdom itself.

It was in this political set-up that the navigators Ibn Mājid and Sulaimān al-Mahrī wrote their works and it is the Indian Ocean in this state that they describe. The old world conception of Idrīsī and Ibn Sa'īd has vanished in practical information needed for actually sailing these seas. Ibn Mājid was certainly a well-read man and quotes the later geographers often, but it is only on the edges of his area, where his information is scanty that he allows the old conception to seep through. Thus Yajūj and Mājūj appear beyond the Chinese kingdom if you dare to sail further and in one place in the *Fawā'id* he sails an imaginary voyage round the Eurasian land-mass

where his conception of Europe, the Mediterranean and the North is as primitive as Idrīsī's conception of the South. One thing is definite in Ibn Mājid's works and that is that the African coast turns westward in the south and finally joins up with Morocco. Gone is the Ptolemaic conception of Africa approaching China. In the south-eastern direction however no definite ideas are expressed. We are left with the idea that there may be more islands beyond Timor and Banda, but no sign of Australia or New Guinea appears.

The general conception of South-East Asia is therefore limited by the Moluccas and the Banda Islands, and this means that the islands from Borneo eastwards are really appearing in Arabic literature for the first time. In this area most of the larger places are given names which are used today and a number of the smaller places if not bearing the modern names can be identified by referring to early European texts; thus there is none of the guesswork which was necessary with the earlier writers. Jāwa now is the name for the island of Java and the island of Sumatra is known under its own name. Borneo is known under that name (برني Barnī), although it is not quite certain whether the whole of the island is intended: most likely only that part around Brunei. The Malay Peninsula is regarded as part of Siam; Celebes is called Maqāsar; and Formosa is referred to under the name al-Ghūr or Likīwā. References to the Philippines are not at all certain.

Inside the area known to the navigators, a chart (fig. 6) drawn from the latitude measurements and bearings given by them can give us a good picture of how they imagined the area. In some areas a vast amount of intricate detail gives us a surprisingly accurate picture, whereas in areas which are less frequented, there is less detail and many variants are given for both latitudes and compass bearings. Thus we find that the Bay of Bengal, the Malacca Straits as far south as Malacca and the western coast of Sumatra as far south as the frequented port of Fanṣūr are extremely detailed and fairly accurately charted. In a second category, less detailed and less accurate, comes the east coast of Sumatra and the north coast of Java as far as Surabaya, and the coast of the continent towards China. These coasts can be mapped to a certain extent but there are variations and some obvious errors, which lead to the production of several alternative coastlines. Finally there is a third category comprising the rest of the Archipelago, where only names are given and occasional latitudes, mostly hopelessly wrong, and vague compass bearings so that we cannot hope to map these places, but only identify them by comparing them with modern or contemporary European sources.

The most obvious error in the conception of South-East Asia as given by these texts is the alignment of Java and the islands of Timor, i.e. the Lesser Sunda Isles. These are stated everywhere to be in line with Sumatra, north-west to south-east. Nevertheless there are one or two directions given, especially in Ibn Mājid, who gives a more detailed route to the Javanese ports, which would indicate a more east-west alignment for Java. From Mūsā Bārī (Lucepara) at the end of the Strait of Bangka one sails south-east to Tuban. This is not very far from the true direction. South-east from here would actually bring one to the neighbourhood of Semarang. If Java was really pointing in a south-east direction one would either sail close to the island and call at all the Javanese ports or sail parallel to the coast and miss them all. On the other hand, Ibn Mājid's account states that on the way one passes close to the Straits of Sunda (Sunda Bārī). This makes things confusing for it is impossible to sail close to the Sunda Strait when sailing from Bangka to Tuban without changing direction.

1. THE ASIATIC MAINLAND OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA

For convenience we have counted as South-East Asia that part of the navigators texts which deals with the mainland coast beyond Cape Negrais, known as *Najirāshī* نجرانشي in the texts. Most of the coasts from this point belonged to Siām السيام and were known as *Barr al-Siām* بر السيام or *Mul al-Siām* مل السيام i.e. the Siamese coast or the Siamese mainland. This term applied also to the Malayan peninsula as far as Singapore: strictly speaking the west coast from roughly the Tenasserim area to the end of the peninsula. The term *Mul* is often used as an abbreviation for this part and even *Barr al-Mul* occurs. It is doubtful whether Tenasserim (تناصرى Tanāṣarī) was regarded as a district name. The islands of the Mergui Archipelago are always referred to as the Juzur al-Tākwā, but this name does not seem to be applied to the coast of the mainland at all as it does at the present time.

The area in the vicinity of the Irrawaddy's mouth was probably reckoned as part of the kingdom of Pegu. The capital in the interior was known to the navigators as فيجو and of the three important ports of this kingdom, two were definitely mentioned in the texts. *Marṭabān* مرطبان seems to be the most important to the Arabs for routes seem to begin here and it is the terminus of one of the sailing directions given by Sulaimān from the West Indian coast via Ceylon. The second port in the region of Bassein is named by the Arabs *Kasmā* كسمي (Sul.) (Ibn Mājid has كشميرا) although in both cases

كسمين might be a better reading for the name of Cosmin occurs on most early European maps. However it appears in twelfth-century Indian texts as Kusumi, and this form agrees with Sulaimān's spelling of the name.¹

The third port of Pegu known to the Europeans as Syriam is not mentioned by the navigators. Several other places mentioned may represent this, but between Cape Negrais and Martaban the Arab texts do not appear very sure of themselves. The Gulf of Martaban generally they term the *Ghubbat Asīyah* غبة اسية, but they seem to be ignorant of the depth of the gulf and imagine Martaban (at 6° P.S.) considerably south of Negrais (at 7° P.S.). Sulaimān has the most detail but he leaves many queries. One of these is the position of Daḥūn, which could so easily be the important river branch Dagon دجون = دحون and which Sulaimān has placed on the southern (i.e. the eastern) side of the Gulf.

Ibn Mājid gives a much clearer view of the area in the *Fawā'id*. Here he mentions Negrais with Hainggyi kyun off it. The estuary of Ṣarnayak in the Gulf of Asīyah might be the Sittang. Then "before it to the side" (i.e. on the western side of the gulf) is Daḥūn or Dagūn as the river at Syriam, and across it is *Khor Balang* خور بلنج as the Salween. This latter name may be connected with the name of the island at the mouth of the river, Balauk or Biligyun. *Kalang Mali* جزيرة كلنج ملي is then the same as *Karadiyū* كارديو (i.e. Kalegauk) and *Mankadrāwī* منكدراوى equals *Muk* مك (Moscos). The name Muk could be the equivalent of the word Moscos or the word *Bok*, which is used in the names of most of the Northern group (early European maps mark the *I de Moro* which is probably the same. There is also a town of Moro).

On the other hand Daḥūn, being on the eastern side of the Gulf according to Sulaimān could itself be the Salween river. This would place *Khor Balang* at 5½° P.S. further south roughly in the position of Heinze chaung or the Ye river. Ye is also known as Yemalaing, but there is no place with a name similar to Balang on this part of the coast either in modern maps or in the charts of early European travellers.

Hainggyi kyun, from its position would be represented by Ibn Mājid's *Mainaggari* مينجري, which could read هينجوى or even Negrais نجريس which is the other name of the island. *Ṣarnayak* صرنياك if it is the Sittang might be read صرتناك *Sartang* or, if it has to be one of the mouths of the Irrawaddy following Sulaimān's latitudes, could possibly be the Purian or Siamkor branches. Purian in Arabic would be فريان a possible variation of صرنياك.

¹ Coedes: *Les états hindouïses*, p. 298.

Neither *Talālī* تلالى nor *Rāman Kūta* رامن كوتة (Ferrand writes *Qalālī* for the former place but for no apparent reason)² can be identified. *Talālī* may perhaps be at the mouth of the Dalla river. A place, Tagalla, is marked on early European maps but not where *Talālī* might be expected to be. The identification of *Rāman Kūta*, unless it is a stray name from the section on Ceylon, is impossible without any identification for *Talālī*. It is probably a shoal at the mouth of one of the many rivers in the area.

2. THE ISLANDS OF TĀKWĀ AND THE ADJACENT COAST

Sulaimān's spelling for these islands is جزر تاكوا, although in the *Minhaj*, the word is usually spelled with a *b* باكوا: Ibn Mājid omits the *alif* ie. تكوة. This word is applied to the whole of the islands off the west coast of Siam as far as the island of Butang, and it appears today in the forms Takuapa and Takuatang, both towns on this part of the Siamese coast. Takuapa is also the name of the coastal province which stretches to Junk Ceylon. The Siamese word *takua* is used to mean a "black metal" and is sometimes applied to tin and lead. *Takua* is not used on early European maps which never give a name to the archipelago.

The bearings for this group are general but accurate and there is a tendency in the texts to omit the area between Junk Ceylon and the Perak river, due to the fact that there are two groups of islands called Pulau Sanbilan, one given the epithet of Siam and the other, Malacca, a practice found also in Portuguese texts.³

Tawāhī تواهى (5° P.S.) is the town and harbour of Tavoy. The name also occurs as خور تواهى which is the estuary of the Tavoy river and فلو تواهى Pulau Tavoy or Tavoy island. This last is called *Nili* نيلي by Sulaimān (4¾° P.S.) which must represent the other name of Tavoy island, Mali or Meli. It is possible that Ibn Mājid's *Tana' Mali* تنع ملي is also the same: *tanah* is the Malay word for land. Then at the same latitude as Tavoy the *Minhaj* gives *Fāli* فالى or فلى which Sulaimān uses as a landmark for Maṭṭabān. This must be one of the southern Moscos group. There is a possibility that the names *Fāli* and *Fāli Karā* فالى كرا are connected with the names of the present day towns of Palau and Palank on the Burmese coast. Both the latitude and the position of the *Fāli Karā* as a landmark for entering the Mergui estuary, point to the island of Cabosa, but it might be Tenasserim island. Both of these islands were known by name to early European travellers and it is strange that neither of

² *Relations de voyages*, p. 522.

³ Cortesao: *Cartografia*, v. 2, pl. 27, 50, 51.

them is mentioned by the Arabs, especially as the Arabs knew the name Tenasserim when applied to the town. Fālī may be Cabosa and Fālī Karā, Tenasserim I.

Ibn Mājid knew the last two islands as *بحرفلى* *Barfalī* and *بحرفلى* *Bahrfalī*; that is Land Falī and Sea Falī. They were also known as Great and Little Falī. To the north of them Ibn Mājid places *صيل* *Ṣayyil* and *ابعلة اندراوى* *Ab'ala Andarāwī* which cannot be identified.

Markhī *مرخى* (4½° P.S.), also *خور مرخى* *Khor Markhī*, is the harbour of Mergui. Perhaps a better reading would be *مرحى*. The *Muḥīṭ* has *مزجى* which Tomaschek reads *Maraḡī*.⁴ The other entrance to the Tenasserim river besides Mergui is Neclay and this appears in the texts as *Malakī* *ملكى*. The texts seem to have transposed two consonants here and *مكلى* would be a much better reading. Tenasserim itself appears as *Tanāṣarī* *تناصرى*. The estuary (khor) which never has rain, and in which people travel to *Shahr-i Naw*, mentioned by the *Minhaj* in this position, may be the Tenasserim river but is much more likely to be a reference to the Gulf of Siam and to a route across the Isthmus from Tenasserim. *Qrā* *قرا* at 3° P.S. is the modern Kra on the Pakchan river, from which the isthmus is named.

Returning to the islands, *Lawāmand* *لوامند* is placed opposite the Mergui estuary. This cannot be identified accurately, but its position would make it Iron Island (also called *Thamihlagyun*) or King Island. There are numerous large islands in this part of the Archipelago: King I., Elphinstone I., Ross I., Sellore I., Bentinck I., and Domel I., and only three names are given by the Arabs which are suitable for them. These are *Lawāmand*, *Awzārmanda* *اوزارمنده* (also *اورارمنده*) (4¼° P.S.) and *Buttum Bāshkalā* *بتم باشكلا* (4° P.S.). *Thamihlagyun* could be another alternative for Ibn Mājid's *Tana' Malī*. *Awzārmanda's* position between *Lawāmand* and *Shayān* would make it either King I. or Sellore Island. The Neclay (*Malakī*) passage, however, passes between it and *Shayān*; therefore King Island is the most likely. As for *Buttum Bāshkalā*, *Bouton* appears in the map in Alexander Hamilton's work as the island nearest the open sea, opposite Mergui and Tenasserim; but he does not mention it in his text.⁵ Early eighteenth century maps show *Bouton* between *Hattley I.* in the south and *Crara* in the north, and it seems to have been north of the Torres Islands but in the chain of outer islands. *Sulaimān* says there are four islands and I would suggest the *Bailey-Sargent* group.

⁴ *Die topographischen Capitel*, p. 82 and pl. xxiii.

⁵ *A new account of the East Indies*, Edinburgh, 1727.

Shayān *شيان* (3¾° P.S.) is probably *Kisserang Island* which the Selungs call *Shai-an*.⁶ *Lanbī* *لبنى* (the text has *لبنى*) (3½° P.S.) must be *Lampi* otherwise known as *Sullivan Island*; *Kōshek* or *Little Lanbī* *كوشك لبنى* (3¼° P.S.) is probably *James Island* to the south and *Tanakūlam* *تنكولم* (3° P.S.), *Matthew Island*.

South of this appear *Lantā* *لنتا* (2¾° P.S.), *Kalārī* *كلارى* or *كهادى* *Kahādī* (2½° P.S.), *Ayam* *ايم* (2¼° P.S.) and *Pulau Sanbilan* *Siām* *فلو سنبلين سيام* (2° P.S.). The second of these is written by Ibn Mājid *فلو كامهدى* perhaps for *فلو كالمهدى* or *فلو كامهدى*. On some of the sixteenth century Portuguese charts *Pulau Lantā* is marked between *Matthew Island* and *Junk Ceylon*. This would make it *Chance Island* known in Siamese as *Goh Sindarar*, or perhaps one of the islands at the mouth of the *Takuapa* river. The latter suggestion is the least likely because of a note appearing later in the text that *P. Lantā* is two *zām* off the north cape of *Junk Ceylon* (i.e. about 30 miles). *Chance Island* is about thirty miles off the mainland. *P. Lantā* is the only island of the *Tākwā* group which is said to be inhabited and *Chance Island* is not the most ideal of the *Mergui* group for human habitation. This would make *Kalārī*, *Middle Island* (*Goh Tasai*) and *Ayam*, *Perforated Island* (*Goh Born*). *Pulau Sanbilan* are the *Sayer Islands* known in Siamese as *Goh Similan* and on early Portuguese charts as *Pulo cabilā Siāo*, etc.⁷

Urang Sālah (*Orang Sālah*) *اورنج سالة* or possibly *اورنج سالة* *Uzang Sālah* is *Ujong Salang*, also called *Junk Ceylon* or *Phuket Island*. From the description in the texts it seems that the Arabs imagined all the coastal islands of the *Takuapa* mouth to be part of *Junk Ceylon*. Thus the northern point, at the same latitude as *P. Lantā* (*Chance I.*) and 2 *zām* to the east, would be the northern point of *Goh Rah*, the northernmost of the islands around *Takuapa* and about thirty miles from *Chance Island*. The southern point (*Pagoda point*) is four *zām* from the southernmost point of the *Sanbilan* islands. It is actually about 65–70 miles, but not due west as in the text.

It is difficult to compare the details of the texts on the preceding islands with a modern map. The version of the *'Umda* shows three lines of islands; *Lantā*—*Kalārī*—*Ayam* in a north-south line with *Pulau Sanbilan* to the west ranging south from the latitude of *Kalārī*, and *Junk Ceylon* on the east ranging from the latitude of *Pulau Lantā* southwards to the same limit as *Pulau Sanbilan* (2° P.S.). The version of the *Minhaj* has *Lantā*—*Kahādī* (*Kalārī*?)—

⁶ W. G. White: *The sea-gypsies of Malaya*, London, 1922, p. 57.

⁷ Cortesão: *Cartografia*, v. 2, pl. 39, 51, 52.

Ayam followed by "many islands" (or facing them all) and no mention of Junk Ceylon. In actual fact there are three parallel ridges; Chance I.—Middle I.—Perforated I., followed by the Sayer Islands (Pulau Sembilan); then a group of islands to the east starting from Victoria Point and merging at the Takuapa mouth with the mainland; and finally the mainland continuing south to Junk Ceylon.

South of Junk Ceylon, Ibn Mājid mentions three islands called *Mantā* منتا, *Kandiā* كندبا and *Sabyā* سيبا presumably between the southern cape of Junk Ceylon and Trang. Also here is *Janūb Lantā* لنتا جزر جنوب لنتا (1¼° P.S.) i.e. the southern Lantā which are the islands known as Lontur; and Butang بنتنج (1½° P.S.) (the text has بنتنج or بنج). On the coast is Trang ترنج (2° P.S.) also given as تراك by Ibn Mājid.

3. THE MALAYAN PENINSULA (WEST COAST)

This coast is closely connected with the sailing directions for the route from Ceylon to Malacca and it would be appropriate to discuss this route here. There are five accounts of the route, one given in each of the five works used, varying in some of the minor aspects. In addition the *Mal'aqiya* of Ibn Mājid and Sulaimān's 'Umda give an alternative method of crossing the North and South sands.

Sulaimān's texts begin from Sarjal (Great Nicobar) and aim for the direction of Pulau Penang, and Ibn Mājid's *Mal'aqiya* poem does the same although the bearings vary slightly in each case. The aim however is to sight the mountains of the Malayan mainland and then follow the coast to *Pulau Penang* فلننج placed at 7¼° L.B. The *Minhaj* is more precise and aims first for the latitude 8° L.B. and then sails due east along this latitude to *Pulau Perak* فلر فبرك and then sails due east along this latitude to *Pulau Perak* فلر فبرك which is an island bearing the same name today about 90 miles off the north-west cape of Penang. The bearing ESE. from here brought one to Penang (*Minhaj*) or Dindings (*Mal'aqiya*). Further out to sea from P. Perak according to Ibn Mājid was another island Pulau Tanbūrak, W. by N. of Penang, but I cannot identify this island. This was also supposed to be met on the route when coming from Ceylon. From Penang the route went SSE. past the Dindings (*Ding Ding* or *Dang Dang* دنج دنج) and Pankor (*Pān Kūra* فان كورة) to *Pulau Sanbilan Malacca* فلر سنبلين ملاقة i.e. the islands of Pulau Sembilan at the mouth of the Perak river. The *Mal'aqiya* here elaborates stating that from Penang, one sails 1 *zām* SSE. and then due south for 4 *zām*. This is probably the better course. Sanbilān seems to have been an important point for anchorage, the water

was twenty fathoms, fresh water could be obtained and shelter in rough weather. Also near here, as a landmark, is the island of *P. Tanbūrak* طنبورك and تنبورك. The *Mal'aqiya* makes it clear that by this place Pulau Jarrak is meant, although I have earlier stated that this name represented Pankur Laut.⁸ This must not be confused with the other island of the same name to the west of Penang: the *Mal'aqiya* makes it clear that there are two separate islands of this name. From this position one started out to cross the North and South Sands opposite Kelang and the mouth of the Selangor. These shallows were known as *Qafāsi* قفاسي to the navigators, the equivalent of d'Albuquerque's Capacia.⁹ The main route through the Qafāsi shoals followed by the Arab sailors was to aim south for 6 *zām* where in water of 35 fathoms one could take a bearing on *Pulau Jumar* فلو جمر (or جمور *Hāwiya*) which was the largest of the Aroa islands, although the texts know the whole group as Jumar. The depth here where one turns back towards Malaya varies with the text from 24–50 fathoms, but from Jumar the bearing was SE. by E. the whole way across the shoals or changing after one *zām* to ESE. as in the *Minhaj*. Leaving Jumar astern, one aims straight for Pulau Bāsālār فلر باسالار (Ibn Mājid's Fal Fāsālār فل فاسالار), the isolated hill known as Mt. Parcelar to Europeans, but now known as Bukit Jugra on the south of the Kelang estuary. Across the shoals one aimed for 11–12 fathoms. There was deeper water on the Malayan side but it was not advisable to enter this and the route seems to have followed the edge of the deeper water. When Mt. Parcelar was ENE. (NNE. 'Umda) and the water reached 24 fathoms you were across the shoals except for a few minor banks, and the bearing was SE. to the islands off Malacca harbour. On the way the *Mal'aqiya* mentions Cape *Madūra* راس مدور also known as سنيا *Sanyā*. This is Cape Rachado and the second name occurs also as سنيا *Sanyā Ūsang*, although the first word is pointed *Sinā* سنيا and the last is unpointed. This is the same as the *Sanghyang Hujung* of the *Nagarakṛtagama* and the Sungei Ujong of more modern times. Malacca is written by Sulaimān ملاقة and by Ibn Mājid both this way and ملعقة *Mal'aqa*—hence the *Mal'aqiya* poem. Of the islands off the harbour three are named: *Pulau Mal'aqa* فلو ملعقة

⁸ *Relations de voyages*, p. 533 and note 1. Tomaschek on pl. xxv equates it with P. Jarrak and spells it Tambūrek. My reference is in *J. Tropical Geography*, v. 9 (1956), p. 50 and note 53 (p. 56).

⁹ Hakluyt Society ed. v. 3, Cn xvi and xlii. J. V. Mills: "Arab and Chinese navigators", p. 19 gives the meaning as "Cotton shoals" (*Malay kapas*). This is confirmed by Chinese texts.

perhaps Pulau Besar the largest of them; *Pulau Ubī* ابنى (unpointed) for Pulau Upeh and *Pulau Sabtā* سبتا for Pulau Sapata.¹⁰

The second route through the shoals is given by the *Mal'aqiya* and the 'Umda; the latter calling it the route of the Cholas. This is to go south from Sanbilan for only two *zām*, then turning SE. by S. (although the *Mal'aqiya* goes SE. by S. the whole way) until you are on the shallows in 9–10 fathoms. Here you can see Jumar in the distance to the right and *Pulau Hansā* هنسا i.e. Pulau Angsa or Anak Angsa, to the left. Here also Pulau Bāsalar is SE. and the mountains of the mainland called the "Tin mountains" *Jibāl al-Qal'ī* جبال القلعي can be seen the whole time. A bearing is then taken SSE. or continued SE. by S. until Bāsalar is NNE. You can then continue as before.

Both the *Fawā'id* and the *Hāwiya* approach the shoals of Qafaṣī not from Sanbilan but from the Sumatran coast on what Wheatley terms the Chinese route.¹¹ From the town of Sumatra (Samudra Pasé)—the *Hāwiya* approaches this from the Mergui Archipelago—one bears SE. by S. passing first *Pulau Berhala* فلو برهاله, then after 3 *zām* *Pulau Pāndan* فلو فاندن i.e. Pulau Pandang, one of the Brothers, and then after 3 more *zām* reaching Pulau Jumar. Here the original route is followed through the shallows.

Also mentioned by the texts on the Malayan coast but requiring no further comment is *Kedā* كيدا or فلدح (Ibn Mājid) the state of Kedah; *Lakāwī* لكاوى, the Langkawi islands; *Krā* كرا Pulau Kra just south of Penang; *Salang* سالت or *Balang Sālang* بلنج سالتنج the state of Selangor: the second form may include a reduplication or be the name of the bay; and finally *Kelang* كلنج (Sulaimān كلبنج).

South of Malacca, the *Minhaj* places *Karimun* كريمون probably Great Karimon at 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ° L.B.; *Lākanji* لا كنجى or لا كنجى at 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ° L.B. which is possibly an island between Karimon and Galang unless it is a telescoped version of Ibn Mājid's Selat Zanji;¹² and *Kālang* كالنج at 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ° L.B. probably Pulau Galang in the Riau Archipelago and unlikely to be Kalang on Singapore Island. Ibn Mājid also mentions Pulau Pisang فيسنج off the west coast of Johore.

Singapore سنجا فوراً, the island and harbour at the southern tip of the Malay Peninsula, is usually placed at 5° P.S. by the texts. Both the Arab authors regard this as the last point on the coast of Siam. The coast line beyond belongs to the "coasts of China". In the

¹⁰ J. V. Mills: "Arab and Chinese navigators", p. 23 and Addendum A deals with these islands in detail and compares the Chinese texts with the Arabic ones. He identifies P. Mal'āqa with Pulau Jawa and P. Sabta with P. Panjang.

¹¹ *The Golden Khersonese*, p. 243.

¹² See p. 250.

numerical list of latitudes given in Sulaimān's *Minhaj*, Singapore has been inserted between the "five" and the "quarter" before the mention of Kālang. Obviously the author or the copyist had better ideas as to the location of Singapore. The latitude of 5° P.S. is much too far to the south when compared with the other latitudes given for Malaya; 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ° would be a much better reading, but I have mentioned above that the accuracy decreases suddenly after Malacca. This alteration to the text is perhaps an attempt to insert Singapore into its proper place, and is in the same handwriting and ink as the rest of the text. The author must have originally considered the Riau Archipelago as part of the Peninsula or, at least, that part of it west of the Riau Strait. He seems to have sailed right round Pulau Galang to reach Singapore.

4. THE MAINLAND COASTS OF THE SOUTH CHINA SEA

The east coast of the Malay Peninsula is never included under the appellation of Siām, it is always part of the coasts of *Šin* and *Mā* 'l-*Šin* الصين وما الصين which is really a later way of rendering the Chinese empire in Arabic. The earlier Arabic form was الصين. This is derived from the Sanskrit *Cina Mahācina* (lit. China of the Great China) via the Persian جين مجين *Chin Machin*. Another version appearing in Sulaimān's work is *Māh wa'l-Šin* ماه والصين. There seems to be no great distinction between these two terms, although there may be a tendency to use *Šin* for the coast nearer to China and *Māh al-Šin* for the more distant coasts. Once Sulaimān uses the term *Fuḥaj* Pahang in a heading with *Šin* as if this were a regional name, this is the only place that it occurs and it is never used as a place name.

This coast and the route to China is rather vague as the result of one or two obvious errors. In the first place the position given to Singapore is too far to the south. Relative to other information it would seem to be as far south as the Lingga archipelago. Sulaimān's emendation mentioned above would be much more acceptable.

By following the latitudes and bearings given for the places on this part of the coast one obtains a very odd shape for the Gulf of Siam. These places are *Banagh* بنج at 4° P.N.S. by W. from Singapore; *Šūrā* صوراً at 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ ° P.S. NNW. from Banagh; the Gulf of *Kūl* كؤل غبة (or perhaps كوي Kwī) at 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ° P.S. N.W. by W. of *Šūrā*; *Shahr-i Naw* شاهر نوا at 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ° P.S. due north from *Šūrā*. Finally from *Shahr-i Naw* to *Kanbūsā* كنبوسا راس at 5° P.S. is SE. by E. (see Fig. 6). If however one only follows the bearings and the actual coastline is taken into account, this produces a fairly reasonable shape for the Gulf. Thus

Banagh appears on the bulge of the east coast of Malaya and could be Pahang or perhaps Patani (فتنى?). Pahang is more likely for as we have mentioned above, in the chapter heading in the *Minhaj* in which Banagh appears, Sulaimān writes *Pahang* فهنج and not بنع. Ibn Mājid also has in this area فانج فاتك. The first element of this is obviously Pahang (cf. the Portuguese *Pam*). The second element may be reduplication with a ك for a ج. (The name Pekan may possibly be hidden in it فانك for فاكن.)

Sūrā now appears further round the bulge and could be Saiburi or Yering cf. Tanjong Sura in south Trengganu; it may also be a corrupt form of *Singūra* سنجورا which also occurs in the texts. The latitude of Singora is 3° P.S. and not 4¼° P.S. Due north of Singora is the mouth of the Chao Phraya, the main river of Siam and this is where one would expect to find Shahr-i Naw. The name is Persian for the "New city" and represents Lopburī, once a capital of Siam, the Sanskrit or Pali form of which was Nava-pura. It is the same as the early European form Sarnau or Sornau.¹³

This leaves Kūl or Kwī according to Ferrand to the north of Singora. Following the bearing given from Singora one would arrive at Ligor where the term غبة or Gulf applied to Kul would apply. Nevertheless Ferrand reading Kwi would equate this place with the Portuguese Cui which probably represents M. Kuwi at 12° 05' N.¹⁴ Ligor would be a better identification, especially as *Lajhūr* لجهور occurs elsewhere in the texts, although the position given to this at 6° P.S. between Kanbūsā and Shanbā is definitely wrong.

Also on the Malayan coast appears *Tinggi* تنكا and تنك Pulau Tinggi off the east coast of Johore (Ibn Mājid also writes it فليتيك confusing it with Bangka and Palembang); *Kalāndan* كالاندن and *Qalāndan* (Ibn Mājid) the state of Kelantan at 1° P.S. and *Langashukā* لانج شكا at 2°. The latter is the only reference in Arab literature to the Hindu state often mentioned in Indian and Chinese records of the previous centuries.¹⁵ Its position in the text shows it to be between Singora and Kelantan. But its relation to the west coast states is not at all satisfactory because all the latitudes on the east coast are far too high.

Rās Kanbūsā كنوسا at SE. by E. from Shahr-i Naw is obviously Caman Point or P. de Camboia of the Portuguese. The latitude at

¹³ Yule: *Cathay and the way thither*, v. 2, p. 124. Varthema has Sornau. Also see *Hobson-Jobson* (1886), p. 601.

¹⁴ *Relations de voyages*, p. 500.

¹⁵ For a summary of evidence on Langashukā see Wheatley: *The Golden Khersonese*, pp. 252-67.

5° P.S. is much too high, something like 3½° P.S. would place it in a much better position.

Beyond Kanbūsā the texts are vague although the bearings do give an indication of the Gulf of Tonking. Places mentioned are *Shanbā* شنبأ (Ibn Mājid has شفاء and شفا) which is the port of the kingdom of Champa, the Šanf of the classical geographers; *Kawshī* كوشى i.e. Kiao-chi a port at the mouth of the Song-Kla river; and *Bandar Ayam* بندر ايم perhaps for اينم *Aynam* i.e. Hainan.

China is reached at *Bāb-i Šin* باب صين by Sulaimān; this is the Persian form of the classical geographers' باب الصين, the mouth of the river at Canton.

Ibn Mājid in the *Hāwīya* also mentions the following places in China, *Kanbālik* كنبالك, the capital of the Chinese Empire, the Mongol name for Peking (actually Khān Bāligh خان بالغ in Ibn Sa'īd); *Zaitūn* زيتون the great port of the Middle ages which was visited by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa—this was the Chinese Ch'üan-chou; also *Haitūn* هيتون, *Qaltūn* قالتون and *Altūn* علتون which cannot be identified.

5. THE ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR ISLANDS

The main problem presented by the navigators version of the Andamans is that they do not divide the islands into the same number of island groups as would be considered logical. Thus they present us with *Great Andamān* اندمان الكبير also called *Periya Andamān* فريا اندمان,¹⁶ *Little Andamān* اندمان الصغير also *Shitta Andamān* شيتا and *Wiji Andarāwī* ويجى اندراوى whereas the islands naturally divide themselves into two, a large complex group which consists of a chain of three closely connected islands, North, Middle and South Andaman and the comparatively isolated Little Andaman. Thus the Little or Shitta Andamān of the texts could correspond with Little Andaman or the Chitty Andaman of early European charts leaving the Northern group as Great Andaman.¹⁷ The strait called *Birūn Shīrū* بيرون شيرو would then be Duncan Strait. This however does not agree very much with the comparative lengths of the islands and widths of the straits given in the texts. Nor does it account for *Wiji Andarāwī*. A better arrangement would be to imagine North and Middle Andaman as *Andamān al-kabīr*, South Andaman as *Andamān al-ṣaghīr* and Andaman Strait as *Birūn Shīrū*. *Wiji Andarāwī* could then be the islands to the south of South Andaman near Rutland Island and modern Little Andaman would have been ignored by the texts unless it too was part of

¹⁶ Sidi Çelebi calls the two Andamans اندروان كبير and اندروان صغير.

¹⁷ Cf. A. Hamilton: *A new account of the East Indies*, v. 2, p. 57.

Wijī Andarāwī. This would enable us to equate *Kanākil* كنانكيل with Barren Island about 50 miles to the east of Andaman Strait. If Bīrūn shīrū is Duncan Strait, Kanākil has been misplaced by the texts or must be the shoal Invisible Bank which is to the east at this latitude. An alternative for Wijī Andarāwī would be for it to represent the Ritchie Archipelago misplaced to the south of the main islands.

Of the islands between Negrais and the Andamans *Fi Farsawā* فرسوا also called جين *Jim* or جيز *Jiz* must be the island whose name is Europeanised into Preparis.¹⁸ *Tarakī* ترکي,¹⁹ *Farsawā* فرسوا and *Qauqī Andarāwī* قوقی اندراوی must be the Cocos Islands, perhaps one of them being Landfall Island. *Qauqī* is obviously the same word as Cocos. *Andaramandā* اندرماندا from its position must be Narcondam.

Purun shīr فرن شير (or فرشير *Farshīr* in Ibn Mājīd) is the Ten Degree channel between the Andamans and the Nicobars. The name cannot be explained, but the *shīrū* element which also occurs in Bīrūn Shīrū, seems to be for "strait" and several small straits in the Andamans at the present time are called *juru*.²⁰

The Nicobars are slightly clearer in conception than the Andamans. The three large islands are easily identifiable. These are *Karī Nāka bārī* کرى ناک باری, Car Nicobar; *Manjal Fūla* منجل فوله, Little Nicobar and *Sarjal* سرجل, the southernmost, Great Nicobar. *Karam* کرم a locality on the last is unidentified, but if it is a harbour on the south coast, it must be Galathea Bay. The name *Sarjal* has not survived, but *Manjal Fūla* survives in the name *Menchal*, the name of a small island to the east. *Fūla* stands for *Pulau*, the Malay word for island.

Of the other islands *Pattik Malay* فتک ملی or *Pattik Malw* فتک ملو is the small isolated island of Batti Malv south of Car Nicobar. *Bārī Nāja bārī* برى ناج باری (the first word is unpointed in the text) represents the group of islands in the centre of the Nicobars. *Kashfulā Andarāwī* کاشفلا اندراوی the only other island named must be one of these, either Tillanchong or Camorta although *Kashfulā* may be a shortening of *Katchal Pulo* if this name is not of European origin.

6. SUMATRA

The island of Sumatra was not known in great detail to the Arab sailors except for a portion of the north coast and the route down the

¹⁸ Ferrand: *Relations de voyages*, p. 506 suggests فراسی *Far-farāsī* for this.

¹⁹ Ferrand: *Relations de voyages*, p. 505 reads *Narakī* for this name.

²⁰ *Bay of Bengal Pilot* and Admiralty charts.

west coast to Fanšūr. The rest of the island is given by the texts as a series of places at certain latitudes often with a large number of variations. The islands off the west coast are mentioned, but are a little confused because of the different uses of the term *Mārūs* and *Manqāmārūs*.

Ibn Mājīd has a general note on the island (f. 68v. l. 14 ff.) but this says little except that the equator passes through the island, which he mixes up with *Sirandīb* (Ceylon) and *Abyssinia*.

The word *Sumatra* has various forms in the texts. The usual form is شمطرة, which serves for both the whole island and the port of *Samudra-Pasé* on the north-east coast. This is also the spelling used by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. It usually has two *dammās* i.e. *Shumuṭra*. Other ways of writing the word are شمطرا and شمطرى.

The route from the northern point of Sumatra to *Fanšūr* فنصور the camphor port of Barus at 6° L.B. is not terribly clear, but as there was only one practicable passage for sailing vessels down this coast, it is possible to follow the directions given by Sulaimān in the *Minhaj*. Throughout the route his bearings are too near the south point, and he himself says elsewhere that the general direction of this coast is south-east. Because of the high mountains on the mainland in this part of Sumatra, the ship could remain in sight of land all the way to the port of *Susu* (شوشوا). The most tricky part to navigate in this area is the channel between the *Banyak* Islands and the mainland and the usual passage is between the island of *Jawi* and the mainland but keeping fairly close to the former. The rock with the trees on it mentioned by Sulaimān may be one of the rocks north of *Pulau Banyak*, perhaps one of the group *Pulau Delapan*. It may on the other hand, be the island of *Jawi* itself as this forms the landmark for all attempts to pass through this passage. There are no trees on *Jawi* at the present time, but many of these islands have one or two conspicuous coconut trees on them.²¹ The cape which juts out to sea soon after these islands must be *Ujong Singkel* or *Ujong Raja*. The port of *Sinkel* occurs as سنكل. As in the previous part of the route, the directions for the second part are too near the south point. A course SE. by S. from *Ujong Singkel* does not pass near any islands, there are one or two further out to sea and many close to the coast; in fact far more than the seven mentioned in the text. The seven most prominent are perhaps *Pulau Kasi*, *Sikandang*, *Birakan*, two called *Mankir*, *Panjang* and *Karang* or instead of this last perhaps *Ujong Silabi*.

²¹ *Malacca Strait Pilot*, 4th ed. 1958, p. 304; but *Horsburgh* v. 2, p. 84 states that there is one large Banyan tree on it which can be seen from a great distance.

The island of *Banqā* or *Banqāla* [له] بنجا is presumably Pulau Karang outside the harbour of Barus (Fanṣūr).²²

The *Minhaj* says that Fanṣūr was famous for *Riyāhi* camphor. Actually the text has الكافور الحى which is most probably an error for الكافور الريحاني, which was according to Arab medical writers the best type of camphor and they also state that it was obtained from Fanṣūr.²³ Ferrand²⁴ reads الكافور الحى for this phrase, and translates "the living camphor", but can offer no explanation.

South of Fanṣūr appears *Bāsalār* باسلار which is probably Pulau Mansalar or Musala, opposite the town of Sibolga and a little to the south of Barus. Also on this coast of Sumatra are *Pariāman* اندرفورا and *Indrapūrā* اندرفورا; the latter also being known as *Manaqābūh* منقابوه i.e. Minangkebau. Also on the west coast in the north (7½° L.B.) appears *Mākūpāng* ماكوفانج (also مهكفنج) which must be the kingdom of Mancopa given by Tomé Pires and which he equates with Daya. Cortesão in editing Pires work shows that Barros makes these two separate places.²⁵ He therefore equates Mancopa with Laboh. Our texts, however, make it fairly clear that *Mākūpāng* must have been in the vicinity of Daya: Laboh is too far to the south.

The islands off the west coast of Sumatra are mentioned in detail although the terms *Manqāmārūs* and *Mārūs* which are applied to them lead to a certain amount of confusion. *Manqāmārūs* منقاماروس (practically always منقاماروس in the texts) is the same as Tomé Pires' Minhac Maruz or Maruz Minhac. There are a number of early references to the term *marus* in this part of Sumatra, both as an island and as a race. Marsden in his *History of Sumatra* states that a people called Marus or Maruwi lived on the islands of Nako-Nako (Hinaku) west of Nias and in Hog Island or Simalur and in the Banyak Islands.²⁶ Schroeder, in his books on Nias,²⁷ says that the present day name of Maruwe is Hulo Siitu, and that it is a small island off the west coast of Nias. There are other references on seventeenth and eighteenth century maps to this name applied to one or other of the islands in this group and it is possible that the whole group were at one time called Marus. Hence the Arab reference to "Many islands", Cortesão,²⁸ when editing the text of

²² The *-la* له is crossed out in the text and it may have been inserted by the copyist thinking of the more common Bengal.

²³ Cf. Ibn al-Baiṭār: *Traité des simples*. Notes et extraits, 1883. See also p. 100.

²⁴ *L'Empire sumatranais*, p. 102, n. 2.

²⁵ Tomé Pires (Hakluyt Society ed.) 1944, pp. 135-6, n. 163.

²⁶ *History of Sumatra*, p. 478.

²⁷ V. 1, p. 349.

²⁸ Tomé Pires, 1944 ed., p. 162.

Tomé Pires says that Minhac Maruz is Nias, but the Arab texts make it clear that *Manqāmārūs* must be the large island to the north known as Simalur or Simeuleu (Horsburgh's Hog Island),²⁹ although there is one place in the *Minhaj* where *Mānqārūs* (actually منقاروس) may stand for Nias. The term *Mārūs* ماروس may be an alternative form for *Manqāmārūs* or may be a general name for all these islands north of Nias, whereas *Manqāmārūs* is the name of the largest of them (Simalur). In one place, Sulaimān equates *Mārūs* with Banyak. Ibn Mājid makes *Manqāmārūs* an island and *Mārūs* a mountain on the Sumatran mainland. Sulaimān also states that the *Batak* people الباطخ and البتاك who inhabit the highlands of Sumatra originally came from *Manqāmārūs*.

Among the other islands, *Andrasābūr* اندراسابور, the most northerly, are the Cocos Islands north of Simalur. The *Bānyaq* Islands فلوربايقي include *Matahārī* متهارى,³⁰ *Pulau Bābī* فلوربابي which still bear these names today, and *Pulau Lūlū* (لولو) and *Pulau Lumbū* فلولنبو which cannot be identified. *Talājīh* تلاجيه seems to be an alternative name for part of the Banyak archipelago given by Indian sailors because they resemble certain landmarks on the Gujerati coast which bear the same name. Finally *Nihā* نحا is Nias, the local name for which is Tanah Niha.

On the east coast of Sumatra, the navigational texts mention a number of well-known ports. *Lāmūrī* لامري survives from the texts of the classical geographers. There is also in the texts a *Jebel Lāmūrī* which must be the range of mountains behind, the name applying to the mountains as far east as Pedir. In the neighbourhood, Sulaimān also mentions *Jibāl Jā'iza* جبال جائزة. The word in the text is حايزة or حايرة and could be an adjective after *Jibāl* (mountains) but there is no word in classical Arabic which would make good sense, although there is a South-Arabian colloquial word which may mean "isolated" or "elongated". It is quite likely a proper name. If this is so, then it could be the name of a place in Sumatra, or the name of a place elsewhere whose mountains are compared to those in Sumatra. If it is read جائزة *Jā'iza*, it could represent the Malay *Gajah* "elephant". No *Gunong Gajah* exists in this part of Sumatra, but, *Gle Goh*, the hills immediately behind *Diamond Point*, and hence the first hills seen when sailing from the direction of *Penang*, were called by early European sailors, *Elephant Mountains* (*Olifantsberg*).³¹ Varthema uses the term *Gaza* for the Straits of

²⁹ *India directory*, London, 1826, v. 2, p. 86.

³⁰ Ferrand and Tomaschek read this word منطاري and identify it with the island of Mentawī. *L'Empire sumatranais*, p. 88, n. 5 and *Die topographischen Capitel*, p. 71.

³¹ *India directory*, 1826, v. 2, p. 176.

Malacca and Winter Jones says that the Arabic for this strait is *Boghāz*.³² Perhaps *Jibāl Jā'iza* means the Mountains of the Malacca Strait.

Off the northern tip of Sumatra are the islands which have been for centuries the first landmarks of South-East Asia. The most important of these to the navigators was *Jāmis Fūla* *فله جاموس* also spelled *فله جامس* *فله جاموس* and *فوله جاموس*. This is the *Gauenispola* of Marco Polo, *Gomespola* of Linschoten and *Pulo Gomez* of later European authors. Thomas Bowrey makes it a large island 20 miles west of Pulau Way, which is called Pulau Bröeh or Lampuyang today (Horsburgh's Pulo Brasse).³³ The highest mountain on this island bears the name *Gunong Chömö* and this may be a remnant of the old name. The large island is obviously that meant by the Arabs, although Horsburgh called a small island to the south Pulo Gomez. This is called Pulau Kelapa in the map in Snouck Hurgronje's *The Achinese* (English ed., 1906), but Pulau Bunta by the Malacca Strait Pilot (1934).³⁴ Ferrand sees the name as compounded of the Malay "Pulau" and the Perso-Arab *جاموس* "buffalo".³⁵ Close by is *Mās Fula* *ماس فله* which probably stands for Pulau Mas "the island of gold". It must be, from the directions given, the same as Pulau Way, but the latter does not occur as Pulau Mas on any European map.

To return to the ports: *Mandara* *مندرة* described by Sulaimān as a new port near *Lāmūrī* is only mentioned once. It seems to have replaced *Lāmūrī* which disappears at this time, but the town of *Acheh* arose at the beginning of the sixteenth century and presumably replaced *Mandara*. *Samudra-Pasé* appears in the texts as *Shumūtra* *شمطرة*, *Pedir* in the form of *فيدر*. *Perlak* may be seen in a Sumatran *فيرك* (i.e. *فرلك*) and *Ra's Perak* is probably *Ujong Peureulak* or *Diamond Point* to the north. *Aruh* appears as *'Ārūh* *عاروه*, but it is always placed south of *Madyanā* *مدينا* by the navigators whereas *Aru Bay* is north of *Medan*. *Medan* in the 16th century was the kingdom of *Deli* and *Aru* on early European maps always appears south of this.

Next the texts have *Ankūh* *انكوه* or *Rokan* *روكن*. *Rokan* is also given as *Arkan* *اركن*, and *Ankūh* may be a corruption of either *ركن*

³² Hakluyt ed. of Varthema, p. 223, n. 7.

³³ India directory, 1826, v. 2, p. 44. Bowrey: *A geographical account of countries round the Bay of Bengal*. Hakluyt society 1905, pp. 286-7 in one case quoting William Dampier: *A new voyage round the world*, London, 1968, v. 2, p. 122.

³⁴ Bunta according to Snouck Hurgronje's map is the Admiralty's Lumpat and the Chinchin of Horsburgh. See Horsburgh, v. 2, pp. 64-5; *Malacca Strait Pilot*, 4th ed., 1958, pp. 53-4.

³⁵ *L'Empire sumatranais*, p. 89, n. 7.

or *عاروه*, having an *alif* instead of an *'ain*. Further south are given *Indragiri* *اندر جيري* also telescoped into *تدرين*; *Janbā* *جنبا* (Ibn Mājid has *جينا*) for *Jambi*, and *Palibang* in the form *فلي بنج* or *فلي بنج*.

Between *Rokan* and *Indragiri* the texts have *Mahrāpatam* *مهراپتم* according to Ibn Mājid but *نهرافتم* in *Sulaimān* which is given at 5° L.B. The name as it stands looks very Indian, but it is possible that the first element represents the Sumatran *Muara* and a name like *Muara Padang* might be expected. The location of this place must be near the *Indragiri* river or perhaps further north, although the term *Muara* is not common to the north of the *Indragiri*. There is a *Muara Padang* near *Palembang* and an island of *Padang* in the latitude of *Singapore*.

The southernmost point of Sumatra according to the texts is *Tikū Tarmid* *تيكوترمد* (*Sidi Çelebi* has *نكيو ترمدا*; Ibn Mājid has *تباكو ترمدا*). This must be the name of one of the three southernmost capes of Sumatra. These are *Tanjong Rata*, *Tanjong Cina*, and *Tanjong Tual*. The last (*Varkenshoek*) is marked in early maps as *Tanjong Toca*, but whether this is an error or an alternative name I am not sure. However there may be a connexion between this word and the element *تيكو*. Ibn Mājid says that it was the furthest point to the south east in Sumatra which would support the fact that this was the cape. However if we read *تنكونرتة* *Tankūnratah* we have the name of the most southerly point in Sumatra (*Vlakkehoek*). I prefer the former theory. Still another attempt would be to read *تنكن توة* *Tanjon Tua*, and equate it again with *Varkenshoek*.

Occurring only in Ibn Mājid's *Fawā'id* is *al-Andalāsi* *الاندلاسي*, which seems to be the equivalent of the *Andalaz* of *Tomé Pires* and other Portuguese writers. It appears to have been some sort of state in the extreme south of Sumatra.

7. IBN MĀJID'S ROUTE FROM MALACCA TO JAVA

This route is not at all clear and the proper names appear to be very mutilated in the text. Ferrand³⁷ has attempted to explain this passage, in order to elucidate a Chinese text, but has not had much success. He would direct the route through the *Gaspar* strait, between *Bangka* and *Billiton*. But although this does explain the mention of *Billiton*, it leaves many other identifications in the air. Also the *Gaspar* Strait was unknown to European sailors until the beginning of the eighteenth century, and it seems unlikely that it would have remained so for such a long time if Asiatic sailors had

³⁶ *Die topographischen Capitel*, p. 71.

³⁷ "K'ouen-Louen", *JA*, 11 série (1919) t. 14, p. 54, n. 1.

been using it regularly as early as the fifteenth century. The usual route for early European travellers from the Strait of Malacca to Java was through the Strait of Bangka, and I am inclined to see in this route of Ibn Mājid an attempt to describe the same route.

The first part is straightforward; on leaving Malacca, the ship heads out to sea to clear P. Sapata and then steers more or less parallel to the land, past P. Pisang فيسنج to the Karimons and to "the extremity of the route". The last phrase is the literal translation of Ibn Mājid's text, الى نهاية اظهر السبيل, but it is possible that نهاية is the corruption of the name of an island perhaps near the Karimons. On one hand, one can understand this to mean that the ships sailed SE. by E. as long as the open sea lasts i.e. to the beginning of the narrow strait between the Karimons and the Riau Archipelago (Durian Strait). On the other hand, نهاية might be Berhala as it is best to render it a few lines later. One must then read the text as if the direction were to be SE. by E. all the way to Berhala. This is wrong, but is typical of Ibn Mājid's vague directions and he gives no more bearings until Berhala has been passed. Berhala is more or less the end of the first part of the route.

The actual passage through the straits is very confused. The shallowest part is actually between six and seven fathoms. The name *Selat Zanji* زنجي سلت seems to be given to the whole of the strait or at least to the most tricky part. *Selat Karimā* كريمنا although it means "Karimon Strait" is really identified as an island in the text. There is actually a Selat Sinki near Singapore, but ships would not travel through this, but would leave it behind to the east on entering the Durian Strait.

Hānū هانو according to the *Fawā'id* is a shoal at the southern end of the Bangka Strait often confused with *Mūsā Bārī* which is nearby. Mention of it here in this part of the route with the two preceding places can only be due to the usual confused state of Ibn Mājid's poetical writings.

The Gate of *Mūsā Bārī* can only be the entrance to the passage which finally passes between Bangka and Sumatra. *Mūsā Bārī* موسي باري is Lucepara (Pires' Luceparij) the island and bank at the southern end of the Bangka Strait. This strait itself was also known to the Arabs as *Mūsā Bārī*. The "entrance" must be somewhere near the Indragiri river for the next landmark is *Berhala* برهله (although the text has again نهاية), the Varella of the Portuguese.³⁸ The men-

³⁸ Berhala is the island opposite the mouth of the Indragiri river and must not be confused with the island off the north-east coast of Sumatra. There are several Berhalas, all known as Varella to the Portuguese. Two are mentioned by the Arab navigators.

tion of *Bilitūn* بليطون to the east, where aloeswood is found, seems a little out of place here; one can only surmise that the Arabs had been given the name, and had applied it here to Singkep and the neighbouring islands of the Lingga Archipelago, which are the islands which they must leave on the left. The route through this part of the strait goes fairly close to the Sumatran mainland and leaves all the islands, including Berhala (as the text says "the furthest to their right"), on the left. Having rounded the cape of Sumatra (Tanjong Jabung) which seems to be ignored by the text, the direction to Bangka is then SSE. the only bearing the text has anywhere near correct. The passage through the Bangka Strait is ignored, and then from the southern end of Bangka to Tūban, the bearing is SE. This bearing is too far towards the south point; SE. by E. or ESE. would be better.

After this, another route is given which seems to be an alternative from Bangka to Tūban. Ibn Mājid mentions *Bangka Kota* بنك كوته which can only be described as Fort of Bangka (Malay *kota* = "fortress" or "town") and the Sunda Strait, although the bearing is again SE. all the way, so something must be missing as it is impossible to reach the Sunda Strait without changing direction. Another odd line here is that "at the قطب of Bangka Kota it is four *iṣba'* meaning فليبتيك". قطب could be "north" or "south", and فليبتيك could be Palembang, or it could be Pulau Bangka, in opposition to Bangka Kota, in which case قطب could be read "north" or "south" without affecting the sense. An argument against the latter explanation is that Bangka has before been rendered by تيك, without the فلي. The latitude of Palembang is usually given as 4° L.B. فليبتيك can also be Pulau Tinggi, but it cannot be this here.

8. JAVA

In Java, the ports are placed in several different orders along the coast: *Lāsem* لاسم at 2° L.B. is usually first, then *Jarshik* جرشيك the modern Grésik (3-1½° L.B.), *Tūban* توبن at 1° L.B. and finally *Surabāya* سراباية at 12° G.B.³⁹ The correct order of course should be Lasem, Tuban, Grésik and Surabaya. There is also the port of *Jāwa* بندر جاوة, which in Sulaimān's text seems to be Tūban. In that of Ibn Mājid it could also be Tuban but in most places he gives the impression that it is at the entrance to the Madura Strait. The Sundanese part of the island never seems to be mentioned at all

³⁹ Sulaimān spells it سراباية and Ibn Mājid in one place has تيمور نابة. Sidi Çelebi has غرانة. This last, Ferrand (*Relations de voyages*, p. 512, n. 8) has read غرانة or قرانة and identified with Yortan.

except for the Mountain of Sunda, which is described as the northernmost part of Java, but it is very doubtful what the Arabs really mean by this mountain. The island of Tūban, mentioned by Ibn Mājid in the *Fawā'id* could be a reference to the island of Madura, there is no island of Tuban outside Tuban harbour. Apart from this Madura does not seem to be recognised at all, certainly not by Sulaimān.

Sunda Bārī باري سنده is the Strait of Sunda. The latitude given to this is always 3° L.B., in spite of the great variety of latitudes given to the southern point of Sumatra and the northern point of Java. Ibn Mājid adds that there are three islands here. In actual fact there are far more than three in the Sunda Strait and these may be any three. He says that their centre line is NE. by E. and SW. by S., but this does not really help for this direction is only the general axis of the strait. *Jebel Sunda* جبل سنده is possibly Gunong Gede at the entrance to the Sunda Strait, but the distances given by Sulaimān between the main ports on the north Javanese coast make it appear much nearer to Lasem, the first port mentioned by him. Perhaps the Arabs recognised Gunong Murya as the first mountain in Java, and ignored the existence of the western part of the island. It seems to me that the Arabs really confused the two, not being at all sure of themselves in this part of the world. The wide variety of latitudes (3–2° L.B.) given to *Jebel Sunda* confirms this.

The Arabs were even less acquainted with the south coast of Java, because, as they say there were no well-known ports there. Sulaimān strangely enough places along this coast details of the Lesser Sunda Islands which otherwise appear to be missing. *Shūnda* شونده also written شونده, is reckoned the most westerly place on this coast. It is possibly another form of Sunda but the texts are most careful not to write it the same way as *Sunda Bārī* and *Jebel Sunda*. This place is followed by the island of *Bālī* at 1° L.B. (فالي occasionally بالي) and to the east of this is *Shūmbaba Şandal* شومبابة صندال. *Shūmbaba* is Sumbawa, while *Şandal* is the name occasionally given in European maps to the island of Sumba. How these came to be attached to the south coast of Java it is difficult to see.

At the eastern end of the island, the texts place *Shāndī* شاندي (11° G.B.) which appears in Tomé Pires as Chandy, Chamda and Chande, a kingdom at the east end of Java and part of the kingdom of Balambangan. Cortesão identifies it with Djember.⁴⁰ Chandi is a common element in Javanese place names and has the meaning "monument".

⁴⁰ Hakluyt ed. of Tomé Pires, 1944, p. 198, n. 1.

Also on the island of Java, Ibn Mājid mentions *Demak* دمك which he states is the "capital of the kingdom", although he does not state which kingdom is meant. Another place, *Shīna Qarmūn* شينة قرمون occurs once in Ibn Mājid and this is the only port that is ever placed to the north (i.e. west) of Lāsem. This looks very much like a Javanese Cina Karimun, but there is no evidence that a port with such a name ever existed in West Java. An early name for Jakarta was *Sunda Kelapa* and this may be a corruption of this name. Also mentioned in the *Fawā'id* are *Qarfūl Jāwa* قرفول جاوة and *Qarfūl Paling* قرفول فلينج two mountains which have to be carefully distinguished according to Ibn Mājid. The first element in the name seems to me to be the Malay *kepala*, a "head", but there is no mountain bearing the name *Kepala Java* today. *Paling* cannot be identified unless it is a corruption of *فلبينج* Palembang, and these could be two prominent landmarks, one in Sumatra and one in Java each side of the Sunda Straits.

One other name given in connexion with Java is *Mūsā Sādūn* موسى سادون. *Mūsā* is the Javanese *nusa* for "island". This place was according to the Cholas the end of Java. The cape at the end of the chain of islands to the east of Madura is called *Tanjong Sedano*, and it is possible that the island on which it stands is called *Nusa Sedano* and is the equivalent of *Mūsā Sādūn*.

9. THE ISLANDS OF THE SOUTH EAST

The remaining islands of the Archipelago are not given enough measurements to enable them to be charted and compared successfully with a modern map. A vague direction or the maximum latitude is about all that is given. The islands of Timor are stated to extend beyond Java presumably still in a south-east direction as they are given a considerable range of latitude. The islands of *Bāndan* (Banda) باندن (7° L.B.) seem to be the extreme limit of the Arab's knowledge, and they are vaguely placed to the east of Timor: so is *Malūkū* (the Moluccas) ملوك or ملوكو which is placed between 6° L.B. and 2° L.B.⁴¹

The term *Timor* تيمور according to the texts, includes the whole of the islands to the south-east of Jāwa but what is actually meant is all the islands south and east of Sumbawa and Sumba. Whether or not Flores is included it is impossible to tell. Sulaimān divides the Islands of Timor into two groups which he calls *Timor Lor* تيمور لور

⁴¹ The islands of spices are also given as جزر العفانير by Ibn Mājid, f. 69r., l. 9, and جزر القرنفل by Sulaimān in both the *Umda* and the *Minhaj*.

and *Timor Kidul* كيدل تيمور, that is North and South Timor. Ferrand imagines Timor Lor to be a mistake for تيمور لوت Timor Laut which is an island to the east of Timor also called Tanimbar, but there is no need for this as the point of the word *kidul* is then lost.⁴² Just which islands belong to each group is very difficult to ascertain. Perhaps the Timor Laut group are the Northern group and Timor proper and the islands round it Timor Kidul. In this case Timor Laut would be the same as Timor Lor. (It is possible that the Javanese Lor has been misunderstood by the Malay sailors of the Archipelago and the name corrupted into Timor Laut.) Another division of the islands would be to call Timor proper, Timor Kidul and to make the Zuid-wester Eilanden, Timor Lor. Ibn Mājid also has the North-South division of Timor, but he gives them the Arabic forms *Jāhī Timor* and *Suhailī Timor*, جاهي تيمور and سهيلي تيمور.

Ibn Mājid also says that there is nothing to the south of Java except Timor, *Shāshī* and *Fāsā* فاسا and شاشي. This seems as if Ibn Mājid imagined these three places to be equally important. This is the only time that *Fāsā* appears and I can find no identification for it. *Shāshī* on the other hand is given a latitude (11° G.B.) and appears in the *Fawā'id* as تيمور شاشي Timor Shāshī opposed to Timor Kidul as if it were an alternative name for Sulaimān's Timor Lor. A possible identity for *Shāshī* is the word *Sassak*, the name applied to the race and language of Lombok.

In the *Fawā'id*, Ibn Mājid has a detailed account of the Islands of Timor, so detailed as to be almost unbelievable. None of the places can be identified. This section has a series of islands from latitude 10° G.B. to 6° G.B. First comes *Jāhī Timor* containing the islands of *Ghayābin* غياين, *Lakliwā* لكليوي, *Laikāsīm* ليكاسيم, and *Mūtā* موتا; with the port of *Pūlan* بندر فولان at 9°. At 6¼° are the islands of *Suhailī Timor*. Ibn Mājid then states that all of these islands are Timor Shāshī and *others* are Timor Kidul. Whether this means that these two terms are the same as *Jāhī* and *Suhailī Timor*, or whether both the latter are contained in Timor Shāshī, and Timor Kidul consists of still more islands, is not clear. Ibn Mājid does go on to mention more islands "to the south of Timor and to the west", but whether any of these are included under any of the above headings is dubious. These other islands are *Labsatī* لبستي, *Luwain* لويين, *Tābā* تابا, *Jābā* جابا and *Bailā* بيلا. These being described as to the south-west of Timor may be the islands between Timor and Sumba, but their present names bear no resemblance to those above.

⁴² *Relations de voyages*, p. 514, n. 1.

Of the other islands mentioned outside the Timor group *Karimū* كريمةوا is mentioned by Ibn Mājid and used by him as a centre for a complete set of bearings round the compass. Its position shows that it is probably Karimunjava (see below). *Bayān* بيان is possibly the island of Bawean. *La'ūdi* لاودي (the text has لاودي "to Audi or al-Audi") is probably Pulau Laut, the large island in the south-east of Borneo. Tomé Pires mentions a port of Laue on the coast of Borneo, east of Tanjongpura, although Portuguese maps have it to the west near Sukadana (as Lao, Lave, Laoe).⁴³ This place is another possible equivalent. *Šuluk* صولك for صولك must be the Sulu islands, north-east of Borneo and finally *Karimātā* كريماتا would be the Karimata Islands to the west of Borneo.

Finally the large islands to the north must be mentioned. Of these, *Jilolo* جلولو was the largest island in the South East according to Sulaimān, so it seems obvious that Borneo was not recognised as one complete island. Jilolo is actually the largest of the Molucca group and also called *Ḥalmahera*. The island of Borneo is shown as *Barnī* or *Burnai* برني, and in one case براني Barānī. The latitude range i.e. 5° P.S. to 6° L.B.; shows that the whole island must be meant; this range is therefore approximately correct but the whole is placed too far to the north with regard to the Malay Peninsula. Borneo was probably thought to consist of several smaller islands. Sulaimān and in most cases Ibn Mājid call the South China Sea the Sea of Barnī and give the direction of Barnī from Cape Kanbūsa. In the latter case, the town of Brunei is possibly meant. *Maqāsar* مقاصر presumably stands for the whole of the Celebes. The range of latitude allowed this island (in one case 3½° and in another from 6–1° L.B.) shows that the Arabs must have regarded this as a large island too but unlike Borneo it appears too far to the south in relation to the Malay Peninsula. All of these islands, together with Malūkū and Bāndan appear too far from Java because of the latter's inclination to the South East.

Likīwā and *al-Ghūr* لكياوا and الغور (the first word is unpointed) are identified by Ferrand with Liu kiu (Ryukyu) a name formerly applied to Formosa as well as to the Ryukyu Islands.⁴⁴ The Portuguese form was Lequeos. *al-Ghūr* is the Portuguese Gores, which they usually applied to the people of Formosa. This land seems to have been beyond Jilolo according to the texts.

Fariyūq فريوق must be the same as D'Albuquerque's Perioco, but the identification is very doubtful. It has been suggested that it

⁴³ Tomé Pires. Hakluyt edition, 1944, pp. 224–5.

⁴⁴ *Malaka, le Malāyū et Malāyūr*. For *Likīwā* and *al-Ghūr*, Appendix I; and for *Fariyūq*, Appendix II.

is Japan, but it is most likely part of the Philippines. Palawan has also been known as Paragua and this may represent the same name. If Fariyūq were the latter it would fill an important gap in this Arab conception of South-East Asia.⁴⁵

10. IBN MĀJID'S DESCRIPTION OF THE JAVA SEA

Having described the route to Java in the *Hāwiya*, Ibn Mājid then mentions the island of Karīmū which must be Karimunjawa and then proceeds to give an almost complete set of bearings from the island, starting with the east and working anti-clockwise. The bearings omitted are WNW. and W. by N. and the southern ones from SW. by S. to due east are grouped together where it is stated that the islands of Timor are found. It is presumably from the lack of detail that individual bearings are not given here. The actual picture given by this circular arrangement differs considerably from that given by the rest of the text. Westwards of Karīmū there is no great difficulty except that Java appears too small, for it only covers 45° whereas 90° would be more acceptable. Zaitūn however is due north of Karīmū. Is Ibn Mājid looking at a chart and giving bearings as the crow flies, or is he completely ignorant of the land mass of Borneo? It is doubtful if there was a genuine route from Java to China by way of the passage between Borneo and the Karimata islands. It would be impossible to sail a ship in the direction he gives for several of the eastward bearings, although one might set out in the directions named and change course later. Thus Borneo is NE. and Macassar N. by E. In such a case one would have to sail right round the Celebes to reach Borneo. At NNW., he has فلتيك Pulau Tinggi, although perhaps Palembang is meant, in which case the bearing and the latitude are both wrong.

The whole point of this circular arrangement, according to Ibn Mājid, is to explain the operation of *tirfas* which is equivalent to "raising the Pole" in European navigation.⁴⁶ But none of these routes can be used for such an operation if they cannot be sailed in a straight line.

The bearings given are: E. by N., بيان Bawean; ENE., الأودي (La'ūdī or al-Audī) Pulau Laut?; NE. by E., ملوك Moluccas; NE., برني Borneo; NE. by N., صولك Sulu Is.; NNE., ليبوا Libawā (perhaps

⁴⁵ Tomaschek: *Die topographischen Capitel*, p. 18 suggests *periya-Wōki* i.e. the Tamil for Greater Waq or Japan. The information about Paragua was given in personal communications from T. Araneta and Prof. C. Majul.

⁴⁶ For details of this operation see my *Arab navigation*, pp. 299 ff.

لكيوا Formosa); N. by E., مقاصر Macassar; N., زيتون Zaitūn; N. by W., كريماتا Karīmātā; NNW., فلتيك Pulau Tinggi or Palembang; NW. by N., سنجا فوراً Singapore; NW., جنبا Jambi; NW. by W., موسى باري Lucepara; WNW., nothing; W. by N., nothing; W. سنده باري Sunda Strait; W. by S., WSW., SW. by W. and SW., Java; remainder to the south and east, Timor.