

КУЛЬТУРА И ОБЩЕСТВО

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OLD MALAY TEXTS CONCERNING THE CHINESE IN THE MALAY WORLD

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Abstract: Essays from Malay Islamic historiography contain the brief reports on the history of local societies and kingdoms in the Malay world from 13th to 20th centuries. The sources focus mainly on information on rulers, the elite and those in the upper crust of society, in addition to their families, also including information on all those who resided at court. There is much to learn from such sources of knowledge, specifically with regards to politics, intellectual life, trade and economy, shipping, customs and ceremonies, and the very fabric and design of Malay society, to name a few. Scholars have correctly assumed such works to be veritable encyclopedias of Malay life. One of the subjects that is quite frequently recorded in Malay Islamic historiographical texts concerns the various civilizations and races which have lived in the Malay world for centuries. For example, there are records on the Chinese and their respective civilization. The author discusses the information related to China and the Chinese people that can be found in old Malay texts, based on six chronicles, namely *Hikayat Raja Pasai (HRP)*, *Sejarah Melayu (SM)*, *Hikayat Aceh (HA)*, *Peringatan Sejarah Negeri Johor (PSNJ)*, *Hikayat Siak (HS)*, and *Tuhfat al-Nafis (TN)*. Analysis on these texts revealed that there are various information regarding the Chinese community in the Archipelago, including general information concerning life and customs of the Chinese people, trade routes and toponyms, shipping, trading, Chinese-Malay relations, local stories and legends and others. The analysis also proved that the Chinese community in Malay world experienced some important transition in 13th–19th centuries.

Keywords: old Malay texts, Malay Islamic historiography, Malay world, Chinese, Chinese trade and shipping, customs, multicultural interrelationship.

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КЛАССИЧЕСКИЕ МАЛАЙСКИЕ ТЕКСТЫ О КИТАЙЦАХ
В МАЛАЙСКОМ МИРЕ

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Резюме: Памятники малайской мусульманской историографии содержат разнообразные свидетельства об истории местных сообществ и царств Малайского мира начиная с XIII по XX в. В основном фокус историографов направлен на описание правителей, придворных и людей, принадлежащих к верхним слоям тогдашнего общества. Обширны описания аристократических семей, интеллектуалов и других обитателей двора. Вместе с тем тексты содержат важные свидетельства о различных народах и этноконфессиональных группах, населявших малайские султанаты. Статья посвящена анализу сведений о китайцах, их культуре и обычаях, описанных в малайских средневековых хрониках. Анализ свидетельств, содержащихся в текстах малайской мусульманской историографии XIII–XIX вв. позволяют определить и классифицировать сообщения по следующим критериям: их состав и структура, основные сюжеты и темы, авторские приоритеты при выборе сообщений, исторические и экономические реалии, в том числе политические и культурные особенности жизни китайцев в малайском мире, названия китайских кораблей, изделия китайских ре-

месленников, имена и топонимы, связанные с историей местных китайцев и пр. Сопоставление содержания малайских хроник разных лет позволил выявить ряд важных изменений в описании китайцев в малайском обществе. В частности, оказалось, что с приходом европейцев из текстов практически исчезли сообщения о китайской знати, высокопоставленных вельможах и богатых купцах, так активно посещавших малайские государства в XV–XVI вв. и игравших значительную роль в политической и экономической жизни региона. Вместо этого героями малайских летописаний стали китайские кули и работники оловянных приисков, а также другие представители «низших» социальных групп, использовавшиеся колониальной администрацией в качестве дешевой рабочей силы, а также игравшие важную роль в демографической политике по изменению национального и религиозного состава населения подвластных территорий.

Ключевые слова: классические малайские тексты, малайская исламская историография, малайский мир, китайцы, китайская торговля и судоходство, таможи, культурное взаимодействие

Old Malay texts are one of the most fascinating parts of the wealth of knowledge available in Malay written tradition. Malay Islamic Historiography, i.e. texts on the history of Muslim kingdoms and its rulers, represents the highest level in the development of this tradition and it is one of the most widespread and significant genres of old Malay texts can be found in manuscripts. Malay Islamic historiography exists in various forms, among which are *hikayats* (narrative histories), genealogies, histories, chronicles, daily journals and reports among others. All these are important sources of history that can greatly help in the rebuilding of the history of the Malay world and its comprehensive understanding.

Essays from Malay Islamic historiography contain information on rulers, the elite and those in the upper crust of society, in addition to their families, also including information on people residing at court. There is much to learn from such sources, specifically with regards to politics, intellectual life, trade and economy, shipping, customs and ceremonies, and the very fabric and design of Malay society. Scholars consider such works to be veritable encyclopedias of Malay life.

It is also useful to view Malay Islamic historiography as a source of complex history, viz., studies on historical texts which represent the various eras of history and these eras' respective historiographical footprints. Comparative as well as textual analyses, based on various texts also enable us to better understand empirical history and the various social conditions of the Malays throughout diverse countries and generations.

One of the subjects that is quite frequently recorded in Malay Islamic historiographical texts concerns the various civilizations and races which have lived in the Malay world for centuries. For example, there exist records on the Chinese people and their civilization. These texts are most important due to the fact that they allow us to answer several important questions concerning Chinese civilization. There are following objectives of our research could be listed here: which Malay texts contain information on China and Chinese; what are the themes and subjects of inquiry mentioned in these texts; how the Chinese have been portrayed in Malay Islamic *hikayats* between 13th and 19th centuries?

As sources, we chose to examine six texts, each representing a particular historical period and various streams of thought in Malay Islamic historiography.¹ They are as follows: *Hikayat Raja Pasai* (HRP), *Sejarah Melayu* (SM), *Hikayat Aceh* (HA), *Peringatan Sejarah Negeri Johor* (PSNJ), *Hikayat Siak* (HS), and *Tuhfat al-Nafis* (TN).

¹ Reports on Chinese and China could be found also in many other historical texts. For example in *Misa Melayu* there are 8 mentions of Chinese traders, shops, mirrors, games, rituals, etc. See also: [Winstedt, 1965, p. 66, 82, 83, 86, 184]. See also 26 mentions in *Hikayat Pahang* (Cina, China, cina-cina): Chinese traders; marriage with Chinese, *Kampung Cina*; Chinese soldiers, Chinese in local conflicts, etc. [Kalthum, 1997, p. 9, 11–12, 45, 83–84, 105–107, 135].

Hikayat Raja Pasai (HRP)² is a narrative on the history of Pasai. This work reflects the earliest period of Malay Islamic historiography. The date of the HRP has still not been determined conclusively, and although the text contains no references at all to any dates, analysts date the work to be between 1280 and 1400 AD, that is, approximately between the years 680 and 800 AD. The most final and complete version of the HRP was estimated to have been completed at the end of the 14th century, and a copy of this final text emerged in Java in 1797 [Jones, 1999, p. 3].

The *Sejarah Melayu* (SM)³ is one of the most well-known Malay texts, dealing with the history of Melaka from 15th to 16th centuries. According to several scholars, the SM was composed by Tun Sri Lanang, the Bendahara of Johor during the time of the two sultans of Melaka – Johor Dynasty, i.e. Ali Jalla Abdul Jalil Shah II (1570–1591) and Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah III (1597–1615).

The *Hikayat Aceh* (HA)⁴ deals with the history of Acehnese Sultanate, in particular, its famous Sultan Iskandar Muda, written in fact to praise the Sultan. As in case with the previous texts, the date when the HA was composed is not firmly established, but it is believed to be written sometime between 1607 and 1636, during the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda⁵. The HA is extremely interesting and valuable text because it represents a genre of historiography, that incorporates the Malay history and local Islamic literature, as well as historical accounts on many other countries and civilizations. According to T. Iskandar, the HA was composed in the style and genre of the *Akbarnama*, the well-known work composed in praise of the Moghul ruler King Akbar [Iskandar, 2001, p. xl–xlii]. According to Prof. Vladimir Braginsky, HA was influenced by *Malfuzat-I Timuri* (Autobiography of Timur) – one of the Timurid Mughal panegyric chronicles, written by Abu Talib al-Husayni for Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan (1628–1658) [Braginsky, 2008, p. 446–450].

² There are three copies of the HRP. The most well-known is the MS Raffles Malay N. 67 found in the Royal Asiatic Society, London (Ms. A). The second one is a direct copy of this Ms. A, made by the French scholar Edouard Dulaurier in 1838, kept at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, No. Mal-Pol. 50, which is almost impossible to use for comparative analysis. The third one was discovered in London in 1986 and purchased by the British Library in 1986 (Ms. B). There are six editions of the *Hikayat Raja Pasai*: [Dulaurier, 1849]. This is a high-quality Jawi edition, perhaps even better than subsequent ones Pasai [Mead, 1914; Hill, 1960]. This is the most complete edition of the work [Alfiah, T. I. 1973; Jones, 1987; Jones, 1999].

³ There are 29 copies and three versions of the *Sejarah Melayu*: 1. The first is most often identified as originating from the original cluster, published by Abdullah Munsyi in Singapore (1831), namely, the “Batu Sawar” (Johor) cluster dated at approximately 1612. This version contains 34 chapters, each with an introduction, noting that the work was requested by the Bendahara Paduka Raja Tun Muhammad (Tun Seri Lanang). This is the most well-known version, distributed throughout Malaysia, Indonesia and the rest of the world. This cluster consists of hundreds of copies (St. Petersburg, London, Manchester, Leiden, dan Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka); 2. There is another cluster, which had yet to become likely well-known and which has not yet been published as a book. There are only two copies, with the oldest version dating circa 1536. The first copy is Copy 18 in the Raffles Collection at the Royal Asiatic Society in London, containing the complete text. The second copy in the Leiden University Library, Cod. Or. 1704, is incomplete, having only the first 100 pages. However, this copy has eight chapters that are not found in the first version, and the arrangement of the chapters also differs slightly from that found in the first cluster. The introduction is also shorter and the author's name is omitted. It is dated 1612; 3. There is also the undated Pasir Raja version, found in the Raffles Malay 18, page 203 line 25 (the first page is 17), made with black and red ink, this is an undated copy on English paper with watermark “C. Wilmott, 1812,” given to the Royal Asiatic Society in 1830 by Raffles' wife. There exist several editions of the *Sejarah Melayu*, the most well-known of which include [Dulaurier, 1849; Shellabear, 1967; Situmorang, Teeuw, 1958; Winstedt, 1938; Brown, 1953; Blagden, 1925; Iskandar, 1964; Roolvink, 1967]. For the present essay we use [Salleh, 1997].

⁴ Several copies of the *Hikayat Aceh* exist. One of the most complete is the edition by T. Iskandar, Cod Or. 1954 (Copy A) and Cod. Or. 1983 (Copy B) from the collection of the Legatum Warnerianum at the Leiden University Library. The first one (Copy A) is a copy of a copy of one of the manuscripts from the Library of Isaak de Saint Martin made at the end of the 17th century, originating from the group of Malay and Javanese copies, moved circa 1871 to the Leiden University Library. The second (Copy B) is also a copy from the earlier edition of *Hikayat Aceh*. According to the colophon, it is dated 9.03.1847.

⁵ Opinions are somewhat divided on the precise date of the *Hikayat Aceh*; see discussion in: [Braginsky, 2008].

The *Peringatan Sejarah Negeri Johor (PSNJ)*⁶ represents the historiographical tradition of the Johor Malays. The book was produced during the 18th century, again by an unknown author and written in the form of several documents and stories presenting the activities and biography of Sultan Suleiman Badr al-Alam Shah (1699–1760).

The *Hikayat Siak* (HS)⁷ represents the historiography of the Minangkabau-Siak Johor. One version of this text maintains that its contents were relayed and retold by Tengku Said in 1272 AH (1855 AD). The entire narrative of the HS covers an extremely long period of history, beginning with the time before the era of the Melaka Sultanate in the 15th century and reaching up till the middle of the 19th century.

Lastly, there is the famous *Tuhfat al-Nafis* (TN)⁸ of Raja Ali Haji (1809–1872). Evidently, there exist two works of the same title. Experts assume these to be two versions of the same work, for both versions were produced at roughly the same time; namely, during the middle of the 19th century. Both versions also originate from Penyengat Island in the Riau-Lingga Archipelago. Furthermore, both versions represent the Buginese tradition as found in Johor historiography. The first version of the TN is a short text of 88 thousand words, whereas the second is longer, containing 126 thousand words. The shorter text was composed by Raja Ahmad bin Raja Haji (1779–1879) and the second was composed by his son Raja Ali Haji bin Raja Ahmad (1809–1872).

In 2016 the text of *Tuhfat al-Nafis* have been translated into Russian and published in Moscow [Денисова, 2016].

All the above-mentioned texts are artifacts of Malay Islamic historiography and are thus vital to the study of the history of the Malay world. Analysis of these historical texts based on research into original historical sources (particularly textology, comparative analysis, statistical analysis, substantive or external criticism, internal criticism etc.) demonstrate that all these works contain references to China and the Chinese. These references cover various subjects and areas of inquiry:

- General information (origin, race, places of resettlement etc.)
- Information concerning relations between the Chinese and Malay states, namely, political and economic relations, in addition to relations in the fields of knowledge and culture;

⁶ There are two copies of this text, namely the KL24B copy at the Leiden University Library in the collection of H.K. von Klinkert. Copied in Riau in 1863–1866. The second one is the copy of Von de Wall 196 at the Library of the Indonesian Cultural Board in Jakarta, made sometime between 1855 and 1873. Both copies were used in [Kratz, 1973]. This German translation is yet another source of Malay history as it pertains to Johor in the 18th century.

⁷ At present there are four copies of the *Hikayat Siak*. 1. The copy that is considered superior is kept at the Library of the Central Museum in Jakarta, W 191; M 1, 44. The text is in Arabic / Jawi script, and this copy is in good condition. Copied in 1856. 2. There is a copy at the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society in London, Mal. 138, titled *Sejarah Raja-Raja Melayu*. Catalogued by M. C. Ricklefs and P. Voorhoeve. 3. There exist two other copies from the same text at the Library of the University of Leiden, both coded Cod. Or. 6342 and Cod. Or. 7304. The second copy displays handwritten orthography in Jawi script, whereas the first copy, also in Jawi, is typewritten, copied in Aceh in 1893. All four copies were used in [Hashim, 1992].

⁸ The short version of the *Tuhfat* text by Raja Ahmad is found in a copy at the Library of the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde in Leiden, made in Penyengat Island in 1896. This copy's condition is excellent and it was used as the foundation by Virginia Matheson for the short version's edition in 1982 [Matheson, 1982]. As for the longer *Tuhfat*, copied by Raja Ali Haji, at present this exists in five copies: 1. The Maxwell 2MS Copy, found at the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society in London, made in Selangor in March 1890 by British Resident Sir William Maxwell. This copy contains additions pertaining to the history of Riau after 1865. This copy, used in [Winstedt, 1932] and [Matheson, 1982], is not in very good condition especially in comparison with the von Hasselt copy. 2. The second copy is the 1932 lithographic copy of R. O. Winstedt, made from an older copy. This lithographic copy, used in all the editions of the *Tuhfat al-Nafis*, is similar to the Maxwell copy. Nevertheless it contains many mechanical errors in Jawi script. 3. The Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka copy at the Library of the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka Malaysia is almost identical with the Maxwell one, but its condition is even better and it was used in the Matheson edition [Matheson, 1998]. 4. The fourth copy of the *Tuhfat* was found in the Leiden University Library in 1954. In Jawi script, it was first used in [Matheson, 1991]. No copier's name is given. 5. The Terengganu copy, found in 1986 at the library of the University of Malaya in Kuala Lumpur, made in 1886 in Terengganu, is in Jawi script and in good condition. As yet unpublished fully; only available currently in facsimile, was used in Russian translation [Денисова, 2016].

- Information on the Chinese people and specifically on their activities in the Malay world (the activities of the elite, traders, travelers, craftsmen, ordinary workers and coolies);
- Information on traded items including craft items that are made in China or by the Chinese, (like textiles, porcelain, opium, ships, weaponry, sulphur, etc.);
- Information on ships, shipping and trade routes;
- Stories on the Chinese way of life and/problems of the Chinese in the Malay world.

PLACE NAME (TOPONYM): *CHINA*

The term *China* is used in all the texts we are studying; having three different meanings. The first meaning is used to denote 'race':

- *orang Cina* (the Chinese race), *raja Cina* (Chinese rulers), *saudagar Cina* (Chinese traders), etc.

The second meaning refers to location:

- *benua Cina* (the continent of China), *kerajaan Cina* (state or government of China), *Laut Cina* (Chinese Sea), *negara Cina* (the country of China), or simply 'China' without any prefixes.

Finally, the term *China* is also used to refer to the place where a thing is made; for example,

- *kain Cina* (Chinese textiles), *kapal Cina* (Chinese ships), *cermin Cina* (Chinese mirrors), etc.

Statistical data reveals that the most oft-used term is the term *China* to refer to the name of a place or location.

- *HRP* contains 10 such references,
- *SM* has 100,
- *HA* has 8,
- *HS* has 19,
- *PSNJ* has 5,
- *TF* has 50 such references.

In total, references to the name 'China', are used to refer to a location or place, and number a total of 182.

The data mentioned above demonstrates that although the toponym or place-name of 'China' is mentioned in all the texts under examination, their frequency differs. For example, in the *Sejarah Melayu* we find this toponym occurring 100 times out of the total mentioned in all texts, which is 182. This shows the authority of China and the high esteem in which it was held during the time of the Malay Sultanates. Tome Pires also mentions the influence of China during the time of the Melaka Sultanate, and this is also mentioned in various other sources [Cortesao, 1967, p. 271]. Ahmad Jelani Halimi states that “trade relations with China/the Chinese were among the most important relations for Melaka....indeed, Melaka was considered by China as a trade centre and shipping terminal for ships en route to the West. Chinese traders in Melaka were exempted from paying taxes; they were only required to give gifts to the *Syahbandar*” [Halimi, 2006, p. 30].

Meanwhile, the *Hikayat Aceh* alludes to the toponym *China* 8 times only. During the time of Aceh rule, the influence of China as a powerful political centre was also influenced by the coming of the Portuguese and the fall of Melaka. Nonetheless, there were a number of special *Kampung Cina* in Aceh [Lombard, 1991].

In the *Tuhfat al-Nafis* there are only 50 citations regarding both China and the Chinese, despite the fact that the *Tuhfat* is five times the volume of the *Sejarah Melayu*, proving that by then the influence of China upon the Malay world had waned, giving way to the rise of Johor which allowed in turn, for the emergence of other power centers such as the Dutch, English, Bugis and others.

RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND THE MALAY WORLD

The content analysis of the information regarding relations between China, the Chinese and the Malay world shows that old Malay texts refer to this in various areas of social life; prime examples concern politics, trade, economic and intellectual relations between the two nations. Trade relations are the most oft-cited – all texts contain information on Chinese traders. It is only in the *Hikayat Raja Pasai* and the *Sejarah Melayu* that we find mention of political and cultural relations between the Chinese and the Malay world, leading us to conclude that, between 18th and 19th centuries, China lost its role as the political and intellectual power centre in the region.

Regarding political relations between China and the Malay world, we find the following in the *Sejarah Melayu* and the *Hikayat Aceh*:

Original text	Paraphrase
<i>Maka Tun Perpatih Putih... dititahkan Sultan Mansur Syah utus ke Benua Cina... Setelah berapa lamanya di jalan maka sampailah ke Benua Cina. Maka oleh Raja Cina disuruhnya arak surat dari Melaka itu dihentikan di rumah perdana menteri yang bernama Li Po. [Salleh, 1997, p. 67]⁹</i>	Ruler of Malacca Sultan Mansur Syah sends a delegation to China with a letter for its king; they arrived after some time and then the Chinese king orders this official missive to be kept and paraded at the prime minister's residence, whose name was Li Po.
<i>Hatta datanglah musim akan pulang. Maka raja Cina pun menitahkan Li Po berengkap akan mengantarkan anakanda baginda ke Malaka. Maka Li Po pun berengkaplah. Setelah sudah akan berengkap maka oleh Raja Cina lima ratus anak puteri yang muda-muda itu dan seorang pun perdana menteri yang terbesar akan panglimanya mengantarkan anaknya baginda Puteri Hang Liu itu dan berapa ratus dayang-dayang yang baik rupanya serta anakanda baginda itu [Salleh, 1997, p. 105].</i>	The delegation from Malacca prepares for their return journey, whereupon the Chinese king reciprocates their previous honour by ordering his premier to set off for the Malacca court, this time with a delegation of his own, including the king's own daughter Princess Hang Liu and five hundred beautiful maidens.
<i>Maka titah raja Cina, "Besar raja Melaka itu, banyak sungguh rakyatnya, tiada berapa bezanya dengan rakyat kita. Baiklah ia kuambil akan menantuku" [Salleh, 1997, p. 67].</i>	The Chinese king recognizes Sultan Mansur's stature, declares that there is not much difference between his people and the people of China, and states his readiness to accept him as a future son-in-law.
<i>Maka raja Indera Syah pun dibawa oranglah kepada raja Cina. Maka dipermulia raja Cina akan dia dan diberikannyalah yang ditinggalkan raja Iskandar itu. Maka disuruh raja Cina perbuat sebuah istana di halaman maligai. Maka diberikan raja pupal akan raja Indera Syah. [Iskandar, 2001, p. 89].</i>	When Raja Indera Syah was brought to the Chinese king, he was honoured with the construction of a residence in the palace courtyard.

Whereas trade relations are described both in the *Tuhfat al-Nafis* and *Peringatan Sejarah Negri Johor* as follows:

Original text	Paraphrase
<i>Maka ramailah negeri Lingga masuklah perahu dagang dari Jawa dan wangkang-wangkang dari negeri Cina dan dari Siam dan lainnya. [Matheson, 1998, p. 197].</i>	Many ships entered Lingga including <i>perahu dagang</i> (trade boat) from Java and <i>wangkang-wangkang</i> from China and Siam.

⁹ Here and further the original text of *Sejarah Melayu* cited based on [Salleh, 1997].

Original text	Paraphrase
<i>Maka beberapa kerugian daripada keuntungan orang-orang yang berniaga, dan saudagar-saudagar di dalam negeri Siam dan Cina dan Koci sebab kerana segala mereka itu membawa dagangan ke sebelah tanah Johor [Matheson, 1998, p. 270].</i>	Mentions the business of profit and loss of the various traders from Siam, China and Koci who brought their wares to Johor.
<i>Maka tiadalah lain pekerjaannya (Yang Dipertuan Muda Dahing Kemboja) melainkan membesarkan perniagaan di dalam negeri Riau. Maka dapatlah beberapa perahu dagang dari jauh-jauh, datanglah kapal-kapal dan keci-keci dari Benggal membawa dagangan Benggal berpuluh-puluh buah, dan dari Cina datang pula wangkang-wangkang kepala hijau, dan kepala merah/berpuluh-puluhan [Matheson, 1998, p. 178].</i>	Mentions the wish of the ruler of Riau, Dahing Kemboja who desired that the trade in Riau be expanded; thus it flourished with <i>perahu dagang</i> from far away, and ships and <i>keci-keci</i> from Benggal, and <i>wangkang-wangkang</i> from China.
<i>...Raja menerima dan memberi jalan berniaga wangkang Cina, ia itu kepada patutnya disuruh ke Jakarta atau Melaka. Sebab itulah terutama di dalam hati [Kratz, 1973, p. 67].</i>	Chinese <i>wangkang</i> were accepted and given permission to trade in Jakarta or Malacca.
<i>Maka berpuluh-puluh dagangan Cina-Cina dengan dagangan Jawa, demikian lagi berpalu dagangan Jawa dengan dagangan Riau, seperti gambir dan saudagar Cina banyaklah; apalagi saudagar Bugis peranakan banyaklah juga, dan pada masa itu banyaklah orang kaya-kaya di dalam negeri Riau itu [Matheson, 1998, p. 178].</i>	At that time there were many rich people in Riau, and trade flourished between the people of Riau; especially the Bugis, and the Chinese and Javanese traders. Each had trade products which competed with one another's products.

The information contained in these old Malay texts referring to trade relations between the Malay world and China is also corroborated by modern scholars. For instance, Leonard Y. Andaya says that “approximately eight to ten Chinese *tongkang* are usually seen each year in Riau, selling their wares on credit for two to three weeks. Buyers, who come mostly from the class of people under the patronage of the Orang Kaya, will then endeavor to sell what has just been purchased in order to obtain the profit expected by the Chinese traders” [Andaya, 1987, p. 52].

ITEMS OF TRADE

One of the most frequently discussed subjects in old Malay texts is that of trade [Денисова, 2012]¹⁰ items either brought by Chinese traders or made by their craftsmen. Such information helps us to understand the level of trade expansion between the Chinese and the Malay world as well as know the trade market extant then in the Malay world and identify the list of Chinese trade items that were imported from China. Old Malay texts mention Chinese textiles, porcelain, opium, ships, weapons, sulfur items (for gunpowder) and others.

For example, we have the following information which was contained in several old Malay texts:

Original text	Paraphrase
<i>Syahdan maka baginda Yang Dipertuan Besar serta Yang Dipertuan Muda serta raja-raja Bugis dan Melayu banyaklah mendapat hasil-hasil dan cukai-cukai dan antara-antaranya Cina wangkang itu dan tob Siam seperti segala mangkuk pinggan dan piring yang halus-halus dan yang kasar-kasar</i>	The Bugis and the Malay royalty reaped many rewards from the trade with China and Siam, including porcelain, Chinese silks and hundreds of rolls of Chinese satin.

¹⁰ Malay Islamic Historiography contains brief information regarding trade, seafaring and ships. See: [Денисова, 2012].

Original text	Paraphrase
<i>beberapa gedung. Apalagi seperti kain perbuatan Cina seperti dewangga dan kimka dan belakang parang dan satin beratus-ratus gulung dapatnya di dalam setahun angin</i> [Matheson, 1998, p. 234–236].	
<i>“Maka ditampalnya cermin Cina yang besar-besar”</i> [Salleh, 1997, p. 84].	Large mirrors from China were prominently displayed.
<i>Dan Tengku Musa pun menyuruh temenggung mencari akan segala makan-makanan dan afiun Cina dua buku</i> [Hashim, 1992, p. 167].	Tengku Musa told the temenggung to find food and Chinese opium.
<i>“Kemudian dari itu maka Sultan Abdul Jalil berbuat istana: tiga puluh depa panjangnya dan hatapnya papan dan dingdingnya papan, beberapa tulis-tulisan ada cara Cina</i> [Kratz, 1973, p. 44–45].	Sultan Abdul Jalil’s palace was built thirty depa long, with wooden roofs and walls bearing Chinese inscriptions.
<i>Dan perhiasan istana Yang Dipertuan Besar dan Yang Dipertuan Muda itu daripada emas dan perak hingga rantai-rantai setolobnya dengan rantai perak jua dan seperti talam dan ceper kebanyakan diperbuat di negeri Cina dan seperti tepak dan balang air mawar daripada emas dan perak diperbuat di negeri Benila yang berkarang bertatahkan intan dan yang berserodi. Dan adapun pinggan mangkuk dan cawan kahwa dan cawan the kebanyakan diperbuat di negeri Cina serta tersurat dengan air emas pada pantat cawan itu tersebut nama Pulau Biram Dewa atau Malim Dewa. Adalah cawan itu hingga sampai kepada anak cucunya, iaitu sah dengan nyata”</i> [Matheson, 1998, p. 233].	Mentions the decorations of the palaces of the Yang Dipertuan Besar and Yang Dipertuan Muda, including trays made in China and plates, cups and other porcelain-ware made in China with gold decoration.
<i>Maka laku sendawa-sendawa di dalam Riau, demikian lagi peluru membuat juga, dan adapun dari Cina tukangnyanya dari menuangnyanya, dan ada dari atas angin tukangnyanya dan menuangnyanya, demikianlah halnya di dalam beberapa masa dan ketika</i> [Matheson, 1998, p. 179].	The gunpowder was manufactured in Riau, and some of the workers were Chinese.

This demonstrates that Chinese goods were widespread in the Malay world at that time and were in fact among the most important imported items, deemed valuable in all areas of the Malay world. These old Malay texts accurately describe the growth of trade and relations between the Chinese and the Malays.

CHINESE SHIPS AND SHIPPING ROUTES BETWEEN CHINA AND THE MALAY WORLD

The information on Chinese shipping in the Malay world can be grouped into two main groups, mainly the ships that docked at Malay ports, and shipping routes between China and the Malay world. In fact, there are not so many stories regarding shipping routes. Nevertheless, these accounts contain important data on the distance between trade / shipping routes, travel time, ships used, etc. There is also clear evidence on the presence of the Chinese in Malay seas. For example, there are following reports from *Sejarah Melayu*:

Original text	Paraphrase
<i>Maka dipersembahkan orang kepada Raja Culan “Ada sebuah perahu datang dari Cina”. Maka titah Raja Culan pada orangnya “pergi engkau Tanya pada Cina itu beberapa jauhnya negeri Cina itu dari sini”. Maka orang itu pun pergilah bertanya pada orang pilu itu.</i>	Mentions how the Siamese ruler was presented with a Chinese trader who arrived on a Chinese boat. The ruler asked him how far China is from Siam, to which the Chinese replied that when he

Original text	Paraphrase
<i>Maka sahut Cina itu: Tatkala keluar dari Benua Cina sekalian kami muda-muda belaka, baharu dua belas tahun umur kami dan segala buah-buahan ini pun bijinya kami tanam. Sekarang kami pun tua lah, gigi kami pun habislah tanggal, segala buah-buahan yang kami tanam pun habislah berbuah, baharulah kami sampai ke mari” Maka diambalnya jarum ada beberapa bilah, ditunjukkannya kepada keeling itu, katanya “Besi ini sedang kami bawa dari benua Cina seperti lengan besarnya. Sekarang besi ini pun habislah haus. Demikian peri lama kami di jalan. Tiada kami tahu akan bilang tahunnya.” ...Setelah Raja Culan mendengar sembah orang itu maka titah Raja Culan “Jikalau seperti kata Cina itu terlalu amat jauh Benua Cina itu, manakala kita sampai kesana? Baik kita kembali [Salleh, 1997, p. 15–16].</i>	and his crew left China they were still young but were now old, etc. to which the Siamese ruler then replied saying that it was better for him and his court to return and not make the journey to China after all, seeing that it was so far away.
<i>Maka beberapa lamanya di jalan maka sampailah {utusan dari Melaka} ke Benua Cina. ...Maka datang musim akan pulang. Maka Raja Cina pun menitahkan Li Po berengkap akan menghantarkan anakanda baginda ke Melaka [Salleh, 1997, p. 104–105].</i>	After a long time, the Malacca missive arrived in China. When it was time to return home, the Chinese ruler asked Li Po his premier to get ready to set sail to Malacca together with the King's daughter.

Ships and shipping were the basis of life and economic activity in the Nusantara region. The degree of expansion of shipping reflects the degree to which the society concerned prospered economically. The Malays were renowned seamen, using their own ships to travel and to carry their trading wares to various places [Hall, 1985; Horridge, 1981; Manguin, 1980; Barlow, 2009]. According to Ahmad Jelani Halimi, Chinese sources recorded the presence of Malay ships (*Kun-lun po/bo*) at ports in the Southeast of China during the first century. These ships were said to be extremely large, some of which reached 50 meters in length, rising four or five meters above the surface of the water. They were able to bring cargo between 250 to 1000 tons, with up to thousand passengers apart from cargo [Halimi, 2006, p. 13].

After the coming of Islam to the Malay world, the number of ships in Nusantara ports increased, so that after the 14th century Arab, Persian, Indian and Chinese ships began to play an important role in shipping and in international trade. As a result, Malay ships then focused on local trade.

The most often mentioned Chinese ships in old Malay texts are the *jong*, *wangkang* or *jongkan*. Also mentioned are the *pukat* (*pokta*), *sampan kotak Cina*, *sampan memukat*, *semangka*, *senat* (*senob*), *manjung* and others. For example:

Original text	Paraphrase
<i>Dan perahu-perahu dari negeri timur pun datang juga membawa beras ke Lingga dan beras-beras dari rantau-rantau pun datang juga. dan wangkang-wangkang dari Cina pun datang juga [Matheson, 1998, p. 287].</i>	Many <i>perahu</i> from the east carrying rice to Lingga also came including many Chinese <i>wangkang</i> .
<i>Ada sebuah wangkang cincu babi baharu datang dari Cina. Maka cincu wangkang itu ada membawa pesan-pesan Tengku tengah waktu ia berlaya ke Cina dahulu itu [Matheson, 1998, p. 298].</i>	Mentions that <i>wangkang cincu babi</i> arrived, carrying orders from China from members of the Malay royalty as a result of their previous visit to China.
<i>Maka Seri Teri Buana berangkatlah</i>	Mentions from the legends of Sri Tri Buana of the

Original text	Paraphrase
dengan ...segala lancing kenaikan baginda, pelang peraduan, jong pebujangan, bidar kekayuhan, jong penanggahan, teruntum penjalaan, terentang permandian [Salleh, 1997, p. 27].	mythical Mount Siguntang and how he made preparations to leave for a voyage in all his royal ceremonial splendour, Included among his vessels were several Chinese ships also (<i>jong pebujangan</i> , <i>jong penanggahan</i> etc).
Maka ada seorang manjung, Sik Mi namanya, dia sentiasa berniaga dari Perak ke Kelang [Salleh, 1997, p. 248].	The text mentions a <i>manjung</i> by the name of Sik Mi who habitually traded between Perak and Kelang.
...aku hendak berkayuh ke Bulang tiada usahlah dengan kelengkapan lagi memadailah dengan empat puluh buah pukut-pukat Cina [Matheson 1998, p. 234–236].	“I wish to row to Bulang, there is no need for further equipment, these forty Chinese <i>pukat</i> are sufficient”
...serta segala Cina-Cina pun ke lautlah dengan beberapa puluh buah sampan-sampan pukut dan bendera dan biring-biring menyambur Yang Dipertuan Muda itu [Matheson, 1998, p. 430].	Mentions that the Chinese went to sea with many sampan <i>pukat</i> to accompany the Yang Dipertuan Muda.
...maka dapat perahunya dua buah dan sampan kotak Cina sebuah dan dia pun undur [Kratz, 1973, p. 55].	“...with his two boats and one Chinese <i>sampan kotak</i> , he thus retreated”
Dan lanun pun mengejar sampan Cina memukat [Hashim, 1992, p. 214].	“the pirates chased the Chinese <i>sampan</i> ”
...dan perahu-perahu dagang pun di Kuala Riau, daripada kapal-kapal dan keci-keci, dan selub, dan senat Cina, dan wangkang dan tob Siam. [Matheson, 1998, p. 121–122].	Mentions <i>perahu dagang</i> at Kuala Riau, among which were several types of ships, <i>keci-keci</i> , <i>selub</i> , Chinese <i>senat</i> and <i>wangkang</i> and Siamese <i>tob</i> .

Analysis of information on Chinese ships that is found in historical Malay texts demonstrates that shipping and Chinese ships were widespread throughout the Malay world; these ships had sailed in the Nusantara region from the early days through to the 19th century. The type and capacity of those Chinese ships also varied. Malay Islamic historiography also reflects how Chinese ships were used not only for trade purposes but also as vessels for official voyages, as escort ships, fishing vessels, etc. Thus, it is imperative to emphasize that in these old Malay texts under our present scrutiny, no mention is found of any Chinese warships.

CHINESE PEOPLE AND THEIR LIVES IN THE MALAY WORLD

Information on the Chinese, recorded in old Malay texts, contains data on the social organization of the Chinese in the Malay world, on the scope of their activities and on the various problems that they faced. There is mention of Chinese rulers and the elite, official missives, traders and seamen, Chinese craftsmen, fishermen, coolies, working-class Chinese, and others. For example:

Original Text	Paraphrase
Hatta datanglah musim akan pulang. Maka raja Cina pun menitahkan Li Po berlengkap akan mengantarkan anakanda baginda ke Malaka. Maka Li Po pun berlengkaplah. Setelah sudah akan berlengkap maka oleh Raja Cina lima ratus anak puteri yang muda-muda itu dan seorang pun perdana menteri yang terbesar akan panglimanya mengantarkan anaknya baginda Puteri Hang Liu itu dan berapa ratus dayang-dayang yang baik	The delegation from Malacca prepares for their return journey, whereupon the Chinese king reciprocates their previous honour by ordering his premier to set off for the Malacca court, this time with a delegation of his own, including the king's own daughter Princess Hang Liu and five hundreds beautiful maidens.

Original Text	Paraphrase
<i>rupanya serta anakanda baginda itu [Salleh, 1997, p. 105].</i>	
<i>Maka titah sultan Syahr Nuwi itu menyuruh panggil raja Kemboja dan raja Ciengmai dan raja Lancang dan raja Paslula dan antusan daripada raja Cina dan antusan daripada raja Campa dan beberapa daripada segala raja-raja yang lain [Iskandar, 2001, p. 89].</i>	Sultan Syahr Nuwi ordered forth to summon the rulers of Kemboja, Ciengmai, Lancang and Paslula including many from among the Chinese and Campa kings, as well as other rulers.
<i>Maka beberapa kerugian daripada keuntungan orang-orang yang berniaga, dan saudagar-saudagar di dalam negeri Siam dan Cina dan Koci sebab kerana segala mereka itu membawa dagangan ke sebelah tanah Johor [Matheson, 1998, p. 270].</i>	Mentions the business of profit and loss of the various traders from Siam, China and Koci who brought their wares to Johor.
<i>Dan saudagar Cina banyaklah; apalagi saudagar Bugis peranakan banyaklah juga, dan pada masa itu banyaklah orang kaya-kaya di dalam negeri Riau itu [Matheson, 1998, p. 178–179].</i>	Mentions the rich among the people in Riau, including many Chinese and Bugis traders.
<i>Dan Cina-Cina pun datang ke Karimun minta hendak mengambil kayu-kayu dan papan serta membayar hasil-hasil, mangkin ramailah Pulau Karimun itu. [Matheson, 1998, p. 437].</i>	Mentions many Chinese coming to the Karimun Islands.
<i>Maka membuatlah orang Melayu dan Bugis beberapa ratus ladang dan berapa ratus ladang gambir. Adalah kuli-kulinya yang masak itu segala Cina-Cina yang datang dari negeri Cina. Maka apabila jadilah gambir itu, maka memangkin ramailah Riau [Matheson, 1998, p. 121].</i>	Mentions how Riau became heavily populated following the arrival of Chinese coolies there, brought from China by Malay and Bugis landowners to work their gambier farms.
<i>Ada enam bangsa yang datang itu. Pertama serdadu Belanda serta Nasrani, kedua serdadu Bali, ketiga serdadu Jawa, keempat serdadu Bugis, kelima – Cina, keenam Melayu [Matheson, 1998, p. 151].</i>	Mentions the different soldiers who arrived from many lands – Dutch, Christian, Balinese, Javanese, Bugis, Chinese and lastly, Malay.
<i>Maka diperbuatnya loji di Tanjung Pinang itu dan Cina-Cina itu pun disuruhnyalah mengerjakan, kebun-kebun gambir orang Melayu yang tinggal-tinggal itu [Matheson, 1998, p. 275].</i>	Mentions that a plant was built at Tanjung Pinang and that the Chinese were made to work at the remaining Malay gambier farms.
<i>Dan demikian lagi mengeluarkan hasil-hasil ladang dan kayu-kayan daripada Cina-Cina, semuanya itu [Matheson, 1998, p. 437].</i>	Mentions the working of the land and collecting its produce from the Chinese.
<i>Dan beberapa kali Yang Dipertuan Muda memberi surat dan nasihat melarangkan daripada melalui perbatasan itu, maka tiada dipedulikannya hingga Sayid Akil membuatlah rumah di Pulau Karimun itu serta mengumpulkan Cina-Cina dan orang Melayu yang menggali timah-timah di Pulau Karimun itu. Maka ini lah jadi pokok perkelahian dan berperang antara keduanya [Matheson, 1998, p. 380].</i>	And the Yang Dipertuan Muda repeatedly counseled and forbade the crossing of the boundary but to no avail, for Sayid Akil built his house upon the Karimun Island nonetheless and further gathered all the Chinese and Malay tin miners at the Karimun Island. Hence, there arose the origin of disagreement and war between the two.
<i>Dan orang Inggeris pun membuatlah negeri di Singapura dan banyaklah orang-orang Melayu dan rakyat-rakyat Cina-Cina menghimpunlah ke Singapura makan gaji bekerja berbuat negeri setiap-tiap hari, serta dagang pun banyaklah datang adanya [Matheson, 1998, p. 344].</i>	And the English people established their nation at Singapore, and many Malays and Chinese worked daily there, making it their home and trading greatly, and thus many more came.

Malay Islamic historiography was able to truly describe, in the most expressive and literary form, the condition of impoverished Chinese and their problems during the time when the fortunes of the Malay lands were receding. For example:

Original Text	Paraphrase
<i>Maka dihukumkan Cina-Cina itu sekati emas karena dicari yang membunuhnya itu tiada dapat keterangan [Matheson, 1998, p. 283].</i>	The Chinese transgressors were punished with a fine of one <i>kati</i> of gold.
<i>...dan tiadalah yang tinggal lagi di dalam negeri Riau melainkan Cina-Cina yang di dalam hutan sahaja yang tinggal yang mengambil kuli-kuli kepada orang-orang Melayu dan kepada orang-orang Bugis yang berkebun-kebun gambir dan lada hitam. Adapun Cina-Cina menjadi kuli-kulinya itu demikianlah mula-mulanya sebab kerana itulah banyak Cina-Cina yang tinggal tiada pindah ke sana-ke mari. Syahdan rosaklah negeri Riau ...Nanti susah besar lagi sepuluh tahun pun tiada boleh habis. Jikalau Kompeni Belanda memang pun berpuluh-puluh negeri Melayu yang rosak, apalagi di dalam laut semuanya orang kulit hitam sudah jadi perompak semuanya. Kita semua orang-orang Cina pun tiada boleh duduk di dalam Riau lagi. Apa orang Cina mau makan ke laut pun? Tiada boleh lagi takutkan perompok. Maka di dalam Riau ini semua makanan dari luar semuanya [Matheson, 1998, p. 275].</i>	No one was left in Riau, save only the Chinese from the jungles who were taken by the Malays and Bugis to work as coolies in their <i>gambier</i> and pepper farms, hence the reason for the presence of many Chinese in Riau; mentions concerns over this fact, and that this state of affairs would never end, that Riau was thus destroyed with the Dutch East India Company bringing so many outsiders to the Malay lands, so that Riau became uninhabitable; asks if this already not enough or not only Malay lands but Malay seas may also be subjected to such colonization so that Riau itself becomes foreign.

Although information on the Chinese is found in all these old texts under study, their content varies considerably. Mention of Chinese rulers, the Chinese elite and official missives are found only in *Hikayat Raja Pasai* and the *Sejarah Melayu*. Furthermore, the information contained in the *Tuhfat al-Nafis* is mostly concerned with trade and business and shipping. There is virtually nothing there on the political relations between the Chinese and Johor or on Chinese rulers and official missives from China. The Chinese alluded to in the *Tuhfat* are only traders, owning *jongs* and the poor (coolies, workers, etc) working in *gambir* fields and/or in tin mining sites in Johor. It is evident that during the rule of Johor, the status and condition of the Chinese in the Malay world underwent a cardinal change. The mention of Chinese with high status or social rank was replaced with information instead on coolies, petty traders, field workers and miners. This change emerged due to the change in historical circumstances. After the coming of the Europeans, China lost its profound role in the Nusantara, and diplomatic relations with it receded. The Chinese, who were brought to the Malay world and supported by European colonial administration were mainly Chinese of low rank who were used as manpower for unskilled labour.

It is evident that European colonialism caused a regression of the previous successes of the Chinese in the Malay world, adversely affecting intellectual relations between the two nations – the Malays and the Chinese. This effectively debunks the current theory found in Western historiography that Western colonial administration always resulted in the progress and support of the Chinese in the Malay world.

CONCLUSION

Our analysis of Malay Islamic historiography has demonstrated that within old Malay texts exists much information on the Chinese people, China, and Chinese civilization. This subject is extremely rich and variegated. What is most often found is the following: general terms and

place-names; stories on relations between the Chinese and the Malay lands; data on trade and shipping, traded items, traders, Chinese workers, and more.

It is evident that China and the Chinese people played a major role in Malay life. From 13th to 17th century, China was considered an important ally of the Malay world not only in terms of trade and business but also in terms of diplomatic relations, international politics and intellectual life. However, later in historical Johor texts, the content and discussion on the Chinese changes – information on rulers and the Chinese upper crust is no longer found, nor is there any further mention of official relations or the intellectual life of Chinese and Malays. Instead, there information emerges regarding owners of Chinese *jongs* and small boats, small-time traders, coolies and Chinese workers used in fields and tin mines. There is also here much information on poverty, death, debt and other calamities which befell the Chinese in Malay lands at this time, reflecting the changes that had come about historically at this period in history. Furthermore, it is evident that during Western colonial rule, Chinese rulers lost all influence in the Malay world, and that their official relations degenerated to the point of backwardness. The colonial rulers only made use of unskilled Chinese labour. This clearly shows how the colonial European administration lowered the status of the Chinese in the Malay world.

The analysis of Malay Islamic historiographical texts proves also that Malay Islamic historiography is a historical source, vital in the study of the Nusantara region history. The study of the treasure of Malay letters in this region is most important and in fact, indispensable, especially at present time, in order to launch once again a re-emergence of mutual understanding amongst all races and cultures of this world which we share and live in together.

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