

(approximately 400 BCE-500 CE)

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presentation for:

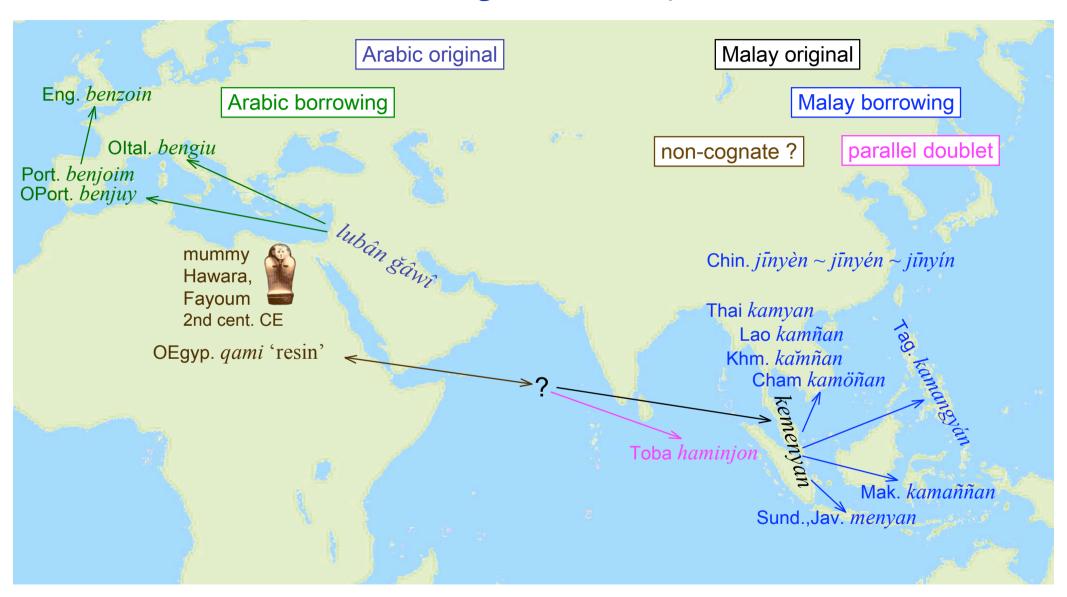
"Ancient Indian Ocean Corridors"

Joint University College London and University of Oxford conference, at the School of Archaeology, Oxford, November 7, 2009

Borrowed renderings of Malay *kapur* [*barus*] 'camphor [of Baros]'



Borrowings of Malay *kemenyan* 'benzoin' and Arabic *lubân ğâwî* (lit. 'Malayan incense')



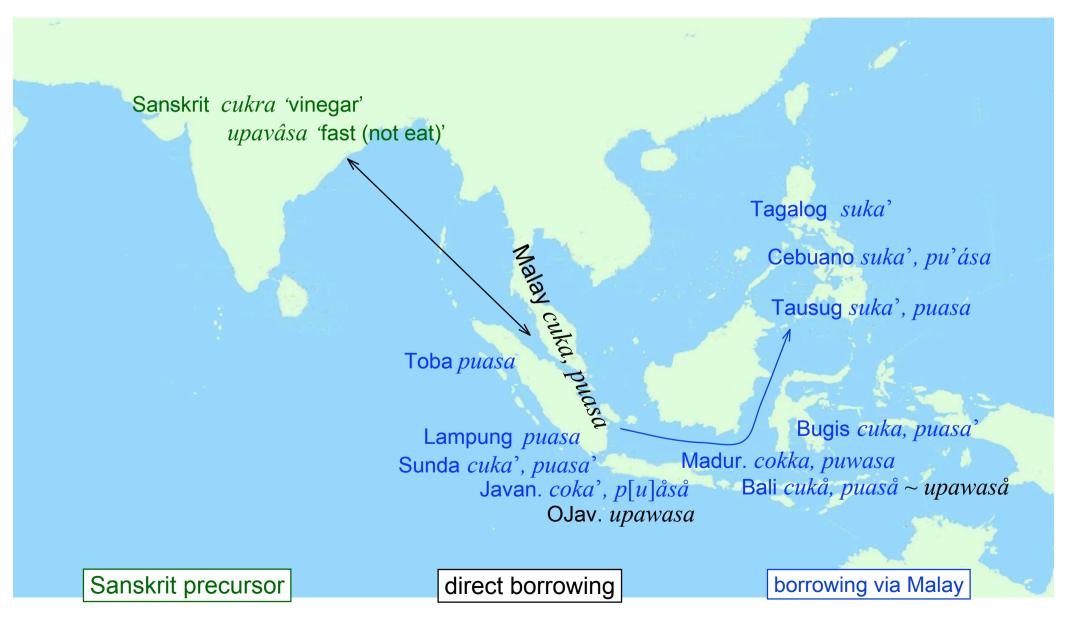
Borrowed renderings of Malay *bunga-lawang* 'clove' (archaic meaning), lit. 'nail flower'



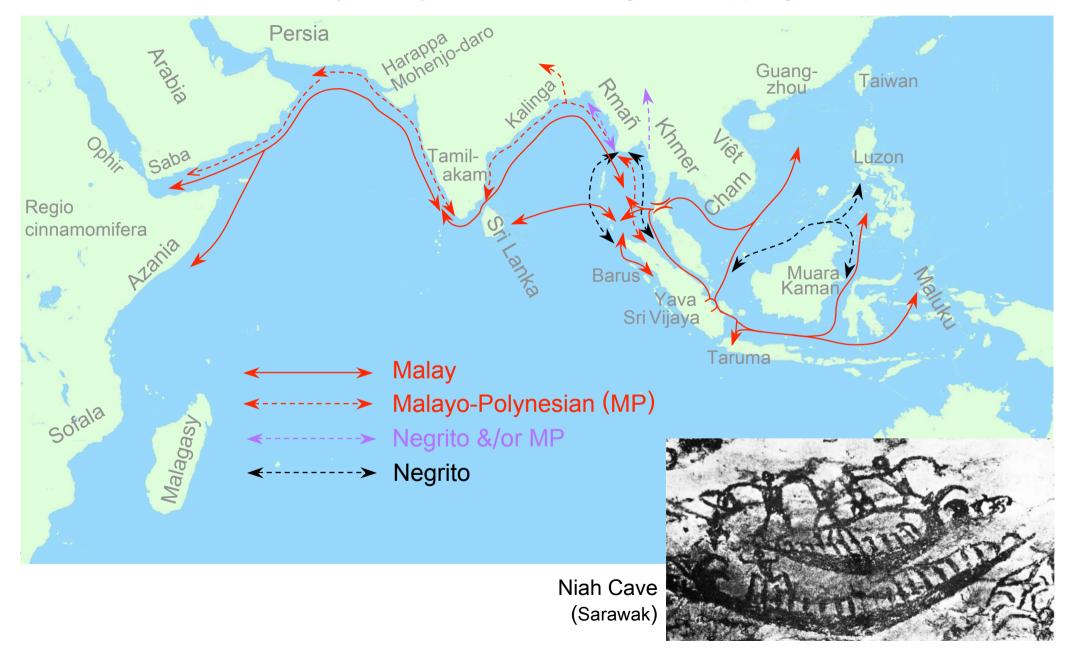
^{*-}aba- > Javanese, Malay -awa-; Acheh, Gayo, Karo, Toba, Simalur -aba-;

^{*}b- > Javanese w-; Malay b-; Acheh, Gayo, Karo, Toba, Simalur b-.

Examples of Malay mediation in the distribution of Sanskrit loan-words in the Archipelago



Hypothetical routes of pre-500 CE maritime communication by Malayo-Polynesian and Negrito shipping



Early transportation of cinnamon in the Arabian Sea

... cinnamomum idemque cinnamum nascitur in Aethiopia Trogodytis conubio permixta. Hi mercantes id a conterminis vehunt per maria vasta natibus, quas neque gubernacula regant neque remi trahant vel inpellant, non vela, non ratio ulla adiuvet: omnium instar ibi sunt homo tantum et audacia. Praeterea hibernum mare exigunt circa brumam, euris tum maxime flantibus. Hi recto cursu per sinus impellunt, atque a promunturii ambitu argestae in portum ...

'... cinnamon actually grows in Ethiopia [whose inhabitants are] intermingled by marriage with the Trogodytes. These buy it from their neighbours and sail over the vast sea on rafts which are neither steered by rudder, nor moved by oars or driven by a sail, or by any other means: all this is replaced by man alone and his valiance. Furthermore it is in winter that they sail the sea around the time of the shortest days, for then mostly blows the southeasterly. It drives them straight into the bay, and after doubling the promontory, they run with the northwesterly into the port ...'

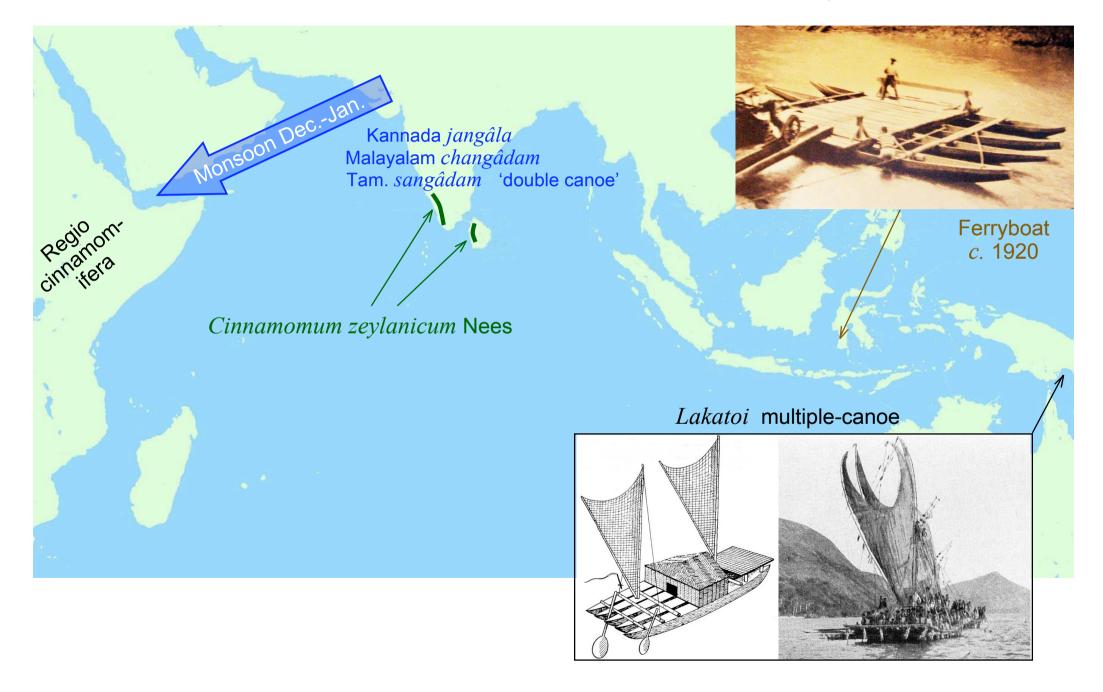
(Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia* XII.86–87, 77 CE)

... εν 'οῖς τοπικὰ μέν εστιν πλοῖα μέχρι Λιμυρικῆς παραλεγόμενα τὴν γῆν, 'έτερα δ'εκ μονοξύλων πλοίων μεγίστων 'αφαῖς εζευγμένα, λεγόμενα σάγγαρα ...

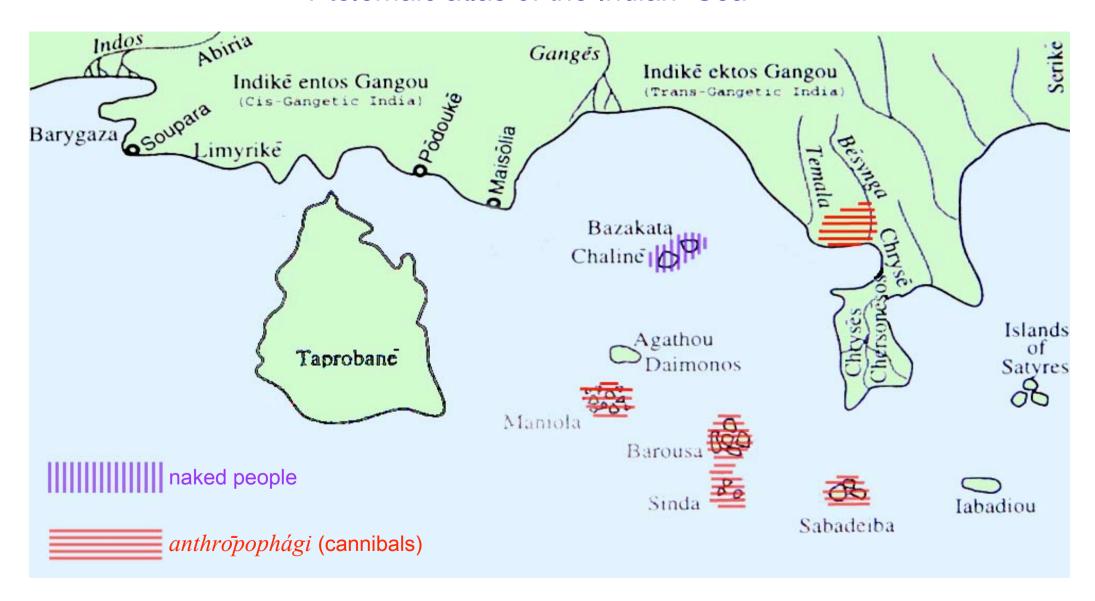
'... where are local ships that sail along the coast up to $Limyrik\hat{e}$, also others which are very large ships of single logs bound together, called $s\acute{a}nggara$...'

 $(\Pi \varepsilon \rho i \pi \lambda o \upsilon \varsigma \tau \dot{\eta} \varsigma E \rho \upsilon \theta \rho \dot{\eta} \varsigma \theta \dot{\alpha} \lambda \alpha \sigma \sigma \eta \varsigma [Periplus of the Erythraean Sea] LX, c. 60 CE)$

Circumstantial evidence around the cinnamon transport



Ptolemaic atlas of the Indian "Sea"



Some Indic and Myanmar sources

- 21. ... take me to lonely and lovely Ramanîyaka on the ocean bay that is the country of the $N\hat{a}ga$ -s ...
- 22. ... And as Indra rained, the $N\hat{a}ga$ -s were transported with joy, and Earth was everywhere filled with water.
- 23. ... they soon came to the island which was encompassed by the waters of the ocean strew showers of blos-soms on the $N\hat{a}ga$ -s that dwelt there.

(Mahâbhârata, Book I. Adiparva 'The Beginning')

 $N\hat{a}ga$ "sea pirates" in the Bay of Bengal submitted to emperor Asoka after the latter adopted the Buddhist religion (c. 260 BCE).

(according to *Ksemendra*)

The Mons called these sea rovers *Raksasa* 'cannibal demons'

In Burmese tradition they were called $Bil\dot{u}$ 'kind of monster which eats human flesh and possesses super-human eyes'



An early Chinese description of Malay ships $(Ku\bar{n}l\acute{u}n-b\acute{o})$

破舶。下音白。司馬彪注莊子云。海中大船曰舶。廣雅舶海舟也。入水六十尺。 駐 使 運 載千餘人除貨物。亦曰崑崙舶。運動此船多骨論為水匠。

pò bó • xià yīn bó • Sīma Bia zhù Zhuangzi yún • hai zhong dà-chuán yuē bó • Guángyá bó hái zhou yě • rùshu liù-shí chỉ • zū-shì yùnzài qian yú rén chú huòwù • yì yuē Kūnlún bó • yùndòng cỉ chuán duō Gǔlún wéi shu jiàng



Stone relief (C. Java, c. 800 CE)

'Expose $b\dot{o}$: the latter is pronounced $b\dot{o}$. Sima Biao (lived 240-305 CE) writing the $Zhu\bar{a}ngzi$ says: high sea big ships are called $b\dot{o}$. $B\dot{o}$ in the $Gu\check{a}ngy\check{a}$ (230 CE) is sea ship too. The draught is six-ten feet. [It is] used to transport a thousand [or] more persons, apart from cargo. [It is] also called $K\bar{u}nl\acute{u}n-b\acute{o}$. Running such a ship are mostly $G\check{u}l\acute{u}n$ serving as seamen.'

(Hui Lin, Yīqiè jǐngyīn yì, 817 CE)

 $bole < 6^{th}-7^{th}$ cent. *bayk (cf. Favorlang abak) \Leftarrow *qabang 'boat, ship'

..... and of their Gŭlún crews

崑崙語。上音昆下音論。時俗語便亦作骨論。 南海州島中夷人也。甚黑裸形。

Kūnlún yǔ shàng yīn kūn xià yīn lún • shí sú yu biàn yì zuò Gǔlún • Nánhài zhōu dǎozhōng Yírén ye • shén heī luòxíng •



'The $K\bar{u}nlun$ language (i.e. Malay): the former is pronounced $k\bar{u}n$, the latter lun; this commonly used language is ordinarily also called Gulun. These are Yi-people amidst islands of the South Sea region; entirely black and naked-bodied.'

(Hui Lin, Yīqiè jǐngyīn yì, 817 CE)

Within the period from 206 BCE till 24 CE:



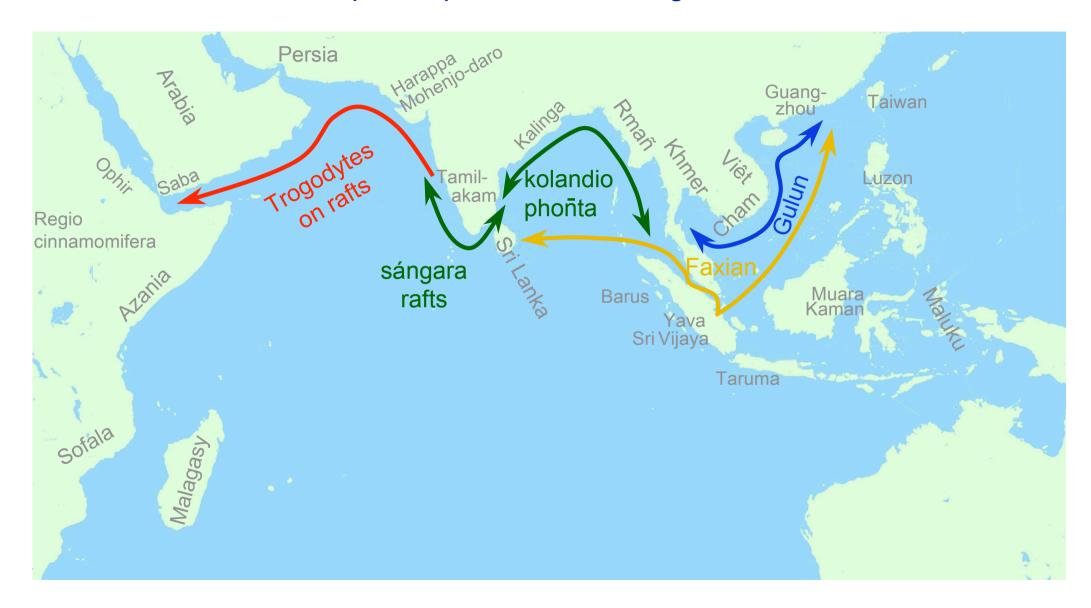
蠻夷賈船轉送致之

Mán-Yí gửchuán chuảnsòng zhìzhī

'Barbarian *Yi* merchant ships convey [one] to [one's] destination.'

(Qiánhànshū, 111 CE)

Reported pre-500 CE sailing routes



Who were the *Gŭlún* people?

 $G\check{u}l\check{u}n < 6^{th}-7^{th}$ cent. *kuətluən (read: $k\hat{u}ll\hat{u}n$)

Proto-West-Indonesian *qulun > Lampung, Bintulu, Maanyan ulun, Malagasy $\delta lona$ 'person'; Ach. $ul\hat{o}n \sim l\hat{o}n$ 'person, servant, me'; Malay, Cham hulun 'servant, me'; Moken kolon 'person, servant'.

Old Malay *hulun haji* 'the king's vassal subjects'

PWI *q > k is an exclusive feature of the Moken-Moklen language group



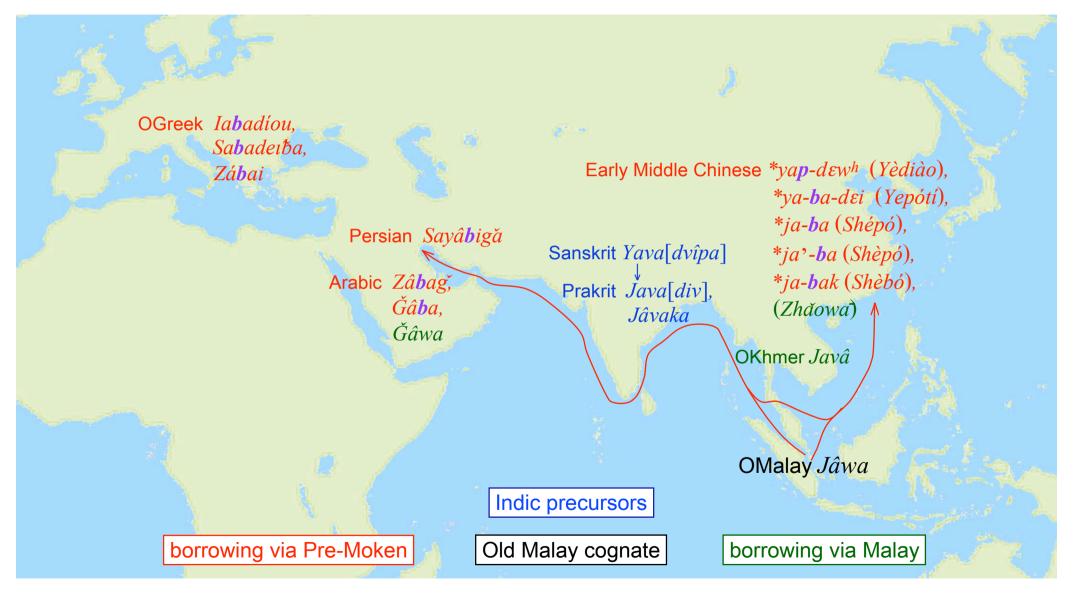
Some characteristic sound correspondences of Moken

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Malay h_- — Moken k_- (< *q_-)
   Malay hulun 'servant, me' — Moken kolon 'person' (< *qulun)
           Malay hujan 'rain' — Moken kujan 'rain' (< *quZan)
2. Malay -awa — Moken -aba (< *-aba- / *-awa-)
   Malay bawah 'under, below' — Moken babak 'low, short' (< *babaq)
    Malay kawan 'friend, flock' — Moken aban 'company, flock' (< *kaban)
      Malay ular sawa 'python' — Moken olan chaba 'python' (< *ulaR sawa)
3. Malay [-]_{s-} — Moken [-]_{ch-} (< *[-]_{s-})
             Malay esa 'one' — Moken cha 'one' (< *esa)
      Malay pisang 'banana' — Moken pèchang 'banana'
   Malay susu 'breasts, milk' — Moken chochoi 'breasts, milk' (< * susu)
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Borrowed renderings ultimately originating from Sanskrit *yava* 'barley'



Early renderings of the name of the polity of $Yava[dv\hat{i}pa]$ probably situated in the Batang Hari river basin (Sumatra)



Other likely loan-words from Pre-Moken

Old Mon kbang 'ship'

Moken *kabang* 'boat' < *qabang *kolon* 'person, servant' < *qulun

Malay cabang 'branch' < *[s/c]abang zabat 'hold, grasp' < *[z]abat

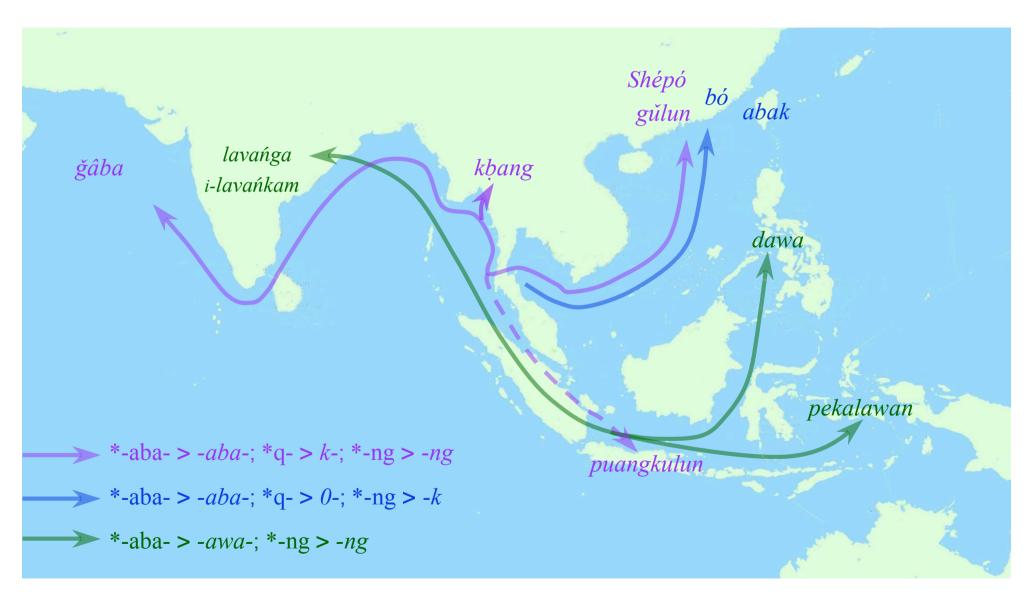
Old Javanese *puangkulun* 'me, sir, milord' << *puang 'master' + *qulun 'person'

modern Moken reflex

probable Pre-Moken loans

possible Pre-Moken loans in Malay

Sea-People dialects with variant sound laws on different maritime routes





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