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RAJA LUMU/SULTAN SALEHUDDIN: THE FOUNDING OF THE SELANGOR DYNASTY*

by
Khoo Kay Kim

There is a unity in Peninsular Malay history which has eluded the notice of many historians who have written on Malaysia. This unity is derived from the Melaka Sultanate. The historiography of the Sultanate is quite substantial but the historian's perception has tended to focus on power politics and maritime trade. Melaka's role as the progenitor of a great tradition has seldom been well understood.

History and culture are intertwined. The understanding of history depends on an adequate comprehension of the culture of the people concerned. To many historians the Melaka Sultanate ended in 1511 when it was conquered by the Portuguese. But in the Peninsular Malay world, the great tradition which it established has lived on. Malaysia's system of monarchy is Melaka's legacy and therefore cannot be understood by a mere perusal of the modern Constitution.

Melaka's hegemony, in its hey-day, extended to all parts of the Peninsula and beyond the Straits of Melaka. That hegemony was then inherited by Johor. The Dynasty survived though the geographical focus had changed. In Malay political culture, legitimacy rested on not political boundary but pedigree. In 1816, the ruler of Perak wrote to the Governor of Penang:

I am a king of the ancient race. I am he who holds the royal sword and the dragon betel stand and the shellfish which came out of the sea, which came down from Bukit Siguntang.¹

It was a belief widely propagated that the Melaka Dynasty was descended from Alexander the Great (Iskandar Zulkarnain). Its veracity was assumed. Alexander's 'Greatness' endowed the Melaka Dynasty with a *daulat* which was at once sublime, awesome and impeccable.

Daulat is a difficult concept to explain. It is that quality possessed by one who best qualifies to rule. Genealogical suitability is, of course, the first quality. Beyond that the qualities that are said to be possessed by the 'right' ruler become somewhat mystical. A number of reasons, not really perceived but felt or sensed, may convince, that people that a Raja has or does not have *daulat*. Further, a comparison may be made between one prince and another for *daulat* could exist in various degrees. And it is believed that the ruler who does not have the proper *daulat* would not enjoy a happy reign. On the other hand, those who oppose a ruler with *daulat* would suffer serious affliction.

Be that as it may, the Melaka-Johor Kingdom eventually fragmented, worn out by frequent external incursions and internal strife. In the late 15th and early 16th centuries, Aceh, Perak, Pahang and Johor were involved in continual conflict.² In 1966, Sultan Mahmud, descended directly from the Melaka ruling house, was assassinated. The Bendahara, Abdul Jalil, ascended the throne, only to be challenged by Raja Kecil of Siak (leader of the Minangkabau) who claimed to be the posthumous son of the assassinated Sultan Mahmud. Raja Kecil seized the throne of Johor and Abdul Jalil, in turn, was later assassinated.³

* See Footnote

Johor Malays, however, continued to vie with the Minangkabau for control of Johor. Interposed between them were the Bugis, traders and soldiers of fortune without equal in the Malay Archipelago, whose presence subsequently tipped the scale in favour of the Malays. But the Malays soon discovered that the Bugis were no longer content merely to serve when they had the power to hold sway.

The Bugis had begun settling in the Peninsula since at least the late 17th century, a Bugis settlement having by then emerged at Kuala Selangor. In 1681 they were strong enough to be called upon by a Kedah prince to help in a succession dispute. By 1701, a large number migrated to Kuala Linggi as well. It was at this juncture that the Government of Johor awoke to the reality that the Bugis were beginning to constitute a turbulent element in its domain for their movement into Kuala Linggi had taken place without Johor's approval.⁴

Momentarily, however, the matter was settled amicably; Sultan Abdul Jalil (previously the Bendahara) allowed the Bugis to develop Selangor and to remain at Kuala Linggi. They began to appear in Melaka with official seals indicating that they were in the service of the ruler and higher chieftains of Johor.

For more than a decade thereafter, the Bugis subjugated themselves to Johor's political authority. But they were growing in strength especially with the arrival of two Bugis princes, Daing Marewah and Daing Menampok. In 1713, the Bugis were approached by a younger brother of the ruler of Kedah to help unseat the sultan. He promised them a large quantity of tin if he was successful. But, after his triumph, he was so well received by the people that he failed to fulfil his promise. The enraged Bugis looted Kedah. This event, however, led to the first major conflict between the Bugis and the ruling elite of Johor.

When the Raja Muda of Johor, Tun Mahmud, heard that the Bugis had carried off a substantial booty from Kedah, he demanded that half of it should be surrendered to the sultan. The Bugis defied the order. It would not be wrong to surmise that the Bugis attitude was prompted by the fact that they were then not yet an integral part of the Johor society. While they were prepared to submit to Johor's administrative system, they were not governed by the local tradition of total submission to the monarch. They did surrender 10 per cent of the booty as was the customary practice in Sulawesi but no more.⁵

Johor decided to take punitive action. But, despite assistance from Rembau and the neighbouring territories, the Bugis prevailed. This confrontation between Johor and the Bugis continued intermittently for two years. With each failure, Johor's resources were further sapped; the Bugis, on the other hand, became more confident and resolute.

With the Bugis problem unresolved, Johor, in 1718, had to contend with a Minangkabau invasion led by the redoubtable Raja Kecil. The Johor capital had been shifted to Riau in 1709 and shifted back to the mainland in 1716. It was the latter that Raja Kecil attacked. By March 1718, he had taken control of the capital.

Ostensibly Raja Kecil was now the new ruler of Johor. He reduced Sultan Abdul Jalil to his pre-1700 position of Bendahara. But, in truth, the Kingdom of Johor was in disarray. Abdul Jalil retreated to Trengganu where he attempted to re-assemble his government, conferring titles on various ministers, nobles and warriors. Raja Kecil retained Siak as his base preferring to be with his own people than to stay at Johor or

Riau. The Bugis remained a significant and free element in the power struggle between the Malays and the Minangkabau.

It was Abdul Jali's Bendahara, Tun Abdullah, who succeeded in gaining the valuable allegiance of the Bugis leader, Daing Marewah. The Bugis leader proceeded to convey to Raja Kecil in no uncertain terms his condition for living in peace with the Minangkabau. Raja Kecil was asked to restore Abdul Jalil and Tun Abdullah to their former offices of Sultan and Bendahara. Raja Kecil, on the other hand, countered with the demand that Tun Abdullah should be surrendered to him as his condition for peaceful co-existence with the Bugis; the alternative was war. And war ensued. In the first trial of strength the Bugis had a slight edge.

Although for the next couple of years a stalemate prevailed, the Bugis were in control of the Straits of Melaka. They took full advantage of the existing political vacuum to harass shipping in the area. By March 1721, Daing Marewah could confidently announce that the Bugis territory, under his sway, stretched from Bernam to Melaka.

However, in so far as Raja Kecil was concerned, Daing Marewah had merely scotched the snake not killed it. On 14 March 1721, Raja Kecil led a large expedition in an attack on Kuala Linggi but was soon forced to retreat. By then he felt compelled to turn his attention once more to Johor where his control was, to say the least, amorphous. The former Sultan Abdul Jalil had meanwhile moved to Pahang. Raja Kecil viewed this with considerable anxiety and quickly had his adversary assassinated.

Having disposed of one threat, Raja Kecil returned to his mission which was the destruction of the Bugis. In late 1721, Kuala Linggi was once more attacked. Again the attackers failed and beat a hasty retreat to Riau. The Bugis pursued. A fierce battle followed. The Minangkabau actually had the upper hand but a storm arose and turned the tide in favour of the Bugis. The Minangkabau fled and Riau was captured. The Bugis plundered Riau and massacred all the Minangkabau there.

What happened next, after five days of looting, was quite unprecedented in the history of most other countries. Instead of seizing control of Johor, the Bugis installed, in keeping with traditional *adat*, Raja Sulaiman, son of the deceased Sultan Abdul Jalil, as the new ruler of Johor.

This development would still have been less extraordinary had the Bugis, after the installation, withdrawn from Johor and returned to Kuala Selangor or Kuala Linggi. The events which followed amply testify to the Bugis desire to establish formally their position within the Johor political structure. After the installation of Sultan Sulaiman had been completed, Daing Marewah and Daing Menampok were both conferred titles by the new sultan. Daing Marewah was appointed to the office of Yang Dipertua Muda with the title of Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah ibni Opu. Daing Menampok was accorded the title of Sultan Ibrahim.

At a glance the use of the title 'Sultan' by three persons in the same kingdom appears a radical departure from tradition. One might conjecture that it was a Bugis innovation indicating the all-powerful position which they assumed in the restored kingdom of Johor. On closer reflection, it was perhaps not very different from a situation where the offices of Yang Dipertuan Dewa and Sultan co-existed. This did not represent an alteration of the political structure but constituted a variation within the structure.⁶

At any rate, in Malay society, the head of the kingdom was more properly known as

the *Yang Dipertuan*. 'Sultan' was an honorific title preceding his name. In the case of the newly-installed ruler of Johor in 1721, the proper form of address would be "Sultan Sulaiman ibni al-Marhum Mangkat di Kuala Pahang, Yang Dipertuan Johor dan segala jajahan takluknya."⁷ Daing Marewah or Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah ibni Opu was *Yang Dipertuan Muda*. He duly performed the ceremony subordinating himself to the authority of the *Yang Dipertuan* and all his Bugis followers too performed the ceremony of allegiance before Sultan Sulaiman for he alone had the *daulat*.

This ceremony of obeisance and the assumption of Malay titles meant indeed that the Bugis voluntarily subscribed to the Malay political tradition. Culturally, therefore, the conquerors themselves had been conquered. They had accepted the symbols and all the paraphernalia of Malay political culture established during the glorious period of the Melaka Sultanate.

A more complex situation prevailed in later years in Negeri Sembilan. In the late 18th century, a group of Bugis settlers left Rembau when coercion was applied to induce them to accept the *Adat Perpatih* which prohibited endogamy. They proceeded to settle down at a little territory along Sungai Linggi which was given the name of 'Linggi', distinct from Sungai Linggi the base from which the earlier Bugis conducted raids on the western coast of the Peninsula.⁸

Although the Bugis in Linggi could not avoid being absorbed into the Negeri Sembilan political system, and their leader accordingly was conferred the title of Dato' Muda Linggi, they did not fully participate in the traditional ceremonies. For example, the Dato' Muda Linggi was not involved in the election of headmen of clans (*suku*) and sub-clans and for more than 150 years, the Bugis continually resisted attempts to incorporate them into the Minangkabau clan system.⁹ Nor were the Bugis willing to observe the principle of exogamy so faithfully adhered to by the Minangkabau.¹⁰

The Bugis, however, faced no such problem of cultural integration in Johor. Not that they readily integrated with the Malays for Bugis consciousness continued to be pronounced long after the event of 1721. Bugis historians, Raja Ali Haji being the most prominent, could not avoid ethnic bias when writing the history of Johor. And the office of *Yang Dipertuan Muda* was reserved exclusively for leaders of the Bugis community. But, in a very general sense, the Bugis and the Johor Malays both subscribed to the *Adat Temenggung*.

The Minangkabau challenge to the Bugis in Johor did not end in 1721. Until 1728 Raja Kecil made sporadic attempts to defeat the Bugis, all to no avail. In 1722, for example, the Bugis became once more embroiled in Kedah's civil war. Raja Kecil quickly supported the Kedah faction attacked by the Bugis. Yet again the Bugis triumphed. And they grew in strength. Before his death in 1728, Daing Marewah also invaded Perak helping a younger brother to attack the reigning Sultan Alauddin Mughayat Shah. Daing Marewah was succeeded by Daing Chelak as the *Yang Dipertuan Muda* of Johor. Until he died in 1745, Daing Chelak continued the Bugis policy of aggression. Although the *Yang Dipertuan Muda* of Riau, Daing Chelak in the last few years of his life, spent much of his time in Kuala Selangor.¹¹

Daing Chelak had two sons who earned renown in Malaysian history. One was Raja Haji who was to die fighting a heroic battle against the Dutch at Teluk Ketapang, Melaka, in 1784; the other was Raja Lumu who was destined to found the Selangor Dynasty.

The 18th century in Malaysian history is eventful in more ways than one. Historians who are sufficiently impressed by the dominating power of the Bugis would hardly dissent if one were to label that century "The Bugis Era". But one other important development has not been given due attention. Four of the present Malaysian states were founded in that century: Negeri Sembilan, Trengganu, Kelantan and Selangor.

Of the four, the Negeri Sembilan Kingdom remains the most obscure, chronologically speaking. There is a prevailing belief (the source of which is not clear) that the kingdom of Negeri Sembilan emerged in 1773. The first Yang Dipertuan Besar was Raja Melewar of Pagar Ruyong origin. Granted that Raja Melewar was the first Yang Dipertuan Besar, and there are no good reasons to doubt this, contemporary Dutch records indicate very clearly that he was already present in Negeri Sembilan in 1727.

Winstedt, considered an authority on Negeri Sembilan history, wrote:

As early as 1677 Naning and Rembau had installed as their king a Minangkabau prince from the east coast of Sumatra but according to the Naning account he was killed as an imposter. A Sungai Ujong tradition records that the next Minangkabau prince was summoned by Sungai Ujong, Johol, Naning and Jelebu and bore the name of Raja Kasah, but inexpert at matriarchal custom he was sent home to Sumatra. After him, says the same tradition, came Raja 'Adil, who being as we have seen a Bugis naturally failed at matriarchal law. Then came an imposter Raja Khatib also no authority on Minangkabau custom though he married Warna Mas one of the daughters of Naam first Penghulu of Ulu Muar: defeat by the greatest Minangkabau prince of them all, Raja Melewar, involved the execution of Naam and the flight of Raja Khatib. After this victory over his rival, Raja Melewar is said – probably by constitutional fiction – to have settled on the Penajis, a tributary of the Rembau river until he was summoned to the throne by the four Undang or territorial chiefs.¹²

It is interesting to compare this with what has been written by a modern historian using contemporary Dutch sources. Referring to Raja Kecil's defeat of the Bugis fleet in late 1727, he writes:

His [Raja Kecil's] supremacy on the seas was now unchallenged, but his attempts to consolidate his position in the Minangkabau areas of the Malay Peninsula formerly under the Kingdom of Johor met with some obstacles. Raja Kecil sent a certain Raja Khatib to take control of Rembau and to overthrow its head, Raja Malewa. After successfully completing this mission, Raja Khatib tried to extend his influence to the Dutch protectorate of Naning with the help of the Minangkabau area of Sri Menanti, Johol, and Tampin. But before he could undertake this venture, he was forced to flee to Naning by a successful comeback by Raja Malewa of Rembau. The Dutch now seized Raja Khatib and sent him back to Siak on 15 February 1728.¹³

Both accounts are clear that there was a struggle for power between Raja Melewar and Raja Khatib. The oral sources, understandably, are unable to date the event and the explanation given is not so much factual as an attempt to legitimize the position of Raja Melewar. Winstedt, in fact, had access to Dutch records as well which he faithfully cited in discussing a number of treaties signed between the Dutch and the various Minangkabau territories. In none of the treaties signed in the 1750s did the name of Raja Melewar

appear. It is not far-fetched to surmise that he was no longer alive then. Therefore, if it is accepted that Raja Melewar was the first Yang Dipertuan Besar of Negeri Sembilan, the conclusion must be that the Minangkabau Confederation emerged before the 1750s.

However, it should be noted that Raja Melewar was not the founder of a dynasty for, until the 1830s, every new Yang Dipertuan Besar was a prince invited from Pagar Ruyong in Sumatra. The present ruling house of Negeri Sembilan is descended from Raja Lenggong Laut, the fourth Yang Dipertuan Besar to have come over from Pagar Ruyong.¹⁴ Although as a matrilineal state, Negeri Sembilan differed in many respects from the other Peninsular states, legitimacy for the foundation of the new kingdom was derived from an acceptable source, namely, the royal house of Pagar Ruyong. In this respect, it was not a departure from tradition.

Dating the present Dynasty of Trengganu is not a major problem for the consensus of opinion is that Zainal Abidin, brother of the assassinated Sultan Abdul Jalil, became the first sultan of the state three or four years after his nephew, Sultan Sulaiman, had been installed as the ruler of Johor in 1721. Legitimacy in his case was derived from the Johor sultanate.¹⁵

In the case of Kelantan, there is also a unanimity of opinion that the founder of the present Kelantan ruling house was Long Yunus. In the most recent work on Kelantan history, the author argues that 1776 is the correct date for the founding of the Dynasty.¹⁶ But even that is highly speculative. It can be confidently said only that Long Yunus assumed the title of "Raja" Kelantan sometime in the third quarter of the 18th century. More important than that, the authority to assume the office of "Raja" was conferred on Long Yunus by Sultan Mansur, the second ruler of Trengganu.¹⁷

In every one of the three cases discussed above, the founding of a ruling dynasty followed acceptable tradition. Authority was conferred on the new ruler by an existing legitimate ruler. It was within the ambit of the same tradition that the fourth kingdom – Selangor – emerged in 1766. The founder of the Selangor Dynasty, as is now quite well known, was Raja Lumu, the son of Daing Chelak. Of this epoch-making event, more will be said subsequently.

Meanwhile it is pertinent to emphasize that the emergence of four independent kingdoms occurred after the assassination of Sultan Mahmud in 1699. As indicated earlier, Abdul Jalil, the Bendahara turned Sultan, could not hold together effectively the entire fabric of the Johor Empire. Repeated wars weakened central control especially after 1721 when the ruler, Sultan Sulaiman, could do little to shake off the shackle of Bugis control within his own court. The Minangkabau took the opportunity to seek patronage from Pagar Ruyong. The Malays established a kingdom in Trengganu away from Riau and later attempted to consolidate their position by helping to found the state of Kelantan.

Although, in general, the Bugis had acted in concert in facing their adversaries, internal dissension always existed among them. It was under the leadership of Daing Marewah that the Bugis first became a major force in the Peninsula; but Daing Marewah always had a rival in Daing Menampok. When Daing Marewah was Yang Dipertuan Muda, he allowed Daing Matekko to take charge of Selangor. But under Daing Chelak's leadership, Daing Matekko chose to ally himself with the Minangkabau. In the early 1740s, Daing Chelak ousted Daing Matekko from Selangor and personally took charge of affairs

there laying the foundation for his son, Raja Lumu, to rule the State.¹⁸

By then the Malays in Johor felt compelled to take steps to reassert their authority. With Sultan Mansur of Trengganu supporting his cousin, Sultan Sulaiman, in Riau, Daing Kemboja (the third Yang Dipertuan Muda) found his position so uncomfortable that he removed the leading Bugis and the biggest guns to Kuala Linggi where he established himself practically as an independent ruler.¹⁹

By the late 1740s, therefore, there were two Bugis concentrations on the west coast of the Peninsula: Kuala Selangor and Kuala Linggi. When Daing Chelak died in 1745, his two children were too young to administer Selangor. Affairs were left in the hands of Daing Lakani and a body of elders. Although Daing Kemboja's influence was, for all practical purposes, confined to Sungai Linggi, he deemed himself the ruler of "Riau, Linggi and Selangor."²⁰ It is possible, at this juncture, to discern a fissure developing between the Bugis in Selangor, on the one hand, and those in Kuala Linggi-Riau, on the other.

Among the Bugis settlements, Selangor became increasingly the more prosperous. By the 1760s, English country traders began to converge on the Straits of Melaka. Their trade in opium and tin was directly detrimental to the Dutch attempts at maintaining a monopoly in the area.²¹

In view of the subsequent role played by Perak in the installation of the Selangor ruler, a glance at Perak's political history during this period is in order. Sultan Iskandar's accession in 1752 ushered in a period of stability in contrast to the several years of confrontation previously between Sultan Muzafar and Sultan Muhammad. Bugis power was at its peak in the mid-eighteenth century and Sultan Iskandar recognized the perpetual threat that Perak was subjected to owing to the geographical proximity between the two states. He distrusted the Bugis and cleverly used the Dutch as a buffer knowing that Perak's tin was too valuable to Melaka for the Dutch to allow the Bugis to cut off the much needed supply. But, the Raja Muda (Raja Kimas), viewed the situation differently.²² He was not unwilling to join the Bugis in a combined attack on the Dutch and to deliver Perak tin to Selangor. Sultan Iskandar passed away in 1765 and Raja Kimas, his own brother, succeeded him bearing the royal title of Sultan Mahmud.²³

Dutch contemporary records show that, in September 1766, almost a year after Raja Kimas ascended the Perak throne, a ship from Selangor appeared in the Perak river. It conveyed a letter to Sultan Mahmud of Raja Lumu's intention to set aside past differences and establish new ties with Perak. Raja Lumu was prepared to go to Perak to meet Sultan Mahmud. The Perak ruler was pleased but there was an obstacle. The Dutch were not predisposed to accept, with any degree of jubilation, the idea of a Perak-Bugis friendship tie. At the same time, Perak's rejection of the Bugis overture would be interpreted as an affront.

Assuring the Dutch that the proposed agreement between Perak and Selangor would amount to no more than arrangements for peaceful co-existence and commercial co-operation, Sultan Mahmud sent his envoys to inform Raja Lumu that he would welcome the renewal of friendship with Selangor. In reply Raja Lumu declared that he would go to Perak in person. Recalling past experience, the people of Perak were more alarmed than elated. Preparations to repulse a possible attack were immediately undertaken.

By 24 October 1766, the Dutch at Kuala Perak were informed that Raja Lumu and

his retinue were already present at Pangkor. They awaited confirmation from Sultan Mahmud that they could enter Sungai Perak without involving themselves in a confrontation with the Dutch at Kuala Perak. Sultan Mahmud saw no alternative if he did not wish to antagonize the Bugis. Despite opposition from the Dutch Resident and even high officials in his court, he agreed to receive the Selangor ruler.

On 5th November, six ships carrying Raja Lumu, his foremost nobles and sixty other members of the court, entered Sungai Perak. They were escorted to Kota Lumut on the right bank of the river. Only eleven days later did the Selangor party sail back home. No Dutch representative was present at the meeting in Kota Lumut, the details of which were officially conveyed to them apparently only two years later. A contract had been concluded which guaranteed permanent peace between the two countries promising, in addition, mutual assistance in the case of attack by a third party. This vow of friendship was sworn on the Koran and the *keris* of the two rulers. Most important of all, Sultan Mahmud installed Raja Lumu as the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor with the title of "Sultan Salehuddin", presenting him at the same time with the *nobat*.

Indigenous sources have not failed to refer to this momentous event but they have been less concerned with factual accuracy than with the need to extol the greatness of each ruler. The Perak source, *Misa Melayu*, concealed the fact that the Raja Muda was absent from the ceremony and the Raja Bendahara was critical of it. The Bugis source, *Tufat al-Nafis*, claimed that Raja Lumu had gone on a pleasure trip to Pangkor. When news reached Sultan Mahmud, he sent his officials to invite Raja Lumu to his capital. There the ruler of Perak conferred on the Tengku Raja of Selangor the title of "Sultan Salehuddin". When the ceremony was over, the ruler of Perak accompanied Sultan Salehuddin to Selangor where he was once more installed before his own subjects. Without the Dutch records, the modern historian would have been left in a quandary as to which indigenous source was more correct.²⁴

In later years it was believed in some quarters that Raja Lumu sailed in a *lancang* (yacht) and landed at the mouth of the Klang river with his men proceeding thereafter to establish himself as the ruler of Selangor. It was claimed as late as 1939 that a *lancang* which was kept at the residence of Tengku Musa-Eddin, the eldest son of Sultan Alauddin Suleiman Shah, the fifth ruler of Selangor, was the very yacht used by Raja Lumu when he arrived.²⁵

The Dutch records, incidentally, throw light exclusively on events which occurred in Perak as Sultan Mahmud, up to the time of the meeting at Kota Lumut, at least, kept the Dutch Resident informed of developments from time to time. What happened within the Selangor court still continues to baffle historians. It seems reasonable to infer, however, that Raja Lumu's action was prompted by perhaps two major considerations: firstly, his desire to free his kingdom from Johor (both Malay as well as Bugis) hegemony; and; secondly, the need to obtain legitimization for his position as not just the 'Raja' but the 'Sultan' of Selangor.

It is an intriguing question whether Raja Lumu would have sought *daulat* from the Sultan of Perak had Selangor not been, historically, under the overlordship of Johor. It must be noted too that this was the second occasion that the Bugis had observed Malay tradition when militarily they were in a position to assert complete independence. This is evidence again that the great tradition established during the era of the Melaka Sultanate continued to have a significant bearing on Peninsular Malay concept of legitimacy and the



Raja Lumu, first Sultan of Selangor, visiting Klang.

Drawing by Long Tien Shih.

Bugis readily subscribed to it.

As for Sultan Salehuddin himself, it appears that only certain general conclusions about his character can be drawn from Dutch sources. His reign, after the installation in Perak, lasted until at least 1778.²⁶ Certainly when the major battle between the Dutch and the Bugis was fought in the middle of 1784, Sultan Salehuddin had long been succeeded by his son, Sultan Ibrahim. In that battle, Sultan Salehuddin's redoubtable brother, Raja Haji, succumbed.

Sultan Salehuddin, it appears, was still comparatively young in the late 1750s and Daing Lakani continued to play an important role as administrator. But, after his installation in 1766, Sultan Salehuddin pursued an aggressive external policy. Perak's friendship with Selangor survived largely because the former adopted a rather conciliatory attitude towards its neighbour.

The founder of the Selangor Dynasty was no sedentary ruler. In 1771 he led the attack on Kedah. According to Francis Light:

. . .the Buggesses burned everything as they went and plundered without distinction, carrying away all the women and children they could find. They destroyed everything they could not carry with them leaving not a shrub or fruit tree standing.²⁷

Perak, pressured by the Bugis, participated in this attack. In 1777, when the son of the Perak Bendahara ran amok and killed several people, Sultan Salehuddin, who had earlier married a daughter of the Perak Raja Muda, turned up in the Perak River with a fleet of twenty Bugis ships claiming that he was concerned for his wife's safety as she had remained in Perak after the marriage. He proceeded to stay eight months in Perak. A few weeks after his arrival there, he married the widow of the late Orang Kaya Besar of Perak much to the displeasure of Sultan Alauddin who had succeeded Sultan Mahmud in 1773. It was perhaps symptomatic of Sultan Salehuddin's belligerent rule that his son, Raja Ibrahim, was allowed to spread fear all round by his plunderings. Raja Ibrahim also made numerous attempts to force Perak to sell tin to him rather than send it to Melaka.

Verily may it be said that Sultan Salehuddin's reign not only saw the beginning of a new dynasty but marked the emergence of Selangor as the most powerful state in the Malay Peninsula aggravating Bugis-Dutch relations which quickly led to an unavoidable trial of strength to determine once and for all the supreme power in the Straits of Melaka. Overall, Sultan Salehuddin remains very much a shadowy figure for existing historical sources appear to have little to say about him.

Little too is known of the administrative system established during his reign. Apparently a number of chieftainships were created; they were meant to be hereditary. The highest ranking among the chieftains was the Dato' Aru. Interestingly he was said to be descended from Megat Seri Rama, well-known in Johor history as the man who killed Sultan Mahmud in 1699. It was his son, Dato' Akhir, who was first appointed to the office of Dato' Aru. This title was, in 1928, changed to *Orang Kaya Maha Kurnia Bijaya di-Raja* and descendants of Megat Seri Rama thereafter ceased to hold office.²⁸

The other offices created by Sultan Salehuddin were:

Dato' Pengawa Tua
Dato' Pengawa Muda
Dato' Syahbandar

Dato' Penghulu Ulu Selangor
Dato' Kaya Kecil Kelang, and
Dato' Maharaja Lela

One office, predating the Bugis period, namely, Dato' Engku Kelang, was retained. It is believed that the holder of the office was descended from the Bendahara family of Melaka. Winstedt referring to the holder of the office in the 1930s said:

The To' Engku still possesses a two-pronged lance (*changgai Puteri*) given his ancestor by the Sultan of Johor. The tradition is that his ancestor would not acknowledge the Bugis Yamtuan until his wife had been seized by the Bugis and that To' Engku Naga Mengulor would not accept Raja Lumu as Sultan until Perak installed him.²⁹

Winstedt, in addition, claimed that one other title which dated back to the Johor Empire was the *Penghulu Selangor*.³⁰ If true, the *Dato' Penghulu Ulu Selangor* could be a variation of the original title.

Many of the Bugis appointed to the major chieftainships by Sultan Salehuddin were related to him. They were all Luwu Bugis. The Dato' Syahbandar and the Dato' Maharaja Lela, for example, were both cousins of Sultan Salehuddin. The office of Dato' Syahbandar too was, in 1928, offered to another family; this time, a member of royalty and the title was modified to Engku Syahbandar.³¹

One distinctive feature of the Selangor Sultanate is that the monarch, like the ruler of Johor, is crowned. It is said that the original crown which came from Celebes (Sulawesi) was of Hindu design. It was used at the coronation of Sultan Salehuddin and Sultan Ibrahim. If the claim is true, then it appears likely that Sultan Salehuddin was crowned in Selangor after his return from Perak. By the reign of Sultan Muhammad (1826 – 1857), the design of the crown was apparently altered to reflect Islamic rather than Hindu influence.³² It is important to note too that during the Lustration Ceremony, the *nobat* players played the *Lagu Iskandar* (Song of Alexander) indicating the vital link between the Selangor Dynasty and that of the ruling house of ancient Melaka.³³

As a final remark it may be pointed out that almost precisely one hundred years after the founding of the Selangor Sultanate, another division occurred between Selangor and Riau Bugis. Raja Jumaat and Raja Abdullah were two brothers of Riau origin. They both rendered important service to Sultan Muhammad, in return for which Raja Jumaat was made the administrator of Lukut and Raja Abdullah of the Klang valley.

In 1857, Raja Jumaat played a leading role in helping Raja Abdul Samad to ascend the throne of Selangor, thereby displacing the Raja Muda (Raja Mahmud), youngest son of the deceased Sultan Muhammad. This almost led to war. At the same time, Raja Abdullah proceeded to develop Kuala Lumpur into an important trading depot as a result of which he was challenged by Raja Mahadi whose father, Raja Sulaiman (son of Sultan Muhammad), had previously held the Klang valley as his fief. The 'Klang War' (between Selangor princes and those of Riau origin) which broke out in 1867 opened the way to British intervention.

Some basic features of Malay political culture emerge from the preceding discussion of Peninsular Bugis history. Intra-class struggle for political power repeatedly occurred in every Malay state and although the Bugis prided themselves on being a group apart,

the same trend was observable among them. On the other hand, succession disputes and civil wars never resulted in the breakdown of the political structure. The rules of the game were always observed. Military superiority was not the criterion for legitimacy except when it involved two or more parties who were, genealogy-wise, already endowed with the privilege to rule. If this was lacking then it was essential that the authority must be conferred by one who had the *daulat*. Also, succession was never strictly by primogeniture.

British officials in the 19th century sometimes remarked that the Malays had no political institution. On the contrary, political, social and even economic life was governed rigidly by *adat*, in other words, tradition or precedence. Although the fragmentation of the Melaka-Johor kingdom in the Peninsula commenced in the 18th century, no new Malay kingdom, with the exception of the matrilineal state of Negeri Sembilan, departed from the model constructed during the period of the Melaka Sultanate. Local variations no doubt existed but the basic structure remained intact. The introduction of new political institutions in more recent times saw a blending of the old and the new (rather than a substitution of the old by the new) making Malaysia's political system, by far, the most unique in the world.

FOOTNOTES

- * Silver Jubilee Lecture delivered on 17 Sept. 1985 at the Shangri-La Hotel, Kuala Lumpur, in honour of the Silver Jubilee of His Royal Highness Sultan Salahuddin Abdul Aziz Shah. This lecture was arranged by the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- ¹ Barbara Watson Andaya, "The Installation of the First Sultan of Selangor in 1766", *JMBRAS*, XLVII,1 (1974), p. 56.
- ² See R.O. Winstedt & R.J. Wilkinson, *A History of Perak*, MBRAS Reprint No. 3, 1974, Chap. IV. and R.O. Winstedt, *A History of Johore*, MBRAS Reprint No. 6, 1979, Chaps. IV & V.
- ³ The long period of political instability and strife subsequent to the assassination of Sultan Muhmud in 1699 is lengthily discussed in Leonard Y. Andaya's *The Kingdom Of Johor 1641-1728: Economic and Political Developments*, Kuala Lumpur, 1975, pp. 183 ff.
- ⁴ On the early history of the Bugis in the Malay Peninsula, see R.O. Winstedt, "A History of Selangor" *JMBRAS*, XII, 3 (1934), pp. 3-4; Leonard Y. Andaya, op. cit., pp. 200-202, 228-242.
- ⁵ Leonard Y. Andaya, op. cit., p. 232.
- ⁶ This happened in Kelantan in 1838. In this case Siam participated in the attempt to avoid a conflict between two princes vying for the throne. The peace which ensued was short-lived. (See Nik Ahmad bin Haji Nik Hassan, "Kajian Rengkas Mengenai Keturunan Long Yunus Kelantan" in *Journal Persatuan Sejarah Kelantan*, no. 1, 1964/65 p. 43).
- ⁷ In all official treaties, "dan segala jalahannya" was translated as "and all its dependencies"
- ⁸ See T. J. Newbold, *British Settlements In The Straits Of Malacca, London, 1839, Vol. II, pp. 110-111.*
- ⁹ See Khoo Kay Kim, "The Election of the Datuk Kelana of Sungai Ujong, 1880" in *Purba* (Journal of the Malaysian Museum Society), no. 1, 1982, p. 94.
- ¹⁰ Tan Sri Datuk Dr. Mohamad Said, *Memoirs of a Menteri Besar: Early Days*, Kuala Lumpur, 1982, pp. 3-6. The author is a Bugis of Linggi origin.
- ¹¹ R.O. Winstedt, "A History of Selangor", p.4.
- ¹² R.O. Winstedt, "Negri Sembilan, The History, Polity and Beliefs of Nine States" *JMBRAS*, XII, 3 (1934), p. 59.

- 13 Leonard Y. Andaya, op. cit., pp. 310-311.
- 14 See Khoo Kay Kim, *The Western Malay States 1850-1873: The Effects of Commercial Development on Malay Politics*, Kuala Lumpur, 1972, p. 43.
- 15 But according to Trengganu tradition, Zainal Abidin was placed on the throne by the Queen of Patani. However, this does not alter the fact that Zainal Abidin derived his *daulat* from a legitimate source. For a discussion of the two versions of the origin of the Trengganu sultanate, see M.C.ff. Sheppard, "A Short History of Trengganu" *JMBRAS*, XXII, 3 (1949), p. 9.
- 16 Rahmat Saripan, *Perkembangan Politik Melayu Tradisional Kelantan 1776-1842*, Kuala Lumpur, 1979, pp. 37-38.
- 17 There is evidence that Sultan Mansur installed Long Yunus as the Raja of Kelantan in 1764. (See Barbara Watson Andaya, "The *Anak Raja* in Malay History; A Case Study from Eighteenth-Century Kedah" in *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, vol. VII, no. 2, Sept. 1976, p. 170.)
- 18 Leonard Y. Andaya, op. cit., p. 312; Barbara Watson Andaya, *Perak: The Abode Of Grace A Study of an Eighteenth Century Malay State*, Kuala Lumpur, 1979, pp. 75, 109.
- 19 R.O. Winstedt, "A History of Selangor", p. 6.
- 20 Barbara Watson Andaya, "The Installation of the first Sultan of Selangor in 1766", p. 53.
- 21 See Brian Harrison (tr.), "Malacca in the Eighteenth Century: Two Dutch Governors' Reports" *JMBRAS*, XXVII, 1 (1954).
- 22 For a detailed study of Sultan Iskandar's reign, see Barbara Watson Andaya, *Perak: The Abode Of Grace, & c.*, Chaps. V, VI, VII.
- 23 Barbara Watson Andaya, "The Installation of the first Sultan of Selangor in 1766", pp. 55-56.
- 24 For a comparison of the indigenous sources with Dutch records and a lengthy account of the installation of Sultan Salehuddin, see *ibid.*
- 25 During the Coronation of Sultan Alam Shah in January 1939, the Selangor Malay Association presented the ruler with a long *keris* with ivory and gold decoration on the haft. It was said that:
- "The presentation of a weapon is the highest expression of honour and respect that can be shown by Malays. It is a symbolic act, and this presentation the more since tradition holds that Selangor's first Sultan Salleh Ud-Din carried with him only a kris – the famous B'rok Berayun (or "Swinging Monkey") – when he landed from a *lanchang* (yacht) on Selangor soil at Klang more than 200 years ago. He was then known as Raja Lumu, descendant of the famous Bugis warrior and sailor Daing Chela.
- "Before presentation, the kris will be borne in procession to the Astana Mahkota in the actual *lanchang* in which Raja Lumu made his landing. The vessel is kept at the Astana Bankh, the residence of the Sultan's eldest brother, Tengku Kelana Jaya Putra." (*Straits Times*, 25 Jan. 1939).
- 26 In late 1783, Sultan Alauddin, in a letter to the Governor of Melaka said that "... those of Riau are my children and those of Selangor my grand-children . . ." referring no doubt to Raja Haji and Sultan Ibrahim respectively. (See Barbara Watson Andaya, *Perak: The Abode of Grace, & c.*, p. 357.
- 27 R.R. Bonney, *Kedah 1771-1821 The Search for Security and Independence*, Kuala Lumpur, 1971, p. 33.
- 28 Colonial Office 273/570, Sir Cecil Clementi to Cunliffe-Lister, 26 Feb. 1932, encl. Petition of Othman Hj. Derus, 10 Nov. 1931.
- 29 R.O. Winstedt, "A History of Selangor", App. "The To' Engku of Klang", p. 112.
- 30 *Ibid.*, p. 113.
- 31 Colonial Office 273/570, Abdul Aziz bin Haji Ali to Cunliffe-Lister, 11 Sept. 1931.
- 32 "The Historic State Regalia of Selangor" *The Malay Mail*, 25 Jan. 1939.
- 33 See App. II of this paper.

APPENDICES

I

CORONATION OF H.H. SULTAN ALAUDDIN
SULEIMAN SHAH, 1903

Yesterday saw the installation of His Highness the Sultan of Selangor at his Istana at Klang.

It is now some 5½ years since the present Raja Suleiman became chief of the Malays in this State, but, apparently, it is customary to delay the final ceremony, though it is even said that for some time past His Highness's advisors had been urging him to take the final step to which he was entitled.

The day opened bright and propitious; and, since it was known that no special train would be run to Klang for the occasion, some of those who intended to witness the ceremony decided to journey down by the 10 o'clock train and so take matters easily. But on arrival at the station they found that they had been forestalled, for, in addition to the Raja Muda and his party, there was a large party of Chinese who had elected to make the journey. The train was packed and, in response to inquiries for further rolling stock, we were glad to hear that the local railways were doing so well that only one first-class carriage remained, and that was to be taken down at noon. In despair, the Federal — but we must not descend to personalities — suffice it to say that certain passengers were obliged to travel as *barang*, but the experience was so delightful that there are rumours of an impending addition to request the G. M. to remain strictly conservative.

While on this part of our subject we may mention that the occasion gives rise to the retelling of an old story. It appears that, in the past, — so it is said — an old Perak railway regulation stated that third-class passengers might travel in the luggage van on payment of second-class rates, and that the home paper, not always printed on the usual white sheet, remarked that those who have paid the first-class rate would be privileged either to make their journey on the engine or to run behind, but be that as it may, we eventually reached Klang and found it in festive garb. Soon after passing the Rest House one came across flags by the roadside, and, following these came into full view of the new Istana which has recently been erected for the native sovereign of the State. Viewed from the approach, it looked a remarkably fine building, standing well on an eminence and commanding the whole surroundings. It is a square built structure, flanked by towers capped with copolas, yet it is so light in design that there is no suggestion of heaviness about it.

But the occasion of His Highness's installation, which culminated in yesterday's scene, had been celebrated at Klang for the past fortnight. Both Malay and Chinese theatres had been erected, and these had admirably played their part during the somewhat prolonged period that the various ceremonies had lasted. In addition to these structures, houses had been erected for the various Selangor chieftains, and these with the bannerets of their owners added considerably to the picturesqueness of the scene. Everywhere, even early in the morning, were to be seen the good-humoured faces of the Malays who freely advertised the fact that they were out on a holiday and that they meant to thoroughly enjoy themselves.

It was while viewing these scenes that we learnt that His Highness had been the

recipient of numerous handsome presents. We have already mentioned in our columns that Mr Rodger had presented him with a handsome silver cup and that the Chinese community had shown their appreciation for the benefits they enjoyed under his rule by giving him on this auspicious occasion a handsome present of silver plate, but we discovered that the list did not end here, for one other section of His Highness's cosmopolitan subjects – the Tamils – had testified to their regard in a similar manner.

On the previous evening there had been a great procession of school children who, guided by their pastors and masters, had marched in solid masses to the Istana and presented His Highness with an address in which they expressed sentiments appropriate to the occasion. This had been followed, in the morning, by another procession, the principal feature of which was a yellow car which, borne aloft, contained a representation of the historical *bunga emas*. This car was on view yesterday afternoon in the neighbourhood of the Istana, and nearby were two huge dragons – we hope we are not doing them an injustice – which, placed on wheels, and with a hump in the back which suggested an acute attack of lumbago had yet contrived to take a part in the sham fight to the death early in the morning.

Intending guests for the great ceremony had been informed that they must take up their positions at 2.45 p.m., and at that hour the scene was a charming one. The weather was all that could be desired, for the sun shone brightly, and the elevated position of the royal building enabled everybody present to take advantage to the full of a benevolent breeze which must have been sent specially for the occasion. From the Istana a fine view was to be obtained. On the one side was the Main Range which exists to divide our little peninsula lengthways and to bring down those copious rains which at times become somewhat monotonous, and on the other was a fine view of tropical country brought more nearly to the West by a glimpse in the foreground of that race-course which has so recently become historical.

As one approached the Istana one noticed a structure clad in yellow drapery, which, rising on four sides on tier, culminated in a canopied space at the top. This was to be the place set apart for the opening ceremony.

At 2.30 a company of the Guides in brilliant scarlet uniforms came upon the scene under the command of Capt. Adams and Lt. Dewar and took up their position in front of the Istana. The next arrival was the representative of Kedah's chief, who came to do honour to the occasion. At 3.00 o'clock the Raja Muda arrived, and, closely following him, the Resident-General. Mr Belfield, the Acting British Resident, Perak, came next, clad in full uniform. But it was not until nearly half-past three that symptoms of the real ceremony appeared. Then a body of nearly 60 Malay ladies wended their way from the royal house across the raised pathway and path on to the base of the dais where the ceremony was to take place. They proceeded to march in Indian file around this, and timely took up their positions on the lower tier of seats facing the top. They were chiefly noticeable for their loose white head coverings. Previously to this the Sultan's bodyguards, clad in yellow tunics with dark blue sarongs and white trousers had taken up their positions at intervals around the base of the dais. Next followed some more Malay ladies who were conspicuous by reason of their coloured head-gear. Then five of the native ladies present mounted to the top of the structure and took up their positions under the panoply of yellow. These were followed by others in white, bearing before them the

regalia, and they also took their seats under the awning to the number of about a dozen, leaving the centre vacant.

The next noteworthy arrivals on the scene were some seven Malays who walked with curious looking drums and silver. These stationed themselves within the guard of honour and the dais, while six Malays stationed on the raised pathway from the Istana supported six gigantic yellow umbrellas. By this time the bulk of the space around the dais was occupied by Malay ladies who, in their multi-coloured garbs, added to the picturesqueness of the scene.

At 4.00 o'clock His Highness left the istana and proceeded to take up his position in the centre of the dais. It was the signal for the Malay minstrels to commence operation. This they did right royally, and, although perhaps their methods left something to be desired according to Western notions, yet the persistency with which they attacked their instruments was beyond all praise. During a brief lull the State band managed to contribute its quota to the salute, while the two guns, stationed nearby under the care of the Guides, fired the first of a series of five salutes of 17 guns. His Highness was followed by a band of thirty-eight young girls, some of whom were clad in light blue and yellow and some in pink and yellow. They bore unlighted tapers.

His Highness, who was clad in light green and white, took his stand in the centre of the dais, various members of the suite being stationed on either side of the panoply. The six attendants carrying the yellow umbrellas then mounted the steps and stationed themselves two on either side and two in front.

After this the Raja Muda approached and anointed the hands and feet of the Sultan and Sultana. After various other chiefs had ascended Raja Bot approached the royal panoply and lowered the yellow curtain in front. Attendants followed suit, so that the whole central space was enclosed from the vulgar gaze in one mass of flowing yellow.

About this time the sky became overcast, and it seemed probable that we were to be sharply reminded that the best time for outdoor function was not during the rainy season. But this dire prediction was not destined to be fulfilled, for the day remained beautifully fine throughout.

The next noteworthy item was the descent of Raja Bot from the raised structure. He was followed by the bearers of the umbrellas who again took up their original position on the path leading to the main building. Then the Malay ladies all rose, the band struck up, and the second salute boomed forth as the front curtain arose and the procession — the central figures of which were the Sultan and Sultana — returned to their apartment in the Istana after being anointed by the head *Kathi*.

Then all the assembled company, or as many as could find space, took up positions in and around the throne room. This room, when the company had assembled, presented an extremely picturesque appearance. In the centre, on the far side, was the Throne itself, covered with the prevailing yellow, and only relieved by a curtain at the back of a darker hue and carpet in front. In the centre of the throne was placed a large looking glass surrounded by fine wooden carvings, whilst on either side was situated a wood representation of a crouching tiger. Overhead was a canopy of yellow. The room itself was painted white, but the pillars were yellow with white cornices by way of relief. The Sultan's bodyguards then marched in and took up their stations around and in front of the throne, and with their glittering native weapons added considerably to the imposing feat. On the

right of the throne, seats were placed for the Resident-General and the Resident, while behind these were rows of seats for the accommodation of the European ladies present. On the far side were arranged the Malays who took up their familiar attitude on the floor. The subdued light of the interior, the various and variegated costumes, the curious, glittering arms all tended to form a striking theme which few who witnessed it will forget. Then there appeared upon the scene once again the six umbrellas which were stationed in the same positions as they had previously occupied with respect to the dais outside. Next the young girls trooped in and seated themselves close to the throne on either side.

At a few minutes to 5.00 o'clock His Highness again appeared escorting the Sultana. During the interval of waiting he had doffed his previous garb for his robes of State. They were greeted by all the Europeans standing, His Highness bowing his acknowledgements, he then took his seat on the right of the throne, the Sultana being placed on his left hand. Two members of the royal retinue then appeared, bearing a large and a smaller crowns upon two cushions. They took their stand before the throne. Raja Bot then came forward, approached the throne, raised the headgear of the Sultan, and placed on his head the crown, accompanied by the thunder of guns and trumpets outside; he then placed the smaller crown on the head of the Sultana. This finished, Raja Bot proceeded to render homage to the newly crowned monarch. A cry then was raised outside, which was taken up by those inside, it being repeated three times, the Malays raising their hands and doing homage. The senior *kathi* then came forward and delivered a short speech. The chieftains were doing homage when we left.

The concourse present was representative of every section of the community, although, of course, Malays predominated.

The Raja Muda of Perak and the Dato Sri Adika Raja were present from the northern States but Pahang and Negri Sembilan were not represented. As far as we could see all the Selangor chieftains and penghulus were present. The Chinese, Tamil, Hindoo and Chetty sections were represented by their leading men with gala garbs all helped in giving effect to the brilliant scene, and at the same time proved how cosmopolitan are the subjects over whom His Highness has to rule.

After the close of the coronation ceremonial, His Highness entertained a party of European guests at dinner. The new place looked most picturesque, being lit up with row upon row of small oil lamps.

Before dinner His Highness conducted his guests upstairs and shewed them the beautiful and costly presents he had received.

The dinner, which was in European style, passed off most successfully. The following was the menu:

Jamuan Bersiram Tabal Kabawah Duli Yang Maha Mulia Sultan Selangor. Makanan :

1. Telor ikan
2. Soup lembu
3. Tiram berpangang
4. Ikan Mera Reboos
5. Daging lembu berpangang
6. Daging kambing bereboos
7. Ayam belanda
8. Plum pudding

9. Keju
 10. Durian ice-cream
 11. Boowa-boowa-han
 12. Coffee
- Selamat habis

The following is the list of guests who were present:

Mrs. Venning, Mrs. Bowen, Mrs. Hill, Mrs. Bailey, Mrs Radcliffe, Miss Venning, The Resident-General, the Acting Resident of Selangor (Mr J R O Aldworth), the Acting Resident of Perak (Mr Conway Belfield), the Federal Secretary, Messrs Spooner, Bailey and G Cumming, Dr Travers, Capt. Adam, Lt Dewar, Lt. Dixie (*HMS Fearless*), Messrs Bowen, Berkeley, Hale, Walter and Dickson.

Mrs Treacher and Mrs Travers were unable to be present. After dinner His Highness gave "The King" and the Resident-General then proposed the health of the Sultan, in Malay, in the following terms:

"Your Highness, I and all the Europeans here tonight beg to wish you long life and prosperity and a happy and successful completion of all the ceremonials connected with Your Highness's installation. I trust that Your Highness in co-operation with the British Resident will continue to do all that is right and just to increase and raise the reputation of the State of Selangor among all the countries under the protection of His Majesty King Edward, Emperor of India. We wish Your Highness all good fortune, and pray that the Almighty will bless Your Highness with long life and prosperity for many years to come."

HH The Sultan then responded in simple terms and thanked the Europeans who attended the ceremony for the support of their presence at his coronation.

The party broke up after a most enjoyable evening shortly before 11.00 o'clock to enable the majority of those present to return to Kuala Lumpur by special train.

Source: *Malay Mail*, Friday, November 6, 1903.

II CORONATION OF H.H. SULTAN HISAMUDDIN ALAM SHAH, 1939

Amidst scenes of bright pageantry typifying the traditional and ancient ceremonies of the Royal House of Selangor, the Coronation took place yesterday afternoon at the Astana Mahkota, Klang, of His Highness the Sultan of Selangor, Sir Hisamuddin Alam Shah, K.C.M.G.

Enormous crowds, numbering considerably more than 50,000, the majority of whom were Malays, who had journeyed to the royal town from the distant parts of Selangor, gathered in the precincts of the Astana grounds several hours before the ceremonies were due to commence to demonstrate their loyalty and love for their Ruler.

The colourful and imposing lustration ceremony, which preceded the actual Coronation, was visible to the enormous crowd as the ceremony was performed on a nine-tiered dais which stood out prominently in the Astana grounds, but the Coronation, which was marked by brilliant and spectacular pageantry, was only visible to a limited number on account of the restricted accommodation.

Cries of "Daulat, Tuanku" (May His Highness Prosper) by the Rajas, major and minor Chiefs, Penghulus, Kathis, Ulamas, religious teachers and invited guests assembled in the Throne Room, after the placing of the crowns on the heads of the Sultan and Tengku Ampuan were taken up by the vast concourse of Malays and echoed loudly throughout the Astana grounds only to be drowned intermittently by the booming of the guns.

The ceremony over, Their Highnesses received a message from His Majesty The King through His Excellency the High Commissioner, who declared:

"I have it in command from His Majesty the King to deliver the following message to Your Highness:

"On the occasion of the Installation of Your Highness and Ruler of Selangor in succession to Your Highness's late lamented father at the close of his long and distinguished Reign, I desire to send Your Highness my congratulations and my sincere good wishes for the happiness and prosperity of yourself and of your people."

Afterwards Their Highnesses the Sultan of Selangor and the Tunku Ampuan clothed in their royal robes and wearing their crowns entered the large open car of yellow and drove in procession round the town of Klang. The four-mile route was lined with vast crowds, in some places ten deep of cheering loyal subjects, and the scene made a moving demonstration of greeting by all nationalities.

Though the skies were overcast and on the horizon could be seen storm clouds the weather remained fine throughout the ceremony. Occasionally the sun broke through to enhance the colour spectacle presented by the vast crowd of people in their picturesque and colourful costume.

Long before The Lustration was due to commence the 600 privileged guests in the Astana and the temporary addition in front of the main entrance to the Throne Room had occupied their places and the interval between the arrival and the commencement of the ceremonies was fully occupied by admiring the brilliant scenes that presented itself

and the arrivals of the representatives of the attachment of the 2nd (Selangor) Battalion F.M.S.V.F. while the band of the Battalion played the appropriate National Anthem. The first to arrive was Tunku Mohamed Noor (Langkat), followed by Syed Hussin (Perlis), Duli Pengiran Bendahara (Brunei), Tunku Setia (Trengganu), Tunku Seri Maharaja (Kelantan), Tunku Ya'acop (Kedah), Tunku Besar Meriam (Johore), Tunku Besar (Pahang), Tunku Besar (Negri Sembilan) and then the Raja Muda of Perak, whose arrival was signalled by the booming of the gun.

His Excellency the High Commissioner (Sir Shenton Thomas & Lady Thomas) arrived a few minutes afterwards, the guns again booming in the distant royal salute while the band played the British National Anthem.

There was a sudden hush when His Highness the Sultan with Her Highness the Tengku Ampuan descended the stairway into the Throne Room to walk in procession to the *Panchapersada*. The procession was headed by the Tengku Seri Paduka Raja, followed by the Panglima Perang Kanan and the Panglima Perang Kiri bearing swords unsheathed. Their Highnesses were preceded by three bearers of forked spears (*tombak berchangghah*) and a single-bladed spear (*sangbuana*). Behind them came the bearers of *kris panjang* and *chepu* (tobacco and sireh boxes) clad in black trousers, red baju, taken in at wrist and waist, black sarong and black head-kerchiefs, three ladies of the household dressed in black baju with long tight sleeves and black sarong and *tetampan* (shoulder cloth), carrying salvers and betel boxes, eight *biduan* (attendants) dressed in black baju *takua* and black sarong and *tetampan*, sixteen girls in red tight sleeved baju and batek sarongs carrying *kain dokong* and sixteen bearers of *lilin kelopak* (candle sticks shaped as flower sepals), clad in yellow tight sleeved baju, red batek sarongs and *tetampang*.

These took their places on the seventh-tier of the *Panchapersada* which is a structure of nine tiers draped in yellow cloth. Each tier is fashioned in the likeness of the *butum* fruit. Each corner-post of the pavilion depicted a dragon which spouted water, fresh, warm or tintured with eagle-wood (*khlembak*) or musk (*kasturi*). In a pavilion on the top tier was placed a throne draped in yellow cloth for His Highness the Sultan and Her Highness Tunku Ampuan. At each corner was stationed a personage of special distinction bearing *tetampan berdaun budi mas* (a shoulder cloth with a fringe of peepul-tree pattern). Ranged in front of the *Panchapersada* were eight sword-bearers dressed in black, 16 bearers of spears (*lembing*), 16 bearers of *bandang* (tufter spears), dressed in yellow baju, white trousers, red and yellow batek sarongs and red batek head-kerchiefs, 16 umbrella-bearers in yellow baju, white trousers and red and yellow sarongs, the *Nobat* players in yellow baju and trousers, red sarongs, and headkerchiefs and a guard-of-honour of 50 Volunteers with the Volunteer Band. On the eighth tier were stationed 22 women of the household clad in yellow baju and red batek sarongs, wearing *tetampan*. They held the vessels for incense, holy water (*ayer tolak bala*, *ayer do'a selamat*, *ayer pancharagam*), the special waters, cosmetics and cloths used in the Lustration and four of them scattered the *ambur-ambur* (small gold confetti).

The Lustration Ceremony

When Their Highnesses reached the *Panchapersada*, the *Nobat* players played the *Lagu Iskandar*. Their Highnesses then seated themselves on the throne. The Bentara Kiri called for the Tengku Panglima Besar who conducted Engku Haji Hussein ibni Almarhum

Raja Salleh into the presence of His Highness The Sultan and he performed the ceremony of *tepong tawar*. After him, Raja Haji Abdul Rahman bin Almarhum Raja Mahmud and Raja Jemaat ibni Almarhum Raja Haji Bot also performed that ceremony. (These three were the oldest members of the Selangor royal house). Curtains concealed the Throne and the Lustration was performed by five senior daughters of Raja. During these ceremonies the *Nobat* players continued to play. After the Lustration was completed, Raja Haji Othman, Chief Kathi, recited a prayer. Then the Bentara Kiri announced that Their Highnesses were about to return to the Astana, and the curtains next opened to disclose Their Highnesses who returned in procession to the Astana. When they reached the eighth tier, the guard-of-honour saluted and the band played, 17 guns were fired and the *Nobat* players played the *Lagu Iskandar*.

His Highness the Sultan and Her Highness the Tunku Ampuan then withdrew to put on their robes of State while their retainers and Chieftains seated themselves according to precedence in the *Balairong Seri*. Stationed round the magnificent throne were the 16 bearers of the *Kain Dokong*, 16 candle bearers, 8 attendants, 3 women carrying the articles of the *sireh* set in waiting on the Tengku Ampuan who was attended by four daughters of Raja.

Ceremony of Vast Antiquity

Note – The ceremony known as *tepong tawar* is of vast antiquity. *Tepong tawar* is a paste made from rice powder and it is held to have a sterilising effect on all evil spirit. The paste is applied with a brush made of leaves all possessing specific influences. They are *sambau dara* which is a symbol of a soul settled and at peace; *gandarusa* which is efficacious in driving off evil spirits; *selaguri*, a reminder of the beginning of things as it is said to be one of the oldest of plants; *sapenoh*, a large leaf which forms the covering for the others.

Waters used in the Lustration are *ayer tolak bala*, which averts evil and is used to bathe the body but not the head; *ayer pancharagam*, a comforter; *ayer dara do'a selamat*, water over which prayers have been said; *ayer betul*, pure water.

The *Nobat* players' instruments are a *nafiri*, *serunai*, *nobat*, *gendang* and *nengkara*. The *nafiri* is a long silver trumpet. The original trumpet was lost, found in 1903, and lost again finally. One of the last acts of the late Sultan was to oversee the making of a new one. The *serunai* or flute is also new. The *nobat*, the State drums, were made for the late Sultan's Coronation in 1903. The *gendang*, a small drum, is said to be part of the original band, so is the *nengkara*, a kettle drum, it gives the time and is beaten with a thin bamboo reed. Only certain families can be used to play these instruments; they are called *Orang Kalau*. The Selangor *Orang Kalau* have been dispersed as Sultan Abdul Samad was never crowned. When the late Sultan was crowned, *Orang Kalau* were borrowed from Perak. On this occasion they have been lent by the courtesy of His Highness the Sultan of Trengganu.

According to tradition the royal family of Selangor are descended from the Rulers of Luwu in the Celebes and are thus Bugis in origin. Raffles records that the Rulers of Luwu were at one time the rulers of all the petty states in the Celebes. The present Sultan is ninth in descent in the male line from La Madusalat, Ruler of Luwu in the 17th century, who was the 34th recorded Ruler.

The Crowning

The Panglima Dalam announced that Their Highnesses were to be crowned. As The Sultan reached the Throne, the *Nobat* players played the *Lagu Ibrahim Khalilullah*. Four sons of Raja stood behind the Sultan and carrying the State swords.

When His Highness the Sultan arrived with the Tunku Ampuan, the interior of the Throne Room presented a picture of particular brilliance and wealth of colour, the light of which has probably never before been seen in Malaya. .

Afterwards His Highness took the royal oath which he delivered in a firm clear voice and the Tunku Panglima Besar cried out: "We the loyal subjects of Your Highness do now present the Crown of Selangor."

The Raja Bendahara immediately took up a position at the side of the Sultan and, with imposing dignity, the Crown was brought forward on plush cushions by the Tunku Perdana and Tunku Seri Indika. The royal Raja Bendahara advanced, removed the Sultan's headgear and, while pronouncing the name of Allah, placed it on the gold salver. He then placed the Crown upon the Sultan's head and as he did so the band of the 2nd (Selangor) Battalion F.M.S,V.F. played the Selangor Anthem, seventeen guns boomed out in the distance and the *Nobat* players struck up the *Lagu Ibrahim Khalilullah*.

The National Anthem had barely died down when His Highness commanded the Raja Bendahara to place the Crown upon Her Highness's head according to rite. Afterwards the Panglima Besar advanced to the Throne and with due observance of ceremonial cried out: "We the loyal subjects of Your Highness proclaim Your Highness Ruler of this State and Territory of Selangor. Long Live the Sultan!"

This was responded to by the vast concourse of Malays with the cry of *Daulat Tuan-ku* (May His Highness Prosper) and was followed by sounding of the *Nafiri* and the *Nobat* players playing *Lagu Ibrahim Khalilullah*.

Afterwards the Penghulu Istiadat summoned the Tengku Seri Paduku di-Raja, Tengku Seri Indika di-Raja, the Chief Kahti, the Dato Kaya Maha Bijaya di-Raja, Kelang, the Dato Engku Maha Bijaya, Ulu Langat, and the Dato Kaya Maha Bijaya, Ulu Selangor, to make their obeisance according to rite and during this ceremony the *Nobat* players played the *Lagu Iskandar*. When the *Menjunjung Duli* was over prayers were said by the Sheikhul-Islam and the Chief Kathi, then all the Malays lifted their hands in token of an obeisance. The picturesque ceremony was over and Their Highnesses then prepared for a drive in procession round the gaily decorated town of Klang.

Immediately after the Coronation ceremony at the Astana, Their Highnesses the Sultan of Selangor and His Consort drove through Klang town in an open car preceded by insignia bearers.

From the top of Astana Hill down to opposite the Chartered Bank the route was lined by men of the M.V.I. who were stationed at distances of 15 paces and from here the Police, Boy Scouts and school children took up positions, the last mentioned carrying paper flags of the State.

The route taken by the procession was from the Astana through Tengku Diauddin Street, Rembau Street, Main Street into Station Street and back to the Astana.

The crowd stood three and four deep at some points, the public preferring to congregate opposite the Government offices and a large proportion of them had their stand several hours before the procession was due to leave the Astana.

By 5.30 p.m. the crowds had increased to a size which made it difficult for the Po-

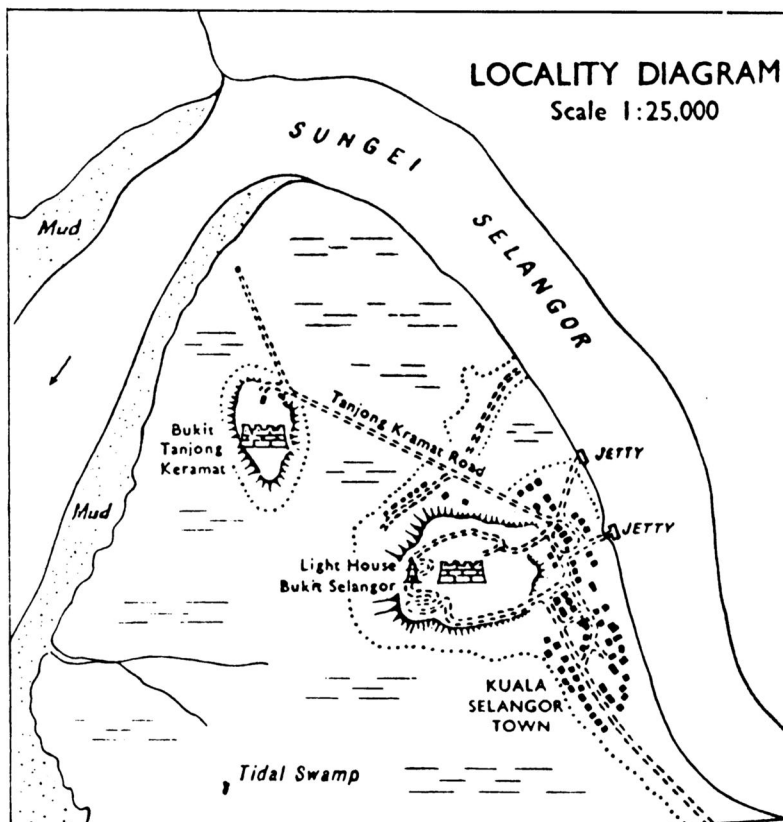
lice to keep them in place. Shortly before the procession started, Mr R Burns, Officer-Superintending the Police Circle, drove over the route and soon afterwards Mr J R Neave, the District Officer, followed.

The arrival of the procession was signalled when Messers Hindmarsh and Ryves, Probationary A.S.P's were seen to drive slowly at the head. Then came Inspectors Yahaya and Ghani on foot followed by insignia bearers. Inspectors Raja Abbas and Suleiman walked immediately in front of the open car in which Their Highnesses drove and behind this came a car carrying their children, followed by another in which his younger brother drove.

Cheers were given as the party passed, the school children waving their paper flags.

Before the procession started it drizzled and with threatening clouds overhead it appeared as though the rain would come down at any moment, but the weather kept fine and it was after the procession had returned to the Astana and the guests started to leave for home that the rain came, but not hard enough to drive the thousands of sight-seers away.

Sources: *Malay Mail*, January 25 & January 27, 1939.



The two main forts at Kuala Selangor believed to have been built during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim. Three Selangor Sultans lie buried in the walled-in Royal Graveyard on the hill – they are Sultan Salehuddin (1766-c. 1782), Sultan Ibrahim (c. 1783-1826) and Sultan Muhammad (1826-1857) [The above diagram appears in M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofs, "The forts at Kuala Selangor" *Malaysia In History*, no. 2, Nov. 1959, p. 32.]

III
GENEALOGY OF SELANGOR SULTANS

OPU LA MADDISULAT

