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**The Civil War in Kelantan in 1839**

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II

THE CIVIL WAR IN KELANTAN IN 1839

*by*  
CYRIL SKINNER

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## FOREWORD

"The early history of Kelantan is lost in obscurity" wrote Graham in 1908.<sup>1</sup> Some thirty years later Anker Rentse attempted to dispel some of this obscurity, but was nevertheless constrained to agree that "the early history of Kelantan is still unknown and very few records are available".<sup>2</sup>

Until recently few people would have quarrelled with these findings, except perhaps to observe that the 'early history of Kelantan' apparently extended well into the 19th century. It was therefore with considerable interest that I learned of the existence, in the Wachirayan National Library in Bangkok, of a collection of letters written by various Kelantan chiefs during a civil war that took place in the state in the year 1839.

The letters, edited and translated, are presented here with the emphasis on their value as historical documents, although some attempt has also been made to comment on various features of philological interest. Indeed, in trying to cover both historical and philological aspects, I have probably fallen between two stools, producing something which is too historical for philologists, but too philological for historians.

Any such lack of balance will be due entirely to myself, and in no way to any of the people named below, to all of whom I am indebted for the help they gave me. Listed in purely alphabetical order these 'pillars' are: Hj. Ali bin Hj. Taib, Mr. H. S. Broadhead, Mr. Kachorn Sukhabanij, Dato' Nik Fadzil bin Dato' Nik Mahmud, H. H. Prince Prem Purachitra, Mr. W. Roff, Hj. Mubin Sheppard, Mr. Suphachai Sirisuwangkura, Mr. Suwit Ismail, Mr. E. H. S. Simmonds, Khun Tri Amatyakul, Dr Md. Zaki Badawi.

I am grateful too for the assistance given me by the following institutions:

The University of Malaya (who helped finance the visit to Bangkok), the Wachirayan National Library in Bangkok and Monash University, Victoria (Australia).

And finally, it is a pleasure to acknowledge the contribution made by those who typed out the many drafts of the present work, viz.: Mrs. J. Storer and Mrs. H. Wernas.

CYRIL SKINNER.

Bangkok - Kuala Lumpur - Monash.

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1. Graham: KEL, p. 38.

2. Rentse: KEL, p. 42.



## Part One. The Historical Background of the Letters

### CHAPTER I

#### THE NORTHERN MALAY STATES IN THE 1830's

A modern political map is an indifferent aid to understanding the history of Malaya. The thick black line separating the Federation from Thailand, the solid boundary lines separating one Malay state from another, create the impression of territorial states with well-defined frontiers, a concept with which the Peninsula is not yet entirely familiar.

It is true that the boundaries along the coastal plains are now reasonably well-defined, but inland — as the communist revolt of 1948 showed — neither state nor national boundaries have counted for very much. For most of Malaya's history, the Malay 'state' was, typically, centred around a small port-town, a settlement located so as to control the area's most important waterway, from which, area, town and state all took their name.<sup>1</sup> The settlement need not be particularly large, a circle of some 5-10 miles' radius would provide sufficient rice-fields, fishing harbours and coconut trees to cover basic food needs. Outside of this area, 'upstream', there would probably be little direct supervision by the Ruler, except for an occasional foray in strength, for his control of the area's main waterway enabled him to levy such tolls as he thought fit upon any produce from the interior worth exporting (e.g. tin and gold). Such imports as there were would usually provide the ruling oligarchy with a further source of revenue in the form of port dues and customs duties (as well as the traditional presents and *douceurs*), and if times were really hard there was always the chance of a little piracy.<sup>2</sup>

George Earl, who visited the East coast states in the 1830's describes one such 'town-state' as consisting of "a large group of huts composed of wood and

1. Of the nine states in the Federation, all, except one, derive their name from a river. The exception is a confederation of nine states (Negeri Sembilan).
2. Tengku Umar, who after an unsuccessful attempt to gain the throne of Trengganu, ".....lalu (ke) Kemaman make tetaplah di Kemaman itu serta mengerjakan rompak orang yang berniaga menchari kehidupannya didalam ta'lok da'erah Trengganu itu maka h(u)ruharalah didalam laut<sup>2</sup> Trengganu itu serta banyaklah hamba Allah ta'ala yang terbunuh dengan mazlum ya'ani dengan aniaya....." (went to Kemaman, where he stayed, plundering those who sought to earn their living by trading in Trengganu and its tributary districts. There was no peace to be had in Trengganu waters and many of God's creatures met with a violent end, the victims of oppression), Ali: TUH, p. 257. The subject of these remarks, returned to Trengganu in 1839 and carried out a successful coup, reigning over the state until his death in 1876.



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thatch, heaped together without any order or regularity. The part inhabited by the few Chinese who were not driven away by the tyranny of the former Sultan, can boast of some appearance of regularity, the houses and shops forming a small street, but the Malay habitations are all detached from each other. The dwellings of the Sultan, and of two or three of the principal *pangerans* or nobles, are built of more substantial materials than the rest, indeed the former may be called a fort, for it is surrounded with a *paggar*, or bamboo fence, and is defended by several long brass *lelahs*.<sup>3</sup>

In the town itself and its vicinity, authority would be exercised by, or through the recognised head of the local dynasty (the 'Yang di-Pertuan'—He who is made Master), exercised, that is, in as far as this individual could control the nominally subordinate members of the dynasty. As Earl says: . . . . "The government must be pronounced aristocratical, for although the Sultan is nominally the chief authority, the whole power is vested in the *pangerans*, or lords. . . . The Sultan and the *pangerans* form a sort of commercial company, and monopolize the whole of the foreign trade, the people not being permitted to purchase a single *gantong* of rice that has not passed through their hands."<sup>4</sup> The state Earl was writing about was Trengganu, but his remarks would apply, almost word for word, to Kelantan, and in fact to most of the Peninsula Malay states at the time.<sup>5</sup>

Looked at through 20th century eyes, the statement may seem a little surprising, but the economic predominance of the West coast Malay states over their East coast fellows, dates only from the end of the 19th century and is largely the result of British intervention. For most of the century, however, although the British-controlled ports of Singapore, Penang and Malacca did provide the West coast with thriving trading centres, the Malay states adjoining them were little if at all, better off economically, than the East coast states.<sup>6</sup>

Indeed, for the century or so preceding British intervention a better classification of the Malay states would be not East and West, but South and North, a classification based upon the fact that during this time, the main centres of power lay outside the Peninsula; to the South, the Dutch and to the North, the Siamese.

During the 18th century, the Dutch, with little competition from the British, formed, despite their internal weaknesses, a comparatively stable power-force

3. Earl; EAS, p. 184. *Lela(h)s* are Swivel-guns.

4. *ibid.*, p. 185. *Gantong* is, of course 'gantang', a 'gallon' measure equivalent to about 8 lb.

5. As Earl says "The inhabitants of Tringanu are genuine Malays, and a description of the town and its inhabitants would, with a few topographical alterations, answer equally well for all the independent Malay states on the Peninsula." (*ibid.*, p. 184.).

6. For the importance of the East Coast trade with Singapore, of Wong: TRA, especially p. 79-80.

in the area, over which they thus exercised a good deal of influence. Nevertheless, in the area to the North of the Peninsula which lay outside the effective range of their bases (at Malacca, Batavia and in Sumatra), they were not able to do much more — even if they had wished — than establish occasional trading posts. In the Southern Malay states, the one dynasty that had been at all successful in establishing some form of supra-state loyalty — the Malacca-Johore dynasty — and, as a result, enjoyed a prestige out of all proportion to its political power,<sup>7</sup> had, in its struggle to survive, embroiled both itself and its successor states in an apparently unending series of Malay v. Bugis disputes.<sup>8</sup> These quarrels benefited no one more than the Dutch, but even without Bugis intervention, it is doubtful if the markedly local loyalties of the various states (which, internally, produced an endless series of civil wars) could have offered any lasting resistance to Dutch influence.

In the North of the Peninsula the Siamese, who might have been expected to play a role similar to that played by the Dutch in the South, had for most of the 18th century to face up to a 'life and death' struggle with the Burmese,<sup>9</sup> so that although Siam continued to claim suzerainty with regard to Malay states over which former Siamese kings had undoubtedly, if only temporarily, exercised some form of rule, Kedah, Patani and Trengganu were able to enjoy a considerable measure of independence.

In the South, the 19th century brought only slight changes. When the British first established themselves in the area to stay, the situation seemed to offer promising prospects of playing off the one European power against the other, but, disappointingly enough, the actual physical clash between the two powers lasted only briefly. Britain and Holland soon came to a working agreement defining their various spheres of interest in the archipelago<sup>10</sup> and although the Malay states were able to gain some benefit from British-Dutch commercial rivalry, the main result of British intervention, as far as the Peninsula states were concerned was simply to substitute British control for Dutch.

7. One reflection of this prestige was the way the theory (if not the practice) of government in the Malacca Sultanate was imitated in the later, smaller, states. Most of these had their own version of the Malacca Code (of Laws), which served them in theory at least as a combined Statute Book and Penal Code (although it seems fairly clear that few of the provisions could ever have been consistently applied.) Again, virtually all the states had their own Bendahara, Temenggong, Perdana Menteri, etc., offices which in the Malacca Sultanate had indicated more or less well-defined fields of jurisdiction, but which, in the successor states, became simply titles, frequently hereditary and often territorial (cf. also Gullick; POL, p. 7-8).
8. These form the main theme of the *Tuhfat al-nafis* and the *Hikayat Negeri Johor* (cf. Ismail; JOH, p. 344-351).
9. cf. Hall; SEA, Chapters 21, 24.
10. With the signing of the Treaty of London, in 1824.

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For the *Northern* Malay states however, the approach of the 19th century brought about a decided worsening in their position. By the time the British occupied Penang, the Siamese had beaten off the most dangerous Burmese attacks and placed Siamese independence beyond doubt. One of the commanders successful in the wars against the Burmese had founded a new dynasty – the Chakkri or Rama dynasty – and had established this dynasty so securely on the throne that it still reigns to-day, from the capital that Rama I established at Bangkok. The various Siamese territorial chieftains or barons who had taken advantage of Siam's 'time of troubles' to assert their independence, had all been brought back into the fold, so that by the last decade of the 18th century, although Siam's southern-most Province of Nakhon Si Thammarat<sup>11</sup> was still more of a 'barony' or 'march' than a province, its 'Margrave' was fully conscious of his allegiance to the King in Bangkok.<sup>12</sup>

It was through Nakhon that Bangkok had hitherto exercised its overlordship over the Malay states but in 1791 after a particularly hard-fought campaign against Patani, Bangkok had detached the Songkhla area from Nakhon's jurisdiction and made it into a separate 'county', whose 'counts' were made responsible for the East coast Malay states.<sup>13</sup> Control of the West coast states remained in the hands of Nakhon, the rulers of which continued to show themselves both enterprising and ambitious, and it was perhaps partly due to pressure from the Margrave that when Kelantan broke away from Trengganu at the beginning of the 19th century the Siamese King decided to place it not, as were its fellow East coast states, under Songkhla but under Nakhon.<sup>14</sup> From this time onwards, as Nakhon's one charge on the East coast, Kelantan enjoyed the attention of perhaps the most powerful territorial chieftain in Siam, an attention that might well have proved overpowering had not the Margrave been rather more interested in the affairs of the largest of the North-west Malay states, viz. Kedah.<sup>15</sup>

11. For more exact transcriptions of this and other Siamese names, see Appendix B. Henceforth, to save space, Nakhon Si Thammarat will be abbreviated to Nakhon.
12. Hall: SEA, p. 395-397.
13. Vella; RAM, p. 61. The degree of autonomy enjoyed by the Malay states at this time varied considerably. However, all had to have their Rulers confirmed in office by the King of Siam to whom, in recognition of his suzerainty, were sent, usually every three years, gifts and presents. Among these gifts was the famous *bunga emas* not, (a it is usually translated) 'golden flower(s)', but 'two trees', one of gold and one of silver, whose combined value would run into some thousands of dollars (Graham: KEL, p. 47 estimated the value of the *bunga emas* sent by Sultan Muhammad II (Senik) at \$11,000.) See also Ibrahim: PAT, p. 93; Ismail: BUN, p. 40-42; Mustaffa: BUN, p. 42-43; Skeat: CAM, p. 77-78; Mills: BRI, p. 41-48.
14. According to the Siamese 'Annals of Kelantan', this was done to avoid complications between Kelantan and its former master (Prachum: KEL, p. 132.)
15. At this time, Perlis and Setul were still part of Kedah.

From about 1801, Kedah had been ruled by Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin Halim Shah, a name that was to strike terror into the hearts of Britons engaged in the administration of the Straits Settlements, not so much because of any political power the Sultan might bring to bear, but because of the complications that any activity involving this indomitable but often tortuous monarch seemed fated to bring about in its wake.<sup>16</sup> From Tajuddin's viewpoint, of course, matters appeared far less tortuous, in fact, he might well claim that he did nothing except pursue *linea recta*, the policy best calculated to preserve the independence of Kedah and the dignity of its ruling dynasty. He had, after all, seen his predecessors' attempts to obtain a British 'shield' against Siam, by the cession of Penang island, come to nothing because of the timidity of the East India Company, a timidity which, he would note, apparently applied only to Siam, for the Company had been bold enough in compelling Tajuddin's father to cede them the 'Seberang Perai' district on the mainland opposite Penang.<sup>17</sup> Such independence as Kedah enjoyed at this time was due not so much to the help afforded it by the East India Company as to Siamese appreciation of the strategic role Kedah could play in assisting Siam in its struggle with Burma.

With the British a broken reed, Tajuddin had perforce to collaborate with the Siamese, and for his services in the campaigns against Burma, was promoted from the rank of Phaya to Chauphaya.<sup>18</sup> To some extent, the promotion may be said to have gone to his head in that it probably inspired in him fresh hopes

16. The exasperation felt by the British official he dealt with sometimes seems to have communicated itself to later British historians, obscuring the resolution lying behind Tajuddin's doggedness. Even when most up against it, after an exile of some fifteen years, Tajuddin still had spirit enough to write to the Resident Councillor at Penang . . . . . Apa boleh beta katakan karena kompeni inggeris ada besar kuasanya barang yang hendak diperintahnya turut sukanya akan fasal negeri kedah itu negeri beta keturunan mari daripada datok nének beta maka orang siam tipu ambil tiadalah boleh beta hendak lupakan pada hati melainkan barangkala beta dapat kuasa beta hendak ambil balek juga negeri beta itu karena pikiran beta jika pada tuan raja cropa(h) inggeris dan kepada lat benggal sekali pun tiada jadi kesalahan beta2 hendak ambil balek negeri beta itu karena pada hati orang segala bangsa pun tatkala seorang berbuat malu mengambil artinya pesti ia ma(h)u mengambil balek artinya itu jangan pun suatu negeri jika suatu kebun sekali pun. . . . . " (Then what can I say, for the Company is great and powerful, and whatever they ordain must be complied with. But as for Kedah, this is my country, handed down to me by my ancestors, (until) the Siamese tricked me and took it away from me. This I can never banish from my mind, and whenever I possess the power to do so, I shall retake my country, because, as I see it, I shall not be doing anything wrong with regard to the English King of Europe or even to the Lord of Bengal (the Governor-General - CS). For, whatever race a person may be, if anyone insults him and takes his property, he must surely want to get it back, even if what has been taken is a mere orchard, much less a (whole) country). Ms. letter from Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin Halim Shah to Mr. James William Salmond, Resident Councillor, Penang, fol. 135, Straits Settlements: LET, vol. F6.

17. Acquired in 1800, the district was rechristened Province Wellesley.

18. See Appendix B2.

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of finding someone else to play off against the Siamese, viz. the Burmese. The Siamese, however, were not to be taken by surprise, and in 1821, on the grounds that Tajuddin was intriguing with the Burmese, the Margrave of Nakhon attacked Kedah and drove out Tajuddin.<sup>19</sup> From this time onwards, Kedah (or Saiburi as it was called in Thai) was administered by Siamese from Nakhon, the Margrave's own sons.<sup>20</sup>

The Siamese attempted to assert their control even further south, but here they ran into opposition from the British in Penang, and after the Burney treaty of 1826 (and a subsequent show of force from Captain Low) Siamese claims to Perak and Selangor were never seriously pressed. However, despite the anger of the British merchants in the Straits, the Burney treaty *did* recognise the Siamese as the *de jure* rulers of Kedah and as the *de facto* overlords of the North-Eastern Malay states of Trengganu and Kelantan. Further north still, the once powerful Malay kingdom of Patani had already been broken up by a series of Siamese attacks, and even before the death of Rama 1st in 1809 had been divided into seven petty principalities, under a Siamese governor.<sup>21</sup> The methods used by the Siamese, both during and after their conquest, had not endeared them to the Patani Malays who, although temporarily brought to heel, showed themselves ready to join in any movement that held out to them the hope of driving out the Siamese.

When therefore, in 1831, the exiled Malay princes of Kedah launched a successful attack on the Siamese, the 'rebels' were soon joined by most of the Patani states and the flame of Malay 'rebellion' spread into the Patani states, threatening to engulf Songkhla. Not only this, but the rulers of both Trengganu and Kelantan were persuaded into giving, or at least offering, the 'rebels' assistance against their mutual overlord.<sup>22</sup> The rising was eventually put down

19. According to the Siamese *Annals of Saiburi* (i.e. Kedah), Tajuddin's own (younger) brother, Tengku Mom, had gone to the Margrave and laid information against the Sultan (Prachum: SAL, p. 83).

20. According to Burney, after driving out Tajuddin, the Margrave had "...ostensibly transferred the Government of the Country to the retired chief, Sultan Thoodeen (Diyauddin, Tajuddin's uncle - CS) for the purpose of making through him a demand of the Annual Stipend of 10,000 Dollars from the Government of Prince of Wales Island." The claim however was ignored and Diyauddin was soon allowed to return to his retirement (Burney: PAP, II (4), p. 187). In 1825, Bangkok confirmed the appointment of Phra' Borirak Phubét (the Margrave's eldest son by a secondary wife) as Phaya or Ruler of Saiburi (Kedah), (*ibid.*, IV (2), p. 47-48; Prachum: SAL, p. 83-84; Anuson: NAK, p. 111).

21. Vella: RAM, p. 61-62, implies that Patani was broken up in 1791, but Ibrahim: PAT, p. 101 states that the division into seven states took place only after the 1808 Patani rising.

22. Ibrahim: PAT, p. 108 says that Kelantan actually sent a band of fighting men under the leadership of the Raja Muda (Long Ismail of Kampong Laut) and his son (Tuan Besar), and the Raja of Banggul.

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and Siamese control restored but the behaviour of the rulers of Trengganu and Kelantan had not escaped the attention of the Siamese. In Kelantan, Sultan Muhammad was compelled to surrender the fugitive Raja of Patani,<sup>23</sup> and pay 30,000 silver dollars in order to retain his throne.<sup>24</sup>

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23. Ibrahim, *ibid.*, says that this Raja of Patani (Tengku Sulong) was a nephew of Sultan Muhammad.

24. Vella: RAM, p. 69; *Hikayat Seri Kelantan*, p. 111; Earl: EAS, p. 153; Moor: NOT, p. 201-202.

## CHAPTER II

### KELANTAN IN THE LATE 1830's

It was shortly after the Siamese had reasserted their authority in the Northern Malay states that George Earl visited Kelantan in his schooner. Attempts to trade with the Sultan proved unsuccessful for, as a result of the heavy fine he had been forced to pay, Muhammad declared "that he had no money, all his gold-dust and dollars having been given to the Siamese."<sup>1</sup>

It was perhaps this that caused Earl to consider Kelantan to be "inferior in importance to Tringanu",<sup>2</sup> although the picture that emerges of Kelantan in the late 1830's is one of considerable prosperity. As far as its population went — often a good guide to the prosperity of a place — Kelantan, with a population of between 40,000 and 50,000 was the most populous of the peninsula Malay states at the time.<sup>3</sup> Earl himself allowed that "gold-dust, pepper, rattans and hides are exported in considerable quantities"<sup>4</sup> but omitted to list tin (of which Kelantan produced some 3,000 pikul annually), coffee, rice and woven silk — the raw silk being imported from China.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Earl: EAS, p. 153.

2. *ibid.*, p. 153.

3. In 1822, Crawford gave the population of Kelantan as 50,000, excluding Chinese (Crawford: SIA, vol. 2, p. 219) and the same figure was given by Newbold in his book published in 1839. According to the latter, Kelantan was then the most populous state in the Peninsula, Kedah and Nakhon combined having a population of 50,000, Perak of 35,000 and Trengganu of 30,000 (Newbold: POL, vol. 1, p. 418-419, vol. 2, p. 65). When Munshi Abdullah visited Kelantan in 1838, one of the younger rajahs he met told him that, not counting the up-stream districts, there were 60,000 people in the capital and its vicinity (Abdullah: PEL, p. 80). These figures are probably a little too high. In a later book Crawford again mentions the figure of 50,000 but this time says: "I make no doubt but that it is much exaggerated." (Crawford: DES, p. 195), and in 1882, British Intelligence estimated the total population of the state as 30,000 "including some thousand Chinese" (War Officer: PRE, p. 170).

4. Earl: EAS, p. 153.

5. Newbold (1839) says that "the principal articles of produce are gold and tin: of the latter about 3000 piculs, and about 12,000 piculs of pepper annually. Lead is stated to exist." (Newbold: POL, vol. II, p. 65). Abdullah: PEL, p. 85-86 says: "Shahdan adalah dagangan yang keluar dari dalam negeri itu emas dan kahwa dan beras sedikit dan kain sutera dan seluar sekalian itu ditunen dalam negeri itu. Maka ada sutera itu bukannya jadi dalam negeri melainkan dibawa oleh kapal Inggeris atau wangkang China adanya." (The produce that is exported is gold and coffee and a little rice, as well as silk sarongs and trousers, woven in the state. The silk is not obtained from inside the country but is imported in English ships or Chinese junks.) Kelantan's principal imports from Singapore during this period were probably cloth (from Britain and India), tobacco (from Java) and opium (mainly from India). "The speculative trade in opium was one of the most profitable ventures undertaken by the

Even Munshi Abdullah, who visited Kelantan in the middle of a civil war (in 1838) and does his best, in his 'Travel-Journal', to show us the blacker side of life in the Malay states, was constantly moved to admiration by the abundance that met him everywhere he went.<sup>6</sup> Although a war was going on and the normal market had been disrupted, he found the temporary market crowded with hawkers selling all kinds of vegetables, sambals, fish and shell-fish, while fruit (bananas, durians, rambutans, rambai, langsung etc.) was apparently so plentiful as to be not worth bringing to market. Everywhere he found coconut-trees, betel-vines and sugar-cane growing and thriving, and even maize, while then (as now) Kelantan's paddy-fields — yielding a return of between 100 to 150 gantang for each gantang of seed — produced more than enough rice to go round. Poultry and livestock of all kinds were cheap and plentiful, a fully-grown goat costing no more than a dollar and a large fine bullock between two and three dollars. Even when he went 'up-country' and visited Sabak (about 10 miles north-east of Kota B(h)aru) Abdullah found hundreds of bullocks, buffaloes and goats roaming around, virtually untended, while the 'inland sea' in the vicinity produced tons of prawns, as well as great quantities of fish. He even saw pigs being kept, by Chinese of course, who also cultivated pepper-vines and betel-vines, as well as vegetables.<sup>7</sup>

It is true that Abdullah found the people of Kelantan, nobles and commoners alike, *dreadfully* inelegant<sup>8</sup> and with only the most primitive ideas on hygiene, but all in all, the prosperity described by this decidedly unfriendly witness goes some way towards justifying the claim that during the reign of Sultan Muhammad I the government of the state had been carried on "...dengan 'adil dan murah hingga dari setahun kesetahun bertambah ramai dagang santeri kerana tiada berbangkit kerosohan atau peperangan".<sup>9</sup>

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Singapore merchants to (the East Coast)", says Wong: TRA, p. 79, who explains it as being due to the presence of Chinese miners in Kelantan and Pahang. It seems clear however, that the opium was enjoyed by the Malays as much as by the Chinese (cf. Abdullah: PEL., p. 87, 99-101, 123).

6. This abundance applied even to the 'ladies of the town' who, accompanied by their pimps, shocked Abdullah by descending in droves upon the ships moored at the landing-stage. For once however, Abdullah was apparently too fascinated by the ladies' coiffures (which attained an elegance greater than he had ever seen before, even in such civilised centres as Malacca and Singapore) to do much more than comment disapprovingly on a town in which pimping was acknowledged to be an honourable profession (*ibid.* p. 87).
7. The above account is based entirely upon Abdullah: PEL, p. 74-97.
8. On Abdullah's own admission however, the Kelantanese were not entirely lacking in culture, as witness his borrowing from the locals a copy of the '(Hikayat) Khoja Maimun' (alias 'Bayan Budiman'), *ibid.*, p. 81.
9. "... with justice and charity so that, in the absence of any disorder or strife, the number of merchants and traders increased from year to year'. (Saad Shukri: KEL, p. 89.) Written by a Kelantan Malay some hundred years after the Sultan's death, such a quotation may seem worthless. It is however backed up by the *Singapore Free*

(continued on page 10)



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Unfortunately, although surrounded by every evidence of fertility, Sultan Muhammad himself was apparently sterile, gaining for himself the nickname of 'Sultan Mandul' (the childless Sultan)<sup>10</sup> and when he died in 1837,<sup>11</sup> his surviving relatives were soon fighting each other for the throne.

Of his two surviving brothers, the elder, Engku Kota,<sup>12</sup> appears to have been rather more ineffectual than the younger, Long Zainal, the Raja (of) Banggul.<sup>13</sup> Neither brother however seems to have possessed anything like a strong personality, and it was possibly for this reason that the late Sultan was said to have singled out one of his nephews, Tuan Senik, for special attention, perhaps with a view to making him his heir apparent. It was not surprising therefore that even before Muhammad's death, Kelantan had begun to show a division into two main parties, that of Raja Banggul, and that of Tuan Senik, both prepared to use force if necessary, to obtain supremacy in the state. One story has it that, so great was Raja Banggul's jealousy of Senik and his family, that the death of Senik's father (Tuan Long Tan, the Temenggong) at the hands of a gang of Chinese was in fact a 'put-up job' arranged by Raja Banggul, who was thereupon promptly banished from Kelantan on Sultan Muhammad's

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*Press* which, writing in the year of the Sultan's death, noted that: "Of the several ports on the East Coast of the Peninsula frequented by the sampan pukats, Calantan seems at present to be the favorite place of resort. The Rajah of that place it appears, has the good sense to patronise a more liberal system of trade than is usually countenanced by his compeers along the Coast, and not to act on the principles of a rigorous monopoly." (*Singapore Free Press*, 12 January 1837.) Such a tribute (and from such a source) can scarcely be discounted.

10. cf. Rentse: KEL, p. 60.

11. Rentse: KEL, p. 60 (cf. also Rentse and Nik Mahmood: SAL), says that Sultan Muhammad I died "in A.H. 1251 or A.D. 1835", a date that is accepted not only by Vella: RAM, p. 70; Abdullah: TRE, p. 12; Saad Shukri: KEL, p. 85; Mohd. Taib: ABD, p. 345, but also apparently by the Sultan's descendants, the present Kelantan royal House (cf. *Coronation Souvenir* p. 33, 35). As against this however, Graham: KEL, p. 44, says that Muhammad died "about the year 1837", a date which is supported by the Siamese 'Annals of Kelantan' which says that the Sultan died "in the year of the Dog, the 10th year of the (10 year) cycle", i.e. in A.D. 1837-1838 (Pranchum: KEL, p. 133). Munshi Abdullah's visit to Kelantan in April/May 1838 (see below) gives the impression that the fighting he describes had broken out no great length of time after Raja Banggul had succeeded Muhammad, an impression which is to some extent confirmed by the account given in a contemporary ballad, the *Shair Musoh Kelantan* (p. 12-20). Perhaps most convincing is the fact that the personal seals of office of the chieftains appointed by Banggul (after succeeding Muhammad as Ruler of Kelantan) bear the date "A.H. 1253" see e.g. Letters No. 1 and 4 below. The evidence seems to show that the traditional dating of Sultan Muhammad's death is two years too early.

12. All the sources confirm that Engku Kota was Raja Banggul's elder brother. The fairly reliable Abdullah: TRE, p. 4, states that the two were in fact *half-brothers*, Engku Kota (called 'Tuan Dagang' and 'Ungku Sawa Raja') being the issue of Long Yunus' second marriage, and Raja Banggul the issue of his third marriage. Engku Kota is also called 'Tengku Long Muda' and 'Tengku Kota' (Rentse and Nik Mahmood: SAL), as well as 'Tengku Seri Putera Maharaja' (Letter No. 13).

13. *Shair Musoh Kelantan*, p. 3-10 (see especially p. 9).

orders.<sup>14</sup> The story is probably not true;<sup>15</sup> certainly, Raja Banggul was in Kelantan when Sultan Muhammad died, and with his elder brother (Engku Kota) being quite content to back his claims, Banggul was able to obtain enough support to win him the throne.<sup>16</sup>

On becoming ruler, Banggul tried not only to reward his friends, but also to conciliate his enemies, distributing the principal offices of state fairly widely among his nephews. The office of Raja Muda (Deputy Ruler) was given to Tuan Long Ahmad (son of Tuan Long Yusuf, Banggul's deceased brother) and that of Perdana Menteri (Chief Minister) to Tuan Besar of Kampong Laut (the eldest son of another of Banggul's deceased brothers, the former Raja Muda, Tuan Long Ismail). Senik was given the office of Temenggong (as held by his late father, Tuan Long Tan) while Senik's eldest brother, Tuan Kota, took over the post of Bendahara from Raja Banggul,<sup>17</sup> in fact, the only notabili-

14. So runs the version in the *Hikayat Seri Kelantan*, p. 62, followed by Rentse: KEL, p. 58. This version goes on to say that, after Long Tan's murder, an attempt was made to burn the corpse, but the dead man's gold (-capped) teeth, resisting the flames, eventually revealed the victim's identity (an account which, if true, would make this probably the earliest recorded example of forensic science in Malaya).
15. The *Hikayat Seri Kelantan* the only original source reference I can find that mentions the murder, is obviously biased against the Banggul faction. The more impartial *Shair Musoh Kelantan* makes no mention of the story (nor, apparently do any of the Siamese sources, all of which are anti-Banggul). Most significant, I think, is the fact that when Munshi Abdullah made his brief visit to Kelantan in 1838 (see below) and met Long Tan's eldest son, the latter, although then engaged in a bitter struggle to drive out the alleged murderer, made, in the course of a long and angry attack on Raja Banggul's past conduct, no mention of the incident. (Abdullah: PEL, p. 69-73).
16. In his interview with Abdullah in May 1838, Senik's elder brother, Tuan Kota, (who appears to have been the driving force in the Senik faction) admitted that Raja Banggul was elected Ruler of Kelantan as the result of a (family) council-of-state, in which the Senik faction were fully represented. "Hatta maka marhum pun mangkatlah itu maka dalam saya sekalian bersaudara muafakatlai. Maka dijadikan dia raja dalam negeri ini" (When the late King died, we members of the family took counsel among ourselves and he (i.e. Raja Banggul: CS) was made King of this land.), *ibid.*, p. 72. The *Hikayat Seri Kelantan* has it that Raja Banggul (up till then an exile, as the result of his alleged murder of Long Tan) hearing that Sultan Muhammad was dying, returned just in time to become Ruler (p. 62-63.) The *Shair Musoh Kelantan* records that Raja Banggul's elder brother, Engku Kota, (the 'doyen' of the family) proposed Raja Banggul as Ruler, without meeting any strong opposition, although the Senik faction obviously had their reservations on the subject (p. 8-10.) Strangely enough, the Siamese records ignore completely all reference to Raja Banggul's occupancy of the throne (a striking example of their pro-Senik and anti-Banggul attitude.) The *Siamese Annals of Kelantan* for example says that, when Sultan Muhammad died, the family Council-of-State unanimously decided that Senik, as the best loved and ablest members of the late Ruler's family, should be appointed King, a choice that, when submitted through the Margrave of Nakhon to Bangkok, met with the King of Siam's gracious approval. (Prachum: KEL., p. 133; cf. Vella: RAM, p. 70-71.)
17. *Shair Musoh Kelantan*, p. 10; Saad Shukri: KEL, p. 86. There seems no doubt of these appointments. The anti-Banggul *Hikayat Seri Kelantan* mentions Tuan Long Ahmad's appointment as Raja Muda p. 63), and the letters edited here show that Tuan Long Ahmad sealed his letters "Raja Muda", and Tuan Besar, "Perdana Menteri". The

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ties not given high offices were Banggul's own sons. Despite this apparently impartial distribution of offices, the Senik faction were obviously not prepared to give up so easily the throne that had appeared so near during the lifetime of the late Sultan.<sup>18</sup> However, with the strength of both parties fairly equally matched, it required intervention from outside in order to break the deadlock. The obvious place to look for such intervention was Siam, probably in Nakhon rather more than in Bangkok, and in the months that followed both parties spared neither flattery nor money to win Siamese support.<sup>19</sup>

It seems likely however, that the Margrave of Nakhon had already decided that from the Siamese point of view, Senik would be a far better man to have on the throne than Raja Banggul, who was said to have assisted the Malay rebels in 1832<sup>20</sup> (and would therefore, if Siam's experience with the Kedah and Patani Malays were any guide, certainly do so again.) Whatever the facts of the matter may have been, from this point on, if not before, the Margrave appears to have decided that, without necessarily intervening in force in the affairs

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impartial observer from Singapore, Munshi Abdullah, calls Tuan Kota, the 'Bendahara' and Senik the 'Temenggong'. (Abdullah: PEL, p. 72.)

18. The *Shair Musoh Kelantan* observes that, at the Council meeting when Raja Banggul was suggested as the successor to Sultan Muhammad I (by his brother, Engku Kota),
- "Akan Tuan Senik Tuannya Kota  
tundok tidak berkata2 . . ."  
(Tuan Senik and Tuan Kota  
dropped their gaze, said never a word . . .)  
"menjadi payah hendak berkata  
karena berkapit dengan Engku Kota . . ."  
(hard it was to say a word  
when sitting next to Engku Kota . . .)
19. On the Senik side, Tuan Kota told Abdullah (in April 1838) "Maka sekarang adalah sahaya masing2 telah menyurohkan orang pergi menghadap kebenua Siam, serta membawa beberapa harta. Maka barang siapa yang dijadikan Raja Siam, ialah Yang di Pertuan di Kelantan ini." (Recently, we've both of us sent envoys to Bangkok, with lots of presents and whoever is appointed by the King of Siam is to be the lawful Ruler of Kelantan.), Abdullah: PEL, p. 72, while one of Tuan Kota's commanders told Abdullah " . . . karena daripada empat2 raja ini ada menyurohkan utusan kebenua Siam, serta membawa lima enam puluh ribu ringgit dan emas akan hadiah kepada Raja, adanya" ( . . . these four Rajas between them have sent envoys to Bangkok, with presents for the King of up to fifty or sixty thousand dollars, in currency and gold *ibid.*, p. 89). On the other side, Raja Banggul, after he had been driven out and taken refuge with the Raja of Saiburi, complained to his host
- "Harapkan menolong orangnya Siam  
habislah perak berpuluh koyan . . ."  
( "In the hope of obtaining help from Siam  
I poured out silver by the ton" ) ( *Shair Musoh Kelantan*, p. 32 ).
20. Vella: RAM, p. 70. Apparently relying upon Udom Sombat: CHO, Vella says that both Banggul and Tuan Besar were suspected on these grounds. Ibrahim: PAT, p. 108, states definitely that both Banggul and Tuan Besar had taken part in the campaign against the Siamese.

of Kelantan, he would use his not inconsiderable influence against Banggul and in favour of Senik, whenever the occasion gave rise.<sup>21</sup>

With feelings running high within Kelantan it required little gift to prophesy that the occasion would not be too long in coming. The incident that sparked off actual hostilities occurred when some Chinese actors put on a public performance in the Chinese quarter (Kampong China) of Kampong Laut. The Chinese play on the stage was soon outdone by the fighting that broke out amongst the audience, which included partisans of both factions, numbers of whom, fully armed, had gone to watch the show. The first clash took place between Tuan Kota's men and Tuan Long Ahmad's men. Senik's partisans rallied to the assistance of Tuan Kota's men and this in turn brought out the men-at-arms of Raja Banggul in support of Tuan Long Ahmad's men. Not to be outdone, the retainers of another brother of Senik's, Tuan Long Senik Gagap, joined in against Banggul's men, and the battle was well and truly joined. Senik's faction appear to have carried the day, and to have pursued their opponents back to their compound, where, from the safety of the stockade that had been erected with perhaps just this in mind, Banggul's men discharged a few salvos at their pursuers in order to prevent them from coming too close. Attempts by Raja Banggul and Tuan Long Ahmad to put an end to the fighting proved ineffective and soon both sides were busy in erecting defensive positions of some strength.<sup>22</sup>

At last, Raja Banggul sent for his sons, Tuan Lebai and Tuan Tengah, and ordered them to launch a full-scale attack upon the enemy. Senik, however, had recruited the assistance of his cousin Raja Chik,<sup>23</sup> who soon put the attackers

21. The *Shair Musoh Kelantan*, p. 27-28, says that, when fighting did break out, and Banggul sent a letter to the Governor of Nakhon, asking for help,  
 "Perkataan surat didengar semata  
 Raja Legor sangatlah sukachita  
 Kapada niatnya didalam chita  
 Tuan Seniklah hendak ditakhta."  
 (The letter was read, from beginning to end  
 The Raja of Legor was greatly pleased  
 As he had desired and secretly planned  
 Tuan Senik was to have the throne),  
 and events seem to bear out this accusation of partiality.
22. The account of the fighting given here is based upon the *Shair Musoh Kelantan*, p. 20-32; Abdullah: PEL, p. 71-72; Abdullah: TRE, p. 13. Gullick: POL, p. 120-124 gives an excellent summary of the main characteristics of this stockade-type warfare. (cf. also Gibson-Hill: CAN, especially p. 147).
23. Letter No. 11 says Raja Chik was Tuan Besar's "adek" (younger brother). Tuan Besar, as is clear from his seal on his letters here, was the son of Long Ismail but Letter No. 13 states categorically that Raja Chik was the son of Engku Kota (Tengku Seri Putera Maharaja). Rentse and Mahmood: SAL, confirm that "Raja (In)che" was the son of Engku Kota and the account in Abdullah: TRE, p. 12, also gives Raja (In)ché as the son of Engku Kota, here called 'Tuan Dagang' and 'Ungku Séwa Raja'. The word "adek" in Letter No. 11 is probably used merely to denote a relation of the same age-group as one's (younger) brother.

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to flight. Tuan Lebai and Tuan Tengah fled precipitately, not stopping until they had reached Saiburi, one of the Patani Malay states.<sup>24</sup>

At this stage of the proceedings, an exotic dash of colour was given to the scene by the arrival (in April 1838) of a multi-racial trade delegation from Singapore.<sup>25</sup> The mission, headed by a Mr. 'Granpré',<sup>26</sup> bearing letters from Governor Bonham, had come to petition for the release of four Chinese boats and their cargo, viz. merchandise to the value of forty or fifty thousand dollars belonging to some Chinese and Jewish merchants in Singapore. The boats had been detained in the Kelantan estuary since the outbreak of hostilities, (in fact, as Tuan Kota revealed in a talk with the Malay Interpreter of the mission (the famous 'Munshi' Abdullah), three at least of the cannon with which the boats had been equipped, were at that moment adorning Tuan Kota's stockades.) As Abdullah describes the situation, Raja Banggul, although still holding out, and firing off impressive, if largely harmless, salvos of artillery, was being hard-pressed. According to what Abdullah heard, he had only some 600 men in his stockade — the Senik faction apparently numbered several thousand — and was only able to hold out because of the amount of supplies and ammunition that he had amassed in readiness for just such an attack upon him. However, the end was obviously in sight; it was reported that inside his stockade a leaf of betel, or a piece of fish could not be had for less than a dollar, while deserters were coming over at the rate of about a dozen every night.

Abdullah gives the impression that the driving force in the anti-Banggul movement at this time was not Senik, but his eldest brother, Tuan Kota.<sup>27</sup>

24. *Shair Musoh Kelantan*, p. 23-27. Raja Chik's defeat of Tuan Bulat is confirmed by Letter No. 11.
25. For the activities of the mission, see Abdullah: PEL (especially p. 56-107); *Singapore Free Press*, 29 March, 26 April, 3 May 1838. The mission left Singapore during the last week in March (1st Muharram, 1254 — Abdullah's "1253" must be a mistake, otherwise none of the days of the week will fit the dates given) and apparently arrived in Kelantan on 12 April 1838.
26. This 'Granpré' is described as a "young Portuguese gentleman" and may have been a Eurasian (*Singapore Free Press*, 3 May, 1838).
27. The dominance of Tuan Kota is confirmed not only by Abdullah, but also by all other records (*Hikayat Seri Kelantan*, *Shair Musoh Kelantan*, Prachum: KEL.), which present Tuan Kota as the more forcible, and Senik as the more diplomatic of the anti-Banggul leaders. This being the case, one might well wonder why it was Senik, and not Tuan Kota, who became Ruler of Kelantan, after Banggul's expulsion. As Sultan Muhammad I had left no heir, the person with the best legal claim to succeed him would be the eldest of his surviving brothers, i.e. (with Engku Kota unwilling), Raja Banggul. The only effective counter-claim that could have any appearance of legality would be, that the late Sultan had definitely appointed someone else as his heir-apparent. Senik seems to have been the late Sultan's favourite nephew, and, although probably not in fact nominated as his heir (cf. Tuan Kota's own statement as to Sultan Muhammad's dying testimony, Abdullah: PEL, p. 72), this was obviously the best line for the anti-Banggul faction to take, providing them legal grounds for Banggul's expulsion. At this stage of the proceedings, therefore, Tuan Kota could not press his own claims over

Abdullah seems not to have met Senik, and the letter for Senik from the Governor of Singapore was taken by Tuan Kota, who promised to deliver it safely. Abdullah describes Tuan Kota as being ". . . . . round-faced, of middle height and rather plump, with a fair skin".<sup>28</sup> At the moment of their meeting, Tuan Kota (although he could scarcely have been unaware that visitors were calling) was dressed somewhat informally in ". . . . . a black Bugis sarong, wearing no coat, and with a baték head-cloth".<sup>29</sup> Abdullah leaves us in no doubt as to his forceful personality; when pressed to allow the mission to deliver a letter to Raja Banggul, the angry look that Tuan Kota assumed was at once sufficient to persuade the mission to drop the matter. Attempts by the mission to collect debts owed by the wife of one of the Kelantan chiefs who had gone up to Bangkok were firmly brushed aside with the remark: "Under no circumstances can we have dealings with women, wait till her husband comes (back) and the war is finished, and then we can settle the matter."<sup>30</sup> The same note was struck when the mission asked for the release of the Chinese boats and their cargo. The Tuan Kota replied that the boats were free to go, and all of them except one had in fact left. He had, it was true, borrowed some three of the ship's cannon, but he would return them as soon as the war was over. He assured them that he would leave no stone unturned in seeing that any debts contracted by Kelantanese in respect of the boats' cargo would be paid back — eventually.

He then told the mission how the war had started, with the brawl at the Chinese show in Kampong Laut, and how he and his brothers had been forced to defend themselves against the attacks of the Banggul 'gang'.<sup>31</sup>

those of Senik, without admitting the far better claims of Raja Banggul. The first thing was to oust Banggul, on the grounds that Senik was the official heir. When this was at last accomplished and Senik recognised as Sultan of Kelantan by the Siamese, Tuan Kota too was granted the title of 'Sultan', obviously a reflection of the dominant part played by him. Subsequently, when the attempted 'come-back' by the Banggul-Tuan Besar faction had been defeated, it became a case of Senik versus Tuan Kota, and the dispute was only settled by Senik calling in Siamese assistance and obtaining Tuan Kota's banishment. (*Hikayat Seri Kelantan*, p. 65-69; cf. Vella; RAM, p. 74, for a pro-Senik account of the quarrel.)

28. ". . . mukanya bulat, tiada tinggi tiada rendah, dan tubuhnya gempal2, dan kulitnya putih kuning . . ." (Abdullah: PEL, p. 68.)
29. ". . . dipakainya kain Bugis hitam, tiada berbaju, dan sapu tangannya baték bang." (*ibid.*, p. 68).
30. "Maka jikalau barang apa sekali pun, tiada boléh kita berbichara kapada perempuan, melainkan biarlah datang lakinya dan selesai pekerjaan perang ini, boléhlah kita periksakan." (*ibid.*, p. 73). It is not impossible that the aseng husband referred to here is none other than Tuan Bongsu, the younger brother of the speaker, sent to Bangkok to obtain Siamese recognition for the claims of the Senik faction (see below). If so, this would help to explain the somewhat brusque dismissal of the matter by Tuan Kota.
31. Tuan Kota's views are naturally not free from bias. Saad Shukri, who is decidedly pro-Senik and anti-Banggul (cf. his somewhat theatrical 'asides') nevertheless appears

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With some indignation, he related that, although Sultan Muhammad I's dying political testimony to his surviving relatives had been: "You all fight it out, the winner will be the Ruler of Kelantan. It was the same when I was young; I became Raja of Kelantan through my courage and daring",<sup>32</sup> the Council of State, of which Tuan Kota and his brothers had been members, had generously allowed Banggul to become Ruler. Now, however, as a result of the attacks made upon them by the Banggul faction, it was a case of 'may the best man win'. He revealed that he had himself sent a mission to Siam, well laden with presents, in order to obtain from Bangkok a decision as to who was to be acknowledged as the Ruler of Kelantan. In the recent fighting he said, he had been handicapped by lack of supplies as (unlike Raja Banggul) he had harboured no aggressive intentions, and he asked the mission to request the Governor of Singapore to send him gunpowder and shot.

Abdullah, a journalist *manqué* if ever there was one, spent the remainder of his brief visit to Kelantan in wandering around picking up gossip and meeting local celebrities. Despite his account of the fearsomeness of the daily bombardments, it seems fairly clear that the only really dangerous area was within about a hundred yards of the rival stockades.<sup>33</sup> He met a Haji of Trengganu descent, who described himself as one of the officers of Tuan Kota's troops. The Haji was critical of the courage of the leaders of both factions and gave it as his opinion that matters would drag on indefinitely until the Siamese had made up their minds who was to have the throne. He told Abdullah that, in order to help the Siamese make up their minds, the warring factions had between them sent fifty to sixty thousand dollars in gold and silver by way of inducements. Abdullah advised him that, if he wanted to finish off the war quickly, he should mine the enemy's position and blow it up, as had been done with the great Portuguese fort at Malacca. The Haji appeared delighted with the idea and rushed off to tell Tuan Kota, only to return a little

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to take it for granted that Senik and company had no intention of accepting Banggul as ruler, but were merely waiting for an opportunity to start trouble (Saad Shukri: KEL., p. 86-87).

32. "Berperanglah engkau sekalian: barang siapa yang menang, ialah yang menjadi Yang di Pertuan di Kelantan ini. Maka aku pun demikian juga dahulu; sebab gagahku dan beraniku, maka aku menjadi raja di Kelantan ini." (Abdullah: PEL., p. 72). This reported statement corroborates Abdullah's 'anti-Raja' views a little too exactly not to be taken with a grain of salt.
33. Some of the artillery used during the fighting can still be seen in Kota B(a)haru. One of the largest - if not *the* largest - of the cannon used, strictly speaking a *culverin* (cast in Amsterdam in 1686 for the Amsterdam Chamber of the Dutch East India Company), stands to-day on the Padang; the barrel is nearly 8 feet long with a calibre of 4.37 inches, and fired a shot weighing some 10½lbs. Other cannon from the period, which still survive, include "cast-iron 6 and 8-pounders" and there are also "two fine brass lela" (Gibson-Hill: CAN., p. 156-157.)

while later and announce disappointedly that Tuan Kota had declared such action to be too drastic for a civil war.

Not the least interesting of Abdullah's interviews was with Tuan Besar himself, the man Raja Banggul had appointed as his Prime Minister. Abdullah found Tuan Besar's compound in Kampong Laut strongly defended. Stockades mounted with cannon, had been built all around it and hundreds of men were on guard as Grandpré and Abdullah were taken into the house. After a few moments of waiting, Tuan Besar came out to greet his visitor, a shy smile on his face. Abdullah describes him as being ". . . . short and rather dark-skinned, plump and round-faced, with a finely-chiselled nose. He had a few smallpox scars on his cheek; his teeth were curved, blackened and shining. He was wearing silk trousers and a shirt of patterned satin material, with a baték head-cloth; his hair came down to his shoulders; he spoke in a rather hoarse voice and he had a keris stuck in his belt; his age would be about thirty or a little less".<sup>34</sup> Abdullah asked him whether he was taking part in the fighting but Tuan Besar replied "I'm taking no part in this affair. I'm neither one way nor the other, I'm quite neutral".<sup>35</sup> Abdullah then asked him why, in that case, his compound was so heavily defended, and was told "We must look after our district; if anyone should try and interfere with us, then we must smash them".<sup>36</sup>

Abdullah and the Singapore delegation stayed in Kelantan only a few days before sailing back to Singapore, their purpose largely unaccomplished.<sup>37</sup> It was probably soon after their departure that a Siamese mission arrived in Kelantan, with instructions from the Margrave of Nakhon that both sides were to stop fighting at once, and that all stockades should be demolished. The break in the fighting that followed was only temporary, however, and (perhaps with the Siamese envoys turning a blind eye in their direction) Senik's party seem to have used the interval to increase the strength of their position, so that

34. ". . . . rendah2 lagi hitam manis dan tubohnya gempal2 dan mukanya bulat dan hidongnya manchong. Maka adalah parut chachar sedikit dipipinya, giginya lenték lagi berkilat hitam. Maka dipakainya seluar sutera dan baju chita atlas dan sapu tangan baték bang, dan rambutnya menjejak bahu, dan suaranya garau, dan sebilah keris terisip dipinggangnya. Maka adalah kira2 umornya tiga puluh tahun atau kurang daripada itu." (Abdullah: PEL, p. 78).
35. "Sahaya tiada masuk dalam pekerjaan ini. Adalah sahaya ini, disana pun tidak, disini pun tidak: sahaya duduk ditengah2". (*ibid.*, p.79).
36. "Baiklah kita berjaga kampong kita: kalau barangkali datang orang mengusék kita, kita hantam akan dia." (*ibid.*, p.79).
37. Abdullah says he left Kelantan on 22 Muharram 1254 (17 April 1838) and arrived back in Singapore on 29 Muharram (24 April). The *Singapore Free Press* of 26 April 1838 confirms the date of Abdullah's return. On 1 May 1838, Ko (H)an, the Chinese interpreter who had accompanied the mission, wrote to the *Singapore Free Press* expressing his "utter dissatisfaction" of the way the mission had gone about its task. He was particularly severe on those members of the mission who had wasted their time "pen-celling the fortifications of Calantan" (*Singapore Free Press*, 3 May 1838). The dating suggested by Mohd. Taib: ABD is untenable.



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when a few days later, fighting broke out again, Raja Banggul's men were unable to hold out any longer.<sup>38</sup> Banggul's Raja Muda, Tuan Long Ahmad was defeated in battle and Banggul himself fled up the Sungai Pinang, to Tumpat and then on to Narathiwat and Saiburi. Tuan Long Ahmad was captured by the attackers, but (as Tuan Kota had told Abdullah, it was, after all, a *ciwil* war) was allowed to take his family and his dependents with him to Tumpat. Raja Banggul had taken refuge with the Raja of Saiburi, to whom he complained bitterly of the amount of money he had spent in order to obtain the support of the Margrave. In a last effort to ensure that the money had not been spent entirely in vain, Banggul decided to go up to Nakhon to see the Margrave, only to find that the Margrave had left Nakhon for Bangkok. Banggul followed the Margrave on to Bangkok where the Margrave received him quite affably and expressed his surprise that the intervention of his envoys to Kelantan should have had such unexpected results. However, no action was taken to assist Banggul and subsequently Banggul heard, to his chagrin, that the King of Siam had graciously consented to recognise Senik as the Ruler of Kelantan. Realising that he had been outwitted, Raja Banggul left Bangkok and sailed straight back to Saiburi, apparently omitting the customary courtesy call at Nakhon on his way.

The other Kelantanese, headed by Tuan Bongsu (perhaps a member of a delegation originally sent by Raja Banggul) and Tuan Besar (who had apparently gone up to Bangkok after Banggul's expulsion) were made the bearers of the official announcement of Siam's recognition of Senik as Sultan, and were also entrusted with an 'Honours List' of Kelantanese to be given Siamese titles of nobility on Senik's accession.<sup>39</sup> They made the customary stop at Nakhon,

38. The account of events given here is based upon the *Shair Musoh Kelantan*, p. 28-36. Some confirmation of Siamese partiality towards Senik is found in the comment of the *Singapore Free Press* of 9 August 1839 that "The reigning chief of Calantan . . . it appears in the late contest for the succession to the sovereignty, had the voice of the Court of Siam in his favour . . ."

39. *The Shair Musoh Kelantan* gives the impression that Tuan Bongsu had gone up to Bangkok some time before the fighting had begun (as a member of an 'all party' delegation sent by Banggul to announce his accession) and had remained there ever since, with Tuan Besar apparently joining him later (p.15, p.37). This is partly corroborated by Letter No. 295, which suggests that Tuan Bongsu was out of the country when the fighting was going on; moreover, Abdullah, who certainly met Tuan Besar in Kelantan in April 1838 (when the fighting was going on) makes no mention of Tuan Bongsu (except perhaps to supply indirect evidence of his absence from the country — see note 30 above.)

The *Hikayat Seri Kelantan* however says that Tuan Bongsu — no mention is made of Tuan Besar accompanying him — was sent up to Bangkok *after* the fighting had finished (p. 63-64), while the pro-Senik 'Annals' imply that there was only one mission sent from Kelantan after Sultan Muhammad I's death headed by Raja Banggul, Tuan Bongsu and Tuan Besar, come to press Senik's claims to the throne! (Prachum: KEL, p. 133.) Summing up the evidence, it seems probable that Bongsu had gone up to Bangkok *before* the fighting broke out, and stayed on to press his brother's claims. Banggul, on

whose Margrave gave them an escort to accompany them back to Kelantan. On the mission's arrival back in Kelantan, Senik was officially proclaimed a Ruler, and details of the promotions announced.

It was, of course, no coincidence that both Raja Banggul and Tuan Long Ahmad were not included in this 'Honours List' which appointed Senik as the Phaya (Governor/Ruler) of Kelantan with the title of Phaya Phiphith Phakdi Seri Sultan Muhammad Ratna Nuchit Santi Sunthon Boworo Wongso. Tuan Kota was given the rank of Phaya Changwang (Deputy Ruler) with the title Phaya Sunthon Thibodi Seri Sultan Déwa Maharaja; Tuan Senik Gagap received the title of Tengku Seri Indera, while Tuan Bongsu was promoted to be the Raja Muda.<sup>40</sup> Rather surprisingly, Tuan Besar received no promotion of any kind partly, perhaps to pay him out for his neutrality during the recent fighting — a slight that was undoubtedly much resented by him.

Thus, when the Kedah revolt against the Siamese broke out in the middle of 1838, Senik and his brothers seemed to be in complete command of Kelantan for Raja Banggul, his sons and Tuan Long Ahmad were in exile, while Tuan Besar, although still in control of the Kampong Laut district, had obviously lost a good deal of face and was lying rather low.

As with the earlier Kedah rising, the 1838 revolt obtained a good deal of success in its initial stages.<sup>41</sup> The Siamese were driven out of Kedah, Trang was captured and Setul and Perlis occupied, and the rebels pressed on into the Patani Malay states. Of these seven states, some, (probably Patani, Jering and Saiburi) remained loyal to Bangkok, but the remainder joined up with the rebels, who had by this time succeeded in cutting off Songkhla.

At the outbreak of the revolt, the Margrave of Nakhon and the Count of Songkhla had been away in Bangkok (which probably helps to account for its initial success) but, with their return to the scene, the tide gradually began to

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being driven out of Kelantan, eventually made his way to Bangkok too, to ask for help against Senik. Subsequently, with the fighting over, Tuan Besar paid a visit to Bangkok probably to hold a watching brief for his own interests (and also, perhaps as a sideline, buying up a quantity of Siamese rice, which he hoped to sell at a profit on his return home. cf. Prachum: KEL, p. 135, and Letter No. 11.) When the Siamese, probably at the instigation of the Margrave of Nakhon, decided to recognise Senik, Banggul left in disgust, returning to Saiburi. Bongsu and Tuan Besar (who had remained neutral during the fighting) thereupon were charged to bring the news of the Siamese decision back to Kelantan.

40. For these titles, see Prachum: KEL, p. 134, as well as the Letters edited here. There were thus two 'Raja Mudas', viz. Senik's younger brother (Tuan Bongsu) and the 'Raja Muda' of the expelled Banggul faction, viz. Tuan Long Ahmad. Tuan Kota's Malay title of Sultan and his Siamese title of Phaya Changwang should, I think, be considered as unusually high, probably indicative of his dominance in the Senik camp.

41. For the Kedah revolt, see Ibrahim: PAT, p. 111-113; Low: BRI, p. 373-377; *Shair Musoh Kelantan*, p. 38-48; Vella: RAM, p. 71-72.

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turn against the rebels. The Margrave summoned the Siamese vassals, both in and out of Siam,<sup>42</sup> to rally to the help of their overlord. Armies were raised, based upon Nakhon and Phthalung, and, under the command of the former Phaya of Kedah (a son of the Governor of Nakhon), were able to recapture Setul. By the beginning of 1839, they were ready to make a series of counter-attacks that, within a few months, saw Kedah reoccupied, the siege of Songkhla lifted, and Trang recaptured. In addition to this, Bangkok itself had not remained idle and had raised a large expeditionary force, the advance guard of which (under the Phaya of Phéhaburi) had already set off by ship to relieve Songkhla. By the time this advance force reached Songkhla, the Malay besiegers, disheartened by the defeats suffered by their compatriots on the West coast, had abandoned the siege and had begun to disperse southwards to avoid being encircled, so Phaya Phéhaburi prepared to move on to Saiburi. By this time, the main body of the force, consisting of some 5,000 Siamese troops under the command of Phaya Si Phiphath Ratanarachakosa and the Chauphaya Yomarat<sup>43</sup> had left Bangkok for Songkhla, where it set up camp in April, 1839. Although the rebellion was obviously 'dying on its feet' the Siamese commanders found that, besides 'mopping up' operations, they had also to deal with a new situation that had arisen in Kelantan.

As can be imagined, the news of the many successes won by the Kedah Malays at the beginning of the rising had aroused more than ordinary interest in Kelantan, particularly amongst those not well disposed towards the Siamese-backed Senik faction. With the Siamese driven out of Kedah and the Patani states, Senik would obviously call in vain for their support.<sup>44</sup> The disgruntled Tuan Besar proved only too willing to lend an ear to plans directed against Senik,<sup>45</sup> and, with the pugnacious Raja Chik also won over, the first few months of 1839 saw the conspirators take the offensive.

Raja Chik began to erect fortifications at Kota, the old capital, just south of Kota Baharu. From his already strongly-defended stockade at Kampong

42. cf. Letter No. 11 and Letter No. 13.

43. Thiphakarawong: PKR, p. 194. It is clear that the effective command of the expedition was in the hands of Phaya Si Phiphath, the able and forceful younger brother of Rama III's most powerful minister (the Chauphaya Phra' Khlang), cf. Skinner: KFD, p. 158-159.

The Chauphaya Yomarat was "a quiet humble character, possessing little or no influence in affairs of State" (Burney: PAP, II (4), p.118.) The army ("consisting of 40 war junks . . . . and blazing with innumerable red flags") sailed from Bangkok on March 16th (Singapore Free Press, 11 April 1839).

44. cf. Letter No. 13.

45. The impression one gets from the available records is that it was probably Tuan Besar who was the 'brains' of the conspiracy. The Siamese *Annals of Kelantan* says that it was Tuan Besar who first got in touch with Raja Banggul, sending him a letter in February 1839 (*Prachum*: KEL, p. 135).

Laut, Tuan Besar extended his defences upstream as far as Sungai Pinang, and downstream as far as (Kampong) Pekan, almost directly facing Kota Baharu. Alarmed, Senik asked the Siamese officials (from Nakhon) stationed in Kelantan to go and ask Tuan Besar what he was doing, but Tuan Besar merely temporised, obviously expecting pretty prompt action on the part of his fellow-conspirators, viz. Raja Banggul and his sons, and Tuan Long Ahmad.

Probably some time in March, 1839, Banggul and company arrived, with a small invasion fleet, at Tumpat (Tuan Long Ahmad's base). From Tumpat, Banggul advanced inland, capturing Lambor (to the west of Kota Baharu) and advancing on Pasir Mas. Tuan Long Ahmad and his men left Tumpat for Bachok and then made their way inland to the Bukit Marak area (known locally simply as "Bukit" — "The Hill") some eight or nine miles to the south-east of Kota Baharu.<sup>46</sup>

Senik and his brothers wasted little time in taking measures to restore the situation. Letters were sent to Nakhon asking for immediate Siamese help.<sup>47</sup> The Kelantan river was blocked, both up and down stream of the capital and troops were sent to engage Banggul at Pasir Mas, Raja Chik at Kota, and Tuan Long Ahmad at Bukit. The troops sent were able to halt the advance, but not to expel the invaders and a temporary deadlock was reached.<sup>48</sup> It was at this juncture that it became vital to both parties to obtain reliable information as to the intentions of the Siamese, for, with both sides fairly evenly matched, intervention in force by the Siamese (or perhaps even the mere threat of force,) would be decisive.

Both factions probably had some idea of the successes gained by the Siamese over the Kedah rebels in recent weeks and the probable disintegration of the revolt that had once threatened to sweep the Siamese out of the Malay states. What was not known was, just how far would the Siamese go, literally and metaphorically, to restore the situation. To what extent, for example would they be prepared to intervene directly in Kelantan affairs?

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46. For the above account, see the *Shair Musoh Kelantan*, p. 48-52; Letter No. 13; *Prachum*: KEL., p. 135; Thiphakarawong: PKR, u. 194. Bukit (Marak) was some sort of 'fief' of Tuan Long Ahmad; the *Shair Musoh Kelantan* usually refers to him either as 'Raja Muda' or as 'Raja Bukit', on one occasion (p. 51) saying: "Raja Muda . . . sampai ke Bukit tempat sendiri" (Tuan Long Ahmad . . . arrived at Bukit (Marak), his own place), see also Saad Shukri: KEL., p. 903.
47. The Siamese *Chronicle of The Third Reign* says that Senik (in mid-April) sent directly to Phaya Si Phiphath for help (Thiphakarawong: PKR, p. 194). *Prachum*: KEL, p. 135 is probably more accurate when it reports that (on the identical date) Senik sent to the Governor of Nakhon for help, and that, as by that time Phaya Si Phiphath had reached Songkhla, the letter was forwarded on to him there.
48. *Shair Musoh Kelantan*, p. 53-57.

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In the light of past events, time seemed to favour Senik, for, if only he could hold out long enough, it was probable that the Siamese, who had already preferred him to Banggul once, would do so again and come to his assistance, if necessary by sending troops. On the other hand, it was not impossible that if the Banggul-Tuan Besar party could dispose of its opponents before the Siamese could finish with the Kedah and Patani rebels, Bangkok might conceivably be prepared to recognise the fait accompli, rather than undertake another — yet another — Malay campaign.

This then was the situation at the beginning of the period covered by our letters, and it explains why so many of them are addressed to the Raja of Saiburi, a relation of the Kelantan chiefs<sup>49</sup> and one of the (few) Patani rulers to remain loyal to Siam,<sup>50</sup> who was thus obviously *persona grata* with the commanders of the Siamese armies rumoured to be proceeding southwards.

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49. He is usually called Nik Da(h), see below, Letter No. 19 (confirmed by Ibrahim: PAT, p. 116; Wichiankhiri: PAT, p. 15). His being called 'mamanda' (uncle) by the Kelantan rajas would put him in the same age group as Raja Banggul, but would not necessarily imply blood-relationship. It is known however that there were close family links between the various Patani rajas and the Kelantan princelings (cf. Saad Shukri: KEL, p. 77, 83.).
50. Vella: RAM, p. 71-72 says that, of the seven Patani states, Patani, Jering and Saiburi remained loyal, the remainder (Nongchik, Jala, Raman and Leg'h) joining the rebels. The *Shair Musoh Kelantan* confirms that the Rajas of Saiburi and Jering took an active part in putting down the rebellion, making particular mention of the Raja of Saiburi's bravery in opposing the rebels on the field of battle (p. 42).

## CHAPTER III

### KELANTAN DURING THE PERIOD COVERED BY THE LETTERS

In April, 1839 Tuan Long Ahmad, from his encampment at Bukit wrote as follows<sup>1</sup> to the Raja of Saiburi:<sup>2</sup>

*Letter No. 1*

#### O Dispenser According to Needs

Praise be to God the manifest ruler to whom is the judgment, for He is the wisest of the wise; benediction and peace to the Lord of the Prophets, the leader of the pious, the beloved of the God of both Worlds, and to his family and to all his companions who follow in the true path. Having completed our praise of Almighty God and having prayed for His Prophet the Lord of the Prophets, and all his family, most distinguished and fortunate of the emigrants and the helpers, adding to it the most excellent and most complete of prayers, together with respect and esteem – by the grace of His miraculous power and wisdom, to which is added esteem emanating from God the compassionate – (this wish comes) from Tuan Long Ahmad, the vilest of the vile, the most unworthy, most foolish as well as most wretched, poor and needy, to be numbered among the negligent and wicked right up to the day (of Judgment for) those who do evil before the Lord of Majesty, may these wishes be conveyed to the all-wise and noble person of the Raja of Saiburi, the noblest of the noble, versed in the knowledge of God, wise and prudent in carrying out enlightened government, who possesses the most refined of personalities and whose graceful manner is like the purest draughts of water, having obtained greatness of position and elevated rank from God of the Throne of Might – who created the darkness and the light, let them have no fear of Him and they shall not be grieved – to (my uncle) upon whom the merciful God has bestowed distinguished guidance, may God preserve his good works and fortify his faith and his actions in this world and the next. Amen. O God, fountain of majesty and generosity.

To proceed, I am writing to tell you that during your absence from

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1. For the Malay text of this and the other letters see Part 2.
  2. From the way in which Kelantan chiefs 'pile on' the Arabic when writing to him, one gets the impression that the Raja of Saiburi enjoyed something of a reputation as an Arabic scholar. In point of fact, the Arabic used so freely in this and many other of the letters addressed to him contains many errors and if the Raja were indeed the Arabic scholar the letters flatteringly insinuate, they must have caused him some surprise as well as amusement.

## The Civil War in Kelantan

Saiburi<sup>3</sup> a quarrel has broken out in Kelantan between first, Engku Kota,<sup>4</sup> second, Tuan Besar of Kampong Laut and his brother,<sup>5</sup> and third, your obedient servant. As regards the quarrelling and fighting, I can only hope for God's help and for your blessing and favour. What makes me really upset is because there is no one else I can turn to except you; for good or for evil, in right or in wrong, I rely upon you to instruct and admonish me in any doubtful or perplexing matter that may arise, because, after God and His Prophet, it is upon you, Sir, that I have always pinned my hopes. Just at present I feel very worried because of your absence, which makes me think longingly about you, day and night, never forgetting you for a single moment. Therefore, if, when you return, you can find the time, (I shall be most grateful) to learn exactly what plans the Westerners<sup>6</sup> are making and what they are doing. As a matter of fact, I have heard from various merchants and travellers who have come to Kelantan in search of sustenance that you have obtained some merit and esteem, (in fact) that you are now highly honoured and respected by the Westerners. As soon as I heard this it made me really pleased, because now you can assist me in any difficult or perplexing problem. I entreat you to give me the benefit of your counsel and advice, in view of my lack of understanding in all these matters. Next to God and His Prophet, I rely upon you in everything. Another thing, if you would be so kind, I would like you to buy me some tin, say two or three pikul, at whatever price you think fit. As regards payment, I would like to delay this for a while. End of letter. With best wishes and greetings.

Letter written on the 23rd of Muharram, on Monday, at five o'clock, A.H. 1253<sup>7</sup>



He who trusts in Almighty God + the Raja Muda of Kelantan + son of the late Yusuf + may God preserve his dominion and his good works + A.H. 1253.

It must have been shortly after Tuan Long Ahmad's letter, that the Senik forces gained their first success – against Raja Chik at Kota, who was compelled to withdraw across the river, to rejoin his cousin, Tuan Besar, at Kampong Laut.<sup>8</sup> Exultantly Senik wrote to another of the Patani rulers: the Raja of Jering<sup>9</sup>

3. Presumably in rallying to his Siamese overlord's assistance against the Kedah rebels (Shair Musoh Kelantan, p. 39-43).
4. This obviously refers to *Tuan Kota* (Senik's elder brother) and not the man hitherto referred to *Engku Kota* (Raja Banggul's elder brother).
5. Perhaps referring to Tuan Long Nik?
6. i.e. the Siamese.
7. This must be an error for "1255" (perhaps caused by copying blindly the date on the seal). This latter date ("1253") is probably the date of Tuan Long Ahmad's appointment to the post of Raja Muda, by Raja Banggul. The date of the letter is almost certainly 8/9 April, 1839.
8. *Shair Musoh Kelantan*, p. 58-59.
9. According to Ibrahim: PAT, p. 100, the Raja of Jering at this time was apparently not a Malay but a Siamese (of Chinese extraction) which no doubt accounts for the lack of Arabic in the letter's exordium.

## O Deserving One

Letter from your servant Sultan Muhammad, Raja of Kelantan to the Raja of Jambu<sup>10</sup> the present ruler of Jambu and all its subject territories, the wise and discreet, skilled in maintaining friendly relations with all his friends and acquaintances, both far and near. I pray to God to give you enduring rank and position, together with all good fortune and victory over his enemies.

To proceed, I am sending you this insignificant scrap of paper to serve as a substitute for myself in conversing with you. I am writing to you about my boat, to ask if you would be so kind as to have it sent back to Kelantan. Also, I have heard that the Kedah people have fled from Patani, that the Siamese army has reached the state of Jala<sup>11</sup> and that the state of Kedah has been conquered by Legor.<sup>12</sup> As to the truth of these statements, I would like you to send me reliable information.<sup>13</sup> Another thing, about my dispute with Tuan Besar of Kampong Laut, it has not yet been settled; as long as Tuan Besar of Kampong Laut goes on planning with his brothers to encircle me then I shall go on planning with my brothers to sally out and attack him. Well, with God's help, the people who were trying to encircle me have been smashed and I have completely destroyed Raja Chik's stockade.<sup>14</sup> So far, there has been no decisive action as regards Tuan Besar of Kampong Laut, and Tuan Long Ahmad, who is still fighting at Bukit against the Raja Muda and Engku Seri Mas.<sup>15</sup> We have captured all the territory on the other side of the river from the old mouth to the upper reaches, with the exception of Kampong Laut and Sungai Pinang. I merely write to let you know. End of letter. With good wishes and greetings.

Letter written on the 29th of Muharram, on Saturday, at five o'clock, A.H. 1255.<sup>16</sup>



He who trusts in God + the Raja of Kelantan + may God preserve his dominion, his good works, and his merits + son of the late A Luang Tan<sup>17</sup> A.H. 1254.<sup>18</sup>

10. Jambu was the chief town in the State of Jering (situated between the States of Patani and Saiburi).
11. Jala or Jalor (this latter spelling probably a graphic representation of the Patani pronunciation), the Patani State south of Nongchik and south-west of Patani. The modern Jala/Jalor (Siamese Yala) is about 10 miles west of the Kampong Jala of the period of our letters.
12. I.e. by Nakhon.
13. These statements were in fact all true.
14. At Kota (cf. *Shair Musoh Kelantan*, p. 58-59).
15. Engku Seri Mas appears to have been the leading commander on Senik's side. He is sometimes referred to as 'Engku Limbat' after the district of Limbat, adjoining Bukit (Marak).
16. Probably 14 April, 1839.



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The situation was in fact not quite so rosy as Senik had painted it. Downstream of Kota Bahru was still firmly under the control of Tuan Besar who continued his daily bombardments of Senik's positions. The defeated Raja Chik and his supporters were sent by sea to Bachok to make their way overland and reinforce Tuan Long Ahmad, still ensconced at Bukit.<sup>19</sup> And an attack on Banggul's position at Lambor made by Senik's adherents from Salor (under the command of Tuan Long Salléh) was unsuccessful.

Nevertheless, time was on Senik's side. Phaya Si Phiphath, the younger brother of Siam's most powerful minister, had arrived at Songkhla at the head of a large expeditionary force, and, in reply to Senik's pleas for help, despatched one of his staff, Luang Son Sáni, with a small Siamese mission, to Kelantan, in order to pacify the two factions.<sup>21</sup>

The mission was in fact too small to achieve any decisive result, but it showed that Siam was still interested in Kelantan and given time, might well intervene in force on Senik's behalf. Tuan Besar accordingly wrote to Phaya Si Phiphath's secretary, hinting that any influence the secretary could bring to bear upon his master in Tuan Besar's favour would not go unrewarded:

*Letter No. 3*

### O Deserving One

Seal to H(is) E(xcellency), the C(ommander) I(n) C(hief). I am writing to you about the matter of my dispute with the Raja of Kelantan concerning which I would like you to advise HE the CIC. I have communicated full details of the matter to HE the CIC and I entreat you to discuss the matter with him. Should God grant me good fortune, as the result of your counsel, I shall give you, every time the 'golden flowers' are sent, one tahlil of gold for your disposal. I rely upon you, next to HE it is upon you I rely. I shall keep in touch with you. I have nothing (to

17. 'A Luang Tan' (Senik's father), is usually referred to as Long Tan. The name 'Tan' is an unusual one. It is spelt 'Tan' in our letters but elsewhere sometimes spelt 'Tang' (Saad Shukri: KEL, p. 74 et seq.) It may perhaps be an abbreviated form of 'Atan' although this name is not particularly common. In the Kelantan dialect, final '-am', 'an' and '-ang' are pronounced alike and sometimes spelt alike (cf. 'Spelling of the Letters'). 'Tan' and 'Tang' could therefore represent 'Tam', the usual abbreviation of 'Hitam' — a common personal name. I would therefore suggest that just as 'Long Yusuf' (the name of Long Tan's brother) is abbreviated to 'Long Sup' (cf. Saad Shukri: KEL, p. 74), 'Long Hitam' is perhaps the canonic form of the name here abbreviated to 'Long Tan'.
18. The date of the seal probably refers to the date of Senik's becoming Ruler of Kelantan.
19. *Shair Musoh Kelantan*, p. 59-60.
20. *ibid.*, p. 54-57; Thiphakarawong: PKR, p. 194.
21. Thiphakarawong, PKR, p. 195; Prachum: KEL, p. 135.

## Kelantan During the Period Covered by the Letters

offer you) except one tahlil of gold, Malay (weight)<sup>22</sup> which I am entrusting to Enché 'Jid.<sup>23</sup> This is the gist of my letter. I will not prolong the letter. Written on Monday, the 7th day of the 7th month. End of letter. A.H. 1255.<sup>24</sup>

A tahlil of gold was not an unreasonable sum as a present, but just at that moment the stakes were rather high and it seems not unlikely that the recipient revealed its contents to his master,<sup>25</sup> thereby increasing the suspicion with which Tuan Besar was regarded by the Siamese. At all events, the letter seems to have had little effect in procuring for Tuan Besar and his party the 'favourable consideration' asked for.<sup>26</sup>

Tuan Besar was probably anxious to avoid any direct form of contact with the Siamese commanders for as long as possible, so that, he could go ahead concerting plans for the final assault on Senik and his adherents. Whether by bribery (as claimed by Senik)<sup>27</sup> or by force of personality, Tuan Besar appears to have come to some arrangement with Luang Son Sèni to ensure that the Siamese mission's reports on the situation in Kelantan should not give undue weight to Senik's accusations against him, and thus give Phaya Si Phiphath or Phaya Phéchaburi reason to intervene. He could not however guard against Senik communicating directly with the Siamese commanders, and was therefore compelled to keep up his diplomatic campaign (in which, he hoped, the Raja of Saiburi would play the main part) in order to discount in advance any accusations Senik might make.

It was at this stage that the Phaya of Phéchaburi, acting on the personal instructions of the CIC, sent another mission to Kelantan, with clear-cut orders

22. The 'tahlil of gold' referred to here and elsewhere probably means one tahlil's weight of gold-dust, folded up into a 'screw', and in this form referred to as a 'bungkal' (cf. Newbold: POL, vol. 1, p. 143). Gibson-Hill: CWE, p. 113 (quoting the *Singapore Chronicle*) shows that in 1834 "and for some time subsequently", the best Malay gold-dust (from Pahang) was worth 30 to 31½ Spanish dollars, while inferior types of Malay gold-dust were worth 26 to 30 Spanish dollars. The 'douceur' offered by Tuan Besar was therefore worth about 30 Spanish dollars (i.e. about £7-£8 sterling, cf. Cowan: PEN, p. 21).
23. This is probably a shortened form of the name '(Abdul Ma)'jid'. Enché 'Jid was apparently Tuan Besar's regular courier between Kelantan and points north (cf. Letters No. 4, No. 13).
24. Although the dating is incomplete (it is not stated whether it is the 7th day of the 'light' or 'dark' half of the month), the letter was probably written on 20/21 May, 1839.
25. Whether or not the CIC's secretary had already been 'got at' by Senik (cf. Letter No 10) it is difficult to believe that Tuan Besar had enough 'pull' for this (by no means lavish) offer to carry much weight with the secretary of one of the most important men in Siam. Moreover, the fact that a letter of such a confidential nature has survived until to-day to become a 'public record' rather suggests that it achieved this status pretty soon after its receipt.
26. See Letter No. 10.
27. See Letters No. 10 and No. 13.

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for both sides to stop fighting and dismantle their defences. In addition to the letter bearing the CIC's personal seal, the Phaya of Phéhaburi sent Tuan Besar a personal letter (by the hand of Enché' 'Jid').<sup>28</sup>

This evidence of Siamese concern obviously shook Tuan Besar. On the same day as the arrival of the second Siamese mission (June 9th) he wrote off in desperation to the Raja of Saiburi, asking him openly to use his influence to prevent Phaya Phéhaburi coming down into Kelantan:

*Letter No. 4*

Without the word of a lie

This completely sincere letter comes to you with the heartfelt prayers of Tuan Besar of Kampong Laut. Adorned with my hopes for your safety, through the compassion of the Lord, it is addressed to you, venerable uncle, the Raja of Saiburi, who through the merciful generosity of Almighty God have obtained honour, rank and fame, renowned amongst mankind created by Him who is exceedingly generous to the poor and needy and has great compassion upon all wanderers and outcasts. Your reputation for piety in matters both spiritual and temporal is spread abroad through all towns and hamlets and, as a result, you have achieved meritorious mention within the confines of space and time. Blessed are those who take shelter under His wing and carry out the tasks ordained by God in His Majesty, for there is no refuge and no strength except in God, both in this world and the next, amen, O Lord of the Helpers.

I am sending you this bit of paper, like a piece of dust blown about by the wind, the result of my lack of good fortune, to tell you that I would like to hear from you what the Siamese are doing and what their plans are, as I have heard rumours which say that the Siamese intend to come to Kelantan to help the ruling party. As to the truth or otherwise of these rumours, I beseech you, in the name of Almighty God, to let me have the real facts, because there is no one else I rely upon except you (next to God and the Prophet.) Written on Sunday, the 27th of Rabiulawal, in the year Ha,<sup>29</sup> A.H. 1255.<sup>30</sup>

As Shaikh M'-R-U-F A-L-K-R-KH-1<sup>31</sup> is my witness. O God, O God. End of letter.

Postscript: According to Enché' 'Jid, the Phaya of Phéhaburi is coming down into Saiburi in order to seize all the Chana' and Patani people who

28. See Letter No. 5.

29. This refers to the second of an eight-year cycle named after the letters of the Arabic alphabet (cf. Newbold; POL, vol. 2, p. 356, although according to Newbold, 'tahun ha' should fall in A.H. 1257, and not, as here, in A.H. 1255).

30. The date of the letter is 9th June, 1839.

31. Ma'ruf al-Karkhi, a celebrated Sufi 'saint' who died c. 815 A.D. in Baghdad where

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fled to Saiburi.<sup>32</sup> However, if you can manage to stop him coming, then I beg you to do so, do not let him proceed any further, because our people in Kelantan are extremely scared and if the Phaya of Phéhaburi comes down into Saiburi many of our Kelantan folk will run away, because the government party have been putting out such a lot of slanderous rumours. When the sailing-boat and junk arrived,<sup>33</sup> many of them ran away, about a hundred families in all.



He who trusts in Almighty God + Muhammad, Prime Minister of Kelantan + son of the late Ismail + may God preserve his dominion and his good works. A.H. 1253.<sup>34</sup>

Nevertheless, the second Siamese mission, although bearing letters signed with the CIC's impressive seal, still did not constitute an intervention in force, and if only Tuan Besar could speed up his plans for the combined assault upon, and liquidation of, Senik, the game might yet be won. He could not, of course, ignore the personal letters from the Siamese commanders, so on June 14th he wrote to Phaya Phéhaburi explaining that he had only just heard of the Phaya's arrival in Saiburi. Rather daringly, Tuan Besar intimated that things were coming to a pretty pass if an honest vassal of HM the King of Siam couldn't live his life in peace:

### Letter No. 5

#### The Saying is the Truth

Tuan Besar of Kampong Laut respectfully submits this letter before the feet of the HE Phaya Si Surén Chai, Phaya of Phéhaburi. I am writing to inform YE that the letter sent by Enché 'Jid and Enché Sipin(?)<sup>35</sup> has reached me safely and that I have understood fully all the details of the matters referred to by YE. In YE's letter, YE says that HE the CIC has told YE to proceed to Saiburi to investigate the matter

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his tomb has long been what in Malaya would be called a 'keramat'. Perhaps the best-known of his 'dicta' is one to the effect that love is not to be obtained from any human agency, but comes as a gift of God (ENC, under 'Ma'ruf al-Karkhi'). The use of the name here (and also in Letters No. 7 and No. 22) written in a rather esoteric fashion, probably shows Tuan Besar writing, to the Raja of Saiburi as 'one sufi to another', no doubt hoping to benefit from the association.

32. Although the Rulers of Chana' (the district south of Songkhla) and Patani had remained loyal to Siam, many of their subjects had undoubtedly joined in the recent revolt. Now that the revolt was virtually over, they would naturally try to escape towards the south, i.e. through Saiburi.
33. Presumably referring to the arrival that same day of Khun Yuththa Samat with despatches from the CIC.
34. As was the case with Tuan Long Ahmad's seal (cf. Letter No. 1), the date of "A.H. 1253" is probably that of Tuan Besar's appointment to the office of Prime Minister by Raja Banggul.
35. This is perhaps an error for 'Enché Rifin', i.e. Enché Arifin (cf. Letters No. 7 and 8, also *Shair Musoh Kelantan*, p. 89).

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of the prisoners who earlier joined Tuanku Muhammad Saad<sup>36</sup> of Kedah's revolt. Moreover YE remarks that YE has heard that Kelantan is divided into two factions and that if brother continues to fight against brother, YE will send word to HE the CIC, whereupon HE the CIC will descend upon Kelantan.

Amongst the other points dealt with in YE's letter, YE subsequently said that whatever I propose to do, I should send someone up to Saiburi to inform YE of my intentions. Now that I have had news that YE is in Saiburi I am writing to YE to inform YE that when YE's letter arrived, urging us to be reconciled and forbidding us to continue fighting brother against brother, I did just that, and ceased fire, but the Raja of Kelantan's side continued their bombardment, firing off shots every now and then. What I am saying is no lie – the envoy called Khun Chanok<sup>37</sup> was with me when we heard the shots, on Friday. Furthermore, I would like to inform YE that on the Thursday, the envoy who brought HE the CIC's letter went up to Bukit, calling upon Raja Changwang,<sup>38</sup> the Raja Muda and Tuan Long Senik Gagap to go down to Kota Baharu and calling upon my cousin Tuan Long Ahmad and all the chiefs with him, to go down to Kampong Laut, both parties to come down simultaneously. Luang Son Sèni took four of my men and four of the Raja of Kelantan's men, telling the Raja of Kelantan's men to keep an eye upon my side, while my men kept an eye upon the Raja of Kelantan's side, under the supervision of the Siamese envoy. So far however, the envoy has not returned yet. Another thing I must report to YE is that when it was heard that your troops had reached Saiburi, there was a great panic among the people of Kelantan, and in their fear, many people have fled without anyone knowing where to. In all there are about a hundred families who have fled, abandoning their houses, their rice-fields and their rice, because the Raja of Kelantan's side have spread the rumour that YE intends to seize all the population of Kampong Laut, including myself, and this is why so many of them have taken flight. I declare to YE that, if YE has any pity, favour or compassion for me, please have some regard for my brothers and myself,<sup>39</sup> do not take sides with the Raja of Kelantan, for the State of Kelantan is part of the territories of HIM the King (of Siam). If possible I would like some

36. For Tuanku Muhammad Saad's part in the Kedah revolt, see Vella: RAM, p. 71-72. A lengthier and rather more biased account of his activities is given by his contemporary Colonel Low. Low, who seems to have preferred Siamese to Malays, observed that his conduct during the revolt "was marked by the most cold-blooded cruelties and barbarities", not the least of which was his feat of coming unscathed out of the revolt "with property plundered from his countrymen in and out of Keddah to the amount of ten thousand dollars, a species of atrocity which was not imputed to the other belligerent chiefs." (Low: BRI, p. 375.)
37. The title is obviously 'khun' (the lowest of the five conferred titles), but the personal name is conjectural. The person referred to here may be identical with the 'Ché' 'Nut' of later letters.
38. i.e. Senik's elder brother, Tuan Kota, here referred to by his Thai title of 'ca:ngwa:ng' or 'Deputy (Ruler)'.  
39. It seems probable that the word "brothers" here is being used in the wider sense of "relations of the same age-group as one's brother."

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definite action to be taken to safeguard the position of my brothers and myself. If YE takes pity upon me, let me have audience with HM the King to inform HM as to the correct state of affairs as regards my brothers and myself. I have nothing to offer YE but one tahl of gold. End of letter. With good wishes and greetings. Written on Friday, the 2nd of Rabiulakhir, at twelve o'clock.<sup>40</sup>

Tuan Besar's plans were in fact nearing completion, and if only he could secure another week or two's respite, all might still be well. The arrival of the second Siamese mission appeared to have brought about a temporary lull in the fighting (although it is probable that the lull was not so much the result of the mission's presence, as the desire of both parties to avoid wasting men and ammunition in desultory skirmishes while building up strength for a showdown). During this lull, Tuan Besar obviously summoned the heads of the anti-Senik faction to a council-of-war, during which final plans were made for the proposed combined attack. In addition plans were laid for another form of attack—a diplomatic one—to be directed not only at the Phaya of Phéchaburi, but also at the Raja of Saiburi, who might well be able, if he were willing, to influence the Siamese commanders in Tuan Besar's favour. First of all Tuan Besar wrote to the Phaya of Phéchaburi (probably on June 18th). The letter was largely a repetition of his earlier letter and emphasised the damage being done to Kelantan's prosperity as a result of the abominable rumours being spread by the Senik faction that the Phaya was about to descend on the country. Well aware that the stakes were growing higher, Tuan Besar doubled the amount of gold sent as a present; in addition, perhaps reasoning that the way to man's heart lies (at least partly) through his stomach, Tuan Besar sent the Phaya a generous supply of betel-chewing ingredients:

### *Letter No. 6*

#### The Saying is the Truth

Tuan Besar of Kampong Laut respectfully submits this letter HE, the Phaya of Phéchaburi. I am writing to YE about Khun Layar and Khun In,<sup>41</sup> in company with Enché' Jid, going up to Bukit calling upon Raja Changwang, the Raja Muda and Tuan Long Nik Gagap to go down to Kota Baharu, and calling upon my brothers, named Tuan Long Ahmad, Raja Chik, Tuan Long Abdulrahman,<sup>42</sup> and the other chiefs allied to my brother,

40. 14th June, 1839.

41. Officials under Luang Son Seni. The name 'Layar' is conjectural; the other name seems to be the Thai "in(thr)", but it is not impossible that 'Khun In' is identical with 'Enché' (Arif)in' (such abbreviations being very common cf. 'Jid' (Majid), 'Deraman' (Abdulrahman) etc.

42. According to Abdullah: TRE, p. 12, this is the eldest son of Raja Banggul. It is clear that Tuan Besar is using the word "saudara" here in the sense of relations of the same age-group as himself.

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to go down to Kampong Laut, both sides to come down simultaneously. When Khun Layar, Khun In and Enché' Jid went up to Bukit to issue the above instructions, as soon as Khun Layar and Khun In arrived bearing the proclamation issued by HE the CIC, my brothers obeyed and came down from Bukit, on Saturday the 4th (of the month), proceeding as far as the nearer side of Titian Papan.<sup>43</sup> However, on Raja Changwang, the Raja Muda and Tuan Long Nik Gagap's side, not a man came down, so my brothers stopped by the nearer side of Titian Papan the whole day, until nightfall. Those who went on to Kampong Laut included Tuan Abdulrahman, Tuan Senik<sup>44</sup> of Sungai Pinang and Tuan Bulat.<sup>45</sup> Tuan Long Ahmad remained behind awaiting Raja Changwang, because neither Raja Changwang, nor the Raja Muda, nor Tuan Long Nik Gagap had yet come down. On Tuesday the 7th day of the eighth month, Luang Son Seni and Khun Wichit Watli, the Interpreter,<sup>46</sup> went up to Bukit summoning Raja Changwang, the Raja Muda and Tuan Long Nik Gagap to come down, as they had not yet done so. What I am telling YE is not mere slander as YE can find out from Khun In, — Khun In being YE's representative here. You will then learn how matters stand as regards myself and the Raja of Kelantan, and YE can then give HE the ever-victorious CIC the full details so that HE can know the rights and wrongs of the case. This is what I have to tell YE, in the hope of maintaining the friendly relationships that exist between us. End of letter. Good wishes and greetings. . . . . For YE's benefit, I must add that, in the last few days, the entire population of Kelantan has been in a state of panic, with many people running away without anyone knowing where to, abandoning their houses, the rice (-fields), their food and their cattle, because of the rumours, put about by the Raja of Kelantan's men, that YE is coming here to arrest the people from Kampong Laut, myself included. This is the reason so many people have run away. However I am sure YE is well aware of the situation. I have nothing in the way of a souvenir for YE except two tahil of gold, Malay weight, which insignificant as it is, I lay at YE's feet. Written on the night of Tuesday,<sup>47</sup> the 7th day of the eighth month in the year of the Pig, A.H. 1255.<sup>48</sup>

Postscript: I am also sending YE two hundred thirty bundles of betel-

43. Although I cannot locate it on the modern map the name 'Titian Papan' occurs in the account given by Abdullah: TRE, p. 13. Meaning, as it does, 'the wooden bridge' one should probably locate it at a likely crossing place of a river not too far from Bukit Marak.
44. According to Abdullah: TRE, p. 12, Tuan Senik of Sungai Pinang was a younger brother of Raja Chik.
45. Apparently the younger brother of Tuan Long Ahmad (ibid, p. 12).
46. Thiphakarawong: PKR, p. 195, confirms that Khun Wichit Watli was Luang Son Seni's interpreter.
47. One would normally translate 'malam thalatha' as "the eve of Tuesday", i.e. Monday, but the earlier reference in the letter to the visit to Bukit made on the Tuesday would seem to indicate the translation 'Tuesday night'.
48. The date is probably 18/19 June, 1839.

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leaves with four thousand areca-nuts and a basket of the usual ingredients,<sup>49</sup> and a pannier of tobacco, which I ask YE to accept as gifts from me.

On the same day, Tuan Besar wrote to his 'uncle' the Raja of Saiburi, a letter that is almost identical with that written to the Phaya of Phechaburi. Perhaps the fact that Saiburi was then swarming with Siamese troops made it unwise to be too frank in a letter that might be intercepted. Or perhaps Tuan Besar had begun to doubt (probably with good reason) whether the Raja of Saiburi could or would make any effort to assist the Banggul faction. However, as the most important Malay ruler to have assisted the Siamese, the Raja of Saiburi was the likeliest person to be able to influence them, and must therefore be courted assiduously.

### Letter No. 7

In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate

Greetings in the name of God, the Compassionate from your son the ignorant Tuan Besar of Kampong Laut, to be conveyed by God Almighty to my uncle the Raja of Saiburi. I am writing to you about the envoy from Singgora<sup>50</sup> who brought an official letter from HE the CIC instructing the Raja of Kelantan and myself to stop fighting. As soon as the CIC's letter arrived, I stopped fighting, dismantled all the heavy artillery in the stockade and ceased firing. The envoy who brought the letter went up to Bukit and called upon Raja Penambang,<sup>51</sup> the Raja Muda and Tuan Long Nik Gagap to come down to Kota Baharu, and calling upon my brothers Tuan Long Ahmad, Raja Chik, Tuan Long Abdulrahman and all the chiefs allied to my brothers, to go down to Kampong Laut, both sides to come down simultaneously. The envoy went up to Bukit and issued his instructions to the two sides, and on my brother's side, as soon as the envoy bearing the CIC's letter arrived, all the chiefs came down, on Saturday, the 3rd of Rabiulakhir, and went as far as the nearer side of Titian Papan. On Raja Penambang's side however, not a man came down so my brothers waited at the nearer side of Titian Papan all that day until nightfall, and still Raja Penambang's side hadn't come down. On my brothers' side, Tuan Long Abdulrahman, Tuan Senik of Sungaj Pinang and Tuan Bulat proceeded to go on to Kampong Laut, while my brother Tuan Long Ahmad stayed at Bukit waiting for Raja Penambang because Raja Penambang had not yet come down. On Tuesday, the 6th of Rabiulakhir, Luang Son Sèni and Enché' Arifin<sup>52</sup> went up to Bukit calling upon Raja Penambang (to come down) but so far he has not done so. All that I am telling you is no mere slander,

49. e.g. lime and gambier.

50. i.e. Songkhla, where the CIC had made his HQ.

51. Another title for Tuan Kota. Derived from the district of 'Penambang' (The Ferry) in Kota Bahru, held by Tuan Kota as a 'fief' (cf. Saad Shukri: KEL., p. 88, where Tuan Kota is called 'Long Nik Penambang').

52. See above, notes 37 and 46.



and if you would know the facts of the matter, you can ask Tuan Long In,<sup>53</sup> because Tuan Long In accompanied the envoy to Bukit. You can thus find out the true state of affairs as regards myself and the Raja of Kelantan, and inform HE the Phaya of Pechaburi and HE the CIC, so that HE the CIC can know the rights and wrongs of both parties. For there is no one I can rely upon to help and advise me except you, being ignorant, as I am, of Siamese ways and customs. I hope that you will always act as a father towards me, now and for ever. I have no little keepsake to send you except a Balinese sarong,<sup>54</sup> which I am offering you as a substitute for my presence. End of the letter. Written on the 7th of Rabiulakhir, on Tuesday, in the year of the Pig.<sup>55</sup> As Shaikh Ma'ruf A-L-K-R-KH-1<sup>56</sup> is my witness.



He who trusts in Almighty God, the Victorious + Muhammad, Prime Minister of Kelantan + son of the late Ismail + may God preserve his dominion and his good works + A.H. 1253.

Having written himself, Tuan Besar got his cousin Tuan Long Ahmad to join in the correspondence campaign, thoughtfully supplying him with the draft of his own letter, to ensure that the sentiments expressed should be identical.<sup>57</sup> Tuan Long Ahmad's letter ran:

*Letter No. 8*

O Deserving One

God is the Lord of the Heavens and the Earth, of the light and the dark, of majesty and honour; the highest praise together with peace (be upon . . . .) and his family among the Prophets, the most eminent and best of His servants, and the ornaments of the King of the Day of Judgement. Having completed praise of God the Merciful and Blessed of the Prophet — the last of the Prophets — adding as well wishes for the peace of the Almighty God, the Omniscient Ruler from your son Tuan Long Ahmad, who is at this moment in Kelantan, may the Lord who is forever with us convey this letter to the venerated and exalted presence of he who is my uncle, the Raja of Saiburi, who occupies the throne of Saiburi, ruling over the several districts of the State of Patani — may God prolong his life and preserve him and make Paradise his abode, verily every day and night bestow upon

53. This is apparently the person referred to earlier as Khun In. The use of the Malay title here perhaps strengthens the suggestion made in note 46.
54. The expression 'Kain Bali' is not given in Wilkinson: MED, but Skeat refers to a kain Bali tetegok' (a more expensive type of figured sarong), which had apparently gone out of fashion by the end of the 19th century, and it is perhaps this that is referred to here (see Skeat: CAM, p. 88).
55. Probably 18/19 June, 1839. The year of the Pig is the 12th of the Siamese twelve-year (animal) cycle.
56. See above (Letter No. 4).
57. Apart from the long exordium at the beginning of the letter and the substitution of the appropriate name(s), the letter is virtually identical with the previous one. The Arabic of the exordium is even more corrupt than usual and, as a result, some of the readings are conjectural.

him happiness and high rank up to the Day of Judgement of the Lord of both worlds.

To proceed, I am writing to you about the royal envoy from Singgora who brought the official letter from HE the CIC instructing the Raja of Kelantan and myself to stop fighting. As soon as the CIC's letter arrived, I stopped fighting, dismantled the heavy artillery in the stockade, and ceased firing. The envoy who brought the letter went up to Bukit and called upon Raja Penambang the Raja Muda and Tuan Long Nik Gagap to go down to Kota Baharu, at the same time calling upon my brothers Tuan Long Abdulrahman and Raja Chik and all the chiefs with them, to go down to Kampong Laut, both sides to come down simultaneously.

The royal envoy went up to Bukit and issued his instructions to the two sides, and on my brother's side, as soon as the envoy bearing the CIC's letter arrived, all my brothers and myself duly came down, on Saturday the 3rd of Rabiulakhir, going as far as the nearer side of Titian Papan. On Raja Penambang's side however, not a man came down, so we waited at the nearer side of Titian Papan the whole day until nightfall, and still none of Raja Penambang's men had come down. On my brothers' side, Tuan Long Abdulrahman, Tuan Senik of Sungai Pinang and Tuan Bulat proceeded on to Kampong Laut, but I myself did not come down, but stayed waiting for Raja Penambang, who had still not come down. On Tuesday, the 6th of Rabiulakhir, Luang Son Sény and Enché' Arifin went up to Bukit, calling upon Raja Penambang (to come down) but so far he had not done so. All that I am telling you is not just slander, and if you would know the facts of the matter, you can ask Tuan Long In because Tuan Long In accompanied the Siamese envoy to Bukit. You can thus find out the true state of affairs, as between the Raja of Kelantan and myself and can give full details to the Phaya of Phéchéaburi and to HE the CIC so that HE the CIC can know the rights and wrongs of both parties. As for me, there is no one else I can rely upon except you to help and advise me, because I am ignorant of Siamese ways and customs and cannot speak Siamese, so I hope that you will act as a father on my behalf, both now and for ever. I have no token or gift to send you except my prayers every day and night. Written on the 7th of Rabiulakhir, on Tuesday, in the year of the Pig.<sup>58</sup> End.

Keeping up the pressure, Tuan Besar roped in yet another member of the Banggul faction, and, on the same day, Tuan Bulat wrote:<sup>59</sup>

*Letter No. 9*

The Saying is the Truth

Praise be to God, guardian of the heavens and the earth, verily He

58. Probably 18/19 June, 1839.

59. Again, the exordium contains a good deal of indifferent Arabic. Not only that, the Malay style is repetitive (sometimes to the point of incoherence) and often pompous (cf. the references to the writer himself as '*paduka anakauda*' - a solecism of which the much more powerful Tuan Besar and Sultan Senik are never guilty).

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is God with power over all. Prayer and peace to thy Prophet our Lord Muhammad and to his family and to all his companions. Having concluded our eulogy of God, whose (divine) attribute is compassion, and having prayed for the last of the prophets, I continue by offering greetings adorned by (the name of) Him who provides sustenance and by a multitude of blessings, from your son Tuan Bulat, to be conveyed by God Almighty on His heavenly throne, to the presence of my father, the Raja of Saiburi, versed in divine wisdom and most discreet, to whom has been granted both rank and position, and who is like the purest draughts of water, amen O Lord of both Worlds, and again amen.

I am writing to tell you all about affairs in Kelantan, to inform you how matters stand between the Raja of Kelantan and my brothers. I shall supply you with full details for your consideration. As far as I am concerned there is no one else except you that I rely upon, next to God and His Prophet, no one but you, who have obtained honoured rank and position and an exalted status and have deserved well of all men, like the most fragrant musk, and who, like some great physician can heal all sicknesses and bring cooling comfort to the most infected of sores. As regards the letter from the Siamese intended to put an end to the fighting in Kelantan, it has resulted in both sides ceasing fire but continuing to occupy the positions they hold. Your son Tuan Besar of Kampong Laut is on the other side of the river, while Tuan Long Ahmad and myself occupy Bukit basing ourselves upon the river, in much the same way as the Kampong Laut (position) is to the Raja of Kelantan.<sup>60</sup> If anything serious should happen, please help us to the best of your ability because I rely upon you like a father, in this world and the next. End of letter. With good wishes and greetings. Letter written on the 7th of the month, on Tuesday, A.H. 1253.<sup>61</sup>

Postscript: I am sending you a hundred coconuts and a thousand arecanuts. End of letter.

Under the cover of this flood of correspondence, aimed at delaying any Siamese intervention in force, Tuan Besar's plans appeared to be running smoothly. Although both sides had more or less ceased fire after the arrival of Luang Son Sèni's mission, none of the stockades appear to have been dismantled and with Tuan Besar's party well dug in, both in front of Kota Baharu, (from Kampong Laut), as well as behind it (Tuan Long Ahmad and company, at Bukit), and with Raja Banggul still hovering in the wings, Senik — his earlier elation now dissipated — obviously had good cause for anxiety. Alarmed at the possible success of Tuan Besar's correspondence campaign, Senik wrote to the Siamese commanders begging them to send help to him at once. To the Phaya of Phéhaburi he wrote:

60. The meaning here is not absolutely certain.

61. This must be an error for A.H. 1255 (cf. Letter No. 1.). The date is probably 18/19 June, 1839.

## O Deserving One

This letter is from Phaya Phiphit Phakdi Seri Sultan Muhammad Ratna Nuchit Santi Sunthon Boworo Wongso, Phaya of Kelantan, to HE the Phaya of Phéchanguri. When Ché' Long<sup>62</sup> came back from Singgora, he had instructions from you to tell me that if Tuan Besar and Tuan Long Ahmad did not comply (with the orders given in the letter), I was to let you know. As matters stand at present, Tuan Besar and Tuan Long Ahmad are not complying with the instructions given in your letter; the stockade built to encircle me in the east has not been demolished, and as for all the chiefs, none of them has withdrawn towards the west, and the mouth of the river is still blocked. This is what I have told Ché' Umar<sup>63</sup> to report to you. If you feel any pity for me, please help me at once, for I rely upon you completely, the hopes I pin upon you are higher than the highest mountain. I will try to find something to offer you, but there is no way for a boat to get out, except perhaps one small stream which Ché' Umar might be able to use to make his escape undiscovered. I shall endeavour to send you four ounces of gold dust, Malay weight,<sup>64</sup> as a small gift you might find some use for. Another thing I have to tell you is that Luang Son Séri, the Siamese officer and Tuan Long In are siding with Tuan Besar and Tuan Long Ahmad; when I and my party try to say anything, they won't listen. They have come here, not in the interests of the State, but seeking their own interest in the shape of women and money; in the two months they have been here they have come to see me only three or four times. As for Tuan Besar and Tuan Long Ahmad, what they want to do is to finish off my three brothers and myself. The entire population is suffering great hardships, their wives and daughters are being seized and forced to get married to (the people on Tuan Besar's side), while the Siamese and the Buddhist monks have had their yellow robes torn off their backs and ripped to pieces, it's really shocking how they've treated the Buddhist monks. If you have any compassion for me and my three brothers, please come to our assistance at once, because Tuan Besar and Tuan Long Ahmad are not keeping to what was laid down in the letter bearing HE the CIC's seal — this is what I have to report to you. In addition, I asked Luang Son Séri and Khun Wichit Wathi whether Tuan Besar's side intended to abide by the instructions in HE the CIC's letter or not, whereupon Luang Son Séri and Khun Wichit Wathi replied that if Tuan Long Ahmad's side didn't dismantle their stockade, then Tuan Besar's men wouldn't dismantle Tuan Besar's stockade. And the river mouth

62. This is no doubt the same as the "Tuan Long" mentioned in the *Shair Musoh Kelantan*, p. 88, as being sent down from Jakang (in Saiburi) to Kelantan on a later occasion. Perhaps one of the Raja of Saiburi's regular couriers.

63. Apparently one of Senik's regular couriers (cf. Letter No. 14 and Letter No. 17).

64. One notices that the 'stakes' are being literally doubled and re-doubled. On June 14, Tuan Besar had sent the Phaya one tahl of gold, but in his letter of the 18/19th June, he had doubled it to two tahl. Now, two days later, Senik has redoubled to four tahl.

## The Civil War in Kelantan

is still not open, so that even if one tried one couldn't send any food to the envoy, and we are all in great distress. Another thing, I have heard that Tuan Besar has sent you a letter in which he says that he has demolished his stockade. Well, when your man arrived, I told him to go and have a look, and, so far from demolishing it, he had strengthened it even further, so please assist us as speedily as possible by sending about five hundred men to stop his aggression. If your help should arrive too late the worst might befall me, hence my extreme anxiety. Another thing, the reason I have been rather a long time in writing to you is because I was unable to obtain detailed information. If I send you a letter, this is tantamount to my giving you a personal assurance and if you were then to send someone to see what was going on and it should not be as I described, this would mean that I would have lied to you, and of course it would never do for me to lie to you. Another thing, after the Siamese officer Khun Yuththa Samat,<sup>65</sup> Khun Raja<sup>66</sup> (and) the Interpreter Officer returned from Bukit, Luang Son Sèni and Khun Wichit Wathi went there. They told me personally that they were going there to issue instructions to Tuan Long Ahmad and his men, and to Raja Chik and his men, to come down from Bukit and withdraw towards the west after demolishing their stockade, in accordance with the instructions given in HE the CIC's letter brought by Khun Yuththa Samat. Luang Son Sèni and Khun Wichit Wathi had scarcely arrived at Bukit when they were on their way back here, because Tuan Long Ahmad had bribed Luang Son Sèni and Khun Wichit Wathi with money, so they returned without the stockade being demolished. This is why the matter may drag on indefinitely because both Luang Son Sèni and Khun Wichit Wathi are not impartial, as Luang Thiph Akson<sup>67</sup> can inform HE the CIC. If you have any pity or compassion upon me, allow me not to have anything to do with Luang Son Sèni, Khun Wichit Wathi, and the Siamese officer because they haven't come here to look after the interests of HE and the interests of Kelantan, they've come here solely to make something for themselves.

Letter written in the eighth month, on the eighth day of the waxing moon,<sup>68</sup> in the year of the pig, on Thursday, A.H. 1255.<sup>69</sup>



He who trusts in God + the Raja of Kelantan + may God preserve his dominion, his good works and his merits + the son of the late A Luang Tan + A.H. 1254.

65. Khun Yuththa Samat (the last word is a conjecture) I take to be bearer of the CIC's letter.
66. Probably another official of Luang Son Sèni's earlier mission.
67. This is the personal title-cum-name of the CIC's secretary, see Letter No. 3. It is rather piquant to find Senik here proposing as an impartial observer, the same man whom, less than a month ago, Tuan Besar had done his best to bribe. Perhaps Senik's offers were more attractive; the fact that he appears here to rely on the Secretary's testimony seems sufficient evidence of the failure of Tuan Besar's attempts.
68. I.e. the first or 'waxing' half of the month.
69. Probably 20th June, 1839.

## Kelantan During the Period Covered by the Letters

On the same day (June 20th) Senik wrote to the CIC of the main Siamese army. He complained on Tuan Besar's failure to dismantle his defences, prophesying that, unless the Siamese intervened, an attack would be made upon the Senik faction at any moment. Perhaps worried at the effect that Tuan Besar's correspondence campaign was having, Senik felt it necessary to go into some detail to defend himself from the charges brought against him by Tuan Besar.

*Letter No. 11*

### O Deserving One

Letter from your servant Phaya Phiphit Phakdi Seri Sultan Muhammad Ratna Nuchit Santi Sunthon Boworo Wongso Phaya of Kelantan, together with Phaya Sunthon Thibodi Seri Sultan Déwa Maharaja Phaya Changwang, to A Luang Thiph Akson, Clerk of the Seal, who is requested to be kind enough to lay it before the feet of HE the most exalted CIC, the most noble. I write to say that the letters graciously sent to me, by the hand of Khun Yuththa Samat, two in Malay and two in Thai, i.e. four letters in all, reached me on Sunday, in the seventh month, on the twelfth of the dark<sup>70</sup> (half), and that I have fully understood the details of all matters dealt with in the letters, viz. forbidding me to continue fighting, and saying that if anyone refused to comply with HE's instructions, and continued the fighting HE would lead his army down into Kelantan. The very same day that I received these letters I issued orders for a cease-fire on my side, ordering my men not to attack in any locality. Luang Son Sèni, Khun Wichit Wathi and Khun Yuththa Samat asked me whether I intended to comply with the instructions or not, and I told them that my side would all comply with the instructions. Thereupon Luang Son Sèni told me that if that was the case, I should dismantle my defences, moreover that Tuan Long Ahmad and Raja Chik should come down (from Bukit) at the same time as Phaya Changwang came down. I said that as far as I was concerned, I had no objections, although in the CIC's letter to me there were no instructions given for the dismantling of my stockade or for our side to come down from Bukit with the other side. However that was what Luang Son Sèni said, so I duly obeyed, being anxious not to offend HE. Luang Son Sèni told Khun Raja, Enché<sup>71</sup> Jid and Luang In, together with four of my men, to go up to demolish the stockade and arrest Tuan Long Ahmad and his men and Raja Chik's men who were holding the stockade against Phaya Changwang and thus investing my position (at Kota Baharu) from behind. As regards my side, Luang Son Sèni told Khun Yuththa Samat, the Officer<sup>71</sup> and Phakdi,

70. i.e. the last half or 'waning' of the moon/month. The date referred to is probably 9th June, 1839.

71. I am not certain whether this phrase is in apposition to the preceding 'Khun Yuththa Samat'. It is just barely possible that the 'dan' here is not the Malay conjunction, but the Thai "da:n" - customs (post) - and that the whole phrase might mean 'The Customs Officer.'

the Interpreter-Officer, to go and tell Phaya Changwang to order his men to come down, at the same time charging Phaya Changwang to demolish his stockade. Phaya Changwang said that as far as his side were concerned, he had no objection, provided that Tuan Long Ahmad and all his men would come down and withdraw towards the west, at the same time demolishing their stockade in accordance with the instructions issued by HE and the CIC. Phaya Changwang thereupon demolished his stockade and went down from Bukit in accordance with these instructions. The following day, when Tuan Long Ahmad, Raja Chik and their party were supposed to come down, only thirteen of them descended<sup>72</sup>, the rest remaining with their men, guarding their defence line. Moreover, as regards these defences, none of them have been demolished, as was ordered in the CIC's letter; Tuan Long Ahmad, Tuan Long Ahmad's adherents and Raja Chik have not demolished their stockades and refuse to come down. Subsequently Khun Raja came to report to Khun Yuththa Samat, the Interpreter-Officer Phakdi, and Phaya Changwang that he had ordered Tuan Long Ahmad to demolish his defences, but that Tuan Long Ahmad had refused to do so. While all the arguing about the instructions was going on, Tuan Long Ahmad's men threw up two more stockades, and strengthened their outer defences. I told Khun Yuththa Samat to go and see for himself, but even if Khun Yuththa Samat sees it and reports back he won't be believed – these people won't acknowledge what is going on<sup>73</sup>. On the occasion when HE the Chauphaya of Legor<sup>74</sup> sent Nai Sang (?) and Ché' Nut<sup>75</sup> with letters ordering us to stop (fighting), Tuan Besar attacked and, together with Tuan Long Ali<sup>76</sup>, seized the mouth of the (Kelantan) river. This is what makes me feel so distressed because whatever I or my side report to Luang Son Sèni, the Officer, he won't listen to it. When Luang Son Sèni, brought HE the CIC's letter with its instructions, while Luang Son Sèni, was giving orders that these instructions must be carried out, I complied with these instructions, but Tuan Besar and Tuan Long Ahmad proceeded to attack Serdang<sup>77</sup>, while Tuan Tengah, Raja Banggul's son, attacked and took Labok<sup>78</sup>. I reported this to Luang Son Sèni but he took no steps to write to HE to inform HE of what had happened, and this is why my side is so upset. Afterwards, when Luang Phithak<sup>79</sup> and Khun Wichit Wathi came with instructions to stop (fighting).

72. cf. Letter No. 6. etc.

73. This is probably another dig at Luang Son Sèni.

74. The 'Chauphaya of Legor' would be the late Margrave, who had just died (in May, 1839, see Thiphakarawong: PKR p. 196).

75. The *Shair Musoh Kelantan*, p. 28, mentions a 'Nai Sang' as being sent from Nakhon, together with Luang Thiph Ob (see below), to stop the earlier fighting between Banggul and the Senik brothers. The individual described as 'Ché' Nut' is perhaps the 'Khun Chanok' (or Letter No. 5) but on the other hand may be a Kelantanese whose unabbreviated name would be 'Ché' Endut'.

76. The wording of Letter No. 12 suggests that Tuan Long Ali was a cousin of Tuan Besar.

77. About 10 miles south of Tumpat.

78. About 20 miles south of Kota B(h)aru.

79. Luang Phithak, who presumably accompanied the mission headed by Luang Son Sèni and subsequently went back to Songkhla to report to Phaya Si Phiphath.

## Kelantan During the Period Covered by the Letters

and my side duly came down from Bukit, that very same night Tuan Besar's side bombarded all my stockades, and attacked Pulai Chondong<sup>80</sup> and Lundang Paku<sup>81</sup>, two places in all. I told Luang Son Sèni and Khun Wichit Wathi and Luang Phithak, but when Luang Phithak went back, Luang Son Sèni did not inform HE of Tuan Besar's actions. His handling of affairs is biased, and he does not deal with matters in an impartial fashion. Another thing, in the official letter, it says that when the Raja Muda came back from Bangkok<sup>82</sup> he seized by force the house belonging to Tuan Besar's younger brother. I'll tell you the true facts of the matter. Last year, when I was fighting with Raja Banggul, Raja Chik was on my side, fighting against Tuan Lebai, Raja Banggul's son. When Raja Banggul fled, Tuan Lebai fled too, going to stay in Jakang<sup>83</sup>, so Raja Chik seized Raja Banggul's house. When the Raja Muda came back from Siam, some friends of Raja Banggul burnt down the Raja Muda's house, so that he had nowhere to stay. The Raja Muda asked Phaya Changwang would he kindly buy Raja Banggul's house from Raja Chik, so Phaya Changwang bought two of Raja Banggul's houses from Raja Chik, Raja Chik selling them for \$110.00, whereupon the Raja Muda took possession of the houses; it wasn't a matter of the Raja Muda seizing property by force belonging to Tengku Besar's younger brother, far from it. And another thing, about the affair of Tengku Besar's rice<sup>84</sup>. Phaya Changwang and I had it proclaimed<sup>85</sup> throughout the town, at regular intervals, that no one was to buy rice from (foreign) Malays or Chinese, but was to buy Tengku Besar's rice, until it was all bought up. Kapitan Po Ta, Dato' Cha Kang, Kapitan Chi, Kapitan Chua, Kapitan Beng<sup>86</sup> and two Chinese clerks went to collect Tun Besar's rice and sell it, although the money for the rice has not all been paid yet. As for the rice that remained in the ship, Tengku Besar told Dato' Cha Kang that he wanted to keep it for his own use and not sell it. Another thing, about Tengku Besar saying that Tengku Seri Indera<sup>87</sup> had seized Tengku Besar's rice-fields<sup>88</sup>. Now these rice-fields originally belonged to my father, the Temenggong and he used to lease them out to the people at the rate of a hundred gantang for

80. About 18 miles south of Kota B(h)aru.

81. Some 10 miles south of Kota B(h)aru.

82. Literally, 'from the mainland'.

83. In Saiburi, apparently upstream of Narathiwath (cf. *Shair Musoh Kelantan*, p. 27, etc.)

84. Tuan Besar had complained to the Siamese that Senik had prevented him from selling in Kelantan the rice he had brought back with him from Bangkok (Prachum: KEL, p. 134-135).

85. By beating a gong to attract attention, apparently the normal way to make public announcements in the Malay states (cf. Winstedt: KED, p. 22, p. 30).

86. The 'Kapitan' would be the Chinese 'Headmen'. The names of the Headmen have a distinctly Hokkien sound, as, apparently, was the case at the end of the 18th century (cf. Tweedie: CHI, p. 218; Wang: CHI, p. 34) and as is largely the case to-day.

87. i.e. Tuan Senik Gagap, Senik's less forceful elder brother.

88. This is another of Tuan Besar's grievances that is recorded in the *Siamese Chronicle of Kelantan* (Prachum: KEL, p. 134).



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every thousand gantang (produced)<sup>89</sup>, and this was why Tengku Seri Indera took the rice-fields, as they belonged to our father, only part of them belonging to Raja Banggul; it was not a case of Tengku Seri Indera seizing Tengku Besar's land, far from it. And as to the matter of the stockades, Tuan Besar's side threw up stockades and started shooting at me first, while Tuan Long Ahmad was bidden by Tengku Besar to occupy Bukit, and Raja Banggul, to advance on to Lam(b)or<sup>90</sup>. Tengku Besar bombarded us for five days, doing considerable damage to the houses of my friends, before I ordered my men to shoot back. But if HE would know the full facts of the matter, HE can call Luang Thiph Ob, Luang Chai Phon Phak,<sup>91</sup> Ché' Nut, who have come here, and Enché' Sulaiman<sup>92</sup>, who brought the former letter, and, of those stationed in Kelantan, the Resident Minister (and?) Luang Seri Paduka<sup>93</sup>, besides all the Chinese and Malays (here) know that my brothers and I have not violated any of the instructions of HM the King when he appointed me as ruler, by spurning members of my family, on the contrary. In fact I was making plans to have Tengku Besar appointed as Bendahara and Tuan Long Deraman<sup>94</sup> appointed as Temenggong, at the same time taking steps to have the Raja Muda and Engku Seri Mas take troops to the help of Kedah<sup>95</sup> after the receipt of my official letter of appointment when Tuan Long Ahmad and Tengku Besar, after consultation with Raja Chik set about gathering together forces in the vicinity of Bukit in order to dispose of me. Subsequently, after I had discovered what was going on, I told my friends to go and arrest the men, and they succeeded in capturing

89. In other words, the Temenggong obtained ten per cent interest. To receive interest on loans was (and by some strict Muslims in Malaya, still is) regarded as committing the sin of usury. The rate of interest was therefore often 'disguised' by stating the interest in terms of so much produce to be given as a 'gift' by the lessee to the lessor.
90. Probably Lambor, about 5 miles due west of Kota B(h)aru.
91. These two are mentioned in the SMK, p. 13, p. 17, as being sent from Nakhon to investigate affairs in Kelantan after the death of Sultan Muhammad I in 1837. Luang Thiph Ob was sent down again later to stop the fighting between Banggul and the Senik brothers (Shair Musoh Kelantan, p. 28). Luang Chai Phon Phak apparently headed the mission from Nakhon that brought official Siamese recognition for Senik as Phaya (Ruler) of Kelantan. (Prachum: KEL, p. 135).
92. Apparently an official in the service of Nakhon (cf. Letter No. 13).
93. The title of the first of these officials reads "r-t m-n t-a". The first part of which may be the Thai "rath(a)" (state) and the remainder I take to be the (Kelantanese) spelling of the Arabic letters 'mim' (M) and 'ta' (T). The whole, I read as 'rat mim ta', the Thai-Malay partly abbreviated form of the Thai "rathamntri:" (minister, councillor), a word that is very frequently abbreviated in Thai (cf. Haas: VOC, p. 470; WRI, p. 95). The official concerned had been in Kelantan for some time (Shair Musoh Kelantan, p. 24, represents him as having been there before the expulsion of Raja Banggul) and perhaps acted as a sort of Siamese 'Resident Commissioner' for Kelantan. Luang Seri Paduka was apparently not a Siamese but a local man (he is called Ché' Ali by both the Shair Musoh Kelantan, p. 24 and Prachum: KEL, p. 13) at least part of whose duties seem to have consisted of keeping an eye on the situation in Kelantan and reporting to the Siamese authorities (cf. Letter No. 289a, in the Bibliographical Details in Part 2).
94. i.e. Tuan Long Abdulrahman.
95. i.e. to the help of the Siamese ruler of Kedah, trying to put down the Kedah Malays.

five men. When interrogated, the men said that Tuan Long Ahmad and Raja Chik had told them to go and conscript everybody, whereupon I told my men to go and ask Raja Chik and Tuan Besar (all about it), but Tuan Besar and Raja Chik denied the story, so I had the prisoners executed. Later on, Tuan Besar, Tuan Long Ahmad, Raja Chik and Raja Banggul laid plans for the present action. Luang Thiph Ob and Luan Chai Phon Phak know quite well all the details of these matters. And if there is any pity or compassion for my worthless self from HE, I beg HE, with the deepest and humblest apologies for my temerity, rather than allow Luang Son Sèni to have jurisdiction in matters affecting Kelantan, please take pity upon me and allow me to have someone else, who is fair and impartial and who does not take sides, but remains impartial, such as the Interpreter-Officer, Phakdi. As for Luang Son Sèni, the Siamese officer and Khun In, I would rather have nothing to do with these three because they are not impartial. Of course, I have only recently been appointed as a vassal (of Siam) and I am ignorant of the correct forms and usages, so that if I have committed any error or made mistakes I ask a thousand pardons for my brothers and myself. We all very much rely upon HE who is our refuge and our help; there is no one else upon whom we rely – the highest mountain is not so high as the hopes we pin upon HE. Another matter mentioned in HE's letter, the mouth of the river is still not open so that, with the best will in the world, we are unable to send food to the royal officials, and the entire population is in great distress, as it is impossible for them to get out and obtain food, all supplies of which have now been completely exhausted. Moreover, amongst my subjects in (the areas occupied by) Tuan Besar, both Siamese and Malays, in some cases the husband is with me and the wife is with Tengku Besar and Tuan Long Ahmad, having been seized and fined, some of them five dollars, some forty dollars, some fifty dollars, and some a hundred dollars, while people's daughters have been seized and forced to take a husband. Even the Buddhist monks have had their yellow robes seized and burnt to pieces, this has happened to a good many of them. And cattle have been seized and sold off to Trengganu and Besut people<sup>96</sup>, resulting in great damage being caused to Kelantan's prosperity. For some time now I have wanted to write to HE, but Luang Son Sèni would not allow me, and this is why it is only now that I am sending HE details of what has gone on. I would have done so before, but I was most anxious lest HE should think I was lying. For information about the matter, HE can ask Khun Yuththa Samat as the Siamese here have themselves told him about it. Another thing, at this moment, Tuan Besar has completed his plans, in concert with Tuan Long Ahmad, for their troops to concentrate in a certain locality. If a (Siamese) expedition arrives, they will make their escape by sea, and all the boats belonging to their chiefs have been collected

96. In view of the former relationship between Trengganu and Kelantan one can well imagine that Trengganu was by no means unwilling to profit at Kelantan's expense. In the case of Besut, there may have been actual collusion with the anti-Senk faction, for Kuala Semerak, Raja Banggul's 'hide-out' (cf. Letter No. 15 and Letter No. 24) is less than four miles from Kuala Besut.

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in readiness, moreover, Raja Banggul has come to Kelantan with a fleet of eight boats. This is what I have to report.

Letter written in the 8th month, on the 8th day of the light (half), on Thursday, in the year of the pig, A.H. 1255.<sup>97</sup>

SEAL

He who trusts in God + the Raja of Kelantan + may God preserve his dominion, his good works and his merits + the son of the late A Luang Tan + A.H. 1254.

In seizing powers from Banggul, Senik had probably been secure in the knowledge that, if necessary, his protector, the Governor of Nakhon, would assist him, not only in Kelantan but also in Bangkok. True, the anti-Senik group had chosen for their 'come-back' the time when the Governor was too busy with Kedah and Patani to be able to give Senik any military assistance but provided Senik could hold out, he might reasonably hope that, with the Kedah revolt crushed, the Governor would soon be able to come to his assistance in force. Just when this moment appeared to be near however, in May 1839, the Governor died so that when Siamese assistance did look like becoming available to him, it had to be sought, not from his friend and protector, but from Bangkok Siamese such as Phaya Si Phiphath and Phaya Phéchaburi, neither of whom Senik knew well enough to be able to count upon their being committed to his cause. This probably explains the note of anxiety in Senik's last two letters, and why he found it necessary to refute Tuan Besar's claims at such length. Senik was genuinely worried, and what probably worried him was the prospect, not of Siamese *partiality* (which had hitherto been his support), but Siamese *impartiality*.

For, in his official correspondence at least, the Phaya of Phéchaburi does seem to have acted with commendable impartiality. On the same day that Senik sent off his lengthy letter of self-justification, a small Siamese mission (under the command of Luang Phakdi Raja) arrived in Kelantan<sup>98</sup>, bearing despatches from the Phaya (and also from the Raja of Saiburi). The despatches (to the heads of both factions) reiterated the instructions given previously, viz. that both sides should scrupulously observe the CIC's orders for a cease-fire, and should demolish their fortifications without delay. In addition, it was suggested that the leaders of both factions should come up to see the Siamese commanders in the Patani area and argue their case in person<sup>99</sup>.

97. Probably 19/20 June, 1839.

98. For the arrival of the mission, see Letter No. 14.

99. That such were the Phaya's instructions to Tuan Besar is clear from Letter No. 21 and Letter No. 22. As far as Senik is concerned, it is true that the next letter from him to the Phaya that has survived (Letter No. 12) contains no reference to such instructions, but this particular letter is obviously written in considerable agitation (to report an imminent attack upon him). According to the (usually reliable) *Shair Musoh Kelantan* p. 88, Phaya Phéchaburi's letter to Senik said that:

## Kelantan During the Period Covered by the Letters

This invitation — in the case of Tuan Besar, perhaps 'summons' would be the right word<sup>100</sup> — was refused by all parties concerned, for the Kelantan leaders could ill afford to be absent from the State at a moment when the crisis was obviously coming to a head. Tuan Besar wrote to the Phaya:

### *Letter No. 12*

In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate

Letter from Tuan Besar of Kampong Laut to HE Phaya Si Surén Chai Phaya of Phéchéburi. I am writing to tell YE that as regards the letter YE sent me, it has reached me safely and I have fully understood all the points dealt with in it. Moreover, in YE's letter it says that if I would like to do my duty to HM the King, YE would like me to come up to Saiburi and meet YE, so that YE can report to HE the CIC, and that I am not to be mistrustful or suspicious in any way, so runs the letter. I am writing to tell YE that I have never been the slightest bit mistrustful or suspicious and that I am absolutely dependent upon YE. However just at present I hope YE will excuse me but the population of Kelantan is in such a turmoil that if I leave, the Kelantan people will run away. In addition I have to report to YE that when YE's letter arrived, I ceased fire and dismantled all the heavy artillery in my stockade, at the same time removing all the stakes (blocking) the river — this is what I have to tell YE. And moreover I must tell YE that I have never at any time intended to dispose of the Raja of Kelantan's party, and I can say now that if ever I attack the Raja of Kelantan's party again, in defiance of the orders issued by YE, then I am ready to receive any (punishment) YE may think fit. Before, the reason I quarrelled with the Raja of Kelantan was because I was unable to bear what the Raja of Kelantan was doing to me, because the Raja of Kelantan was acting in a manner very different from when the late Raja was alive — this is what made me quarrel with him. As regards my offence in quarrelling with the Raja

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"Jikalau ada kira bichara  
hendaklah pergi kenegeri Singgora"  
(were there matters he would argue,  
to Singgora he should go)

and that

"Surat dibalas pergi dan mari  
Raja Kelantan dengan Paya Penchaburi  
mengatakan hendak mengadap sendiri  
habis bulan berganti hari."  
(Thus did they exchange despatches  
Kelantan's ruler with Phaya Phéchéburi,  
saying he would attend in person  
on a later day and month.)

Moreover the Raja of Saiburi, whose letters seem to have done little more than repeat the instructions issued by the Siamese commanders told not only Tuan Besar (cf. Letter No. 18 and Letter No. 22) and Raja Banggul (cf. Letter No. 15) to come to Patani, but also Senik as well (cf. Letter No. 20).

100. This is the word used by Tuan Besar himself — "panggil" (see Letter No. 21). It seems quite likely that whereas the Siamese would probably 'invite' Senik, they would 'summon' Tuan Besar.

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of Kelantan, of this I must of course plead guilty and I place myself entirely at the disposal of HE the CIC, but I must insist that I have never at any time even entertained the idea of acting disloyally towards HM the King, at no time did the thought ever so much as cross my mind of acting disloyally towards HM the King. I ask YE, with all due respect, if YE desires to continue to regard me as a loyal vassal, would YE please take steps to ensure that the entire population of the country can carry on producing the rice for them to eat, so that I can collect the revenue from them and present it to HM the King. And if YE has any pity or compassion or grace or favour for me and my brothers, I would ask YE (to confirm) my brothers in the land apportioned out to them by the late ruler. For example, Tuan Long Ali who occupies the land at the river mouth opposite Tikat;<sup>101</sup> this land the late ruler granted to Tuan Long Ali's father, and when the father died, the late ruler duly granted it to Tuan Long Ali. As regards the cloth YE sent me, I shall put it away and keep it. I have no present for YE but am sending a keris valued at 25 dollars. As regards the hilt of the keris I have not had this made yet, but will await YE's instructions as to what shape you would like. End of letter. With good wishes and greetings. Written on Wednesday, the 15th of the eighth Buddhist month, in the year of the pig.<sup>102</sup>

Although long-term prospects of Siamese help for him looked good Senik's immediate prospects were still distinctly bleak. All the information available to him pointed to the fact that the opposing forces encircling him would soon launch their joint offensive, and (with the escape routes cut off) a defeat for Senik could cost him not only his throne, but even his life. Probably on the same day as Tuan Besar was writing his letter to the Phaya of Phéchangburi, Senik held a council-of-war, to consider what could be done to avert such a disaster. It seemed that only immediate help from the Siamese could fully restore the position and, to this end, Senik and his advisers decided to mount some sort of "correspondence campaign", rather similar to that carried out by the Tuan Besar faction a little earlier. However, whereas Tuan Besar (perhaps out of necessity) had preferred the indirect approach (via the Raja of Saiburi), there was no reason why Senik, as a Siamese protégé, should not aim his appeals directly at the commander of the Siamese advance-guard.

The first letter to Phaya Phéchangburi was from Tuan Long Salléh, Senik's 'uncle' and elder statesman,<sup>103</sup> whose seniority ought surely to ensure that his

101. Tikat (or "Tingkat") is a couple of miles north of Kota B(h)aru.

102. Probably 26th June, 1839.

103. Tuan Long Salléh was apparently the chief of the Salor (Sala) district (*Shair Musoh Kelantan*, p. 54-57 refers to him as "Engku Sala/Salor"). Earlier he had tried unsuccessfully to dislodge Raja Banggul's troops from Lam(h)or (see above). His letter appears to confirm his 'elder statesman' role, while his 'uncle' status is suggested by the fact that he addresses Raja Chik as "anakanda" - my son (*ibid.*, p. 100).

## Kelantan During the Period Covered by the Letters

views (as to who was responsible for starting the fighting) would be given some weight by the Siamese:

*Letter No. 13*

### O Deserving One

With a thousand apologies for his temerity, your very humble servant, Tuan Long Salléh, the lowest of low, ventures to lay this letter before the feet of YE Phaya Si Surén Chai, Phaya of Phéhaburi, for YE's information. I am writing to YE to report that the fighting began after the receipt of the letter bearing the official seal appointing the Phaya of Kelantan. The Phaya of Kelantan, after discussing matters with me, told me to go and see Phaya Changwang with a view to giving Tuan Besar the post of Bendahara, and Tuan Long Deraman the post of Temenggong. In addition it was decided by the council to raise a force of some three thousand men, under the Raja Muda and Engku Seri Mas, to go to the assistance of Kedah. In the midst of our deliberations, all of a sudden Enché 'Jid<sup>104</sup> arrived from Patani giving it out that the Europeans had entered Siam and were guarding the entrance to the Bay of Ko' Khram<sup>105</sup> that Legor had been destroyed by the Kedah Malays, that Singgora had been cut off by the Kedah forces, that the Kedah troops had entered Patani in force, and that Jambu too had fallen to them,<sup>106</sup> this was what Enché 'Jid reported. As a result, Tuan Besar made arrangements with Tuan Long Ahmad and Tuan Long Ahmad's party, also with the adherents of Tengku Seri Putera Maharaja's son,<sup>107</sup> after which Tengku Besar brought Raja Banggul back to Kelantan. Tengku Besar then set about erecting fortifications. The Phaya of Kelantan observed that Tengku Besar had built fortifications all the way from Kampong Pekan downstream as far as Sungai Pinang. The Phaya of Kelantan then asked Luang Thiph Ob, Luang Chai Phon Phak, the Resident-Minister, Luang Seri Paduka, Ché' Sulaiman and Ché' Nut, the Legor officials, to go and ask Tuan Besar why he had built so many stockades. Tuan Besar told Luang Thiph Ob and the rest that he was afraid someone might try and burn his house down. Luang Thiph Ob then asked: 'What do you mean — burn you house down?'

104. Tuan Besar's envoy.

105. Text here has "kuala (mouth, estuary) k-à-r-n". The last word I take to be the Kelantan Malay spelling of the Thai "khra:m". Khram Island (Thai: "ko' khra:m") is the first island of any size to be encountered when approaching the Bay of Bangkok from the south. Indeed, what laymen term the Bay of Bangkok is apparently usually referred to by mariners as 'Koh Kram Bay' (see Admiralty: CHI, p. 186). I cannot find any evidence that the 'European blockade of the Bay of Bangkok' referred to in the letter is anything more than wishful thinking. The European nation most affected, Great Britain, in fact, gave considerable help to the Siamese, by blockading the Kedah rebels and preventing supplies and reinforcements reaching them from Penang (cf. Osborn: JOU, p. 29; Mills: BRI, p. 193; Tarling: BRI, p. 40).

106. Although Legor (Nakhon) had certainly not been destroyed by the Malays, the last three rumours were correct.

107. Apparently referring to Raja Chik (the son of Engku Kota). According to Abdullah: TRE, p. 12 Engku Kota (Tuan Dagang) was given the title of 'Engku Séwa Raja' which is perhaps a corrupt form of Tengku Seri Puteri Maharaja.

## The Civil War in Kelantan

Your stockades take up an extraordinary amount of space.' Then Tuan Besar said that he believed that the Raja Muda's men were out to get him, so Luang Thiph Ob asked him: 'Why should the Raja Muda be out to get you?' to which Tuan Besar replied that he didn't know. After this, Luang Thiph Ob and the rest went back and told the Phaya of Kelantan what Tuan Besar had said, whereupon the Phaya of Kelantan told them that so far from entertaining any evil designs upon Tuan Besar, he wouldn't even dream of harming a hair on his head. The Phaya of Kelantan asked Luang Thiph Ob and the rest to go back and tell Tuan Besar (this). Tuan Besar told them that even if Old Moore came matters would still not be settled;<sup>108</sup> instead of them coming, they had better ask Engku Seri Mas to come along, because Engku Seri Mas knew how the whole affair had begun. That same night, Tuan Besar sent Tuan Long Ahmad to Bukit to gather forces and build fortifications. Raja Banggul then came to Lam(b)or, intending to cross over the Kelantan river at Salor, and fought an engagement with me at Pasir Emas.<sup>109</sup> And Raja Chik the son of Tengku Seri Putera Maharaja and his men set up road blocks and gathered together an army. Tuan Besar's men, from their stockades, bombarded the Phaya of Kelantan's position for about four or five days before the Phaya of Kelantan started to erect fortifications. This is the true story of what happened, because the Kampong Laut people said that, whatever they did, no one would be able to come to our assistance. This is why they surrounded the Phaya of Kelantan, saying that the Siamese were finished and would not be able to come (to our assistance) — this is what they said. And in my opinion, as long as the adherents of Tuan Long Ahmad, Raja Chik, Raja Banggul and Tuan Besar are at all numerous, there will be no peace in Kelantan, as they intend to destroy the territory belonging to HM the King. This is what I have to report to YE. Another thing, there is no relying upon Tuan Besar's word — one day he says one thing, and the next day, another — this is what I have to report to YE. I have nothing to send YE, although I think I can find an ounce of gold (Malay weight) to offer YE, which I will send by the hand of my younger brother, who is bringing you this letter. And if YE would know about Tuan Besar's unreliability, saying one thing one day and another thing the next day, please ask Luang Phakdi Raja<sup>110</sup> who will be able to inform you. Letter written on the thirteenth (light) of the eighth month, on Wednesday, in the year of the Pig, at seven o'clock, in the year A.H. 1255.<sup>111</sup>

108. The Malay here is obscure. I translate it literally '(even if) To' Jum comes to arbitrate, (matters) will not be settled'. 'To' Jum' I take to be '(Da)to' (Nu)jum' literally: 'Grandfather Astrologer/Fortune Teller'. Tuan Besar is probably saying (sarcastically) that even the most 'learned' of outsiders couldn't settle the dispute.

109. cf. Thiphakarawong: PKR, p. 194. Salor (Sala) is about 8 miles south of Kota B(h)aru on the east bank of the Kelantan river. Pasir Emas is on the west bank, opposite Salor.

110. This was the official who had brought the Phaya of Phéchanguri's latest letter to Senik, probably on the 20th June (cf. the following letter).

111. Probably 26 June, 1839.

## Kelantan During the Period Covered by the Letters

No sooner had the scribe finished Tuan Long Salléh's letter, than he was set to work again drafting another letter to the Phaya, this time from Senik himself, begging the Phaya to come to his assistance at once.<sup>112</sup>

### Letter No. 14

#### O Deserving One

Letter from your servants Phaya Phiphit (Phakdi) Seri Sultan Muhammad Ratna Nuchit Santi Sunthon Boworo Wongso, Phaya of Kelantan, and Phaya Sunthon Thibodi Seri Sultan Déwa Maharaja, Phaya Changwang, for YE Phaya Si Surén Chai, illustrious Phaya of Phéchéaburi. On Thursday, the eighth day of the waxing moon of the eighth month,<sup>113</sup> Luang Phakdi Raja and the officer who is the younger brother of Khun In<sup>114</sup> brought me a letter which was received with all due ceremony. This letter I have read and all its details have been fully understood. In YE's letter, YE refers to the official letter sent by HE the CIC containing instructions for an immediate cease-fire. The letter went on to say that, on Tuan Besar's side, Tuan Besar's men manning the stockade to the east of me were to demolish it completely, and that all Tuan Besar and Tuan Long Ahmad's men were to withdraw towards the west, and that I was not to pursue or attack them, such was the gist of the official letter. I complied with all the instructions given in the official letter but on Tuan Besar's side, whereas the official letter had instructed Tuan Besar and Tuan Long Ahmad's side to demolish the stockade erected to the east of my position and then effect a complete withdrawal towards the west, they have done nothing at all to carry out the instructions given, as I told YE in the letter I sent by Ché' Umar.<sup>115</sup> I could in fact tell more, but I do not wish to appear to be exaggerating, and the truth of the matter about the stockades and the actions of both parties YE can find out from Luang Phakdi Raja and the Lieutenant. If YE has any pity or compassion at all for me I beg YE to come to our assistance within the next day or two, because they are making no effort to obey the instructions issued by HE the CIC, in fact they have built four more stockades - Luang Phakdi Raja and the Lieutenant can have their man go and see with their own eyes what has happened. If YE should delay in coming to our assistance then great havoc will be wreaked upon the subjects of HM the King. The hopes I pin upon YE are higher than the highest of mountains. As it is at present, with the cease-fire in operation our opponents have simply proceeded to strengthen their fortifications. Another thing, Luang Phakdi Raja and the Lieutenant told me that they went to see Tuan Besar, who signed a document to the effect

112. Tuan Long Salléh's letter was written at seven o'clock, Senik's letter at nine o'clock; the handwriting appears to be identical.

113. Probably 20 June, 1839.

114. These two Siamese officials had obviously been sent by Phaya Phéchéaburi from Saiburi. The title/name of the second official is given later in the text as 'n-i k-ü-n', which I have read as the Thai "na:y kong" (the leader of a detachment of troops).

115. cf. Senik's letter of 20 June, 1839 (Letter No. 10).



## The Civil War in Kelantan

that he would comply with the instructions issued by YE in YE's letter. Subsequently however he went into his house and, upon coming out again, he told them that he was fed up with arguing with them, this is what Tuan Besar told them. Another thing, Luang Phakdi Raja and the Lieutenant told me that they had asked Tuan Besar whether he had the letter from HE the CIC. When Tuan Besar said that he had, they said that in that case would Tuan Besar please show it to them, but Tuan Besar refused and subsequently accused Luang Phakdi Raja and the Lieutenant of partiality towards me. Another thing, the women-folk belonging to my men have been fined, some of them ten dollars, some of them twenty dollars, some fifty dollars, some a hundred dollars, some even a dollar or half a dollar. Any of them who tried to escape and take refuge with me have had their house burned down and their belongings plundered, the husband being killed and the wife seized. And as regards those of my men who have fortified themselves behind stockades, my opponents have set their men to guard these stockades so that none of my men can get out to join me. And at the moment, if any Chinese rowing boat puts in, a tax of forty dollars is levied upon each boat, so that the entire population is suffering. And they won't allow any of the boats of the Malay traders to put in here to trade and they won't allow any of my men to go out in search of food, which causes us great distress. If YE has any pity or compassion for me I beg YE to come to assistance at once because I cannot bear any longer the way the people who have escaped from my opponents come to me to complain of the treatment they have received, because Tuan Besar's side are really inflicting great hardships upon the subjects of HM the King. If YE has any affection for me, please write to me, confirming the date of your setting out to come to my assistance, or whatever course of action YE decides upon. Another thing, as regards Tuan Long Ahmad's adherents, all my men in the territory occupied by Tuan Long Ahmad — about fifty or sixty men and women — tried to escape and join me; well, some twenty of them had their throats cut by Hajji Lebai Makari,<sup>116</sup> this is what I have to report to YE. And I must inform YE too that the actions carried out by Tuan Long Ahmad and his men have caused great suffering to the population of Kelantan. End of letter. Letter written on the 13th waxing day of the eighth month, on Wednesday, in the year of the Pig, at nine o'clock, A.H. 1255.<sup>117</sup>



He who trusts in God + the Raja of Kelantan + may God preserve his dominion, his good works and his merits + son of the late A Luang Tan + A.H. 1254.

Senik's urgent appeals for help were not unjustified, as D-day for the Banggul-Tuan Besar faction had apparently been fixed for some time towards the end of the first week in July. Until such time however, it was still advisable for the faction to keep up their correspondence campaign, aimed at delaying any Siamese intervention in force. Once again letters were sent off, to the Phaya

116. Apparently one of Tuan Long Ahmad's commanders.

117. Probably 26 June, 1839.

## Kelantan During the Period Covered by the Letters

of Phéchéburi and to the Raja of Saiburi. The earlier letters to the Raja from the faction had taken the 'be one of us' line, i.e. had addressed him as a potential ally against the Siamese, but subsequent letters had been couched in much more neutral language. It would appear that, while recognising that their erstwhile protector was, as a result of Siamese favour shown to him, a man to keep in with if possible, yet he would be of little use to them in any matter directed against Siamese interests. His most recent letters to members of the faction had, in fact, done little more than repeat the points made by the Phaya of Phéchéburi. He had, for example, written to Raja Banggul suggesting that the latter return to Patani (where he had once taken refuge) and be given some territory there to rule over. The prospect of a minor chieftainship in Patani, with the Siamese in Songkhla, 'breathing down his neck' could not have been very attractive to Banggul, particularly at that moment, when, as a result of the offensive to be launched within the next few days, the whole of Kelantan might fall into his hands. So with all the unctuousness of a generation older than that of his unruly nephews, Raja Banggul wrote back:

*Letter No. 15*

O Merciful Pardoner

Praise be to God, Lord of both words, the reward is to the pious; blessings and peace be upon Thy Prophet, our Lord Muhammad, and upon his family and upon his companions, so be it. Having completed my praise of God, the Unique and All-Compelling and having prayed for the last of the prophets, I continue by sending you, in a spirit of respect and esteem, my greetings and good wishes, I, the Raja of Banggul, who take shelter in the district of Kelantan (known as) Kuala Semerak, one whose days and nights are spent in grief, a poor lowly and impoverished being, in the sight of his fellow-creatures. May God Almighty convey (my greetings) before the illustrious presence of my brother the Raja of Saiburi who dwells in the Jaringa district,<sup>118</sup> may God grant him knowledge and position and bestow upon him greatness and glory, and confirm him upon his throne, in this world and the next, in the protection of God in both realms, amen. I am sending this completely worthless scrap of a letter to serve as my substitute in meeting with you. I am writing to tell you that the reason I withdrew (from Kelantan) was because, although I tried to stop my children,<sup>119</sup> they wouldn't listen to me, and I couldn't even get into the palace, and secondly the Siamese arrived, so I left Kelantan in case HM the King should be angry with me, as I'm only an old man - I'm sure you realise just how things were. Of course I rely entirely upon you, after God and His Prophet, it is upon you I pin my hopes in any and every

118. Jaringa (or 'Jaringo'), the capital of Saiburi at this time (cf. Ibrahim: PAT, p. 102, 116.).

119. Used to include, both sons and nephews.

## The Civil War in Kelantan

matter — if you say it's white, then white it is for me; if you say it's black, then black it is for me — I intend to rely completely upon you, as long as we both remain alive. O God, O God, O God (bear witness to) my dependency upon you. Now as regards your telling me to return and be made a Raja in (one of the) Patani states, what you say is absolutely correct, it's even more so because it is you who counsel it, and I shall certainly come back. However, just at this moment, I beg you to excuse me because things are still rather unsettled here, which is why I haven't gone up yet. Moreover I'm very frightened of the Siamese — only God and His Prophet know just how frightened I am — I am sure you realise the position. There never has been and there never will be anyone else upon whom I rely except yourself. End of letter. Inscribed on the 12th of Rabiulakhir, on Thursday, at ten o'clock, A.H. 1255.<sup>120</sup>

The conventional fulsomeness of Banggul's wording goes some way towards concealing the fact that his letter is nothing more than a polite 'brush-off'.

For with D-day imminent, the Banggul-Tuan Besar faction obviously felt that it could afford to drop some of the obsequiousness that it had hitherto felt constrained to use in its letters northwards. Two days after Banggul's letter Tuan Besar wrote to the Phaya of Phéhaburi a letter, which, while saying nothing that could be construed as intentionally insulting, by its brevity yet gives the impression of having been conceived in a somewhat off-hand mood.

### *Letter No. 16*

#### O Deserving One

Letter from your servant Tuan Besar of Kampong Laut to HE Phaya Si Surén Chai, Phaya of Phéhaburi. I am writing to tell YE that, as regards YE sending Tuan Said Muhammad<sup>121</sup> here to forbid me to quarrel with the Raja of Kelantan, I have in no way violated YE's instructions but have done exactly as requested by YE. I am not in a position to give YE full details of the matter in such a way as to do myself justice, but if YE would like to know exactly what has been done, then please ask Tuan Said Muhammad how I have acted and how the Raja of Kelantan has acted. What Tuan Said Muhammad says is what really happened. This is what I am writing to tell YE in the desire to maintain friendly relations both now and in the future.

Written on Saturday, the eighteenth day of the eighth month, in the year of the Pig.<sup>122</sup> End of letter.

120. Probably 26/27 June 1839.

121. Said Muhammad had apparently been sent to Kelantan after 25th June, as there is no reference to him in Tuan Besar's letter of 26th June. This is probably the same person as the 'Said Muhammad Salléh' mentioned in subsequent letters (cf. Letters No. 21, 22).

122. Probably 29/30 June, 1839.

## Kelantan During the Period Covered by the Letters

The comparative brusqueness of the letter almost certainly reflected Tuan Besar's feeling that the moment had now come to strike at his opponent.

It seems likely in fact that when this letter was written, fighting had already started at Bukit where, perhaps in an attempt to 'break the ring', Senik's troops had launched an attack on Tuan Long Ahmad's forces.<sup>123</sup> Fighting was apparently fiercer than usual, and one of Senik's senior officers, Engku Seri Mas, was wounded.<sup>124</sup> Nothing daunted, Senik's eldest brother, Sultan Déwa Maharaja, launched a fresh attack, and started to gain the upper hand.<sup>125</sup> Tuan Long Ahmad appealed for help to 'Headquarters' at Kampong Laut, and as a result Tuan Besar sent his younger brother, Tuan Long Nik with about a thousand men to cross the Kelantan river below the (Senik-held) Salor and go to Tuan Long Ahmad's relief.<sup>126</sup> They crossed over near Pengkalan Chétok, apparently taking the enemy by surprise, for a considerable amount of booty was taken. The force, then pressed on towards the north-east threatening to outflank Sultan Déwa's position. The situation looked threatening, and Senik wrote off in alarm to the Phaya of Phéchaburi:

*Letter No. 17*

### O Deserving One

Letter from your servant Phaya Phiphit Phakdi Seri Sultan Muhammad Ratna Nuchit Santi Sunthon Boworo Wongso, Phaya of Kelantan, and Phaya Sunthon Thibodi Seri Sultan Déwa Maharaja, Phaya Changwang to HE Phaya Si Surén Chai, Phaya of Phéchaburi. I am writing to report that, at this very moment, Tuan Besar's side has made arrangements for Ku Tengah and Ku Lebai, Raja Banggul's two sons, to take all available men on the other side of the river — about a thousand men, and go to Bukit and draw up their forces there, together with all the chiefs (of their party).<sup>127</sup> Raja Banggul, at Batu Seputéh,<sup>128</sup> is to draw up his forces at Semerak, to attack Raja Changwang from the rear, with Tuan Long Ahmad in the centre, and Raja Chik and his party on the flank. They are to make a concerted attack and all their forces have been drawn up in readiness — such are Tuan Besar's plans, although when exactly the attack will come — to-morrow or the next day — is not yet known. I told the Interpreter-

123. *Shair Musoh Kelantan*, p. 70-73.

124. cf. Letter No. 19. Casualties among the senior officers were decidedly rare and one is therefore not surprised to hear that the person who wounded Engku Seri Mas was literally, as well as metaphorically, an outsider ("seorang dagang yang pétaf" — *Shair Musoh Kelantan*, p. 72).

125. *ibid.*, p. 73-74.

126. *ibid.*, p. 74-75.

127. The *Shair Musoh Kelantan* (*ibid.*) gives the impression that this force was commanded not by Raja Banggul's sons, but by Tuan Besar's younger brother, Tuan Long Nik.

128. Probably referring to the Pasir Putéh area (in which, incidentally, is a locality called "Batu Sebutir"), through which the Semerak river runs northwards, until just south of Bukit.

## The Civil War in Kelantan

Officer and Ché' Jaafar<sup>129</sup> to go and tell Luang Son Séni, but he didn't say anything, so I feel very anxious indeed, remembering HE the CIC's instructions, this is what I have to report to YE. Moreover, I am looking out for some presents of food for Ché' Umar<sup>130</sup> to bring up to YE. This is the report that I humbly submit to YE.

Written on the 3rd dark (half) of the eighth month, in the year of the Pig, on Sunday A.H.<sup>131</sup>



He who trusts in God + the Raja of Kelantan + may God preserve his dominion, his good works, and his merits + son of the late A Luang Tan + A.H. 1254.

All that was now left to Senik of Kelantan was a strip of land, less than 100 square miles in extent, in the shape of a rough triangle, with its apex just south of the Banggul-Tikat district and with its base-line running from Salor to Bukit (Marak). In addition Senik probably retained control of at least one minor outlet on to the coast north-west of Kota B(h)aru, via, what is now called the Pengkalan Chepa river. The main waterway, the Kelantan river, was of course still firmly in the hands of the opposition.

On the 1/2 July, the day following Senik's alarming 'sitrep', Tuan Besar, having written somewhat perfunctorily to the Phaya of Phéhaburi, wrote a slightly less perfunctory letter to the Raja of Saiburi. Probably regarded as the last letter that needed be written in the opposition's 'delay by correspondence' campaign, its contents were almost identical with those of Raja Banggul's letter of a day or two earlier, i.e. while professing complete dependence upon the Raja of Saiburi it nevertheless refused, as politely as possible, to accede to the Raja's request for the leaders of the anti-Senik faction to come up to Saiburi and discuss matters with the Raja and the Phaya of Phéhaburi.

*Letter No. 18*

Praise be to God Alone

Respectful greetings and salutations, (trusting that) your life will ever be in the guidance of God, the Merciful Lord, from your son, the hapless Tuan Besar of Kampong Laut may Almighty God bring (my greetings) before the presence of my uncle, may God glorify him with victory and strength (and peace be upon) his family and his companions, who follow the path of righteousness, amen, and again, amen O He who responds to all who ask of Him. To proceed, I am writing to you as regards the letter

129. Unknown.

130. Now back in Kelantan (see above Letter No. 10).

131. 30 June, 1839.

### Kelantan During the Period Covered by the Letters

you sent me by Haji Shamsuddin<sup>132</sup> and which has arrived safely. In your letter, amongst the other points raised, you call upon me and my two cousins to go up to Saiburi, (saying that at least) one of us three should go up to Saiburi with Haji Shamsuddin. As far as we are concerned, please don't have any doubts about us, for as soon as circumstances permit us, one of us will go up to Saiburi to see you in person (God willing, and with your blessing.) The three of us rely upon, and regard you in the light of a father towards us, in this and the next world; after God and the Prophet it is you we rely upon, and always shall. Of course we know that we shall never be able to repay your kindness towards us – only Almighty God can do that. This is what I have to tell you; I won't prolong the letter unnecessarily. This missive composed on Monday the nineteenth of Rabi-ulakhir, in the year Ha, A.H. 1255.<sup>133</sup>



He who trusts in Almighty God + Muhammad, Prime Minister of Kelantan + son of the late Ismail + may God preserve his dominion and his good works + A.H. 1253.

Tuan Besar had probably hoped that the next letter he would write to the Raja of Saiburi would be to inform him that, as a result of a not entirely unexpected turn of events, Senik and his brothers were no longer a political force to be reckoned with in Kelantan.

The first serious set-back to these hopes came when an unexpected defeat was inflicted upon the force under Tuan Long Nik and Raja Banggul's sons, who tried in vain to preserve the discipline of a force disorganized by success and plunder – the time that should have been spent in erecting defences around their encampment being wasted in rounding up the captured live-stock. Senik, on the other hand, had wasted no time at all in organizing a counter-attack and a dawn attack under the command of Tuan Long Salléh and To' Hakim Tua took them completely by surprise. Many casualties were inflicted and the force panicked, fleeing back across the Kelantan river in utter disarray, the leaders of the force, being hard put to it to escape.<sup>134</sup>

It was not long before the news of Senik's triumphs reached Saiburi. The Raja of Saiburi was away in Songkhla at the time, so his grandson passed on the reports.

132. This was apparently the Raja of Saiburi's confidential envoy (see Letter No. 289 in the 'Bibliographic Details' in Part 2). The *Shair Musoh Kelantan*, p. 88 says that shortly before the arrival in Kelantan of the Phaya of Chaiya (see below), the Phaya of Phéchaluri sent a small mission from Saiburi, one of whose members was a haji. This is presumably our 'Haji Shamsuddin'. On this occasion, Haji Shamsuddin brought letters not only for Tuan Besar but also for Senik (see the following letter).

133. 1st July 1839.

134. *Shair Musoh Kelantan*, p. 76-81.

O Exalted of Degree<sup>135</sup>

Your grandson Nik Lebai<sup>136</sup> is writing to you Nik Da M'kong Lebai<sup>137</sup> so that you can inform the Raja's son<sup>138</sup> of the various points contained in this letter. While carrying out my duties in the state of Sai(buri) during the last few days I have been unable to obtain reliable information about recent happenings in Kelantan, because a Saiburi man, called Pa' Duhamid<sup>139</sup> went to Kelantan to fetch his mother back here, and it was he who brought me the information. As regards the opposition party, it seemed to the man who made this visit to Kelantan that they had so far been unsuccessful because of the stout fight put up by the government party. Raja Banggul and Tuan Long Ahmad have withdrawn to a place called Cherang Tengok<sup>140</sup> on the banks of the Semerak river, but their families are still in Kampong Laut; however rumour has it that they will withdraw to somewhere else<sup>141</sup> in order to facilitate their carrying on the struggle. They later had their men fit out boats to go and collect their families and bring them to the place at which they are at present staying. The latest rumour, as picked up by my informant, was that they propose to move en bloc to the Straits (Settlements).<sup>142</sup>

Tuan Tengah, Raja Banggul's son, is still in Kampong Laut but his men have all been killed or have run away, leaving Tuan Tengah alone with the youngsters – the result of a decisive defeat when his men had to

135. Referring, of course, to God (cf. *al-Qur'an*, Sura 40, v. 15).
136. The expression used here is "chuchunda Nik Lebai". It seems likely however that this is the same 'Nik Lebai' (alias 'Tengku Jalaluddin') who succeeded Nik Da(h) as Raja of Saiburi upon the latter's death (c. 1850). According to Ibrahim: PAT, 116-117, this Nik Lebai was the son, not the grandson, of Nik Da(h).
137. 'M'kong' here is the Siamese "me: ko:ng" (the commander of a (small) band of fighting men); it seems to be used as a synonym of the Malay 'panglima'.
138. Probably referring to Phra' Sancha Montri the son of the recently deceased Margrave of Nakhon.
139. i.e. Abdulhamid.
140. I cannot find the name on modern maps; it is perhaps to be identified with the modern 'Cherang Ruku' (a mile or so up the Semerak river).
141. The reading is doubtful here; it looks rather like 'Ligor' but this would seem to make little sense in the context, so I have conjectured 'lain'.
142. Kelantan was not so isolated from Singapore as the observations of Munshi Abdullah might lead one to suppose. On 12 January 1837, the *Singapore Free Press* noted that "Of the several ports on the East Coast of the Peninsula frequented by the sampan pukats, Calantan seems at present to be the favorite place of resort", and between March 1838 and July 1839 the same (bi-weekly) newspaper commented on eight separate occasions on the situation in Kelantan. Most of these additional comments were variations on the 'trade follows the flag' theme, trying to persuade the Singapore Government to intervene into the affairs of the Malay States and adopt a more aggressive policy towards the Siamese. A less aggressive interest in Kelantan was shown by the 'School Committee' of the Singapore Institution (the school founded by Raffles in 1823) who wrote to Senik in 1838 (shortly after he had been confirmed as ruler), inviting him to send Kelantan Malay children to be educated at the Institution. Senik apparently replied acknowledging the advantages of the proposal but pointing out that to accept the offer might get him into trouble with the Siamese (*Singapore Free Press*, 9 August 1838).

### Kelantan During the Period Covered by the Letters

dive into the river to get away, being utterly dispersed in the process.<sup>143</sup> Tuan Lebai is still in Banggul together with Tuan Long Ali, while Tuan Besar of Tanjong Enché<sup>144</sup> remains motionless, apparently frightened into inactivity. In the last few days the Government sides have been rounding up people and putting them into jail – how they intend to proceed it is impossible to ascertain. Engku Seri Mas has been wounded in the ribs and Tuan A Long Demong<sup>145</sup> has been killed. . . . .  
[the line(s) below – probably only a single line – has been torn away; written upside down in the margin of the letter is the following:]  
. . . . .the number of Raja Banggul and Tuan Long Ahmad's men captured by the Government is about five hundred.  
Written on Tuesday.<sup>146</sup> End (of letter.)

Nevertheless, although two of the prongs of their projected joint attack looked badly bent, the Banggul-Tuan Besar faction still retained control of the west bank of the Kelantan river, and the river mouth. Moreover, Tuan Long Ahmad, although yielding ground, was still not yet defeated, while the hitherto uncommitted Raja Banggul and his force was somewhere along the Semerak river.

It might, in fact, still have been possible for one last grand assault to drive out Senik and his party, but before such an assault could be delivered, the Phaya of Chaiya arrived in Kelantan from Songkhla, probably on July 6.

Earlier Siamese missions had been too small and too 'low level' to have any decisive result, but an officer of the Phaya's seniority (accompanied by a detachment of troops from the Bangkok army)<sup>147</sup> could only be ignored at the risk of tangling with the main Siamese army, which it was now quite clear – the fog of hope-fed rumours having by now been dispersed – counted several thousand of the best Siamese troops and was quite prepared to advance upon Kelantan. Time had run out for Senik's enemies and Senik at once wrote off with an understandably 'smiling countenance' to the Raja of Saiburi:

143. Cf. *Shair Musoh Kelantan*, p. 80:

"Terjun kesungai berkawan2  
berhitaman seperti kepala haruan  
akan segala rakyat hiliran  
bermang lepas ketanah seberang".  
(Into the river they dived en masse,  
faces as black as the head of a mud-fish;  
as for all the men from downstream,  
they swam away to the other bank.)

144. I cannot trace this locality; Tuan Besar's 'fief' was Kampong Laut.

145. Unknown.

146. If, as seems likely, the fighting referred to took place during the first week in July, the letter was probably written (in Saiburi) on the 9/10 July, 1839, and reached Songkhla a day or two later.

147. Cf. Thiphakarawong; PKR.; p. 195.



## The Saying is the Truth

Praise be to God who has commanded us to maintain good relations with one another, i.e. such as corresponding with each other despite our bodies and the shadows they cast being separated by distance; blessings and peace to our lord Muhammad, to the noble Prophet, and to his family and his companions, those lights in the darkness.

Having concluded my praise of God, the ruler of the world, and having blessed His Prophet, the purest of mankind, and his family and his companions, we send our greetings and prayers, continual and unceasing, from your servant the lowly, humble and impoverished Raja of Kelantan — may God Almighty convey them to the presence of my uncle, the Raja of Saiburi, who has obtained rank and position together with good fortune and divine guidance, who is, moreover, of such patient kindness as to be the refuge of his family and his relations, both near and far, the person to whom they can bring all their troubles. May he be renowned for his prosperity and generosity in all lands and cities, and may God grant him a long life, so that he may carry on the task of enjoining what is good and forbidding what is evil, and may he be preserved from disaster, and from evil men, amen, O answerer of all questions.

To proceed, your sincere letter reached me safely and I received it with a smiling countenance, uttering thanks to God who ensures that His divine purpose is carried out; I have studied it from the first line to the last and I have fully understood its entire contents. You suggest that, if it is desired to settle matters here in Kelantan, the best thing would be for my brother, the Raja Muda, or myself, to go up to Jakang,<sup>148</sup> because if the business is carried on by correspondence there will be no end to it, even a year won't be long enough to settle things. I think that what you say is absolutely correct, so when I received your letter I discussed matters with my brother, the Raja Muda, and was about to have him go up to Jakang when, all of a sudden, the Raja of Chaiya arrived at the mouth of the Kelantan river with a letter from H.E. the C.I.C.<sup>149</sup> I received the letter and read it, and in it were instructions for my elder brother Phaya Changwang, or for me myself, either one of us, to go up to Singgora. So just at the moment, it is not possible for me to send my brother the Raja Muda up to Jakang to see you. Not just yet. This is what I have to tell you: I won't write any more (just now) because things are very difficult just at this moment, however, if you would like to know what has gone on, please ask Tuan Haji Shamsuddin<sup>150</sup> and Enché' Abdulkarim<sup>151</sup> and they can tell you. End of letter.

148. Not only the Raja of Saiburi, but Phaya Phéhaburi and the vanguard of the Bangkok army were in Jakang. The main body of the army, under Phaya Si Phiphath, was in Songkhla.

149. For the arrival of the Phaya of Chaiya's mission, cf. *Shair Musoh Kelantan*, p. 89-90, Thiphakarawong: PKR, p. 195-196.

150. Cf. Letter No. 18.

151. Unknown.

152. 7th July 1839.

## Kelantan During the Period Covered by the Letters

I have no present to send you except my prayers upon each and every occasion. This letter was written on Sunday, the twenty-fifth of Rabiulakhir, A.H. 1255.<sup>152</sup>



He who puts his trust in God + the Raja of Kelantan + may God preserve his dominion, his good works and his merits + son of the late A Luang Tan + A.H. 1254.

Although things were still "very difficult" for Senik, they were even more difficult for his opponents, for whom the arrival of the Phaya of Chaiya spelt 'finis'. For the more heavily committed (and those with some record of anti-Siamese activity against their names) it meant flight; for those less actively anti-Siamese, it meant explaining away anything liable to be interpreted as disobedience. Tuan Besar, ever the conspirator rather than the man of action, was soon hard at work dictating letters, back-peddalling at considerable speed. He wrote first to Saiburi, where the Siamese advance-guard was stationed. To the Commander of these troops, Phaya Phéchaburi, Tuan Besar explained that he had been just on the point of coming up to Saiburi — as requested by Phéchaburi and by the Raja of Saiburi, — when the Phaya of Chaiya had arrived bearing despatches from the CIC, and that naturally his visit has had to be postponed for a week or two. The letter ran:

*Letter No. 21*

### O Deserving One

Letter from your servant, Tuan Besar of Kampong Laut, for the information of HE, Phaya Si Surén Chai, Phaya of Phéchaburi.

I am writing to YE about the matter of YE's calling upon me to come up to Saiburi. When I received YE's instructions, I promptly set about fitting out a boat in order to come up and pay my respects to YE, but all of a sudden the Raja of Chaiya arrived from Singgora with a letter from HE the CIC ordering all stockades to be demolished, and summoning me to go up to Singgora. Naturally, with the Raja of Chaiya's arrival, I stopped my preparations, so that I shall not be able to visit YE just yet, but, God willing, when the month of Jumadalawal<sup>153</sup> arrives, I shall visit YE in Saiburi — please do not harbour any suspicion or mistrust. However, in Kelantan during the last few days, things have been very confused. On Saturday, the 24th of Rabiulakhir,<sup>154</sup> the Raja of Kelantan told Pengulu Dullah<sup>155</sup> to take forty men and cross over the river, gathering together all the people on my side of the river and telling them to cross over on to the other side, as all the people of Kampong Laut were to be handed

153. The following month, beginning in three days' time.

154. 6/7 July 1839.

155. Unknown.

## The Civil War in Kelantan

over to the Siamese. Pengulu Dullah did this (saying that he had instructions from the Raja of Chaiya. So I told Tuan Said Muhammad Salléh<sup>156</sup> and Tuan Long In to call upon the Raja of Chaiya and ask him if it was true that he had told the Raja of Kelantan to collect all the people on my side of the river. The Raja of Chaiya said "I gave no instructions to collect people from your side of the river", whereupon I ordered my men to surround Pengulu Dullah, who was to be seized and bound. Well, with YE's blessing we were able to capture fifteen of them, the rest running away so that we were not able to arrest them, and these fifteen men I sent to the Raja of Chaiya. Then on Sunday, the twenty-sixth of Rabiulakhir, the Raja of Kelantan and the Raja Changwang told Mékong Ali, Musa Pa' Deraman<sup>157</sup> and Ché Tam<sup>158</sup> to take a hundred men and thirty muskets and cross over to my side of the river, to seize (all) the rice (they could find), both husked and unhusked, as well as boats. The Raja of Chaiya told me to arrest the people who had crossed over, but we were unable to do so. This is what I have to report to YE. If YE would like to know more about the actions of the Raja of Chaiya, please ask Tuan Said Muhammad Salléh and Raja Abdullah<sup>159</sup> for the full story, as I cannot go into details (here). I have nothing at all to offer except one tahlil of gold, Malay weight. Written on the twenty-eighth of the eighth month, on Wednesday, in the year of the Pig".<sup>160</sup>

Tuan Besar also wrote off to the Raja of Saiburi, at much greater length than his previous letter to him. The first part of the letter repeated Tuan Besar's excuses for not having come up to Songkhla, and complained of Senik's lawless conduct. In the second part of the letter, an ingenious attempt was made to incriminate Senik with the Siamese, by hinting that Senik had held on to the treasure left by Sultan Muhammad I, instead of following the late Sultan's intentions and sharing it out, not only with Tuan Besar, but also with the King of Siam, and the Margrave of Nakhon:

*Letter No. 22*

### May God Bind Us Together

May God reward you with great good fortune, He is the most worthy of worship and He is the best of helpers (Such is the wish of) your son Tuan Besar of Kampong Laut to be conveyed by Almighty God to his uncle the Raja of Saiburi. I am writing to tell you that the letter you sent by Wan Usman<sup>161</sup> has reached me, and that I have fully understood all

156. Probably the same as the "Tuan Said Muhammad" mentioned in Letter No. 16.

157. I.e. 'Musa, the father of Abdulrahman' (to distinguish him from the many other people called Musa).

158. Unknown. The name (here spelt "ch-i-t-ü-ng") is spelt "ch-i-t-ng" in Letter No. 22 and may be an abbreviated form of 'Ché Hitam'.

159. Unknown.

160. 10th July, 1839.

161. Wan Usman had presumably travelled with the Phava of Chaiya and therefore arrived in Kelantan on the 6/7 July.

### Kelantan During the Period Covered by the Letters

the various matters dealt with in it. You say in it that you sent Haji Shamsuddin as the bearer of a letter from the Phaya Phéhaburi and the Raja Muda of Singgora summoning me to go up to Saiburi and meet the Phaya of Phéhaburi and the Raja Muda of Singgora<sup>162</sup>, and go on to discuss various other points. I am writing to tell you as regards your asking me to go up to Saiburi, I had put aside a boat in readiness for the visit when, quite unexpectedly the Raja of Chaiya arrived from Singgora, with a letter from HE the CIC ordering all stockades to be demolished and summoning me to go up to Singgora. So with the Raja of Chaiya's arrival, I stopped work on fitting out the boat and shall not be able to make the visit. However, if nothing inopportune should arise I shall come up to Saiburi in the coming month of Jumadalawal, God willing, so please don't harbour any suspicion or mistrust. If something arises to prevent me coming, I shall send my brother up to wait upon the Phaya of Phéhaburi and the Raja Muda of Singgora. However, in Kelantan during the last few days, things have been very confused. On Saturday, the twenty-fourth of Rabiulakhir, the Raja of Kelantan told Pengulu Dullah to take forty men and cross over the river, gathering together all the people on my side of the river and telling them to cross over to the other side of the river, because all the Kampong Laut people were to be rounded up and handed over to the Siamese. Pengulu Dullah was supposed to be acting on instructions from the Raja of Chaiya. As a result, I told Tuan Said Muhammad Salléh and Tuan Long In to call upon the Raja of Chaiya and ask him whether it was true that he had told the Raja of Kelantan to collect all the people on my side of the river, but he answered "I gave no orders to take people from your side of the river". So I told my men to cut off Pengulu Dullah, to bind him and to bring him to me. Well, with your blessing, we were able to arrest some fifteen men, the rest fled, so that we were unable to capture them. The fifteen people captured, I had sent to the Raja of Chaiya. Then, on Sunday the twenty-sixth of Rabiulakhir,<sup>163</sup> the Raja of Kelantan and the Raja Changwang told Mékong Ali and Musa Pa' Deraman and Ché Tam to take a hundred men with thirty muskets to cross over to my side and seize all the rice they could find, husked and unhusked, as well as boats. The Raja of Chaiya told me to arrest the people who had crossed over but we were unable to do so.

Another thing I would like to tell you about is the matter of the money belonging to the late Raja. The Raja of Kelantan had twenty cases, each case containing a thousand dollars, and also two glass containers full of gold dust. One part of (all) this was intended as presents for the Raja of Legur, another part as presents for the King of Siam, and one part was to be divided out amongst all us brothers and cousins. When the late

162. This was Phra' Sunthra Nurak who had played an important part in beating off the Kedah Malays' attack upon Songkhla. On Phaya Si Phiphath's orders he had accompanied Phaya Phéhaburi down to Jakang (cf. Wichiankhiri: SON, p. 57-62: *Shair Musoh Kelantan*, p. 87.

163. If, as the letter states elsewhere, Saturday was the 24th of Rabiulakhir and Wednesday the 28th, then Sunday would, presumably, have been the 25th.

## The Civil War in Kelantan

Sultan was ill,<sup>164</sup> the Raja of Kelantan took (the treasure) and put it away (for safe keeping.) He subsequently agreed to share it out with me (at the time that) he asked me to go on a visit to Bangkok.<sup>165</sup> If you agree, I would like you to inform HE the CIC and the Phaya of Phéhaburi of this, even if I do not obtain (my rightful share), I don't mind, (so long as) HE knows that I have informed him. However, only do this if you think it right, if you don't think it right to do so, then don't inform HE, because there is no one else I rely upon except yourself, to assist me both now and in the future.

As regards your questions about what the Raja of Chaiya has been doing, I would refer you to Tuan Said Muhammad Salléh and Raja Abdullah, as I cannot go into all the details here. I have nothing at all to offer you except one 'lime' sarong<sup>166</sup> which you can use to save your best clothes, a totally unworthy gift. This missive was composed on Wednesday, the twenty-eighth of the month of Rabiulakhir,<sup>167</sup> at five o'clock in the morning, in the 1255th year counting from Monday,<sup>168</sup> the hegira of the Prophet, praise be unto Him and peace. As M-'R-U-F(A-L)K-R-K-H-I is my witness. End (of letter) (P.S.) The amount of rice seized by Mékong Ali was as follows: husked rice – three hundred (gantangs); unhusked rice – two thousand seven hundred gantangs; in all, three thousand gantangs, together with one boat; and I am so badly off.

SEAL

He who trusts in Almighty God the Victorious + Muhammad, Prime Minister of Kelantan, the son of the late Ismail + may God preserve his dominion and his good works + A.H.1253.

Senik wrote off to Songkhla, explaining that he hoped to come up soon. His letter (written on July 12th) to the Raja of Saiburi ran:

*Letter No. 23*

### The Saying is the Truth

Praise be to God whose majesty is increased by the veneration (He receives) and whose uniqueness by being singled out for reverence; I praise him with the most complete praise and I thank him mightily; the Peace of God be upon our Lord Muhammad and upon all his family and his companions.

Having completed my praise of God, the merciful ruler and praised the last of the prophets, adding by way of embellishment all the respect

164. The Malay here is 'dudok berasa'; 'dudok' used colloquially for 'sedang' and 'berasa' apparently a normal Kelantanese equivalent of 'berudzur' (cf. Pepsys: GLO, p. 317).

165. See above, Chapter 2.

166. "Its colours are a rich blend of reds, yellows and greens, the shape of the pattern, if closely inspected, bearing a distant resemblance to the 'lime', from which it has acquired its name." (Winstedt: ART, p. 64-65.) A 'Kain Limau Sutura' is illustrated on the cover of MHH, 6(1), 1960.

167. 10th July, 1839. Tradition has it that the hijrah (migration) to Madina took place on a Monday.

168. (cf. ENC, under 'Hidjra').

### Kelantan During the Period Covered by the Letters

and esteem, of the Raja of Kelantan, may the most exalted Lord of the world convey them before the presence of my uncle, the Raja of Saiburi, who possesses greatness and glory in his dominions, may God preserve him from the perils of this world and the next, and may God be swift to preserve him from all dangers (that beset him), amen, O my Lord, amen. To proceed, your worthy and noble letter borne by Wan Usman has reached me safely, and I have received it with all joy and honour, at the same time giving thanks to God the Lord of Both Worlds, and, having perused it from beginning to end, I have comprehended its entire contents. You ask me what are the latest developments in the matter so that you can inform the Phaya of Phéchanguri and the Deputy Ruler of Singgora for transmission to HE the CIC in Singgora, and moreover, about the Raja of Chaiya's visit, you wanted to hear whether he said the same to me as he did to you<sup>169</sup> or what. Well, I can report that with the Raja of Chaiya's visit, my brother Sultan Déwa came down, and the stockade was demolished, but all these details you can ask Wan Usman about. Moreover, you wanted me to give you a definite answer, but I am unable to fix any definite date because at the moment I am busy preparing to send off presents,<sup>170</sup> you know what the custom is with the West. End (of letter). I have nothing to offer you as a keepsake but my prayers upon each and every occasion.

Letter written on Friday, the thirtieth of Rabiulakhir, A.H. 1255.<sup>171</sup>

SEAL

He who trusts in God + the Raja of Kelantan + may God preserve his dominion, his good works and his merits + son of the late A Luang Tan. A.H. 1254.

Although not perhaps over-keen, Senik decided that he had better do as the Phaya said and go up to Songkhla. Tuan Besar too, although with much greater misgivings, felt that he had no choice but to start making preparations for the trip. For Raja Banggul, the choice must have been even more difficult. His past experiences at the hands of the Siamese must have convinced him that he had very little to gain by going up to Songkhla, but on the other hand, to ignore the summons was obviously no way to go about conciliating a conquering army. Eventually he might well be compelled to explain away his recent conduct to the Siamese, and before this happened, it would be advisable to make some effort to ensure a not too hostile reception. With this in mind, he wrote off (from his base at Semerak) to the Raja of Saiburi:

169. In checking up in this fashion, the Raja of Saiburi may have been merely curious. It seems likely however, that, despite his proven loyalty to the Siamese against the Kedah Malay invaders, he might have been not entirely ignorant of the various intrigues and plots being hatched out on the East coast. The letter to him from Tuan Long Ahmad (8 April) and from Tuan Besar (9 June) seems of a rather confidential nature, while Banggul's letter to him on 15/16 July (see below) appears to contain a veiled threat to the effect: if anything happens to me, you won't be able to plead ignorance of our plans.

170. For his forthcoming trip to Songkhla (and Bangkok).

171. 12th July, 1839.

O Merciful Pardoner

Peace and our prayers for all good wishes from your servant the Raja of Banggul who, at this moment, takes shelter in the district of Semerak, who spends each day and each night sorrowing and who is moreover wretched, poor and needy, the most (worthless) of God's creatures; may God convey these wishes before the illustrious presence of my brother, the Raja of Saiburi, to whom God has granted guidance and glory on the throne of his kingdom, in this world and the next, may God keep him in His protection in both worlds, amen.

To proceed, I am despatching this worthless scrap of paper to substitute for me and meet with you. Your missive has reached me safely without any mishap befalling it and I have understood its entire contents and I offer all thanks to Almighty God for being the recipient of your kindness — only God, unique and all-powerful, can repay your kindness.

As far as I am concerned, I leave it entirely to you to deal with the Siamese, because now, as before, there is no one else upon whom I rely except you — after God and His Prophet it is upon you that I pin my hopes. If, as the result of your efforts any harm befalls me, I can only resign myself (to the mercy) of Almighty God in carrying out His will upon me. I would like you to know that if I have done evil, you have known about it, and if I have done good, you have known about that too.<sup>172</sup> I have nothing to offer you except my prayers by night and by day.

Inscribed on the third of Jumadalawal, in the ninth month at eight o'clock, in the year A.H. 1255.<sup>173</sup>

Another member of the faction to ignore the Phaya of Chaiya's summons was Tuan Long Ahmad. After his defeat at Bukit, he had withdrawn to Bachok and here he stayed put, paying no heed to the Phaya's repeated invitations.<sup>174</sup>

For the moment Tuan Long Ahmad's recalcitrance went unpunished, as the Phaya was fully occupied in getting Senik and Tuan Besar to go up and see the Siamese CIC. In this he was eventually successful and probably at the end

172. The Malay here is a little obscure but appears to hint that unless the Raja of Saiburi does his best to protect Banggul, some interesting (and embarrassing) revelations may be made.

173. Probably 15/16 July, 1839.

174. Cf. *Shair Musoh Kelantan*, p. 92:

"Raja Bukit tinggal-lah dia  
hendak pergi tiada perchaya  
beberapa disuruh oleh Raja Chaiya  
ia nan takut terkena pe(r)daya."  
(Raja Bukit, he remained there  
too mistrustful for to go:  
tho' oft urged by Raja Chaiya  
he greatly feared to be entrapped.)

of July, "Interpreter Luang Khoja Ishak took the Ruler of Kelantan and Tengku Besar up to Songkhla."<sup>175</sup>

After listening to what they had to say, Phaya Si Phiphath told them to put a stop to their quarrelling, but whereas Senik was soon sent back to Kelantan, Tuan Besar was ordered to go on up to Bangkok, probably in order to ensure his being out of the way while Senik and the Phaya of Chaiya went ahead with mopping-up operations.<sup>176</sup>

In Senik's absence, the Phaya had again tried to persuade Tuan Long Ahmad and his friends to follow Tuan Besar's example, but convinced as they were that the invitation was merely a ruse to get them into Siamese hands, none of them had accepted.

With Tuan Long Ahmad at Bachok were Tuan Bulat, Tuan Long Ali, Tuan Senik of Sungai Pinang and Raja Chik, but apart from the mettlesome Raja Chik, an air of defeatism hung heavily over all of the conspirators. They were, in fact:

"...all of them extremely restless,  
gathered together all at Bachok;  
of their boats not one was tied up"<sup>177</sup>

obviously ready for flight at the first hint of attack.

They had not long to wait. Seeing that the conspirators were determined to ignore his overtures, the Phaya of Chaiya drew up plans for a concerted attack. Senik was to block off the escape routes by sea, while the Phaya and his Siamese troops, together with Senik's brothers and their men were to cut off the conspirators' escape routes overland. The task of arresting Raja Chik was entrusted to Tuan Long Salléh. The attack was duly launched (probably in the early part of August)<sup>178</sup> but most of the birds had already flown, and although the pursuit was carried as far as Banggul's base in Semerak, the only conspirators arrested were those who chose to stay and fight it out, i.e. Raja Chik and his entourage.

Senik duly reported to Nakhon:<sup>179</sup>

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175. Wichiankhiri: SON, p. 62. During Senik's absence, Tuan Kota took over, under the watchful eye of the Phaya of Chaiya (*Shair Musoh Kelantan*, p. 92).
176. The Siamese CIC is said to have given secret instructions to Senik that on his arrival at Kelantan he was to collaborate with the Phaya of Chaiya and arrest all of the conspirators, if possible by sweet words and trickery, if not, by force (*ibid.*, p. 96-97).
177. "Tuan Senik Sungei Pinang dan Tuan Long Ali  
sekalian ini terlalu geli  
berhimpun di-Bachok kesemua sekali  
perahupun tidak di-tambat tali." (*ibid.*, p. 98).
178. Assuming that Letter No. 25 was written soon after the events it described.
179. The letter is written to Phra' Sancha Montri in Nakhon and not to Phaya Si Phiphath (the CIC) or to Phaya Phéhaburi in Songkhla, probably because by this time the Bangkok army had already left Songkhla for Kedah (cf. Thiphakarawong: PKR, p. 196).



## The Saying is the Truth

Letter from your servant Seri Sultan Muhammad Ratna Nuchit Santi Sunthon Boworo Wongso, Phaya of Kelantan presented at the feet of HE Phra' Sanéha Montri, who rules over Legur.<sup>180</sup> I am writing to inform you that I have fitted out Enché' Jamil<sup>181</sup> with three boats and told him to take the tin which HE the CIC, the most mighty, required of me — 100 pikul — but all that I have been able to obtain up to now is 32 pikul. As for the rest, I have sent upstream for it but it has not yet been brought down; when it is brought down, I will have it sent up.

The 32 pikul of tin ore I have told Enché' Jamil to take up to YE and I would request YE to be good enough to inform HE the CIC, the most mighty and most gracious, and I would ask pardon, a thousand pardons, of HE the CIC, most mighty and most gracious, whose servant I thankfully acknowledge myself to be. There is no one else to whom I can turn for help and protection apart from YE and HE the CIC, most mighty and most gracious, upon whom I rely for help and assistance. In fact it is with the gracious favour of YE that I have been able to live in peace and fraternity, both now and in the future.

I would inform YE that as regards HE the CIC, most mighty and most gracious, instructing me to take council with the Phaya of Chaiya to arrest Tuan Long Ahmad, Tuan Long Deraman, Tuan Senik of Sungai Pinang, Tuan Bulat, Raja Chik, Enché' Ku Ali<sup>182</sup> and Tuan Long Ali, I duly conferred with the Raja of Chaiya and laid plans to arrest the above-named people but as for Tuan Long Deraman, when I got back to Kelantan, Tuan Long Deraman had already fled to Besut. Subsequently the Raja of Chaiya took counsel with me and we divided our forces into two sections,<sup>183</sup> one part was to block off the sea routes and as for the other part, the Raja of Chaiya told Luang Son Séri together with Raja Changwang and Raja Muda to take their men and cut off Tuan Long Ahmad by land. Tuan Long Salléh and Tuan Long Deraman — my uncle — took their men to cut off and arrest Raja Chik and Enché' Ku Ali. However, Tuan Long Ahmad, Tuan Senik of Sungai Pinang and Tuan Long Ali had already decamped, and although Said Jaafar<sup>184</sup> went as far as Trengganu territory, he was not able to find them; Luang Son Séri and Phaya Changwang went as far as Semerak (in their pursuit). Tuan Long Salléh and Tuan Long Deraman — my uncle — went to arrest Raja Chik and Enché' Ku Ali and we have been able to seize the person of Raja Chik, Enché' Ku Ali, their nephew called

180. Phra' Sanéha Montri was probably now, as Ruler of Legur (Nakhon), entitled to be called Phaya of Nakhon.

181. Unknown.

182. According to Rentse and Mahmood: SAL, Enché' Ku Ali was Raja Chik's brother.

183. The line in the manuscript here occurs where the letter has been folded across, and is, as a result, partly illegible. The sense, however, seems fairly clear.

184. Said Jaafar was also known as Engku Hakim (*Hikayat Seri Kelantan*, p. 115), and is therefore probably to be identified with the 'To' Hakim Tua whom the *Shair Musoh Kelantan*, p. 67, 77) depicts as being one of Senik's commanders.

Kelantan During the Period Covered by the Letters

Ku Tengah, and the son of Raja<sup>185</sup> Ku – four people in all – and hand them over to Raja Chaiya. As regards Tuan Long Ahmad and the rest, when Said Jaafar gets back we shall have definite news of where they have gone and where they are staying, and I shall let YE know.

I would inform YE that I have told Enché' Jamil to buy some rice as cargo for the ships he has with him, and I would ask YE to be kind enough to help Enché' Jamil in any trouble or misfortune that may befall him. When YE has finished your discussions with him, I would request YE to tell Enché' Jamil to sail back to Kelantan as soon as possible, because the season is drawing to a close and I am afraid he may run into storms and may not be able to enter the mouth of the river, because the Kelantan river mouth is extremely shallow.<sup>186</sup>

This is what I have to report: Letter written on Monday in the 10th month, waxing 8 days, in the Year of the Pig, the first year of the decade.<sup>187</sup> End of letter.



He who trusts in God, the Raja of Kelantan + may God preserve his dominion, his good works and his merits + son of the late A Luang Tan + A.H.1254.

And that was that. Senik and his brothers were back in control of Kelantan and the conspirators were scattered.<sup>188</sup> The Siamese might reasonably congratulate themselves on having – at last – pacified Kelantan.

185. I cannot trace the two last-named.

186. Almost a hundred years later the *China Sea Pilot* described the delta as having "... two principal mouths ... between which lie several sand spits forming the delta. Depths of less than 5 fathoms extend off shore for a distance of about 3 miles. The mouths of the delta are continually changing both in depth and direction, and are sometimes blocked up altogether ... June and July are the months when the river is lowest." (Admiralty: CHI, p. 127, 128).

187. 20th August, 1839.

188. As the letter indicates, Tuan Long Ahmad and his companions fled to Trengganu to join Raja Banggul at Besut (cf. Prachum: KEL, p. 136; Thiphakarawong: PKR, p. 195).

## CHAPTER IV

### EPILOGUE

Such congratulations would however have been premature.

Tuan Besar, who had gone up to Bangkok to see the King was soon back in Kelantan, but although he had been guaranteed full possession of his lands, he was soon complaining to the Siamese that Senik's brothers were 'ganging up' against him. The complaint was probably not without foundation for these same brothers were also 'ganging up' against Senik himself, who, to complete the chain, complained to Bangkok that Tuan Besar was still plotting with Raja Banggul and Tuan Long Ahmad (in Trengganu). This hydra-headed quarrelling continued until 1842 when the Siamese decided that if Senik was ever going to be allowed to rule Kelantan in peace, drastic action was called.

They dealt first of all with Tuan Besar, who was invited to leave Kelantan and settle in the small Patani state of Nongchik. Although at first reluctant, the invitation was pressed so forcefully that Tuan Besar had no choice but to comply. Accompanied by Raja Banggul and Tuan Long Ahmad, he eventually moved up to Nongchik where both Banggul and Tuan Long Ahmad died, a year or two later. In 1845, when the Raja of Patani died, Tuan Besar was appointed to succeed him as 'Phaya Pattani' and, taking the title of 'Sultan Muhammad' ruled the state until his death in 1856.

As soon as the Siamese had removed Tuan Besar from the Kelantan chess-board they turned their attention to Senik's unruly brothers. In the same year (1842) they were arrested (with Senik's connivance) and the most intransigent of them, Tuan Kota (or 'Sultan Déwa' as he was now styled) was subsequently taken up to Nakhon. He was kept there for over ten years, after which he was allowed to leave Nakhon, not to return to Kelantan, but to become ruler of the state of Jering, where he died, a year or two later.<sup>(1)</sup>

This example was apparently sufficient to convince Senik's other two brothers that further opposition was useless, and thereafter Senik was given a fairly clear run home. In 1846, the East India Company's steamer 'Phlegethon' visited Kelantan, and, upon going ashore, her officers met both Senik and the Raja Muda, the latter apparently acting as his brother's right-hand man. The Raja Muda had just acquired (by force) a new wife, who impressed the officers as being "a very fine woman . . . and very lady-like in her manners." They

(1) This account is based mainly upon *Hikayat Seri Kelantan*, p. 115 et seq.; Ibrahim: PAT, p. 114-117; Frachum: KEL, p. 136-145.

## Epilogue

were less taken with her husband.. Although "reported to be rich", the Raja Muda was found to be "rather ugly and has an unpleasant way of looking at one from under his eyelids." Senik himself apparently treated the officers "very rudely . . . . He offered us no refreshments and pointedly neglected many of those civilities in which the polished Malay abounds", but nevertheless impressed them as being "better looking than his brother, and with a very good-tempered look mixed with cunning about the eyes." Senik was then "about fifty years of age" and obviously still hale and hearty, for he ruled over Kelantan for another thirty years until his death in 1877.<sup>(2)</sup> "In his old age he grew very short-tempered and ruled his people with some harshness . . . . His tyranny, however, secured peace to the state, and though he had two brothers besides the ex-Sultan Déwa, one of whom was the Raja Muda . . . no noise of rebellion was heard in the land for a period of thirty-five years".<sup>(3)</sup>

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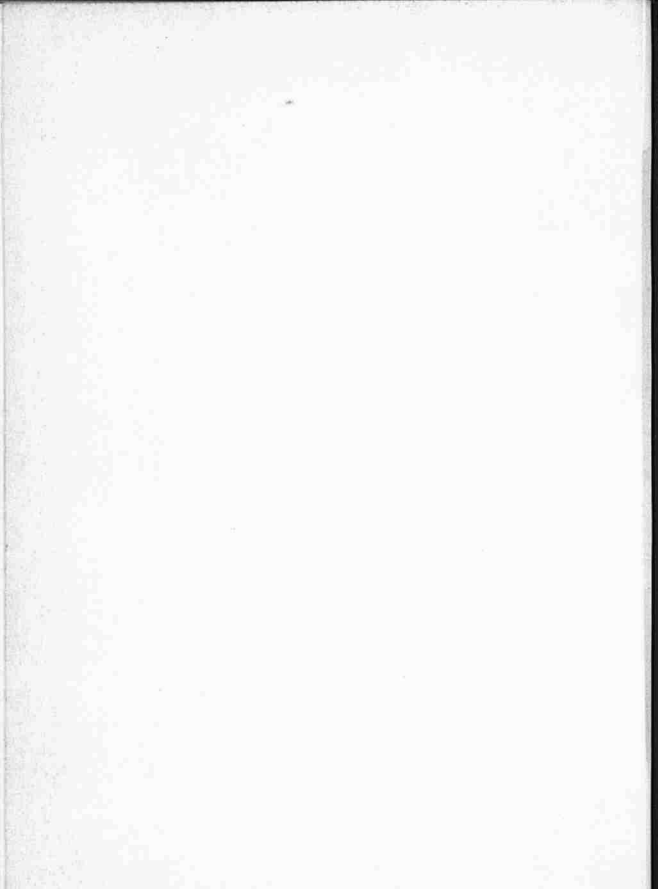
(2) *Journal kept on board a cruiser*, p. 177-180.

(3) Graham: KEL, p. 47-48.

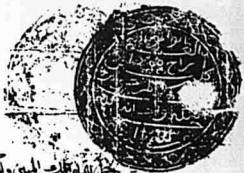


**Part Two. The Letters**

**1. FACSIMILE REPRODUCTIONS OF THE LETTERS**



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
الحمد لله رب العالمين  
والصلاة والسلام على  
الأنبياء وآلهم  
الطاهرين



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الحمد لله رب العالمين وهو اعلمنا بحسين العبادات والصلوات وعلى بالقرآن  
 من الامم الطهين وحسين الطاهين وعلى آله وصحبه الشاهدين اجمعين فكم لسانا في ذم  
 من هو من يتركها وان صلواتك انما كان سدا لا شيئا وان صلواتك على آل محمد  
 من المهاجرين والانصاريين كما وايضا فانت في الفضائل فان دعواتك العبادات  
 5 تطهر دانا كما دعوتك في الامم الطهين ويغفر لك من غيري في الامم الطهين  
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 24 الغفر يا ليت در غدا في الامم الطهين اغفرت حيا فانك اغفر حيا فانك اغفر



المختف



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حکم او امر خود و غیر از هم که سلطان محمد رابع کلین حکم داد از هر جا بشان کند در هیچ  
 جمعی و بنام خود امر نماندند و بدانکه هر کس که در آنجا بود و کسی که از آنجا بود و کسی که از آنجا بود  
 بدینجا که سر و دهن به قسان فدا حال سلاطین است و حال صحابه به سکه سکه است و حال  
 صحابه به هند که قولش باون دان نکند کسی و قولشکن از همان دان نکند در جا که در کلین  
 سلمان امری مستغنی او را شروع بفرماید باکل دان لکه ما من کذبه سکوا لاجب جوا دان مستغنی  
 در حدیث است حکم داد از هر جا سلاطین حکم دادند و نسیان نماندند و مستغنی  
 مستغنی از حدیث است حکم داد از هر جا حکم دادند و نسیان نماندند و مستغنی از حدیث است  
 در هر دو قریه فرمایند مستغنی او که در حدیث است حکم داد از هر جا حکم دادند و نسیان نماندند  
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اقر شایه که خبر این است حکم داد از هر جا حکم دادند و نسیان نماندند و مستغنی از حدیث است  
 که در حدیث است حکم داد از هر جا حکم دادند و نسیان نماندند و مستغنی از حدیث است  
 قون بر سر کفخ لافه سوزفته او بیک برادرید که باقی فرمایند حکم داد از هر جا حکم دادند  
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 این خبر فرموده و حکم داد از هر جا حکم دادند و نسیان نماندند و مستغنی از حدیث است  
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مکلف بود چون این که سید بکر حاری بوزن محرم کده اری است و در نیم قولیم

تاریخ ۱۰۰۰

المختص

باسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قد سمعنا منكم في خبركم انكم قد سمعتم من اهل بيته باو چون ميت  
 شهيدان مكاله فرجه بكن سوتم ما ربه قد سمعتم من اهل بيته انكم قد سمعتم من اهل بيته باو چون ميت  
 ارجح من اهل بيته انكم قد سمعتم من اهل بيته باو چون ميت اية اول بولون  
 فرجه معلوم بكن واليه چون ميت ملكان فينتك سمعتم من اهل بيته باو چون ميت اية  
 ملكان معلوم بكن واليه چون ميت ملكان فينتك سمعتم من اهل بيته باو چون ميت اية  
 قد سبقه كماله بولون اسسى فرجه باو چون ميت سمعتم من اهل بيته باو چون ميت  
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### القول الثاني



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 اية سواد الخيل من ذوات الكرم والبر والبركة لان ما سقا  
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والرب السعوت والارض والشياخضلة من الاحللك والصلالا الكمال بالسلام وعلى الرب المنير  
وانظا هير خير لا اعباد و زرين الملك اذ بان لئلسيلع دفر فدموج توجر حنبنة اجمن وان حسلتكن  
نيرفي مخر من مكدو ايضا اشكر الله سلام الوعاالي الملك العالم ياك امضا انقل تون لوع اول عدل باراد  
فذا صا اين دو فركرك كلفنتن بركشلا و اعيلكن الوباد الراضق كبر انت كحجر و جناش في مخر فدو ان در اجادت  
دو امسند ياك سراج مخر في منلك كرجاهن دو كركه سراج مخر منلك سلالا ذره تعلق بجاها نكره فطنان  
يطول لادرع والبقا و وجدن الحنبنة منق و اذ لى لى يوه و فخر شعادو در درجات الرب و من الين امين  
يارب لعالمين اما وصله و رز انك مكاد ان نقذ يتكن سور بچه ابر فدميل الله ان كرا جاهدن طوع في  
مع قلا من مازر وركه كركه سلكون ليمان كورة جن در فدموكه ان سولك تن مخر في منلك  
فكر جاهدن الله ما سر بر مذهب الكرا جاهدن فرناج بين انقله فن سراج كلفنتن انك مكك سلالا صغيب  
سور جومون ابوالعاقن مخر انك مكك انقله نون بر عطيل و منظر بلاه لاجن كركه سلالا بديل مخر نون  
جاها و طر فركو موك شياء البر بديل لى كركه لوع في مخر ما و سور ح استغن نون كركه ان بو كركه  
فركه مطلق سراج فليلع ان مخر مودو ان تون لوع نيك لكره تورون ان كرا براه و دن مطيل كودا  
انقله نون لوع جلد مخر و دن سراج انخر نون و دن لعلن سلالا انق ام سراج باراد بر انق انقله انك تورون  
ما سر انك نون لوعه سراج تورون سلالا سراج لعلن كركه لوعه نون نون كركه لوعه نون  
مرفك لى الون سراج انك مخر سراج انقله سلالا كركه لوعه مخر مخر مخر مخر مخر مخر مخر  
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*(Vertical marginal text in various directions)*





آنحضرت



سورۃ مزین ذریر یا فینیت لغدی سرور سلطان محمد مرغان جویت سنو کو ثوق بور و... محمد صالح علی بن ابی طالب ماری کفدرت  
 فیانت جیون و برکتی بجواد کسری علی بن ابی طالب در کج کور زمان بولد سنن حادی کور...  
 10  
 15  
 20  
 25

مکمل درمق سوره امین کند بولن دلافن ققبل دلافن هزاریک کند تا هرگز ازار چشم تا ۱۹۹

Handwritten marginal notes in Urdu script, likely providing commentary or additional information related to the main text.



5 ... و ...  
 10 ...  
 15 ...  
 20 ...  
 25 ...  
 30 ...

35 ...  
 40 ...  
 45 ...  
 50 ...  
 55 ...  
 57 ...



الخطف

5 فنت استغوث برهوه امفون فاندلفنده باشه جادا اون ناکی توب لیل صلح بیو هینه اندر کون بن هسار انکسره معلوم کسوا کاوسر جوتون ناسر توردنه  
 لغوی فی اذیت جیوری بدھا عا بری کتوی سکا بیلد فاکل معلوم کسکا ادا اصله بلع بود بولرغ ایس کسوت کویوتی تر ایندنتق فی اکلن ایسک کویا کلنت  
 فون ورتشندون فاکل کویا کوی کرماندن فی اچنی هندی بریغ فون سررتنه دقتدر برچ بندم اهرف بریغ فون لیا درمن برمنده دقتدر برچ فکلن  
 دن ناد فون کسوا شست وخن فاکل ترسارم هرف کوی ایسبل بریغ باروغ نیکی بویو بریغ بریغ سو اعرن کاکسره ایس سو ارا کیل ماری بنتو کویا فدیغ درنه  
 فدر برکیز شیا هم جنت ماری بریغ کوی اکلن ایس تو شکت بویوسم فون کسه اورغ فون کون دهه فون کاد و کاد کوهه دکر فی کلیمه فون کسه بکسر  
 فداروغ سلایو فدیغ مان کویا کسکول فون تر ایلغ اولدو فدیغ فدیغ کوی اکلن فون اوروغ فدیغ کلای فند جاسوا فون بولر کد امون فدیغ کویا کسه  
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الحمد لله رب العالمين والعاقيه المبتين الصلوات والسلام على رسول الله  
 وآله وصحبه أجمعين أما بعد فقد بلغنا منكم في هذا اليوم من أخباركم  
 التي أنزلت عليكم من غير سلامه داسر تعظم شأنكم بما أتت من فروع بحكمه  
 بغيره من زيادة ما يكون الفناء في الدنيا بغيره من فروع بحكمه بغيره من  
 زيادة ما يكون الفناء في الدنيا بغيره من فروع بحكمه بغيره من  
 5 زيادة ما يكون الفناء في الدنيا بغيره من فروع بحكمه بغيره من  
 زيادة ما يكون الفناء في الدنيا بغيره من فروع بحكمه بغيره من  
 زيادة ما يكون الفناء في الدنيا بغيره من فروع بحكمه بغيره من  
 زيادة ما يكون الفناء في الدنيا بغيره من فروع بحكمه بغيره من  
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 زيادة ما يكون الفناء في الدنيا بغيره من فروع بحكمه بغيره من  
 15 زيادة ما يكون الفناء في الدنيا بغيره من فروع بحكمه بغيره من  
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 20 زيادة ما يكون الفناء في الدنيا بغيره من فروع بحكمه بغيره من  
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 زيادة ما يكون الفناء في الدنيا بغيره من فروع بحكمه بغيره من  
 زيادة ما يكون الفناء في الدنيا بغيره من فروع بحكمه بغيره من

## المختار

سو مخدر فرجه بتون بر كلف لاوه ما سر ك منياك فد چه كون يلكر سوچن تار ايج ذيا  
 فچا بدير به سشفد كه اوله فزه معلقون نه چه كون اينه كن فك جان چه كون كوس دون  
 شهيد ما مچيد لاه غمك فزه چان جاده بر كلاه و غن راج كلن سن اينه كه فرجه ب  
 ذوب تدا ملا لوي سفره تشنه چه كون ملكان بگه شيت چه كمنو بر كيتول فرجه  
 ذيون رشمال فزه جنده و كيه كن فد چه كون سكرين نون تيلاد منت جاده  
 5 فزه جنده تو جمع ابر جال ان كبره فرجه ب ليكن جگم چه كون هنده و شنه  
 سيورخ فزه نيته منت نيته جنو كون او هور تزان شهيد محمد ايد سببا كيه  
 شاه نيشن فزه بار سببا كيه ماناره نيشن راج طهره نيشن ملكين سببا كيه منا  
 سمه تزان شهيد محمد ايد سببا كيه اينله ملكي اداشه فرجه معلو ملن  
 10 فد چه كون ايد هوبنو بر هوبنو كه فزه جاري نيشن كه بوز دكنا اوان  
 11 تير سوته فزه هاريه سببه لفك بله هاريه بوز دد لفته تان اهر كو اونه









توليف



المعروف في الدنيا، يا بصلة الرجال ومودة ذلك، روي له في تلام مع شاهد لا يشبه  
والد ساء والندامة والشهادة على الدنيا بعد ذلك المذكور والى الله وسبح ساجد الخلافة  
تلك الدنيا سرده يترجم من اللغات العلم والعلوم في حق صنوف الأندلس من شيوخنا طورا ما  
وان معا تخرج اوستا لكونكم مفسرنا في ذلك السلام اللغاه على الاستمرار والدوام باليتد وقينه  
فرمجه في المنق في زلتمه بلادن منصف كس حسكين برلكه سكين لكه كانو تبالى قال  
كبرن كده كدها من جلس مما هيب يايت سر اجي جيشه يراول فكتة مان در حقي سر اجي بر اول  
توفيقه من هذا بر غير قول بود يا يني في كمن حادي عنك كل القبول كذا في طر في  
دان بعد شاه ريك حال كس سكين سر اجي مشهوره در حق هجران كبر اهنا ذلك ان اقتار  
مان بلانده ساجد: من شان در خفقن اصغر بود من سر جان اسرار لغر وقتون من المنكر سر  
صبار كنه بر واهنا اسرار سينه ينجيب لشان لن ايجدين ويصا لك در وقت  
مكي الله في وقت اللاحوه وبتر ما هيب اية كنه علة كنه حجب من سلامة كنه تان كنه  
هيب فوق ترجم بر اول من عين اللزوم والسرد كنه من جف شكر كنه تو من خال ما يبر  
سرف صفا العيان نه فر اول اسطران هكل لبر سطران في كنه سكرت عدان ليت بطول  
هيب مكي داره ا هيب اخيرا كنه كنه حجب مكي حنق بر ي سلسو ان جهازا كنه في طين زب  
ملن كنه هيب كونه در كونه فر هيب سراج مود ايت تاكي في كنه كنه ا كنه انوف فر حيس سونو في كنه صارا  
دخن كونه في كنه ماري ايت تيلدا الهجا مكي كنه حنق كنه سنا هن كنه سونو في كنه صارا  
كسه هنا كنه كنه في كنه هيب فون كنه ما خله بفران سرف في كنه كنه: مما فر حيس هيب حو ولا  
سكندان در ايت مكي داره استكناك مكي كونه ما فر هيب مكي فر هيب حنون جهازا در حنون سواد  
فر هيب سراج مود ايت هنق مكي كونه تاكي في كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه  
بو اول كنه فر حيس ميا و محمود هون حنق اولعا كنه تا يبر مكي فر هيب حنون بو كنه سنا هيب  
سرف و جهازا كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه  
في ايف حنون اف فر حيس سونو في كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه  
شاه والجادو هنق في بر كونه فر هيب سراج مود ايت في كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه  
لكي قد سنا: زانجه فر هيب: تاكي ان ميا فر هيب مكي شيا اوله فر هيب في تميز كلام لذي الين  
وقت ما يبر سنا في كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه  
طيرن حنق ابر ما فر هيب شيا كنه حنون بو حنق لدر يايت سر هيب حنون اف فر حيس لكونه ميه  
بو اولعه ما يبر سنا كنه حنق كونه كونه شيا علامه في كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه كنه

مكي فر حيس كونه ان كنه حنون اوله كنه حنون مكي فر حنون اوله كنه حنون اوله كنه حنون اوله كنه حنون اوله









السلامه ما الهی بر تعیین بایستد در قله چرخ بظنا بخواهد بر باد برآید بنام خداوند که هر که او را بداند و در مقام فرستادن  
 5 بنده بر حایت و در تبیین خوار مدفن حنیفا نالدک مسکین بخار کند و با فکرمه الله به این خط و بکل آن همه جزو اکبر است  
 و آنچه کفایت می نماید در راه چرخ و در ذکرها که ان الله کلمات و نامش در سر حضرت جان نوری در باره این خط هاری  
 قیامت حفظه الله تعالی فی الملائکین امین و بعد در این خط ملائیکم قطره این بنیاده غفر مغفبه انزلت کتبت  
 فرمندان در فرجه قاف چرخ و سوره چرخ کوری خوار و بر کس در هر چه این بنام خداوند فرستادن بنام خداوند در هر چه  
 10 چرخ و راه خداوند که در کار هر چه در هر چه در هر چه در هر چه در هر چه در هر چه در هر چه در هر چه در هر چه در هر چه  
 ملامت تو من واحد القهار و ما یسألون که چه بکام بود این خط سلفان اوله فعل و در این خط بنام خداوند در هر چه  
 چه ستایم چرخ از آن فرستاد چرخ کار بنا چه این بنام خداوند و لیکن لاک در می و هو لک فی کاخیر جمله بود در این  
 در خط چرخ بنام خداوند که در هر چه در هر چه در هر چه در هر چه در هر چه در هر چه در هر چه در هر چه در هر چه  
 10 خط کجا هیچ اثر بر این خط لیکن هر چه در هر چه در هر چه در هر چه در هر چه در هر چه در هر چه در هر چه در هر چه  
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 بود در هر چه اینکه ادا نشود بنام خداوند در هر چه در هر چه در هر چه در هر چه در هر چه در هر چه در هر چه در هر چه  
 میکند وقتی هم فر کار و لا قدر ادا نشود . ۱۲۵۵ . م







## 2. TRANSLITERATION OF THE LETTERS.

### A Note on the method of transliteration

#### (a) MALAY

In general, the principles employed in transliterating the letters are the same as those used by Wilkinson in his 'Malay-English Dictionary'.<sup>1</sup>

The main differences between Wilkinson and the system employed here are:

1. On the principle that, if accents are to be used at all, they should be used to indicate the exception rather than the norm, I have followed the Indonesian practice of distinguishing the mid-high, front, unrounded vowel with an acute accent, and leaving unaccented the central pepet-vowel, e.g. where Wilkinson writes 'bē-sar' and 'boleh', I spell 'besar' and 'boléh'.
2. I have used 'ke' and 'se' for Wilkinson's 'ka-' and 'sa-' e.g. 'ke-bawah' and not 'ka-bawah'.
3. I have represented the Arabic 'ain ( ع ) by ' , e.g. ' 'adat ' and not ' adat. '
4. I have dispensed with hyphens, e.g. 'sekali' not 'sa-kali'.

#### (b) ARABIC

Arabic passages in the letters have been transliterated using the following alphabet.

##### 1. Consonants

' b t d th j ḥ kh d dz r z  
s sh ṣ ḍ ṭ ṣ ṣ ' gh f q k l  
m n h w y

Where the definite article ('al-') precedes a 'Sun' letter, the T has been changed accordingly, e.g. 'wa's-salāmu'.

##### 2. Vowels

a,ā,i,ī,u,ū (the 'bar over' indicating vowel length). The 'alif maqṣūrah' is transliterated by 'ā'. Elided vowels are replaced by an apostrophe, e.g. 'al-ḥamdu li'llāhi'.

(1) To this extent, the letters have been not only romanised, but also standardised, in the direction of the 'Standard Peninsula Malay' that Wilkinson tacitly takes as the norm. As the letters have already been reproduced in facsimile no philological 'falsification' is involved. Features peculiar to Kelantan Malay are discussed in the following sections.

## The Civil War in Kelantan

*Note.* Arabic words (and occasionally phrases) that can be said to have become thoroughly 'Malayanized'<sup>2</sup> have normally *not* been transliterated in the Arabic fashion, e.g. I write 'fasal' and not 'faşl'.

(c) SIAMESE

Siamese words and phrases occurring in the letters have been transliterated according to the Malay pattern. A more exact transliteration of these words will be found either in the footnotes, or in the Appendices.

(d) GENERAL

No system of punctuation has been used in the letters, other than that obtained by separating one word from another and one line from another. I have therefore as far as possible refrained from punctuating the transliterations.

*Round Brackets* enclose additions or emendations by the editor.

*Square Brackets* enclose material probably written in error by the original scribe.

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(2) A rough guide to whether a word has been 'Malayanised' is its inclusion in Wilkinson: MED.

## yā qāḍiyā'l-hājat

- (1) al-ḥamdu li'llāhi'l-maliki'l-mubīni walahu'l-ḥukmu wa huwa aḥkamu'l-ḥākimiṁ aṣ-ṣalātu wa's-salāmu 'alā sayyidi'l-mursalina
- (2) wa imami'l-muttaqīna wa ḥabībi rabbi'l-'ālamīna wa 'alā ālihi wa's-ṣaḥ-biḥi's-sālikīna ajma'īn telah selesai daripada memuji
- (3) tuhan yang kaya dan salawatkan rasulnya sayyidu'l-anbiya' dan segala keluarganya yang terlebēh aulā dan bahagia
- (4) mina'l-muhājirīna wa'l-anṣarī maka diiḍāfatkan terafdal dan doa yang terakmal serta dengan beberapa pula
- (5) ta'zīm dan takrīm dengan berkat pula mu'jizat yang ḥākīm bertambah pula takrīm dan tafkīm daripada tuhan min rabbiya'—
- (6) r-raḥīm iaitu daripada tuan long ahmad yang teramat hina pada segala yang hina dan teramat daif serta dengan bebalnya
- (7) bertambah pula teramat mashghul dan kekurangan hal miskin itu dan teramat pula mina'dz-dzanbi wa't-taqṣīri
- (8) mina'l-jāhilīna ilā yaumi'l-fāsiqīn pada tuhan rabbi'l-jalīl maka apalah jua kiranya kepada wajah yang ḥākīm lagi karim
- (9) iaitu pada raja sai yang teramat mulia daripada segala yang mulia dan teramat 'arīfu bi'llāh bijaksananya lagi
- (10) budiman pada melakukan tadbir yang ihsan dan mempunyai budi yang amat tambah dan laku yang lemah lembut seolah2
- (11) ash-sharāban ṭahūran mendapat martabat yang kebesaran dan yang ketinggian dan pangkat yang kemuliaan daripada tuhan
- (12) rabbi'l-'arshi'l-'azīm; wa ja'ala'z-zulumāti  
wa lāhun yaḥzanun telah dikurniakan allah tau
- (13) fik dan hidayat daripada tuhan rabbi'l-ghafūri khallada'llāhu wa iḥsā-nahu wa thabbata imānahu wa 'amalahu fi'd-dīni wa'd-dunyā
- (14) wa'l-ākhirati āmin yā dzū'l-jalāli wa'l-ikrāmī wa ba'dāhu daripada itu barang ma'lum jua kiranya perhamba menyatakan
- (15) kepada raja seumur peninggalan raja yang tiada didalam negeri sai itu negeri kelantan datang pergadohnya pula pertama
- (16) 2 engku kota kedua tuan besar kampong laut kedua beradēk dan ketiga perhamba sendiri maka daripada hal
- (17) pergadohnya dan perkelahian itu ditolong allah serta dengan tuah raja dengan kemurahannya maka yang
- (18) perhamba mushkil kepada hati kerana tiada tempat yang lain lagi dari-pada raja yang perhamba berharap baik dan

## The Civil War in Kelantan

- (19) jahatnya benar dan salahnya supaya boleh menegur ajar perhamba tolong menolong barang yang kias dan bebalnya ke
- (20) rana harap perhamba dahulu allah wa ba'dahu rasul akan raja atas selamanya maka sekarang ini jadi mushkil kepada perhamba
- (21) kerana raja pun tiada didalam negeri maka itulah yang perhamba berchinta2 pada malam dan siang tiada menaruh lupa dan
- (22) lalai sehari2 kepada segenap waktu dan masanya maka didalam daripada itu jikalau ada masa raja didalam negeri supaya boleh
- (23) perhamba ketahui pada sebarang2 bichara dan barang perintahannya sebelah barat sana tetapi halnya ada perhamba mendengar khabar kepada segala dagang
- (24) senteri yang pergi mari menchari ayapan kedalam negeri kelantan rajalah yang mendapat kebajikan dan martabat yang (*the letter continued at the side, upside down*)
- (25) kemuliaan dan ketinggian kepada zaman ini ta
- (26) nah sebelah barat maka serta perhamba peroleh khabar yang
- (27) demikian itu sangat-lah jadi kesukaannya
- (28) boleh tolong menolong perhamba mana yang kias
- (29) bebalnya perhamba mintalah raja tolong ajar tegur perhamba
- (30) kerana kuranglah paham perhamba pada segala bichara ini
- (31) maka telah haraplah perhamba akan raja pada sebarang2 kiranya
- (32) dahulu allah kemudian rasulnya dan lagi pula
- (33) jikalau ada kemurahannya perhamba mintalah beli timah
- (34) boleh dua tiga pikul mana2 yang patut di
- (35) perharga oleh raja maka yang fasal harganya
- (36) itu perhamba mintalah bertanggoh kemudian sadikit
- (37) demikianlah adanya tammatu'l-kalam bi'l-khair wa's salām
- (38) perbuat surat kepada tiga likur hari bulan muharram
- (39) kepada hari ithnain waktu jam pukul lima
- (40) tarikh sanatu'llah 1253.

SEAL

al-wāthiqū bi'llāhi'l-ghani + raja muda kelantan +  
ibnu yūsuf al-marhūm + khallada'llāhu mulkahu wa  
ihsānahu + sanat 1253.

Letter No. 2.

al-mustahiqq

- (1) maka adalah surat daripada perhamba sultan muhammad raja kelantan maka adalah perhamba nyatakan kepada raja

Transliteration of the Letters

- (2) jambu yang telah ada memerintahkan pada masa ini didalam jambu serta sekalian ta'loknya lagi 'arif
- (3) budiman serta dengan bijaksana pada hal melakukan atas jalan sahabat berkaséh kaséhan pada segala
- (4) sahabat handai taulannya jauh dan dekat maka dipohonkan tuhan allah akan pangkat darjat berkekalan
- (5) selamanya2 serta mendapat untong yang baik dan lagi menang kepada segala lawan jua adanya
- (6) wa ba'dahu daripada itu maka adalah perhamba melayangkan secharék kertas ini tiadalah dengan
- (7) sepertinya akan jadi berkata2 perhamba dengan raja akan hal perhamba nyatakan kepada raja akan
- (8) perahu top perhamba itu jikalau ada kemahuan mintalah raja tolong suroh balék kenegeri kelantan
- (9) dan lagi perhamba mendengar khabar orang kedah itu sudah ia lari dari patani maka angkatan orang
- (10) siam itu sudah sampai kenegeri jala dan negeri kedah pun sudah boléh kerja legur sunggohkah
- (11) atau tiada akan khabar itu maka mintalah raja beri khabar mari dengan sahah dan sebagai lagi
- (12) kedudukan perhamba ini berkelahi dengan tuan besar kampung laut itu tiada selesai lagi maka asal
- (13) tuan besar kampung laut muafakat adék beradék léngkong perhamba maka perhamba pun muafakat
- (14) adék beradék perhamba terbit pukul maka ditolong allah akan perhamba orang yang meléngkong perhamba
- (15) itu pun sudah pechah dan kota raja ché' pun sudah perhamba rebah habis dan yang belum
- (16) lagi selesai itu tuan besar kampung laut dan tuan long ahmad dudok bertikam di bukit lagi
- (17) dengan raja muda dan engku seri emas raja dan tanah seberang sudah boléh kepada perhamba
- (18) setakat kua'a lama hingga kehulu tinggal lagi kampung laut dengan sungai pinang itulah perhamba
- (19) nyatakan kepada raja boléh ketahui dahulu itulah adanya tammatu'l-kalām bi'l-khair wa's-salām
- (20) maka perbuat surat ini kepada sembilan likur haribulan muharram kepada hari sabtu waktu jam pukul lima tarikh sanat 1255.



al-wāthiqu bi'llāhi + raja kelantan + khallada'llāhu  
mulkahu wa ihsānahu wa faḍlahu + ibnu ā lūang tan al-  
marhūm + sanat 1254

Letter No. 3

al-mustahiqq

- (1) bahwa surat daripada tuan besar kampong laut mari sampaikan pada samian tera yang bichara dibawah chau kun mé tap<sup>1</sup>
- (2) shahadan maka adalah perhamba nyatakan surat mari pada samian tera itu akan pekerjaan perkelahian perhamba dengan
- (3) raja kelantan ini melainkan pintalah samian tera bichara dengan chau kun mé tap segala bukunya sudah
- (4) perhamba ma'lum kebawah duli chau kun mé tap melainkan pintalah samian tera bichara dengan chau kun mé tap itu
- (5) melainkan jikalau diberi allah ta'ala akan perhamba dengan bichara samian tera itu melainkan perhamba beri akan samian tera
- (6) pada tiap<sup>2</sup> masok bunga emas perhamba beri akan samian tera setahil emas akan bahagian samian tera
- (7) itu maka telah haraplah perhamba akan samian tera dahulunya perhamba harapkan chau kun kemudiannya perhamba harapkan samian tera
- (8) demikianlah adanya boleh perhamba hubong berhubong pergi pada hari yang kehadapannya maka suatu pun tiada hanyalah emas
- (9) setahil melayu perhamba beri mari pada enche' jid hal itulah adanya perhamba nyatakan surat
- (10) mari pada samian tera itu maka tiadalah perhamba memanjangkan khabar lagi tersurat pada hari ithnain tujuh hari
- (11) bulan tujuh tammatu'l-kalām sanat 1255

Letter No. 4

al-kalāmu'ṣ-ṣiddiq

- (1) bahwa sūratu'l-ikhlāṣ yang terakmal serta doa yang terafdal iaitu daripada anakanda tuan besar kampong laut maka surat
- (2) dihiasi dengan aman daripada rahmat allah datang (kehadapan) mamanda iaitu raja sai yang beroléh limpah rahmat kemuliaan

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1. Thai "samian tra:" เสนอหน้าตรา (Clerk of the Seal). "cau khun me thaph" เจ้าคุณแม่ทัพ (HE the (army) Commander.)

Transliteration of the Letters

- (3) dan martabat yang terbilang daripada allah subhanahu wa ta'ala lagi terbilang pada segala makhluk allah ta'ala yang amat murah pada
- (4) segala fakir dan miskin dan amat mengaséhani pada segala anak dagang senteri yang gharib serta
- (5) mashhurlah warta yang ghaib dan warta yang ihsan pada tiap2 segala negeri dan dusun oléh hal yang demikian
- (6) itu telah tersuratlah kata2 yang baik pada antara médan awal dan akhir daripada azal datang pada abad maka adalah berbahagia
- (7) segala yang bernaung dibawahnya dan mengikut hukum perintahan jalálan alláhi fi dzalika lá haula wa lá qúwata ilā
- (8) bi'lláhi fi'dunyā wa'l-áakhirat amin yā rabba'n-nāṣirin wa ba'dahu dari itu akan hal anakanda berkirim sekeping
- (9) kertas seumpama dzarrah yang ditiupkan oléh rihān<sup>2</sup> daripada nipis rahmat jua adanya yang menyampaikan pada mamanda
- (10) itu shahadan maka adalah anakanda nyatakan surat mari pada mamanda itu anakanda hendak mendengar
- (11) khabar pada mamanda akan perintahan orang siam itu sebagaimana bicarannya kerana anakanda mendengar khabar orang karu(t)2
- (12) itu kata orang siam itu hendak mari akan negeri kelantan hendak menolong orang sebelah dalam sunggoh atau tidak
- (13) sunggoh seperti khabar itu melainkan pintalah mamanda khabar dengan yang sebenar2nya dengan kerana 'allah subhanahu wa ta'ala kerana
- (14) anakanda itu tiadalah harap dua tiga lagi melainkan mamandalah tempat anakanda harapnya dahulu allah ba'da rasul
- (15) demikianlah adanya tersurat pada hari ahad tujuh likur hari bulan rabí'ulawal tahun hā
- (16) tarikh 1255 sanat al-ḥaqqu'sh-shaikhi m' r ū f a l k r k h ī allāh2 tammāt (*written at the side, upside down*)
- (17) kemudian dari itu maka adalah kata2 enché' jid itu paya péchaburi itu
- (18) angkat mari kedalam negeri sai hendak mengambil segala
- (19) orang chana['] dan orang patani yang lari duduk didalam negeri
- (20) sai itu melainkan jikalau dapat mamanda tahan tahan pintalah mamanda tahan jangan
- (21) beri mari kerana ra'yat kelantan ini sunggoh ketakutannya jikalau

2. The text here has 'r-i-h-i-n', which would normally be read as 'raihān' the Arabic word for sweet-basil, a plant common enough in Malaya (i.e. 'selasih (putih)'). The meaning however appears to require a word meaning 'wind' or 'breeze', and I conjecture that the writer intended the Arabic word 'rih(un)' - 'wind' used in the accusative case ('rihān') but spelt incorrectly.



## The Civil War in Kelantan

- (22) paya péchaburi itu mari kedalam negeri sai itu banyaklah ra'yat didalam
- (23) kelantan ini larinya kerana fitnah orang didalam itu terlalulah besarnya
- (24) maka tatakala sampai kéchi dengan jong itu banyak sudah larinya lebéh kurang
- (25) ada seratus tangga demikianlah adanya
- (SEAL) al-wāthiqu billāhi'l-ghani + muhammad perdana menteri  
kelantan + ibnu ismā'il al-marhūm + khallada'llāhu  
mulkahu wa ihsānahu + sanat 1253

Letter No. 5

qaulu'l-ḥaqq

- (1) surat daripada tuan besar kampong laut ma'lumkan kebawah kaus paya seri surintera chai chau kun paya péchaburi hal maka adalah perhamba ma'lumkan surat mari pada chau kun itu
- (2) akan perintah surat chau kun mari akan enché' jid dengan enché' sipin (?) itu telah sampailah pada perhamba maka segala buka perkataannya didalam surat chau kun telah perhamba ma'lumlah pada sege
- (3) nap perkara buku perkataannya dan lagi tersebut didalam surat chau kun itu chau kun ibu angkatan besar me(nye)lesaikan perkerjaan<sup>3</sup> suroh chau kun angkat mari akan negeri sai siasat khabar orang
- (4) tawanan yang jadi derhaka masok sama dengan tuanku muhammad sa'ad negeri cherai<sup>4</sup> sudah serta beri dengar perkataan negeri kelantan ketip<sup>5</sup> jika adék kakak dudok bertengkis
- (5) dudok berperang tiada berhenti lagi boléh chau kun cherita naik pergi pada chau kun ibu angkatan yang besar dan chau kun ibu angkatan yang besar angkat turut turun mari kemudian
- (6) dari itu jikalau perhamba hendak ada hajat sebagaimana pun beri suroh orang mari chari chau kun dinegeri sai itu dan banyak lagi segala buku yang tersebut didalam surat

3. The Malay here is an almost literal translation of the Thai "me: thaph ka:(r)n(y) sa: thok" แม่ทัพทหารจัดการ literally: mother, army, work, completing.) Throughout the letter, the form 'melesaikan' is used in preference to 'menyelesaikan'

4. The Malay rendering of the Thai "(thr)sai" or "(thr)saiburi:" ไทบุรี - "buri" being roughly equivalent to 'negeri' - the Thai name for Kedah.

5. Text here has 'kitib' which I read as 'ketip' - '[to be] bitten' (e.g. by a mosquito.) I conjecture a colloquial meaning similar to that denoted by the English expressions 'to get stung', 'to be badly bitten', and take the phrase to mean that if civil strife continues Kelantan will be the loser for it.

- (7) chau kun itu demikianlah adanya maka sekarang ini perhamba boleh dengar khabar kata chau kun sudah sampai akan negeri sai jadi perhamba ma'lumkan surat mari pada chau kun itu shahadan
- (8) maka adalah perhamba ma'lumkan chau kun itu tatakala sampai surat chau kun mari damai larang tegah jangan jadi berkelahi bertikam adék beradék sama sendirinya itu maka
- (9) perhamba pun berhentilah tiada berbedil maka sebelah raja kelantan dudok berbedil juga jarang<sup>2</sup> adalah yang perhamba sembah itu bukan perhamba buat fitnah ka luang<sup>6</sup> yang bernama kun
- (10) chanok itu pun dengar sekali dengan perhamba pada hari jum'at itu demikianlah adanya sebagai lagi perhamba nyatakan pada chau kun pada hari khamis itu ka luang yang membawa surat
- (11) chau kun ibu angkatan itu pun naik pergi akan sebelah bukit pergi panggil raja changwang dan raja muda tuan long nik gagap turun mari akan kota baharu dan
- (12) pergi panggil saudara perhamba tuan long ahmad itu dengan segala anak raja<sup>2</sup> yang bersama dengan tuan long ahmad itu turun akan kampong laut suroh turun sebelah menjemelah<sup>7</sup> sekali
- (13) maka a luang son seni ambil orang pada perhamba empat orang dan ambil orang sebelah raja kelantan empat orang maka orang yang sebelah raja kelantan itu suroh lihat sebelah perhamba sini
- (14) dan orang sebelah perhamba sini suroh lihat sebelah raja kelantannya bersama<sup>2</sup> dengan ka luang itu maka ka luang yang pergi itu tiada balék lagi demikianlah adanya perhamba ma'lumkan pada chau kun itu
- (15) tetapi tatukala mendengar khabar kata angkatan chau kun sampai akan negeri sai itu terlalu sangat gégérny segala sakai ra'yat didalam negeri kelantan itu takutnya banyaklah larinya
- (16) tiada berketahuannya perginya lebéh kurang ada seratus tangga banyaknya yang sudah lari meninggalkan segala rumah tangga padi berasnya kerana khabar sebelah orang raja
- (17) kelantan itu chau kun mari itu hendak ambil segala ra'yat sebelah kampong laut dan hendak ambil perhamba maka sebab itulah yang jadi segala ra'yat itu banyak larinya
- (18) itulah adanya shahadan lagi perhamba nyatakan jikalau ada limpah ampun karunia serta belas kaséhan atas diri mintalah jemelah akan adék beradék

6. Thai "kha. (h)luang" กษัตริย์ (a royal envoy)

7. The dialect form of 'menyebelah'. On the same model is the form 'jemerang' ('menyeberang') in Letter 13 etc.

## The Civil War in Kelantan

- (19) perhamba ini jangan beri bersama dengan raja kelantan itu maka negeri kelantan ini negeri raja maha besar sana jikalau bolehnya perhamba hendak minta tentukanlah
- (20) adék beradék sebelah perhamba ini jikalau ada ampunnya atas diri perhamba ini biarlah perhamba persembah akan raja maha besar sana sapaan padanlah atas diri
- (21) perhamba dengan adék beradék perhamba ini itulah adanya suatu pun tiada tanda hayatnya hanyalah emas satu tahlil
- (22) itulah adanya tammatu'l-kalām bi'l-khair wa's-salām
- (23) telah tersurat pada hari jum'at 2 haribulan rabi'ulawal waktu jam pukul duabelas

## Letter No. 6

### qaulu'l-haqq

- (1) surat daripada tuan besar kampong laut ma'lum mari kebawah kaus chau kun paya péchaburi shahadan maka adalah perhamba ma'lumkan surat mari pada chau kun itu
- (2) akan pekerjaan kun layar dan kun in sekali dengan enché' jid naik pergi akan bukit memanggil raja changwang dan raja muda dan tuan long nik gagap turun
- (3) mari akan kota baharu dan memanggil saudara perhamba yang bernama tuan long ahmad raja enché' tuan long 'abdulrahman dengan segala anak raja2 yang bersama2 dengan saudara perhamba
- (4) itu turun mari akan kampong laut turun sebelah menjemelah sekali demikianlah adanya maka kun layar kun in dan enché' jid pun naik pergi memanggil segala
- (5) anak raja2 itu maka yang sebelah saudara perhamba itu tatakala sampai kun layar dan kun in membawa titah daripada chau kun ibu angkatan besar yang me(nye)lesaikan pekerjaan maka saudara
- (6) perhamba pun turunlah dari bukit itu pada hari sabtu empat haribulan delapan mari sampai akan kepala titian papan maka sebelah raja changwang dan raja muda dan
- (7) tuan long nik gagap itu maka seorang pun tiada turun maka saudara perhamba pun berhentilah sebentar dari kepala titian papan itu hingga pagi hari
- (8) hingga sampai malam maka yang sudah sampai mari akan kampong lautnya itu tuan 'abdulrahman dan (tuan sen)ik sungai pinang dan tuan bulat maka tuan

- (9) long ahmad itu dudok menanti raja changwang itu karena raja changwang dan raja muda dan tuan long nik gagap itu tiada turun mari
- (10) lagi maka pada hari thalatha tujuh haribulan delapan itu luang son seni (de)ngan kun wichit wati lam<sup>6</sup> naik pula
- (11) akan bukit memanggil raja changwang dan raja muda dan tuan long nik gagap itu belum turun mari lagi maka adalah segala sembah
- (12) perhamba itu bukan perhamba buat fitnah melainkan pintalah chau kun usul kun in itu kerana kun in itu orang chau kun sini akan segala
- (13) perintahannya boleh chau kun ketahui sebagaimana perintahan sebelah raja kelantan supaya boleh chau kun
- (14) ambil segala buku boleh ma'lum naik pergi kebawah duli chau kun ibu angkatan besar yang selesaikan pekerjaannya supaya boleh chau kun ibu angkatan besar menge
- (15) tahu salah dan benarnya siapa2nya demikianlah adanya perhamba ma'umkan kebawah kaus (chau kun boleh hubong berhubong per) gi
- (16) pada hari yang kehadapan demikianlah adanya tammatu'l-kalam bi'l-khair wa'-salam ..... *(part of the letter appears to be torn away here; the letter continues at the right, upside down)*.....
- (17) kemudian daripada itu perhamba ma'umkan pada chau kun didalam sehari dua ini terlalu sangat
- (18) gegernya segala ra'yat bala isi negeri kelantan ini ketakutannya banyaklah larinya
- (19) tiada berketahuan perginya meninggalkan rumah tangganya dan padi beras(nya) dan kerbau
- (20) lembunya kerana khabar orang raja kelantan itu chau kun mari itu hendak ambil ra'yat
- (21) yang sebelah perhamba kampong laut dan hendak ambil sekali dengan perhamba maka sebab itulah
- (22) yang jadi ra'yat bala banyak lari itu demikianlah perhamba ma'umkan tetapi sembah
- (23) perhamba itu chau kun sudah ma'lum itulah adanya suatu pun tiada tanda
- (24) hayat hanyalah emas dua tahl melayu perhamba sembahkan kebawah kaus chau kun

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8. Thai "la:m" ลาม - interpreter

The Civil War in Kelantan

- (25) *séni*<sup>9</sup> tiada dengan sepertinya
- (26) telah tersurat pada malam thalatha tujuh haribulan delapan pa(da ta) hun kura tarikh 1255 sanat
- (27) kemudian daripada itu perhamba sembahkan siréh dua ratus tiga puluh (ber)kas dan pinang-nya empat ribu dan sambil2nya
- (28) seraga dan tembakaunya seabukl itulah sembahkan kebawah-kaus chau kun *séni*

Letter No. 7

bismi'llāhi'r-raḥmani'r-raḥim

- (1) salāmun qaulan min rabbi'r-raḥim iaitu daripada anakanda tuan besar kampong laut yang bebal barang disampaikan allah subhanahu wa ta'ala
- (2) jua kiranya pada mamanda raja sai shahadan maka adalah anakanda nyatakan surat mari pada mamanda itu akan pekerjaan
- (3) ka luang yang terbit mari negeri singgora membawa surat chap daripada chau kun ibu angkatan besar yang me(nye) lesaikan pekerjaan
- (4) itu mari mendamai akan pekerjaan perkelahian anakanda dengan raja kelantan itu maka tatakala sampai surat chap daripada
- (5) ibu angkatan besar itu maka anakanda pun berhentilah daripada berkelahnya maka segala bedil besar pun
- (6) chabutlah dari kubu maka tiadalah berbedil lagi maka ka luang yang membawa surat itu pun naik akan bukit pergi
- (7) memanggil raja penambang dan raja muda tuan long nik gagap turun akan kota baharu dan memanggil saudara anakanda
- (8) tuan long ahmad dan raja enché' tuan long 'abdulrahman dengan segala anak raja yang bersama2 dengan saudara anakanda
- (9) itu turun mari akan kampong laut serta turun sekali sebelah menjemelah demikianlah adanya maka ka luang pun
- (10) naikhlah akan bukit pergi memanggil segala anak raja2 itu maka yang sebelah saudara anakanda itu tatakala sampai ka luang membawa titah

9. The word '*séni*' here, and in Line 28, is one I have not been able to trace. Perhaps the scribe has mistakenly assumed that the word, which occurs as the last part of the name of the highest Siamese official then present in Kelantan - Luang Son *Séni* (mentioned in line 10 of the Letter) - was some sort of honorific applicable to all Siamese noblemen. The mistake might be the easier to make in that the phrase 'chau kun *sini*' - '*sini*' being spelt in the same way as '*séni*' - occurs in line 12. On the other hand it might simply be the Malay word '*seni*' (fine, graceful, delicate) used as a complimentary adjective.

- (11) daripada ibu angkatan itu maka saudara anakanda itu pun turun segala adék beradék pada hari sabtu tiga hari bulan
- (12) rabi'ulakhir itu mari sampai akan kepala titian papan itu maka sebelah raja penambang seorang pun tiada turun
- (13) maka saudara anakanda itu pun berhenti nanti dari kepala titian papan itu dari pagi hingga sampai malam maka sebelah
- (14) raja penambang tiada turun juga maka yang sebelah adék beradék anakanda itu sudah sampai akan kampung lautnya tuan
- (15) long 'abdulrahman dan tuan senik sungai pinang dan tuan bulat maka saudara anakanda tuan long ahmad itu dudok nanti
- (16) raja penambang kerana raja penambang tiada turun mari lagi maka pada hari thalatha enam haribulan rabi'ulakhir itu
- (17) luang son séni dengan enché' 'arifin naik pula akan bukit memanggil raja penambang tetapi belum turun lagi maka segala
- (18) perkataan anakanda itu bukan anakanda buat fitnah melainkan jikalau mamanda hendak tahu pintalah mamanda usul tuan
- (19) long ni itu kerana tuan long ni ia pergi bersama2 dengan ka luang akan bukit akan segala perintahan boléh mamanda ketahuinya
- (20) sebagaimana perintahannya sebelah anakanda sini dan perintahan sebelah raja kelantan supaya boléh mamanda ambil segala buku
- (21) perkataannya sembahkan pada chau kun paya péchaburi dan sembahkan pada chau kun ibu angkatan supaya boléh
- (22) chau kun ibu angkatan mengetahui salah dan benar siapa2nya demikianlah adanya fasal anakanda itu tiada harap dua tiga lagi
- (23) melainkan mamandalah akan tempat anakanda harapnya akan tolong kiranya bichara kerana anakanda tiadalah ketahu chara 'adat
- (24) bahasa siam itu melainkan mamandalah akan ganti bapa anakanda dunia akhirat itulah adanya (*continued at the side*)
- (25) suatu pun tiada tanda hayatnya hanyalah kain
- (26) bali sehelai anakanda sembahkan kepada mamanda jadi
- (27) ganti tuboh anakanda itulah adanya tammatu'l-kalām
- (28) tersurat pada tujoh haribulan rabi'ulakhir pada hari thalatha
- (29) pada tahun kura sh-i-kh m-(\*)-r-ü-f a-l-k-r-kh-i

SEAL

al-wāthiqu bi'llāhi'l-ghāni + muḥammad perdana menteri  
kelantan + ibnu ismā'il al-marḥūm + khallada'llāhu  
mulkaḥu wa iḥsānahu + sanat 1253

al-mustaḥiqq

- (1) wa'llāhu rabbu's-samāwāti wa'l-arḍi wa'sh-shu'ā'i wa'z-zalami wa'l-ijlālu wa'l-ikrāmu wa'ṣ-ṣalātu'l-akmālu bi's-salāmi wa 'alā ālihi mina'l-nabiyīna
- (2) wa'z-zāhirīna khaira'l-a'yāni wa zaina'l-maliki'd-dayyāni telah selesailah daripada memuji tuhan ṣifātu'r-rahmān dan salawatkan
- (3) nabi fi ākhiri'z-zamān maka diidāfatkan didalamnya salāmu'llāhi ta'ālā 'l-maliki'l-'allām iaitu daripada anakanda tuan long ahmad yang ada
- (4) pada masa ini didalam negeri kelantan barang diwasilkan ad-dayyānu'r-rafiq kiranya kehadiran janab yang mashrifah dan darajah
- (5) wa huwa mamanda iaitu raja sai yang memegang kerajaan didalam negeri sai yang memerintahkan segala daérah ta'lok jajahan negeri patani
- (6) yutawilu'llāhu 'umrahu wa abqāhu wa ja'ala'l-jannata mathwāhu wa anna fi kulli yaumin wa lailatin sa'ādatan (fi) darajātin yaumi'd-dīn āmin
- (7) yā rabba'l-'ālamīn amma ba'dahu daripada itu maka adalah anakanda nyatakan surat mari pada mamanda itu akan pekerjaan ka luang
- (8) yang terbit mari dari negeri singgora membawa surat chap daripada chau kun ibu angkatan besar yang me(nye)lesaikan
- (9) pekerjaan itu mari mendamai akan pekerjaan perkelahian anakanda dengan raja kelantan itu maka tatakala sampai
- (10) surat chap daripada ibu angkatan besar itu maka anakanda pun berhentilah daripada berkelahnya maka segala bedil besar pun
- (11) chabutlah daripada kubu maka tiadalah berbedil lagi maka ka luang yang membawa surat itu pun naik akan bukit
- (12) pergi memanggil raja penambang dan raja muda dan tuan long nik gagap turun akan kota baharu dan memanggil saudara
- (13) anakanda tuan long 'abdu'rahman dan raja enché' turunlah dengan segala anak2 raja yang ada bersama2 dengan anakanda itu turun
- (14) mari akan kampong laut serta turun sekali sebelah menjemelah demikianlah adanya maka ka luang pun naik akan bukit pergi
- (15) memanggil segala anak raja2 itu maka yang sebelah anakanda itu tatkala sampai ka luang yang membawa titah daripada ibu angkatan besar itu maka saudara
- (16) anakanda itupun turun sekali dengan anakanda segala adék beradék pada hari sabtu tiga hari bulan rabi'ulakhir itu mari sampai
- (17) akan kepala titian papan itu maka sebelah raja penambang seorang pun tiada turun maka anakanda itu pun berhenti nanti

Transliteration of the Letters

- (18) dari kepala titian papan itu dari pagi2 hingga sampai malam maka sebelah raja penambang tiada turun juga maka yang sebelah adék beradék
- (19) anakanda itu yang sudah sampai akan kampong lautnya tuan long 'abduhrahman dan tuan senik sungai pinang dan tuan bulat
- (20) maka akan hal anakanda itu tiada dudok nanti raja penambang kerana raja penambang tiada turun mari lagi maka pada
- (21) hari thalatha enam hari bulan rabi'ulakhir itu luang son séni dengan enché 'arifin naik pula akan bukit memanggil raja penambang
- (22) tetapi belum turun lagi maka segala perkataan anakanda itu bukan anakanda buat fitnah melainkan jikalau mamanda hendak tahu pintalah mamanda
- (23) kepada usul tuan long in kerana tuan long in ia pergi bersama2 dengan ka luang akan bukit akan segala perintahan boléh mamanda
- (24) ketahui sebagaimana perintahannya sebelah anakanda sini dan perintahannya sebelah raja kelantan supaya boléh mamanda ambil segala
- (25) buku perkataan sembahkan pada chau kun paya pechaburi dan sembahkan pada chau kun ibu angkatan supaya boléh (*continued at the side, upside down*)
- (26) chau kun ibu angkatan mengetahui salah dan
- (27) benar siapa2nya demikian adanya
- (28) fasal anakanda itu tiada harap dua tiga
- (29) lagi melainkan mamandalah akan tempat anakanda berharapnya
- (30) akan tolong kiranya bicharanya kerana anakanda
- (31) tiadalah tahu chara 'adatnya chakap baha(sa)
- (32) siam itu melainkan mamandalah akan ganti
- (33) bapa anakanda dunia akhiratnya itulah adanya
- (34) suatu pun tiada tanda hayatnya
- (35) hanyalah doa fi'l-laili wa'l-ayyâm
- (36) tersurat pada tujuh hari bulan rabi'ulakhir
- (37) pada hari thalatha pada tahun kura tammât

Letter No. 9

qaulu'l-haqq

- (1) al-ḥamdu li'llāhi'l-adzi khalaqa's-samāwāti wa'l-arḍi wa'llāhu 'alā kulli shai'in qadīrun aṣ-ṣalātu wa's-salām
- (2) 'alā rasūlika sayyidina muḥammad wa 'alā ālihi wa ṣaḥbihi ajma'in setelah selesai daripada memuji tuhan



## The Civil War in Kelantan

- (3) *ṣifātu'r-rahmān* dan salawatkan nabi akhir zaman maka diidafatkan dengan salam yang berhias dengan *fathu'r-razzāqi*(?)
- (4) wa *taḥmīdan* aidan iaitu daripada paduka anakanda tuan bulat barang disampaikan daripada tahun *rabbi'l-'arshi*—
- (5) *T-'aẓīm* kehadiran majelis paduka ayahanda raja sai yang teramat 'ārifu *bi'llāh* lagi bijaksananya
- (6) serta dianugerahkan pangkat dan darjatnya seolah2 *sharāban ṭahūran āmin yā rabba'l-'ālamīn thumma āmin*
- (7) wa *ba'dahu* daripada (itu) paduka anakanda menyatakan fasal negeri kelantan kepada paduka ayahanda sebarang2 bagai dan
- (8) sekian fasal boléh ketahu'nya sebelah jemelah raja kelantan dengan sebelah adék beradék paduka anakanda pada
- (9) segenap perkaranya sekian peringntan paduka ayahanda paduka anakanda sembahkan paduka ayahanda maka daripada
- (10) paduka anakanda tiada yang lain lagi daripada paduka ayahanda harap atas selamanya daripada paduka ayahanda da
- (11) hulu allah kemudian rasulnya paduka ayahanda boléh pangkat dan darjatnya yang kemuliaan dan martabat
- (12) yang ketinggian dan jalan yang kebajikan pada zaman ini seupama kesturi yang teramat harum
- (13) baunya dan lagi seperti tabih yang amat besar boléh mengubat sekalian penyakit dan menghawai sebarang
- (14) yang bisanya shahadan daripada itu menyatakan surat mari sebelah siam datang mendamai pekerjaan
- (15) *musoh*<sup>10</sup> negeri kelantan maka menjadi terhenti masing2 dengan tempatnya kedudukan paduka anakanda
- (16) tuan besar kampong laut itu tempat seberang sini dan paduka anakanda tuan long ahmad dengan paduka
- (17) anakanda kedudukannya tempat bukit beralas sungai seperti kampong laut juga dengan raja kelantan
- (18) maka jikalau datang suatu bicharanya mintalah paduka ayahanda tolong seboléh2 atas paduka anakanda a
- (19) dék beradék kerana harap anakanda kepada paduka ayahanda seperti bapa dari dunia sampaikan kepada ha
- (20) ri akhirat jemah demikianlah adanya *tammatu'l-kalām bi'l-khair wa's-salām* perbuat
- (21) surat kepada tujuh hari bulan kepada hari *thalatha sanat 1253* (*written at the side, upside down*).

10. In the Kelantan sense of 'quarrelling, fighting'.

- (22) dan lagi paduka anakanda sembahkan nyiur sera  
 (23) tus butir dan pinangnya ada seribu demikianlah  
 (24) (ada)nya tammatu'l-kalām.

*Letter No. 10*

al-mustaḥiqq

- (1) surat daripada perhamba paya pipit pakdi serj sultan muhammad ratna nuchit santi sunton boworo wangsa paya kelantan ma'lum mari kepada tan<sup>11</sup>
- (2) paya péchaburi beri ketahui maka adalah masa ché' long balék dari negeri singgora tan boleh pesan mari kepada ché' long menyuroh (khabar) kepada perhamba jika tuan
- (3) besar tuan long ahmad tiada pakai (seperti didalam surat tan itu) suroh pergi mari ma'lum maka sekarang ini tuan besar tuan long ahmad tiada pakai ikut didalam surat (tan itu ku)bu sebelah suku tuan
- (4) besar yang diletak léngkong sebelah matahari naik perhamba itu tiada ia (r)ombak dan segala anak raja sekalian pun tiada ia (balék) pergi sebel(ah) matahari jafoh lagi
- (5) diléngkong kukoh pula kuala pun tiada dibuka inilah perhamba suroh ché' umar mari ma'lum kepada tan beri ketahui jika ada tan (menaroh) kaséhan diatas perhamba
- (6) tan tolonglah perhamba kepada waktu ini sangatlah perhamba harapnya seperti gunung yang tinggi2 lagi perhamba harapnya maka perhamba hendak chari barang2 hendak sembah mari
- (7) pun tiada jalan hendak boléh terbit perahunya ada suata sungai kechil ché' 'umar boléh churi lari mari perhamba boléh chari emas urai empat tahil
- (8) bungkal melayu sembah mari kepada tan akan jadi tandanya boléh tan taroh sementara dahulu seperkara pula perhamba ma'lum beri tan ketahui akan a luang son
- (9) séni mé tap siam dan tuan long in itu ia masok sebelah tuan besar tuan long ahmad sebelah perhamba hendak khabar kata apa2 pun tiada ia dengarnya dan lagi bukan
- (10) ia pergi bichara negeri ia pergi chari faédah chari bini chari rial sahaja dua bulan ia pergi dudok ia pergi dapat perhamba tiga empat
- (11) kali fasal tuan besar tuan long ahmad buat diatas perhamba sekali ini

11. Thai ทาน "tha:n" used as a second or third personal pronoun.

## The Civil War in Kelantan

- ia hendak bunoh buang perhamba keempat beradék ini dan lagi segala ra'yat bala pun jadi
- (12) kesakitan sangatlah<sup>2</sup> dan dirampas ditarék anak<sup>2</sup> bini orang buat bininya dan siam<sup>2</sup> dan sami<sup>2</sup> pera' chau<sup>12</sup> direntak ambil kain kuning dikerat beri
  - (13) sekerat<sup>2</sup> sahaja sangatlah diperbuat diatas sami pera' chau itu jikalau ada kaséh-kaséhan diatas perhamba keempat ini pinta tan angkat mari tolong perhamba
  - (14) segeranya kerana tuan besar tuan long ahmad itu tiada pakai surat tera chau kun ibu angkatan besar yang maha mulia itulah perhamba ma'lumkan kemudian pula perhamba tanya kepada a luang son
  - (15) séni kun wichit wati sebelah tuan besar itu ia hendak buat turut seperti surat tera duli yang maha mulia atau sebagaimana maka a luang son séni kun
  - (16) wichit wati kata kepada perhamba tuan besar itu jika sebelah tuan long ahmad tiada (r)ombak kubu tuan besar pun tiada (r)ombak kubu sebelah tuan besar itu kuala pun tiada
  - (17) buka juga hendak hantar makanan akan ka luang pun tiada boléh jadi kesakitan sangatlah perhamba ini seperkara pula mendengar khabar kata tuan besar
  - (18) beri surat kepada tan kata sudah ia rombak kubu maka tatakala sampai orang tan pergi itu perhamba suroh pergi lihat jangankan ia rombak
  - (19) ia buat tambah pula melainkan minta angkat mari dengan segeranya akan berlawan barang lima ratus jikalau berlambatan tan angkat mari hendak boléh salah
  - (20) atas diri perhamba itulah takut sangat<sup>2</sup> itulah perhamba ma'lumkan seperkara pula jadi perhamba berlambatan beri surat kepada tan kerana tiada
  - (21) ada boléh buku jikalau perhamba beri surat jadi serupa dengan orang menyembah kepada tan jikalau tan suroh orang pergi lihat tiada seperti
  - (22) perhamba sembah itu jadi bohong perhamba kepada tan tiada patut perhamba sembah kepada tan dengan yang bohong itu sekali<sup>2</sup> itulah adanya
  - (23) seperkara pula lepas mé tap siam kun yuta samat kun raja mé tap

12 'sami' (Thai "sa:mi - lord, master) is the usual Malay word for a Buddhist monk.

The following words I take to be the Thai "phra' cau" พระเจ้า (noble master), a term applied not only to royalty but also to Buddhist clergy

Transliteration of the Letters

- lam<sup>13</sup> balék daripada bukit a luang son séni kun wichit wati naik pergi ia kata dengan perhamba sendiri ia
- (24) hendak naik pergi kata beri suku tuan long ahmad dengan tuan long ahmad raja ché' dan suku raja ché' sekalian turun mari sebelah matahari jatuh dan rombak kubu ikut seperti
- (25) surat tera duli yang maha mulia ibu angkatan kurnia beri kun yuta samat bawa pergi itu tiba<sup>2</sup> a luang son séni kun wichit wati balék turun sahaja kerana tuan long ahmad (*continued at the side, upside down*)
- (26) beri rial kepada a luang son séni dengan kun wichit wati kedua itu sebab itulah
- (27) ia balék sahaja tiada jadi rombak kubu sebab inilah kerja jadi boléh
- (28) berpanjangan kerana a luang son séni kun wichit wati kedua ini tiada jadi
- (29) orang tengah boléh a luang tip akson bersembah ma'lum pada kebawah duli yang maha mulia
- (30) ibu angkatan beri ketahui jikalau ada limpah ampun kurnia diatas perhamba
- (31) ini perhamba mohonlah a luang son séni kun wichit wati mé tap siam ketiga
- (32) isi kerana ia bukan pergi bichara (pe)kerjaan duli yang maha mulia kerja negeri
- (33) kelantan itu ia pergi chari faédah akan dia sahaja itulah adanya (*continued below line 25*)
- (34) maka perbuat surat ini kepada bulan delapan timbul delapan hari kepada tahun kura hari khamis tarikh sanat 1255

SEAL

al-wāthiqu bi'llāhi + raja kelantan + khallada'llāhu mulkahu wa ihsānahu wa faḍlahu + ibnu ā lūang tan al-marḥūm + sanat 1254

Letter No. 11

al-mustahiqq

- (1) surat daripada perhamba paya pipit pakdi seri sultan muhammad ratna nuchit santi sunton boworo wongso paya kelantan dan paya sunton tibodi seri sultan
- (2) déwa maharaja paya changwang nyata mari sampai kepada a luang tip

13 Thai "me thaph la.m". มหัทธาม the first two words denoting 'an officer commanding a detachment of troops', and the last word meaning 'interpreter'

- akson samian tera perhamba pinta tolong berdatang sembah ma'lum pada kebawah duli panahua chau tan<sup>14</sup> ibu angkatan
- (3) besar selesaikan (pe)kerjaan yang maha mulia beri ketahuhi maka adalah yang dikurniai beri kun yuta samat bawa surat pergi sampai kepada perhamba jadi bahasa melayu dua puchok bahasa siam dua puchok
  - (4) jadi empat puchok sampai kepada perhamba pada hari ahad bulan tujuh duabelas kelam itu perhamba pun boleh nyata segala buku yang tersebut didalam surat itu segenap perkaranya sudah tegah larang perhamba
  - (5) tiada beri perhamba berperang jika siapa2 tiada pakai berperang berhubung pergi lagi duli yang maha mulia hendak angkat angkatan besar turun mari maka pada hari sambut surat itulah perhamba beri
  - (6) tegah larang sebelah perhamba sekalian tiada beri berbedil tiada beri berperang segenap tempat maka a luang son seni dan kun wichit wati kun yuta samat tanya kepada perhamba bagaimana perhamba hendak
  - (7) turutah atau tiada mahu turut maka perhamba kata sebelah perhamba ini turut semuanya maka a luang son seni kata kepada perhamba jika perhamba turut kubu sebelah perhamba itu beri rombak kubu sebelah perhamba itu sama2
  - (8) lagi tuan long ahmad raja che' turun mari beri paya changwang itu turun mari sama2 sekali maka perhamba pun kata tiada apa sebelah perhamba ini tetapi didalam surat yang dikurnia beri pergi sampai kepada
  - (9) perhamba itu pun tiada suroh sebelah perhamba rombak kubu beri turun pergi sama2 tetapi a luang son seni kata sudah perhamba pun ikut sekalian kerana perhamba takut akan duli yang maha mulia ini maka sudah
  - (10) a luang son seni beri kata kun raja che' jid a luang in serta dengan kawan perhamba empat orang naik pergi rombak kubu ambil tuboh tuan long ahmad suku tuan long ahmad suku raja che' yang di
  - (11) letak kubu bertikam dengan paya changwang léngkong perhamba itu sebelah perhamba a luang son seni beri kun yuta samat mé tap dan mé tap pakdi lam naik pergi kata paya changwang suku paya
  - (12) changwang turun mari kata beri paya changwang rombak maka paya changwang pun kata sebelah paya changwang ini tiada apa jika sebelah tuan long ahmad suku tuan (long ahmad) sekalian turun pergi sebelah matahari
  - (13) jatuh habis dan rombak kubu ikut seperti didalam surat tera duli yang maha mulia beri mari ini paya changwang pun chabut kubu turun pergi sama ikut seperti yang tersebut didalam surat yang di
  - (14) kurnia beri pergi itu maka esok hendak turun mari suku tuan long ahmad

14. Thai "phanahua cau tha:n" พณพิริยเจ้าทวน (n=st exalted Lord)

- raja ché' [hendak] turun tiga belas orang sahaja setengah tinggal dengan ra'yat duduk tunggu kubu dan lagi
- (15) kubu itu pun tiada ia rombak kubu seperti didalam surat tera itu tuan long ahmad suku tuan long ahmad raja ché' pun tiada rombak kubu dan tiada mahu turun pergi maka kemudian pula kun raja
- (16) mari khabar kepada kun yuta samat dan mé tap pakdi (lam) paya changwang kata ia suroh tuan long ahmad rombak kubu tuan long ahmad dan tuan besar tiada mahu rombak kubu itu didalam kira tegah larang
- (17) itu sebelah tuan long ahmad buat kubu pula dua butir dan buat pagar anak pun dibuat tambah lagi perhamba khabar kepada kun yuta samat pergi lihat maka kun yuta samat jika pergi lihat khabar
- (18) pun tiada orang perchaya tiada ia orang mengaku dan pada masa panahua chau tan chau paya legor yang maha mulia beri nai san ché' nut bawa surat mari tegah larang maka didalam tegah larang itu
- (19) tuan besar pukul ambil kuala dengan tuan long 'ali sudah sekali sebab inilah sakit sangatlah perhamba kerana sebelah perhamba ini khabar kata a luang son séni mé tap tiada dengarnya maka masa a luang
- (20) son séni bawa surat tera duli yang maha mulia mari tegah larang didalam a luang son séni tegah larang itu sebelah perhamba pun pakai maka sebelah tuan besar dan tuan long ahmad pukul tempat serdang tuan
- (21) tengah anak raja banggul pukul ambil tempat labok perhamba khabar kepada a luang son séni maka a luang son séni pun tiada buat surat sembah ma'lum mari kepada duli yang maha mulia sebab itulah
- (22) sakit sangatlah akan sebelah perhamba ini kemudian pula a luang pitak dengan kun wichit wati mari tegah larang pula perhamba pun turun pada malam itulah sebelah tengku besar bedil segenap tempat
- (23) kubu pukul pula tempat pulai chondong<sup>15</sup> dengan lundang paku jadi dua tempat perhamba khabar kepada a luang son séni pula a luang pitak kun wichit wati a luang pitak pun balék a luang
- (24) son séni pun tiada sembah ma'lum mari akan segala perintah sebelah tuan besar buat itu ia bichara masuk sebelah sahaja tiada bichara jadi orang tengah seperkara pula seperti yang tersebut
- (25) didalam surat tera kata raja muda terbit mari dari benua rombak ambil rumah adék tengku besar itu perhamba sembah ma'lum dengan betul benar pada tahun dahulu perhamba perang dengan
- (26) raja banggul raja ché' masuk sebelah perhamba perang dengan tuan lebai anak raja banggul (raja banggul) lari tuan lebai pun lari mari duduk ditempat jakang maka raja ché' ambil rumah raja banggul

15. Although the text has 'pál-á', I read 'pulai', 'Pulai Chondong' being a well-known locality near Kota Bharu. In the Kelantan dialect, both 'pulau' and 'pulai' would be pronounced in identical fashion (cf. Pepsy: GLO, p. 304; Brown: STU, p.127, 128).

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- (27) itu tatakala raja muda balék daripada benua siam rumah raja muda kawan raja bangga bakar habis tiada tempat hendak dudok raja muda kata kepada paya changwang pinta tolong beli rumah raja
- (28) bangga itu kepada raja ché' maka paya changwang pun beli rumah raja bangga itu kepada raja enché' dua buah maka raja enché' pun juallah rumah itu kepada raja muda jadi harganya seratus sepuluh
- (29) railnya maka raja muda pun ambillah rumah itu bukan raja muda pergi kekerasan ambil rumah adék tengku besar itu tiada seperkara pula perintah beras tengku besar itu perhamba dengan paya changwang suroh
- (30) orang pukul chanang waktu2 didalam negeri tiada beri siapa2 beli beras puak orang lain melayu china suroh beli beras tengku besar beri habis maka kapitan po ta datok cha kang kapitan
- (31) chi dan kapitan chua dan kapitan béng dan china juru bahasa dua orang pergi angkat beras tuan besar mari jual harga pun tiada habis bayar lagi beras yang ada didalam
- (32) perahu lagi itu tengku besar kata kepada datok cha kang hendak taroh makan tiada jual seperkara pula fasal tengku besar kata [tengku besar kata] tengku seri indera ambil tanah bendang tengku besar
- (33) itu maka fasal tanah bendang itu asalnya tanah bendang ayah perhamba raja temenggong maka raja temenggong berséwa kepada ra'yat scribu ambil seratus
- (34) kerana tanah itu tanah ayah perhamba setengah tanah raja bangga bukan tengku seri indera ambil tanah tengku besar itu tiada seperkara pula fasal kubu itu sebelah tengku besar letak buat kubu bedil perhamba
- (35) dahulu tuan long ahmad pun tengku besar suroh naik pergi kebukit dan raja bangga pun tengku besar suroh naik pergi ketempat lamor maka tengku besar pun bedil dahulu lima hari mari kena rumah
- (36) kawan2 perhamba baharu perhamba suroh bedil balas maka segala kerja sekalian ini jika duli yang maha mulia hendak diketahui boléh duli yang maha mulia panggil a luang tip ob 'a luang chai pon pak ché' nut
- (37) yang mari dan enché' sulaiman yang bawa surat mari dahulu yang di-dudok dinegeri kelantan a luang rat mim ta a luang seri paduka dan lagi sekalian china melayu pun ketahuinya bukan
- (38) perhamba adék beradék buat kekerasan kata somdét pera' panahua<sup>16</sup> kurnia beri jadi raja sudah perhamba tiada tahu kaséh adék kakak kaum keluarga itu tiada tengah perhamba kira bichara
- (39) hendak beri tengku besar perintah tempat raja bendahara dan tengku

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16. Thai "somdet(c) phra' phanahua" สมเด็จพระพนมพว (most great and exalted).

long deraman itu beri perintah tempat temenggong dan lagi kira muafakat hendak beri raja muda tengku seri emas bawa ra'yat

- (40) naik pergi bantu negeri kedah masa sambut surat tera lanték perhamba sudah tuan long ahmad tengku besar muafakat dengan raja ché' kerah segala ra'yat sebelah bukit hendak buat perhamba kemudian perhamba
- (41) ketahui perhamba suroh kawan naik pergi tangkap boléh lima orang perhamba tanya ia kata tuan long ahmad raja ché' suroh naik kerah segala ra'yat maka perhamba suroh orang perhamba pergi tanya raja ché'
- (42) tuan besar maka tuan besar raja ché' tiada mengaku maka perhamba bunoh buang orang itu kemudian tuan besar tuan long ahmad raja ché' raja banggul sekalian kira buat ini pula dan segala kerja sekalian ini a luang
- (43) tip ob a luang chai pon pak ketahui sekalian fasalnya seperkara pula jika-lau ada limpah ampun kurnia diatas jemala ubun2 perhamba kepada duli yang mulia harapkan ampun beribu2 ampun perhamba
- (44) hendak beri a luang son séni perintah kira bichara kerja negeri kelantan ini jikalau ada ampun kurnia atas perhamba perhamba hendak pohonkan orang yang lain yang betul benar tiada beti masuk sana sini
- (45) jadi orang tengah seperti mé tap pakdi lam itu akan a luang son séni mé tap siam ku(n) in ketiga itu perhamba mohonlah sebab ia masuk sebelah kerana perhamba ini baharu jadi hamba
- (46) tiada ketahui 'adat bahasa jikalau salah silap perhamba pohonkan pinta ampun beribu2 ampun diatas perhambalah keempat beradék ini banyak2 jadi tempat bergantung tempat bernaung
- (47) tolong menolong perhamba perhamba harap tiada dua tiga lagi seperti gunung yang tinggi harap perhamba tinggi harapnya seperkara pula seperti duli yang maha mulia kurnia surat pergi itu kualapun
- (48) tiada buka maka perhamba hantar makanan kepada orang ka luang pun tiada boléh jadi kesakitan sangatlah kepada ra'yat bala hendak terbit chari makan serba jenis pun sudah
- (49) putus sekalianya dan lagi segala ra'yat suku perhamba yang boléh sebelah tuan besar siam melayu setengah ada lakinya itu duduk dengan perhamba dan perempuannya boléh sebelah tengku besar
- (50) tuan long ahmad dirampas dan dihukum ambil rialnya ikut ada yang halnya kena lima rial yang ada kena empat puluh rial dan yang kena lima puluh rial dan yang kena seratus rial dan
- (51) anaknya diambilnya buat bini sampai kepada sami pera' cfrau pun dirampas kain kuning direbut ambil dikoyak beri sekerat(2) dan rumah kawan2 perhamba pun dirampas kain dan



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- (52) dibakar habis buang banyak sangatlah dan lagi kerbau lembu pun dirampas ambil jual kepada orang terengganu dan orang besut banyak sudah rosak binasa negeri kelantan demikian ini jadinya
- (53) perhamba hendak sembah ma'lum mari surat dibawah duli yang maha mulia selama ini a luang son seni tiada berkata benar kepada perhamba itulah jadi sebab berlambatan hingga sampai sekarang ini
- (54) tiada ada nyata bukunya maka perhamba hendak sembah ma'lum mari beri banyak takut jadi perhamba bohong akan perintah ini boleh duli yang maha mulia tanya kun yuta samat itu suku2
- (55) orang siam khabar kepada kun yuta samat sendirinya seperkara pula sekarang ini tuan besar sudah tentu muafakat dengan tuan long ahmad dan ra'yat sekalian hendak berhimpun disuatu tempat
- (56) jikalau suku angkatan sampai hendak lari ikut laut dan perahu2 suku anak raja sekalian ia simpan habis dan lagi raja banggul pun sudah
- (57) pergi dengan perahu delapan buah itulah perhamba ma'alumkan perbuat surat ini kepada bulan lapan timbul lapan hari kepada hari khamis tahun kura sanat 1255.



al-wāthiqu bi'llāhi + raja kelantan + khallada'llāhu mulkahu  
wa ihsānahu wa faḍlahu + ibnu ā lūang tan al-marḥūm +  
sanat 1254

Letter No. 12

bismi'llāhi'r-rahmāni'r-rahīm

- (1) surat daripada perhamba tuan besar kampong laut mari sampaikan pada chau kun paya si surēntera chai paya péchaburi shahadan maka adalah perhamba ma'umkan pada chau kun
- (2) itu perintah surat chau kun yang beri mari pada perhamba itu telah sampailah pada perhamba segala buku yang tersebut didalam surat chau kun itu telah perhamba ma'um pada segenap buku perka
- (3) ranya dan lagi tersebut didalam surat chau kun itu jikalau perhamba kasah hendak buat pekerjaan dibawah duli raja yang mahabesar chau kun suroh perhamba naik pergi chari
- (4) chau kun didalam negeri sai boleh chau kun tolong persembah pada chau kun ibu angkatan besar yang me(nye)lesaikan pekerjaan maka jangan perhamba shak zann waham lagi demikianlah adanya
- (5) dan banyak lagi bukunya yang tersebut didalam surat chau kun itu demikianlah adanya maka adalah perhamba ini sekali2 tiada menaruh shak zann waham pada chau kun itu dan

- (6) chau kunlah tempat perhamba harapnya tetapi didalam sehari dua ini perhamba harapkan mengampuni bawah kaus chau kun kerana ra'yat didalam negeri kelantan ini sangatlah gégérny
- (7) jikalau perhamba tinggal habislah lari ra'yat didalam negeri kelantan hal itulah adanya sebagai lagi perhamba ma'lumkan kepada chau kun tatkala sampai surat chau kun
- (8) itu maka perhamba pun berhentilah dan segala bedil besar yang dari kubu pun perhamba chabutlah dan chuchok<sup>17</sup> yang didalam sungai itu pun perhamba bukalah demikianlah perhamba ma'lumkan kepada
- (9) chau kun itu sebagai lagi perhamba ma'lumkan pada chau kun akan hal perhamba itu sekali2 tiadalah perhamba hendak buat orang sebelah raja kelantan itu maka sekarang ini
- (10) jikalau perhamba itu buat orang sebelah raja kelantan lagi lalu seperti titah chau kun itu melainkan mana perintah chiau kun hendak perbuat atas diri perhambalah maka tatakala
- (11) dahulu yang jadi perhamba lawan raja kelantan itu kerana tiada tertahan perbuatan raja kelantan itu atas diri perhamba itu kerana perbuatan raja kelantan
- (12) itu lain daripada zaman marhum itulah yang jadi terlawan raja kelantan itu hal yang kesalahan perhamba lawan raja kelantan itu sepenoh2 salahlah melainkan mana
- (13) yang dititah oleh chau kun ibu angkatan besar atas diri perhamba itu tetapi hal diri perhamba ini sekali2 tiada ada niat dipintu hati hendak
- (14) buat derhaka pada raja yang maha besar itu melainkan perhamba harapkan ampun kebawah duli chau kun jikalau chau kun hendak buat hamba akan perhamba lagi hubong berhubong pergi
- (15) pada hari yang kehadapan pintalah duli kira beri selesai supaya segala ra'yat bala isi negeri boleh buat padi makan dan boleh perhamba ambil hasil atas segala
- (16) ra'yat bala persembahkan kebawah duli raja yang maha besar itulah adanya shahadan lagi jikalau ada limpah ampun derma kurnia chau kun atas diri perhamba ini dan segala
- (17) saudara perhamba itu mana yang sekat bekas marhum kurnia akan segala saudara perhamba itu perhamba hendak pohonkan pada chau kun seperti tuan long 'ali yang dudok dari
- (18) kuala itu seberang titak itu marhum kurnia akan bapa tuan long 'ali lagi mati bapanya marhum kurnia akan tuan long 'ali itu pula itulah adanya

17. 'chuchok' is a conjecture. The context suggests some form of defensive fortification and the sound of the word suggests something with a sharp point, hence my suggested translation 'stakes'.

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- (19) kain yang dikurnia chau kun itu pada perhamba boléh perhamba terima ambil taroh sudah hal itulah adanya suatu pun tiada tanda hayatnya hanyalah perhamba
- (20) persembahkan keris sebilah harganya enam likur rial itulah ada(nya da)n lagi fasal hulu keris itu tiada perhamba buat lagi sebagaimana perkenan hulu itu
- (21) perhamba pohonkan titah mari pada perhamba ini itulah adanya tammatu'l-kalám bi'l-khair wa's-salám tersurat pada hari arba'a lima belas haribulan buda delapan tahun kura.

*Letter No. 13*

### al-mustaḥiqq

- (1) pinta ampun beribu2 ampun penoh limpah diatas jemala ubun(2) paték tuan long salléh yang hina daripada sekalian yang hina rāfi'kan sembah ma'lum mari kebawah kaus chau kun paya seri surén
- (2) tera chai paya péchaburi yang maha mulia beri ketahui maka inilah paték ma'lumkan maka adalah asalnya yang boléh berperang ini sambut surat chap tera yang dilanték paya kelantan ini sudah maka paya kelantan
- (3) pun muafakat dengan paték suroh paték pergi kira dengan paya chang-wang hendak beri tuan besar perintah ditempat raja bendahara hendak beri tuan long deraman perintah ditempat raja temenggong
- (4) dan lagi pula kira muafakat dengan paték bersama2 hendak bahagi ambil ra'yat barang tiga ribu beri raja muda dengan engku seri emas bawa naik mari bantu negeri kedah didalam
- (5) tengah berkira tiba2 ché' jid mari dari negeri patani ia itu terkata benua siam pun sudah orang putéh masuk duduk tunggu dikuala keram sudah dinegeri legor pun sudah binasa
- (6) pada orang melayu kedah dan negeri singgora pun terléngkong oléh orang kedah negeri patani pun orang kedah masuk penoh jam(b)u pun boléh kepada orang kedah demikian
- (7) inilah khabar ché' jidnya sebab inilah tuan besar muafakat dengan tuan long ahmad suku tuan long ahmad dan suku anak tengku seri putera maharaja kemudian tengku besar pun suroh orang
- (8) mari sambut raja banggul masuk kenegeri kelantan kemudian tengku besar pun letak buat kubulah maka paya kelantan lihat tengku besar letak kubu sampai kampong pekan sebelah hilir sampai kesungai

- (9) pinang paya kelantan disuruh a luang tip ob a luang chai pon pak a luang rat mim ta a luang seri paduka ché' sulaiman ché' nut orang negeri legor pergi tanya kepada tuan besar apa sebab tuan besar
- (10) letak kubu banyak maka tuan besar kata kepada a luang tip ob sekalian ia takut akan orang buboh api maka a luang tip ob kata buboh api sebagaimana jauh sangatlah buat kubu itu
- (11) kemudian ia kata pula khabar orang raja muda hendak mari buatnya maka a luang tip ob (kata) apa sebab raja muda itu hendak mari buat tengku besar (maka tengku besar) kata tiada tahu maka a luang tip ob sekalian pun balék mari khabar kepada paya kelantan seperti kata tengku besar itu maka paya kelantan kata kepada a luang tip ob jangankan hendak buat diatas tuan besar niat ingat mimpi pun
- (12) tiada maka paya kelantan suroh a luang tip ob sekalian balék pergi khabar kepada tengku besar pula maka tuan besar kata kepada a luang tip ob sekalian to' jum hendak mari kira tiada selesai
- (13) jangan marilah beripanggil engku seri emas itu turun mari kerana engku seri emas itu tahu asalnya tengah hari a luang tip ob balék mari khabar kepada paya kelantan
- (14) maka paya kelantan pun suroh orang naik panggil engku seri emas pada malam itu tengku besar hantar tuan long ahmad naik pergi kebukit kerah ra'yat buat kubu maka raja banggul pun naiklah
- (15) pergi ditempat lamor hendak jemerang ditempat sala berperang dengan paték dipasir emas maka raja ché' anak raja tengku seri putera maharaja pun suroh kawan2 letak kubu sekat jalan
- (16) kerah ra'yat maka sebelah tengku besar letak kubu sudah dibedilnya mari sebelah paya kelantan ini empat lima hari kemudian baharu paya kelantan ini letak kubu demikian itulah dengan sunggoh2nya
- (17) kerana sebelah orang kampong laut itu kata jika ia buat pun tiada siapa2 hendak mari bantu tiada boléhnya sebab inilah léngkong paya kelantan itu dikata orang siam itu pun putus
- (18) sudah tiada mari demikian itulah dikatanya dan lagi pula pikir patek jikalau suku tuan long ahmad dan suku raja ché' raja banggul tengku besar ini ada banyak negeri kelantan pun tiada
- (19) senangnya kerana banyak anak raja2 suku puak yang berbuat derhaka akan paya kelantan ini ia hendak perbuat beri binasa negeri raja maha-besar itulah patek sembah ma'lumkan boléh tan
- (20) ketahuhi seperkara pula tengku besar itu tiada lekat tutor katanya hari ini ia kata lain dan esok hari ia kata lain pula itulah paték ma'lumkan boléh tan ketahuhi

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- (22) maka suatu pun tiada hanyalah ialah paték boléh chari emas berat se-tahil bungkal melayu serah berikan kepada adék paték yang membawa surat ini sembah kepada tan yang maha mulia itulah adanya
- (23) seperkara pula jikalau tan hendak ketahui akal hal perintah tuan besar itu tutor kata beraléh hari ini lain ésok lain melainkan tanyalah a luang pakdi raja boléh tan ketahui
- (24) maka perbuat surat ini kepada bulan lapan timbul tigabelas hari kepada hari arba'a kepada tahun kura tarikh waktu jam pukul tujuh sanat 1255

*Letter No. 14*

al-mustahiqq

- (1) surat daripada perhamba paya pipit seri sultan muhammad ratna nuchit santi sunton boworo wongso paya kelantan dan paya sunton tibodi seri sultan déwa maharaja paya changwang ma'um mari kepada
- (2) tan paya seri suréntera chai paya péchaburi yang maha mulia maka adalah pada hari khamis bulan delapan timbul delapan hari a luang pakdi raja dan nai kong adék kun in bawa surat pergi sampai kepada hamba boléh
- (3) sambut seperti 'adat sudah perhamba bacha ketahui segenap buku perkaranya sudah maka yang tersebut kata didalam (surat) tan kata surat chap tera chau kun ibu angkatan besar boléh beri mari sampai kepada perhamba suatu puchok buku didalam surat ini tengah
- (4) larang tiada beri perhamba berperang berhubong pergi itu dan lagi kata didalam surat sebelah tuan besar itu suku tuan besar letak kubu sebelah matahari naik perhamba itu beri (rombak ba)bat tebang beri habis dan lagi segala suku tuan besar
- (5) tuan long ahmad itu beri pindah balék pergi kesebelah matahari jatoh sudah jangan beri perhamba turut pukul pergi inilah yang tersebut didalam surat chap tera itu maka perhamba pun ikut seperti didalam surat chap tera sekalian sebelah tuan besar
- (6) fasal didalam surat chap tera itu suroh rombak kubu suku tuan besar tuan long ahmad yang diletak kubu sebelah matahari naik beri pindah balék pergi kesebelah matahari jatoh beri habis itu suatu pun sebelah tuan besar
- (7) tuan long ahmad tiada ikut sekalian seperti didalam surat perhamba beri ché' umar bawa mari itu dan lagi jika perhamba hendak ma'um mari banyak jadi perhamba buat bohong dan segala kubu dan kerja sekalian boléh tanya

- (8) kepada a luang pakdi raja nai kong itu boléh tan ketahuinya jikalau tan ada limpah ampun kurnia diatas perhamba pinta tan angkat pergi tolong perhamba didalam sehari dua ini kerana didalam tegah larang chau kun ibu angkatan besar
- (9) itu ia tiada pakai sudah dan kubu pun dibuat tambah pula empat butir a luang pakdi raja nai kong pun boléh suroh kawan pergi lihat dengan mata sendiri jika tan beri berlumbatan angkat pergi tolong binasa
- (10) sangatlah ra'yat raja mahabesar sangatlah harap perhamba seperti gunung yang besar<sup>2</sup> lagi perhamba harapnya maka sekarang ini yang berhenti bedil itu tiada bedil dengan tiada berperang sahaja kubu itu ia bertambah kukuhkan
- (11) lagi seperkara pula a luang pakdi raja nai kong khabar kepada perhamba a luang pakdi raja nai kong pergi kepada tuan besar maka tuan besar pun buat surat tanda hendak ia pakai ikut seperti surat tan beri pergi
- (12) itu kemudian ia masuk pergi kedalam rumah ia terbit mari ia kata [a luang pakdi raja nai kong tuan besar itu kata] ia malas hendak kira bichara dengan a luang pakdi raja nai kong itu demikian inilah tuan besar
- (13) kata kepada a luang lakdi raja dengan nai kong itu seperkara pula a luang pakdi raja dengan nai kong khabar kepada perhamba ia tanya surat chau kun ibu angkatan besar adakah maka tuan besar kata ada maka a luang pakdi
- (14) raja dengan nai kong (kata) jika ada ia hendak pinta lihat maka tuan besar tiada mau beri lihatnya kemudian tuan besar kata pula a luang pakdi raja dengan nai kong ini masuk sebelah perhamba pula seperkara pula fasal
- (15) ra'yat sebelah perhamba yang perempuan<sup>2</sup> itu pun dihukum setengah sepuluh rial yang dua puluh yang lima puluh yang seratus yang serial yang tengah rial pun diambil juga jika hendak lari mari sebelah perhamba rumah dibakar merampas
- (16) lakinya di-ka"<sup>18</sup> bininya diambil dan lagi segala suku ra'yat perhamba yang berkubu itu diberi kawannya tunggu segenap kubu sebab itulah tiada boleh lari dapat perhambanya dan lagi pula sekarang ini jika perahu china
- (17) kayoh masuk diambil pula pada sebuah empat puluh rial jadi sakit kepada ra'yat bala sekalian dan segala perahu orang melayu dagang<sup>2</sup> hendak masuk jual beli ia tiada beri masuk dan lagi ra('yat per)hamba

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18. I conjecture the Thai "kha:" ก๑ or "kha:t" ก๑๓ (both meaning 'to kill').

- (18) sekalian hendak terbit chari makan pun tiada beri jadi kesakitan sangat2 jika tan ada limpah ampun kurnia diatas perhamba ini pinta tan angkat pergi dengan segeranya kerana perhamba ini tiada terdengar
- (19) sudah segala ra'yat lari mari mengadu kepada perhamba kerana sebelah tuan besar itu terlalulah dibuat diatas ra'yat bala raja mahabesar ini jikalau ada kaséh kaséhan tan diatas perhamba bila2 tan
- (20) hendak berangkat perginya atau sebagai mana2 kira tan itu pohonkan tan balas surat beri tentu boleh perhamba ketahuinya seperkara pula sebelah suku tuan long ahmad itu segala ra'yat perhamba yang boléh kepada tuan
- (21) long ahmad itu ia hendak lari terbit mari kepada perhamba ada barang lima enam puluh laki2 dan perempuan maka dikerat léhérya haji lebai makari ada dua puluh orang itulah perhamba ma'lumkan kepada tan boléh
- (22) tan ketahui akan halnya perintah sebelah tuan long ahmad itu sangatlah kesakitannya segala ra'yat isi negeri kelantan ini itulah perhamba ma'lumkan kepada tan boléh tan ketahui tamat
- (23) maka perbuat surat ini kepada lapan lapan timbul tiga belas hari kepada hari arba'a tahun kura waktu jam pukul sembilan tarikh sanat 1255



al-wāthiqū bi'llāhi + raja kelantan + khallada'llāhu  
mulkahu wa ihsānahu wa faḍlahu + ibnu ā lūang tan  
al-marḥūm + sanat 1254

Letter No. 15

yā ghafūra'r-raḥim

- (1) al-hamdu li'llāhi rabbi'l-ālamīna wa'l-āqibatulī'l-muttaqīna aṣ-ṣalātu wa's-salāmu 'alā rasūlika sayyidinā muḥammad
- (2) wa 'alā ālihi wa ṣaḥbihi wa's-salām telah selesailah daripada memuji tuhan waḥidu'l-qahhār dan salawat akan nabi ākhiru
- (3) 'z-zamān maka diiringi dengan salam doa serta ta'zim dan takrim iaitu daripada raja banggul yang ada bernaung (di)da'erah jajahan
- (4) kelantan kuala semerak yang ada menaruh dukachita tiap2 hari dan malam tambahan pula dengan hina papa lagi miskin
- (5) yang tiada berguna kepada hamba allah yang banyak barang diwasilkan allah subhanahu wa ta'ala jua kiranya datang kehadapan majelis saudara hamba

- (6) raja sai yang ada beristirahat didalam negeri jering di-beri allah fikah<sup>19</sup> dan darajah dan diakadkan allah kebesaran dan kemulian
- (7) dan ditetapkan allah atas takhta kerajaannya dari dunia datang keakhirat hafzahu' llahu ffd-daraini amin
- (8) wa ba'dahu dari itu hamba melayangkan warkat sedzarrah tiada dengan sepertinya akan jadi ganti pertemuan dan perjumpa
- (9) an hamba dengan raja maka adalah hamba ma'lumkan raja dari hal hamba undur itu dengan sebab hamba melarangkan segala anak<sup>2</sup>
- (10) tiada dipakainya dan hendak masok kedalam pun tiada boléhnya dan keduanya orang siam pun datang jadi hamba pun
- (11) undur dari kelantan dari sebab takut dimarah oléh raja mahabesar kerana hamba orang tua dalam hal itu lebéh<sup>2</sup>
- (12) ma'lum pada raja seni<sup>20</sup> melainkan hamba itu haraplah akan raja seboléh2nya dahulu allah wa ba'dahu rasul kemudian
- (13) raja sénilah yang tempat hamba harap barang bichara sekaliannya kata raja putéh putéhlah pada hamba kata raja hitam hitam pada
- (14) hamba melainkan hamba ini hendaklah bergantung [kepada] saboléh2nya kepada saudara seni selagi ada 'umor hamba dengan saudara
- (15) allah allah haraplah hamba akan saudara seni shahadan fasal saudara hamba menyuruh hamba balék hendak diberi
- (16) menjadi raja tanah patani itu sebenar2nya bichara saudara hamba itu kehendak pun selama ini demikian juga
- (17) hamba charikan ini pula dengan bichara saudara hamba yang demikian itu hamba pun terimalah akan kaséh saudara hamba ini
- (18) hamba pun hendaklah<sup>21</sup> balék akan tetapi waktu ini hamba mintalah ma'af banyak<sup>2</sup> pada saudara hamba
- (19) kerana negeri pun belum senang itulah jadi hamba belum balék lagi dan hamba pun terlalulah takut akan orang

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19. I take this to be a Malayisation of the Arabic 'fiqh'. Wilkinson: MED, romanises the word as 'pikah' and gives, as the meaning "(Moslem) Canon Law". However, as used here, the writer probably intended the word's basic meaning, viz. 'understanding, comprehension, knowledge' (Wehr: DIC, p. 723.)
  20. The word spelt 's-ni' occurs five times in this letter, twice in the phrase 'raja s-ni' and three times in the phrase 'saudara s-ni'. The obvious transliteration would be 'seni' (fine, graceful delicate), in which case the word would seem to be used as some sort of complimentary epithet. In all five cases however it refers to the Raja of Sai (buri), 'Sai', being spelt 's-i, i.e. virtually the same as 's-ni', except that the latter has one dot extra. One might therefore conjecture a scribal error — perhaps a psychological one, in that 'Seni(k)' was Banggul's greatest enemy — for 'Sai'. However, whereas 'Raja Sai' makes good sense (rather better sense than 'raja seni'), 'saudara sai' sounds a little strange, more reminiscent of Shakespeare's historical plays ("Cousin of Hereford", "Uncle of Exeter", "My brother Gloucester, etc.) than of standard Malay.
  21. After 'hendaklah', the words 'juga tetapi(?)' have been written but crossed out.



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- (20) siam melainkan allah dan rasul yang mengetahui akan takut hamba dalam hal itu lebéh2 ma'lum pada saudara seni
- (21) melainkan tiada dua tiga lagi yang hamba harapkan dari dahulu sampai sekarang pun saudara hambalah yang hamba harapkan
- (22) itulah adanya tamat termaktub pada enam belas haribulan rabi'ulakhir hari khamis waktu jam pukul
- (23) duabelas bertarikh sanat 1255 adanya

*Letter No. 16*

al-mustahiqq

- (1) surat daripada perhamba tuan besar kampong laut mari sampaikan pada chau kun paya si suréntera chai paya
- (2) péchaburi shahadan maka adalah perhamba ma'lumkan pada chau kun itu akan perkerjaan chau kun suroh tuan
- (3) said muhammad mari larang tegur perhamba jangan jadi berkelahi dengan raja kelantan itu maka perhamba
- (4) pun tiada melalui seperti titah chau kun melainkan bagaimana titah chau kun bagitulah perhamba
- (5) perbuatnya hal perhamba hendak sembahkan pada chau kun sekian2 pun tiada dapat jadi
- (6) perhamba hendak chari jalan kebenaran perhamba melainkan jikalau chau kun hendak mengetahui
- (7) sebarang perintahannya pintalah chau kun usul tuan said muhammad itu sebagai
- (8) mana perintahan perhambanya dan sebagaimana perintahan raja kelantannya melainkan sebagaimana
- (9) sembahan tuan said muhammad itu sebagai itulah demikianlah adanya perhamba ma'lumkan
- (10) pada chau kun itu hubong berhubong pergi pada hari yang kehadapan demikianlah adanya
- (11) tersurat pada hari sabtu lapan belas haribulan delapan tahun kura tamat

*Letter No. 17*

al-mustahiqq

- (1) surat daripada perhamba paya pipit pakdi seri sultan muhammad ratna nuchit santi sunton boworo wongso paya kelantan dan paya sunton tibodi seri sultan déwa maharaja paya changwang ma'lum

- (2) mari kepada tan paya seri suréntera chai paya péchaburi beri ketahui maka adalah sekarang ini sebelah tuan besar muafakat kira pula beri ku tengah dan ku lebai anak raja banggul kedua itu ia
- (3) ambil segala ra'yat seberang yang ada lebéh kurang seribu beri ku tengah dan ku lebai bawa pergi ke bukit atur ra'yat dan segala raja2 maka raja banggul ditempat batu seputéh atur mari sampai
- (4) ditempat semerak hendak pukul raja changwang dibelakang tuan long ahmad ditengah dan raja ché' dan suku raja ché' sekalian dirusok beri pukul naik pergi sama sekali diatur
- (5) orang siap sudah demikianlah kiranya tuan besar itu tetapi bila2 atau ésoK atau lusa pun tiada diketahuinya maka perhamba suroh mé tap lam dengan ché' ja'far turun pergi khabar
- (6) kepada a luang son séni tiada apa katanya sebab demikian inilah jadi perhamba takut sangat2 akan larang chau kun ibu angkatan besar itu inilah perhamba nyata mari beri
- (7) tan ketahuinya seperkara pula perhamba chari barang2 makanan perhamba beri ché' 'umar bawa mari persembahnya inilah perhamba ma'lumkan kepada tan (tiada) dengan sepertinya tamat
- (8) maka perbuat surat ini kepada bulan lapan turun tiga kelam kepada tahun kura hari ahad tarikh sanat 1255



al-wāthiqu bi'llāhi + raja kelantan + khallada'llāhu  
 mulkahu wa ihsanahu wa faḡlahu + ibnu ā lūang t̄an al-  
 marḡūm + sanat 1254

*Letter No. 18*

al-ḡamdu li'llāhi waḡdah

- (1) salam serta ta'zīm ma'a't-takrīm bi 'ināyāti'l-ḡayāti'llāhi rabbi'r-raḡīm iaitu daripada anakanda tuan
- (2) besar kampong laut yang bebal barang disampaikan allah subhanahu wa ta'ala jua kiranya datang kehadapan majelis mamanda yang
- (3) 'azīzatu'llāhi bi'n-naḡri wa't-tamkīni wa 'alā ālihi wa ḡahbihi's-sālikina āmīn yā mujība's-sā'ilīn iaitu mamanda
- (4) raja sai āmīn thumma āmīn wa ba'dahu dari itu maka adalah anakanda nyatakan pada mamanda itu akan perintah surat mamanda
- (5) yang dibawa oléh tuan haji shamsuddin itu telah sampailah pada anakanda maka tersebut didalam surat mamanda itu mamanda panggil

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- (6) anakanda tiga bersaudara ini pergi akan negeri sai salah seorang anakanda tiga bersaudara bersama2 dengan tuan
- (7) haji shamsuddin itu demikianlah adanya dan banyak lagi buku yang tersebut didalamnya maka hal diri anakanda ini
- (8) janganlah mamanda menaruh shak melainkan jikalau tiada aral gendaia anakanda tiga bersaudara ini salah seorang
- (9) melainkan sampailah anakanda akan negeri sai boleh berjumpa mata dengan mamanda inshallah ta'ala dengan tuah mamanda
- (10) maka telah haraplah anakanda tiga bersaudara ini akan mamanda boleh anakanda mengganti bapa dunia akhirat tiadalah anakanda
- (11) harap dua tiga lagi dabulu allah ba'da rasul hubong berhubung pergi pada hari yang kehadapan
- (12) tetapi yang kebajikan mamanda atas diri anakanda itu tiadalah dapat anakanda membalasnya
- (13) melainkan allah subhanahu wa ta'alalah membalas mamanda itu demikianlah adanya anakanda nyatakan pada mamanda itu
- (14) maka tiadalah anakanda memanjangkan khabar lagi termaktub warkat ini pada hari ithnai(n)
- (15) sembilan belas hari bulan rabi'ulakhir tahun ha tarikh sanat 1255 al-wāthiqu bi'llāhi'l-ghanī + muhammad perdana menteri ketantan + ibnu ismā'il al-marhum + khallada'llāhu mulkahu wa ihsānahu + sanat 1253

SEAL

Letter No. 19

yā rafi'a'd-darajāt

- (1) chuchunda nik lebai ma'lumkan surat mari serta dinyatakan segala buku perkara didalamnya pada nai da mé kong lebai supaya boléh
- (2) ambil persembahkan kebawah kaus anakanda raja beri nyata segala buku perkaranya ahwal maka adalah fasal perintahan chuchunda duduk dari dalam negeri sai pada seha
- (3) ri dua ini maka chuchunda beroléh khabar yang sahif fasal perintahan negeri kelantan pada sehari dua ini da(ri) kerana orang sai bernama pa' duhamid ia pergi hendak
- (4) mengambil ibunya kedalam negeri kelantan bawa mari kedalam sai dan ialah yang membawa khabar pada perhamba sana ada pun fasal perintah perang orang yang

Transliteration of the Letters

- (5) sebelah luar itu pada penglihatan orang yang pergi itu tiadalah menang lagi dari kerana sangat keras perangan orang dalam ada pun raja banggul
- (6) dan tuan long ahmad sudah undur dudok pada tempat yang bernama cherang tengék dari tebing sungai semerak tetapi segala anak bini raja banggul dan anak bini tuan long
- (7) ahmad dudok pada kampong laut lagi ada pun pada bichara itu ia undur pada tempat lain<sup>22</sup> supaya mudah boléh melawan kemudian pada itu pula menyurohkan segala orang perbaiki perahu
- (8) hendak ambil segala anak2 isteri bawa bersama2 pada tempat yang dudok itu ada pun bicharanya yang keluar boléh pada orang yang membawa khabar ini hendak bawa
- (9) pergi kenegeri selat pindah semuanya ada pun tuan tengah anak raja banggul ada dudok dari kampong laut tetapi ra'yatnya sudah habis mati yang hidup
- (10) habis lari tinggal tuan tengah ada dengan segala budak2 sahaja dari kerana patah perang lari terjun sungai situ itulah habis cherai berai
- (11) segala ra'yatnya ada pun tuan lebai itu ada dudok dari banggul lagi bersama2 dengan tuan long 'ali ada pun fasal tuan besar tanjong enché'
- (12) itu dudok berdiam sahaja kerana sudah terugut bicharanya kemudian pada itu pula fasal perintahan orang dalam pada sehari dua hari ini dudok perhimpun
- (13) orang kedalam penjara apa2 kehendaknya itu tiada boléh mengetahui ada pun engku seri mas sudah luka dari rusok dan tuan a luang demong mati.....*(here the letter is torn away; written in the margin, probably as the concluding few words, are:)*.....
- (14) adapun ra'yat raja banggul dan ra'yat tuan long ahmad yang tertangkap oléh orang dalam lima ratus perbuat surat hari selasa tamat

Letter No. 20

qaulu'l-ḥaqq

- (1) al-ḥamdu li'llāhi'l-adzī amarana bi ṣīlāti'l-arḥāmi wa min jumlati dzālika murāsalatu'l-aqlāmi ma'a tabā'udi'l-ashbāḥi
- (2) wa'l-aṣāmi wa's-ṣalātu wa's-salāmu 'alā sayyidīnā muḥammad [wa] rusulihī'l-karīmi wa 'alā ālihi wa ṣaḥbīhi maṣāḥbīhi 'z-zalām

22. Text appears to read 'legur', but as this would make little sense, I have conjectured 'lain'.

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- (3) telah selesailah daripada memuji tuhan al-maliku'l-allām dan salawatkan nabinya ṣafwatu'l-anām dan atas segala keluarganya
- (4) dan sahabatnya sādātu'l-kirām maka dipesertakan pula salam ad-du'ā'u 'alā'l-istimrāri wa'd-dawām iaitu daripada
- (5) perhamba raja kelantan yang teramat hina dan dzaif serta miskin barang disampaikan allah subhanahu wa ta'ala apalah
- (6) kiranya kepada kehadiran majelis mamak hamba iaitu raja sai yang telah beroléh pangkat dan darjatnya serta beroléh
- (7) taufik dan hidayat bertambah2 pula budi yang halim yang akan jadi tempat segala kaum keluarganya yang karib
- (8) dan ba'id mengadukan hal segala kesakitan sekira2 mashhurlah dengan ma'mur dan kemurahannya pada segala aqtār
- (9) dan buldān dan mudah2an minta dipanjangkan allah 'umurnya dengan mengerjakan amrun bi'l-ma'rūfi wa nahyun 'ani'l-munkar serta
- (10) dijauhkan daripada bala dan ash'rār āmin yā mujiba's-sā'ilina ajma'in wa ba'dahu daripada itu.
- (11) maka adalah warqatu'l-ikhlāṣ daripada mamak hamba itu telah sampai-lah kepada hamba dengan selamat sempurnanya maka
- (12) hamba pula terima ambillah dengan 'aini'l-farah wa's-surūr serta menguchap shukur kepada tuhan fa'ālun li māyurid
- (13) serta dimutala'ahkan daripada awal satarnya hingga akhir satarnya maka segala yang tersebut didalamnya itu telah mafhumlah
- (14) hamba maka adalah mamak hamba ikhtiarkan kepada hamba jika hendak beri selesai akan bichara negeri kelantan ini
- (15) melainkan biarlah saudara perhamba raja muda itu naik pergi kejakang atau perhamba sendiri jika bichara
- (16) dengan surat pergi mari itu tiadalah jadi kesudahannya jika setahun sekali pun tiada juga
- (17) kesudahannya maka kepada fikiran perhamba pun sangatlah benarnya seperti perkataan mamak perhamba itu jua adanya
- (18) shahadan daripada itu maka adalah tatakala sampai surat mamak perhamba maka perhamba pun bicharalah dengan saudara
- (19) perhamba raja muda itu hendak suroh naik pergi akan jakang maka tiba2 raja chaya pun sudah sampai
- (20) kuala kelantan serta membawa surat chau kun mé tap ibu angkatan besar maka perhamba pun boléh sambut ambil
- (21) serta dibachanya maka yang tersebut didalam surat chau kun ibu angkatan besar itu suroh kakak perhamba

Transliteration of the Letters

- (22) paya changwang atau perhamba sendiri mana2 seorang naik pergi akan singgora maka sekarang ini perhamba pun
- (23) tiadalah jadi hendak beri saudara perhamba raja muda itu pergi akan jakang mendapat akan mamak perhamba
- (24) lagi pada masa ini itulah perhamba nyatakan akan mamak perhamba maka tiadalah perhamba panjang kalam lagi kerana
- (25) waktu ini sangatlah susahnya tetapi jika mamak perhamba hendak mengetahui akan hal bichara ini
- (26) melainkan mintalah mamak perhamba tanyakan tuan haji shamsuddin itu serta dengan enché' 'abdulkarim itu
- (27) bo'éhlah dia nyatakan akan halnya tamat suatu pun tiada 'alāmatu'l-hayāt hanyalah du'ā'un fi kulli waqtin wa hīnin
- (28) maka perbuat surat ini kepada hari ahad tengah tiga puluh haribulan rabi'ulakhir tarikh sanat 1255



al-wāthiqū bi'llāhi + raja kelantan + khallada'llāhu  
mulkahu wa ihsanahu wa faḍlahu + ibnu ā lūang tan al-  
marhūm + sanat 1254

Letter No. 21

al-mustaḥiqq

- (1) surat daripada perhamba tuan besar kampong laut ma'lumkan pada chun kun paya si suréntera chai paya péchaburi
- (2) shahadan maka adalah perhamba ma'lumkan pada chau kun itu pekerjaan titah chau kun panggil perhamba pergi akan
- (3) negeri sai itu maka perhamba pun tatakala sampai titah chau kun itu maka perhamba pun bersiap perahu hendak mari
- (4) mengadap chau kun maka tiba2 sampai raja chaya mari dari singgora membawa surat chau kun mé tap suroh rombak kubu
- (5) dan panggil perhamba masok akan negeri singgora maka tatakala sampai raja chaya itu perhamba pun berhentilah dahulu
- (6) tiada jadi mari lagi melainkan jikalau tiada aral gendala perhamba timbul bulan jumadalawal ini sampailah perhamba
- (7) akan negeri sai janganlah chau kun shak zann waham lagi demikianlah adanya tetapi didalam negeri kelantan ini didalam
- (8) sehari dua ini sangatlah karu(t)nya pada hari sabtu empat likur haribulan rabi'ulakhir itu raja kelantan

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- (9) suroh penghulu dullah bawa ra'yat empat puluh orang jemerang mari kerah segala ra'yat seberang sini suroh pergi akan seberang
- (10) sana kerana ra'yat sebelah kampong laut orang hendak ambil beri akan siam maka penghulu dullah mari berkerah itu bawa
- (11) sabda raja chaya suroh maka perhamba pun suroh tuan said muhammad salléh dengan tuan long in mengadap raja chayanya
- (12) tanya raja chaya sunggoh raja suroh raja kelantan mari kerah segala ra'yat seberang sini maka kata raja chaya aku tiada suroh
- (13) pergi kerah ra'yat seberang sini maka perhamba pun suroh orang pergi léngkong tangkap ikat ambil tuboh penghulu dullah
- (14) itu maka dengan tuah chau kun perhamba tangkap lima belas orang yang lagi habis lari tiada boleh ambil tuboh
- (15) nya maka yang boléhnya lima belas itu perhamba pun hantar akan raja chaya maka pada hari ahad enam likur hari
- (16) bulan rabi'ulakhir itu raja kelantan dan raja changwang suroh mé kong 'ali dan musa pa' deraman dan ché' tam
- (17) bawa ra'yat seratus orang bedil senapang tiga puluh puchok jemerang mari akan seberang sini mari merampas padi
- (18) beras ambil perahu sebuah (maka raja) chaya suroh perhamba ambii tuboh orang yang jemerang mari itu tiada boléh ambil tubohnya
- (19) orang itulah perhamba ma'lumkan kepada chau kun itu kemudian dari itu jikalau chau kun hendak mengetahui perintah
- (20) raja chaya itu melainkan chau kun tanya tuan said muhammad salléh itu dan raja 'abdullah itu segala perintahnya perhamba
- (21) hendak khabar sekian2 pun tiada dapat demikianlah adanya suatu pun tiada apa hanyalah perhamba sembahkan emas
- (22) setahil melayu tersurat kepada lapan likur hari bulan lapan hari rabu kepada tahun kura adanya

*Letter No. 22*

yajma'u'llāhu bainanā wa bainakum

- (1) jaza'llāhukum bi'l-faḍli'l-kabīri ni'ma'l-maulā wa ni'ma'l-naṣīr iaitu daripada anakanda tuan besar kampong laut barang disampaikan allah subhanahu wa ta'ala jua kiranya
- (2) kepada mamanda iaitu raja sai maka adalah anakanda nyatakan kepada mamanda itu perintah surat mamanda yang dibawa oleh wan 'uthman itu telah sampailah pada anakanda segala buku yang

- (3) tersebut didalamnya itu telah anakanda ma'lumlah pada segenap perkaranya dan lagi tersebut didalam surat mamanda itu mamanda beri haji shamsuddin serta dengan surat membawa sabda
- (4) tan paya péchaburi raja muda singgora panggil anakanda pergi mengadap paya péchaburi dan raja muda singgora (ke)negeri sai dan banyak lagi buku yang tersebut didalamnya
- (5) demikianlah adanya shahadan maka adalah anakanda nyatakan pada mamanda itu akan pekerjaan mamanda panggil anakanda pergi kenegeri sai itu maka anakanda pun simpan perahu hendak
- (6) mari maka tiba2 sampai raja chaya mari dari singgora membawa surat chau kun mé tap suroh rombak kubu dan panggil anakanda masuk negeri singgora maka tatakala sampai
- (7) raja chaya itu anakanda pun berhentilah dahulu tiada jadi mari lagi melainkan jikalau tiada 'aral gendala anakanda timbul bulan jumadal-awal itu sampailah anakanda
- (8) kenegeri sai inshallah ta'ala janganlah mamanda menaruh shak zann dan waham lagi jikalau ada 'aral anakanda yang besar tiada boleh mari anakanda beri saudara anakanda mari
- (9) mengadap tan paya péchaburi dengan raja muda singgora itu demikianlah adanya tetapi didalam negeri kelantan ini sehari dua ini sangatlah karu(t)nya kepada hari sabtu
- (10) empat likur hari bulan rabi'ulakhir itu raja kelantan suroh penghulu dullah membawa ra'yat empat puluh orang jemerang mari kerah segala ra'yat seberang sini suroh
- (11) pergi akan seberang sana kerana ra'yat sebelah kampung laut orang hendak ambil beri akan siam maka penghulu dullah mari berkerah itu bawa sabda raja chaya maka anakanda
- (12) pun suroh tuan said muhammad salléh dengan tuan long in mengadap raja chaya tanya raja chaya sunggohkah raja suroh raja kelantan mari kerah segala ra'yat seberang sini maka
- (13) kata raja chaya aku tiada suroh pergi kerah ra'yat seberang sini maka anakanda pun suroh orang pergi léngkong tangkap berikat ambil tuboh penghulu dullah itu maka dengan tuah mamanda
- (14) boléh anakanda tangkap lima belas orang yang lain lagi itu habis lari tiada boléh ambil tubohnya maka yang boléh lima belas orang itu anakanda hantarkan raja chaya maka hari
- (15) ahad enam likur hari bulan rabi'ulakhir itu raja kelantan dan raja changwang suroh mé kong 'ali dan musa pa' deraman ché' tam bawa ra'yat seratus orang bedil senapang



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- (16) tiga puluh puchok jemerang mari akan seberang sini mari merampas padi beras ambil perahu maka raja chaya suroh anakanda pergi ambil tuboh orang yang jemerang mari itu tiada boléh
- (17) ambil tubohnya orang itu kemudian dari itu anakanda nyatakan pada mamanda fasal pekerjaan rial marhum pada raja kelantan dua puluh kotak pada satu kotak seribu emas urai
- (18) dua butir ba'ang kacha itu suku daripada bahagian berikan raja legur dan suku daripada berikan raja benua dan suku daripada bahagi segala adék beradék raja kelantan ambil taroh
- (19) tatakala marhum dudok berasa itu maka raja kelantan pun berjanji dengan anakanda hendak bahagi dengan anakanda suroh anakanda pergi akan benua siam itu melainkan jikalau benar mamanda
- (20) pintalah mamanda sembahkan chau kun mé tap dan pada tan paya péchaburi jikalau tiada boléh akan anakanda pun sudahlah jadi persembahan anakanda pada chau kun dalam
- (21) pada itu lamu(n) benar pada mamanda jikalau tidak benar jangan disembahkan kerana anakanda ini tiadalah harap dua tiga lagi melainkan mamandalah akan menolong anakanda
- (22) hari ini berpanjang panjangan hubong berhubong pergi pada hari yang kehadiran demikianlah adanya kemudian dari itu yang mamanda hendak mengetahui
- (23) perintah raja chaya itu melainkan pintalah mamanda tanya tuan said muhammad salléh itu lengan raja 'abdullah segala perintahannya anak anda hendak khabar sekian2 pun tiada dapat demikianlah
- (24) adanya suatu pun tiada hanyalah kain limau sehelai boléh mamanda buat2 basahan tiada dengan sepertinya termaktub warkat ini pada yaum rabu' thamāniyah wa 'ishrūna
- (25) shahru'r-rabi'ul-akhīr waktu pukul lima pagi tarikh sanat 1255 al-ithnai(n) hijratu'n-nabi'i shallāllāhu 'alaihi wa salām al-ḥaqqu'sh-shaikhi m ' r ū f ( a l ) k r k h ī tammāt (continued at the side, upside down):
- (26) ada pun banyak padi yang diambil oléh mé kong 'ali itu berasnya tiga ratus padinya
- (27) dua ribu tujuh ratus jumlah sekali dengan beras itu jadi tiga ribu samanya
- (28) perahu setuboh demikianlah adanya tetapi anakanda ini sangatlah miskinnya

SEAL

al-wāthiqu bi'llahil-ghani + muhammad perdana menteri kelantan + ibnu ismā'il al-marhūm + khalladullāhu mulkahu wa ihsānahu + sanat 1253

## qaulu'l-ḥaqq

- (1) al-ḥamdu li'llāhi jalla jalāluhu bi't-ta'zīmi wa tafarrudan bi'l-farqī wa't-takrīmi aḥmaduhu ḥamdan jamīlan wa ashkuruhu shukran kabīran wa ṣallā'llāhu
- (2) 'alā sayyidinā muḥammad wa ālihi wa ṣaḥbihi ajma'in telah selesailah daripada memuji tuhan maliku'r-rahmān dan salawatkan nabi ākhiru'
- (3) z-zamān maka diidafatkan didalamnya yang dihiasi dengan beberapa hormat dan ta'zim iaitu daripada perhamba raja
- (4) kelantan mudahmudahan barang disampaikan tuhan rabbu'l-'arshil-'aẓīm apalah kiranya kehadiran mamak hamba iaitu
- (5) raja sai yang mempunyai kebesaran dan kemuliaan serta dengan da'erah ta'loknnya maka barang dilepaskan allah
- (6) daripada bala dunia dan akhirat serta dilepaskan allah daripada mara-bahaya dengan segeranya āmin allāhumma āmin wa ba'dahu
- (7) daripada itu maka adalah warqatu'l-'ikhlaṣ yang 'aziz yang ditanggongkan oleh wan 'uḥṭman itu telah sampailah
- (8) kepada hamba dengan selamat sempurnanya maka hamba pun terima ambillah dengan beberapa kesukaannya dan kemuliaannya
- (9) serta menguchap shukur kepada tuhan ilāhu'l-'ālamīn serta ditatapinya daripada awal shatarnya hingga akhir shatarnya
- (10) maka segala yang tersebut didalamnya telah mafhumlah hamba maka adalah mamak perhamba meminta akan buku yang kesudahan
- (11) bicharanya boléh mamak perhamba sembah ma'lumkan kepada tan paya péchaburi dan raja muda singgora
- (12) ma'lum kepada chau kun mé tap besar dinegeri singgora dan sebagai pula fasal raja chaya yang
- (13) masok mari ini mamak hamba hendak dengar bicharanya sebicha(ra) tahkah(?) bicharanya dengan mamak hamba atau sebagai mana
- (14) itulah adanya shahadan daripada itu hamba nyatakan kepada mamak hamba akan hal yang raja chaya
- (15) mari itu saudara perhamba sultan déwa itu sudah turun mari dan kubu
- (16) pun sudah dirombak maka segala yang bichara ini melainkan mamak hamba tanyakan wan 'uḥṭman
- (17) itu dan lagi mamak hamba hendak tentukan kesudahannya kepada perhamba itu tiadalah
- (18) boléh perhamba tentu akan harinya kerana perhamba dudok ini tengah hendak ikhtiarkan

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- (19) pembawaan sedikit2 mamak hamba pun sudah ketahui akan hal 'adat sebelah barat ini
- (20) itulah adanya tammat maka suatu pun tiada 'alāmatu'l-ḥayāt hanyalah du'ā'un fī kulli waqtin wa ḥinin tammat
- (21) maka perbuat surat ini kepada hari juma'at tiga puluh hari bulan rabī'ul-akhir tarikh sanat 1255



al-wāthiqū bi'llāhi + raja kelantan + khallada'llāhu mulkahu wa ihsānahu wa faḍlahu + ibnu luang tan al-marḥūm + sanat 1254

*Letter No. 24*

ya ghafūra'r-raḥīm

- (1) salāmu'd-du'ā'u bi'l-khair ajma'in iaitu daripada hamba raja banggul yang ada bernaung pada masa ini didalam semerak yang ada duduk dalam perchintaan
- (2) tiap2 hari dan malam tambahan pula dengan hina papanya lagi miskin yang tiada berguna pada hamba allah yang banyak barang diwasilkan allah jua kiranya
- (3) datang kehadiran majelis saudara hamba raja sai yang di(a)nugerahkan allah kebesaran dan kemuliaan diatas takhta kerajaannya dari dunia datang pada hari
- (4) kiamat ḥafizahu'llāhu ta'ālā fī'd-dāraini āmin wa ba'dahu dari itu hamba melayangkan qatrah ini tiada dengan sepertinya akan jadi ganti
- (5) pertemuan dan perjumpaan hamba dengan sau(da)ra hamba maka dari hal warkat saudara hamba itu telah sampailah dengan selamatnya tiada suatu marabahaya maka
- (6) hamba pun pahlamlah segenap perkara yang tersebut itu serta hamba menguchap shukur kepada allah subhanahu wa ta'ala menerima kebajikan saudara hamba
- (7) melainkan tuhan wāhidu'l-jahhār yang membalaskan kebajikan saudara hamba itu shahadan adalah fasal diri hamba itu terserahlah pada saudara
- (8) hamba segala bicharanya dengan orang siam kerana hamba itu tiadalah harap dua tiga lagi dari dahulu sampai keakhir hanyalah saudara hamba
- (9) yang tempat hamba harapkan dahulu allah wa ba'dahu rasul kemudian saudara hambalah yang hamba harapkan jikalau sudah dengan perbuatan saudara hamba

- (10) yang kejahatan atas diri hamba melainkan hamba pun serahlah kepada allah subhanahu wa ta'ala melakukan kejahatan hambanya kemudian hamba ma'lumkan saudara
- (11) hamba jikalau jahat hamba pun saudara hamba tahu jika baik pun sudah saudara hamba tahu barang sekaliannya sudah terma'lum kepada
- (12) saudara hamba itulah adanya tiadalah suatu tanda burhan (melainkan) du'a'un fi'l-layali wa'l-ayyam termaktub pada tiga hari bulan jumadalawal bulan
- (13) sembilan waktu jam pukul dua lapan adanya sanat 1255 tammat

Letter No. 25

al-mustahiqq

- (1) surat daripada perhamba paya pipit pakdi seri sultan muhammad ratna nuchit santi sunton boworo wongso paya kelantan masok mari persembah
- (2) ma'lum kebawah kaus pera' sanéha monteri yang me(me)réntah tempat negeri legur maka adalah perhamba siapa enché' jamil beri tiga buah perahu perhamba suroh naik mari hantar
- (3) bijéh timah yang chau kun ibu angkatan besar yang selesai pekerjaannya yang hendak kepada perhamba seratus pikul dahulu itu maka sekarang yang boléh perhamba ambil baharu boléh
- (4) tiga puluh dua pikul maka yang tinggal lagi itu perhamba suroh mudék pergi ambil pula tiada bawa hilir lagi maka apakala bawa hilir sudah kemudian perhamba hendak suroh
- (5) mari hantar pula maka bijéh yang tiga puluh dua pikul itu perhamba suroh mari kepada enché' jamil itu bawa mari persembah kebawah kaus chau kun perhamba minta tolong
- (6) chau kun bawa naik persembah ma'lumkan kebawah kaus chau kun ibu angkatan besar yang selesai pekerjaan yang maha mulia serta perhamba harapkan ampun beribu2 ampun kebawah
- (7) kaus chau kun ibu angkatan besar yang selesai pekerjaan yang maha mulia kerana perhamba jadi hamba kobkun taiya<sup>23</sup> putus sudah maka tiadalah dua tiga lagi tempat perhamba
- (8) berharap dan tempat perhamba bergantung dan tempat perhamba ber-naung melainkan kebawah kaus chau kun dan kebawah kaus chau kun ibu angkatan besar yang selesai pekerjaan yang maha mulialah yang

23. I conjecture the Thai "kho:bkhun thayā" ขอบพระคุณ (to give thanks for favour shown.)

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- (9) tempat perhamba berharap yang tolong menolong perhamba maka dengan tuah daulat duli chau kunlah yang boléh perhamba duduk senang supaya adék beradék hubong pergi kehadapan adanya
- (10) seperkara pula perhamba persembah ma'lumkan kebawah kaus chau kun fasal yang chau kun ibu angkatan besar yang selesai pekerjaannya yang maha mulia titah suroh perhamba pergi kira dengan
- (11) paya chaya tangkap tuan long ahmad tuan long deraman tuan senik sungai pinang tuan bulat raja ché' enché' ku 'ali tuan long 'ali itu maka perhamba pun muafakat dengan
- (12) raja chaya kira hendak tangkap orang yang seperti tersebut nama ini maka tuan long deraman itu tatakala perhamba sampai kenegeri kelantan tuan long deraman itu sudah lari
- (13) pergi duduk ditempat besut dahulu (sudah kemudian raja chaya kira dengan perhamba dibahagi orang dua tempat ?) suatu tempat bawa perahu pergi sekat ikut laut
- (14) suatu tempat raja chaya beri a luang son séni dengan raja changwang dengan raja muda bawa ra'yat pergi ikut darat sekat tuan long ahmad tuan long salléh dengan tuan long deraman
- (15) pa' saudara perhamba bawa ra'yat pergi sekat tangkap raja ché' enché' ku 'ali maka tuan long ahmad tuan senik sungai pinang tuan long 'ali itu lari dahulu
- (16) maka said ja'far turun pergi sampai didalam daerah terengganu tiada disinggah a luang son séni paya changwang turun pergi sampai ditempat semerak maka tuan long salléh dengan tuan
- (17) long deraman pa' saudara perhamba itu pergi tangkap raja ché' dan enché' ku 'ali itu boleh perhamba ambil tuboh serah beri kepada raja chaya
- (18) anak saudaranya nama ku tengah dan anak raja ku jadi empat orang akan fasal tuan long ahmad sekalian itu balék tuan said ja'far balék itu boléh khabar yang
- (19) tentunya kemana2 ia pergi masok ditempat mana2 boléh perhamba sembah ma'lum mari pula seperkara lagi perhamba persembah ma'lumkan kebawah kaus chau kun akan enché' jamil
- (20) itu perhamba suroh juga beli beras sedikit ikut muat perahu yang enché' jamil bawa mari itu maka perhamba harapkan kebawah kaus chau kunlah tolong menolong pada
- (21) barang2 suatu yang hendak kesakitan dan kepayahan atas enché' jamil itu maka apakala selesai sudah segala kira bicharanya mintalah chau kun suroh enché' jamil

Transliteration of the Letters

- (22) itu belayar balék kenegeri kelantan dengan segeranya kerana musim suntok sudah takut kena angin besar hendak masok kuala tiada boléh kerana kuala negeri kelantan
- (23) tohor sangat demikianlah adanya perbuat surat kepada hari isnai(n) bulan sepuluh timbul lapan hari kepada tahun kura ékasok<sup>24</sup> tammatu'l-kalām



al-wāthiqu bi'llāhi + raja kelantan + khallada'llāhu  
mulkahu wa ihsānahu wa faḍlahu + ibnu a luang tan  
al-marḥūm + sanat 1254

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24. Thai "e:kasok" ๑๐๐๐๐ (first of the decade)

### 3. SPELLING OF THE LETTERS

The spelling employed in the letters shows many divergences from the system in use in Malaya to-day.<sup>1</sup>

These divergences may be described (rather roughly) as

(A) *General* — i.e. features found in many other Malay mss.

(B) *Specific* — i.e. features perhaps characteristic of Kelantanese Malay writings, and therefore probably influenced by the Kelantan dialect of Malay.

#### (A) GENERAL

##### 1. *Inconsistency*

As in most pre-20th century mss., the spelling is anything but consistent. In editing the 'Sja'ir Perang Mengkasar' (a text based largely upon an 18th century ms), I noted five different spellings of the word 'perang'<sup>2</sup> but this 'record' is far surpassed by our letters, where the word 'harap' is spelt in no less than nine different ways.<sup>3</sup>

##### 2. *Consonants*

Very frequently no graphic distinction is made between

'j' and 'ch'

'g' and 'k'

'b' and 'p' (in word-final position)

and less frequently between

's' and 'sh' e.g. 'b-sh-r' — besar (Letter 8)

'h' and 'kh' e.g. 't-h-t' — takhta (Letter 15)

'h' and 'h' e.g. 'h-r-b' — harap (Letter 8)

a final 'h' is sometimes omitted, e.g. 'p-r-n-tâ' — perintah (Letter 11)

a final 'h' is sometimes reduplicated when the suffix '-an' is added, e.g. 'k-mür-hh-n' — kemurahan (Letter 1).

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1. e.g. as recommended in Zainal 'Abidin: DAF, and as practised, more or less, by newspapers such as *Utusan Melayu*.
  2. see Amin: SJA.
  3. 'harab' (Letter 25); 'h-rab' (Letter 25); 'h-r-b' (Letter 7); 'h-r-b' (Letter 8); 'har-p' (Letter 12); 'h-rîp' (Letter 1); 'har-t' (Letter 9); 'h-r-t' (Letter 9); 'h-r-t' (Letter 24).

3. *Vowels*

Whereas modern practice usually inserts the 'ī' and 'ū' in closed syllables, the letters frequently, but not consistently, omit these vowels, e.g. 'd-āmb-l' – diambil (Letter 24); 'b-ngg-l' – Banggul (Letter 11).

(B) *SPECIFIC*

NB: The spellings quoted below are, it should be remembered, examples of *divergent* spelling; in nearly all cases the words concerned are also found spelt according to normal modern usage.

## VOWELS

## 1. 'ā'

often used to represent 'ē', particularly in open syllables, but occasionally in closed syllables, e.g. 'd-bārī' (dibari, Letter 3); 'bārās' (beras, Letter 25)

used rarely to represent 'ī' in closed syllables, e.g. 'b-dāl' (bedil, Letter 11)

quite often used to represent 'ū', particularly in open syllables, but also occasionally in closed syllables, e.g. 'kātā' (kota, Letter 5); 'b-nggāl' (Banggul, Letter 19)

sometimes inserted between 'r' and a stop, e.g. 's-rāt' (serta, Letter 5); 't-rāb-t' (terbit, Letter 8)<sup>4</sup>

quite often omitted, even from open syllables, e.g. 'r-j' (raja, Letter 15); 'l-p-n' (lapan, Letter 11)

sometimes found, word-finally where modern usage would spell '-ar', e.g. 'biāl-h' (biarlah, Letter 5)

sometimes found where modern usage would spell '-ur', e.g. 'j-lā' (Jala/Jalor, Letter 2); 's-lā' (Sala/Salor, Letter 13).<sup>5</sup>

## 2. 'ī'

sometimes used to represent 'ē', in open syllables, e.g. 'sidik-t' (sedikit, Letter 1); 'sīg-rāny' (segeranya, Letter 25)

used rarely to represent 'ā', e.g. 'b-chāri' (bichara, Letter 15); used rarely to represent 'ū', e.g. 'k-midi-n' (kemudian, Letter 1)

4. This spelling would appear to conflict with Brown: STU, p. 128, who says that "words such as 'tērbit' ... are spoken with a u-sound in the first syllable and no 'r' is heard."

5. These spellings appear to confirm Brown, *ibid.*, and Pepys: GLO, p.304, who says that "a final 'a' becomes (the English sound) 'aw'", i.e. the I.P.A. [ɔ].



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sometimes omitted, even in open syllables, e.g. 'b-r-t-k-ng' (bertikam, Letter 2); 'māt' (mati, Letter 12)

sometimes found, following a nasal, in a word-final open syllable, where modern usage would close the syllable with a nasal, e.g. 'ithni' (ithnain, Letter 18)<sup>6</sup>

### 3(a). 'ū'

sometimes omitted, even in open syllables, e.g. 'p-h-n-k-n' (pohonkan, Letter 12)

sometimes found following a nasal in a word-final open syllable, where modern usage would close the syllable with a nasal, e.g. 'lāmū' (lamun, letter 22)<sup>6</sup>

### (b). 'ūā'

used rarely to represent the modern 'ū', e.g. 'pūān' (pun, Letter 1); 'tūāh-n' (Tuhan, Letter 9)

used rarely to represent 'ā(h)ū', e.g. 'mūā' (mahu, Letter 11)

4. A few words which are now normally spelt with a final vowel, are frequently spelt with a final glottal stop ('q' or ''') e.g. 'b-pā'' (bapa, Letter 12), 'pūl-q' (pula, Letter 15).<sup>7</sup>

## CONSONANTS

These are most conveniently discussed according to their place in the word, i.e. initial,<sup>8</sup> medial and final.

### *In Initial Position*

In initial position there is nothing to remark that has not been already noted in the *GENERAL* section above.

### *In Medial Position*

In medial position, the only divergences from modern spelling occur with the *voiced stops* (b, d, j, g), the *voiceless stops* (p, t, ch, k) and the *nasals* (m, n, ny, ng). These occur, in modern spelling, both as

6. cf. Brown, *ibid.*

7. Mohd. Taib, in his Introduction to the *Hikayat Seri Kelantan* a ms. roughly comparable in age to the letters, notes that the words 'bapa', 'bawa', 'juga', 'minta' and 'nasi' are found spelt with a final glottal stop (HSK, p. 40).

8. This is a rather loose use of the word. One should perhaps say: the initial consonant of the final syllable of (disyllabic) roots.

single consonants or as nasal clusters (i.e. a stop preceded by the homorganic nasal).<sup>9</sup>

### 1. Single Consonants

#### (a) Voiced Stops

All voiced stops, except the *bilabial*, are often found spelt as nasal clusters, e.g.<sup>10</sup>

'k-h-nd-p-n' (kehadapan), Letter 15)

'k-b-nj-k-n' (kebajikan, Letter 1)

'l-ngg-r' (Legur, Letter 22).

The *bilabial* stop is found, on one occasion, spelt as a single nasal, e.g. 't-mīng' (tebing, Letter 19).

#### (b) Voiceless Stops

All voiceless stops are often found spelt as nasal clusters, e.g.

'd-mp-t' (dapat, Letter 16)

'l-nt-q' (letak, Letter 13)

'b-nchār' (bichara, Letter 3)<sup>11</sup>

'j-ngk-ng' (Jakang, Letter 11)

#### (c) Nasals

On one occasion, the *bilabial* nasal is found spelt as '-mb-', i.e. 's-mbīn' (samian, Letter 3), but as the word concerned is not Malay, but Thai,<sup>12</sup> this one example can hardly be said to prove anything.

9. From the definition of 'medial' given in the preceding note, it follows that in words such as 'ambil', 'undur' etc., the syllabic division is not 'am-bil', 'un-dur', but 'a-mbil', 'u-ndur', the 'nasal clusters' being considered as single phonemes. As will be seen below, the letters provide some support for the contention that the structure of the Malay disyllabic root is not

$$(C^1) V^1 (C^2) - C^3 V^2 (C^4)$$

(where C = consonant; V = vowel; brackets = optional; the hyphen = the syllabic division), with (C<sup>2</sup>) standing for a nasal, a liquid or a glottal stop, but rather

$$(C^1) V^1 - C^2 V^2 (C^3)$$

where V<sup>1</sup> may be nasalized or (in loan words) glottalized, and C<sup>2</sup> stands for any consonant (the so-called 'nasal clusters' being taken as single consonant-phonemes). The liquids are obviated as medial syllable-finals by inserting the pēpēt-vowel (cf. spellings such as 's-rīt' (serta) and 't-rīb-t' (turbit) noted above), turning the disyllabic into a trisyllabic.

10. The *Hikayat Seri Kelantan* contains spellings such as 't-mbing' (tebing), 'r-mb-t' (rebut), HSK, p. 44.

11. This word is also found spelt 'b-ngch-ra' (Letter 1) - an example of the arbitrary nature in which the nasals are used in the Letters.

12. Thai สมิเนียน ("samian") - a clerk.

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### 2. Nasal Clusters

#### (a) With Voiced Stops

	Spelling Used in the letters Nasal Cluster	Spelling Used in the letters Single Stop	Spelling Used in the letters Single Nasal
<i>Bilabial</i>	most frequent	once m-ng-b-l, (mengambil, Letter 4) <sup>13</sup>	often e.g. 'āmīl' (ambil Letter 6)
<i>Dental- Alveolar</i>	most frequent	no example found <sup>14</sup>	rarely e.g. 'ūnūr' (undur, Letter 15)
<i>Palatal</i>	most frequent	no example found <sup>15</sup>	no example found
<i>Velar</i>	most frequent	often e.g. 'm-n-g-l-k-n' (meninggal- kan, Letter 6)	no example found

#### (b) With Voiceless Stops

No example is found of such a cluster being represented by a single nasal.

All clusters, except the *palatal*,<sup>16</sup> are found spelt, either as clusters (the commonest spelling), or as single stops, e.g.

'p-rjūpā-n' (perjumpaan, Letter 15)

- 
13. It is perhaps significant that the *Hikayat Seri Kelantan* contains no example of the voiced bilabial nasal cluster being spelt as a single stop.
14. Spellings such as 'p-dik-r' (pendekar) occur in the *Hikayat Seri Kelantan* (p. 33.)
15. Spellings such as 'm-jū-j-ng' (menjunjung) occur in the *Hikayat Seri Kelantan* (*ibid.*)
16. Spellings such as 'pūchā (puncha), 'pā-chung' (panchung), 'kī-ching' (kanching) occur in the *Hikayat Seri Kelantan* (*ibid.*) Cf. Brown: STU, p. 127, who says that "bīnchī" is pronounced as though written "bāchī."

- 'ātār' (antara, Letter 6)  
'būk-l' (bungkal, Letter 10)

### In Final Position

#### Fricatives

Commentators on the Kelantan dialect have pointed out that in general final fricatives are debile<sup>17</sup>. The letters provide no evidence that this is the case for a final '-s' or '-l' but spellings such as 'p-r-ntā' (perintah, Letter 11), 'biāl-h' (biarlah, Letter 5) and the hyper-correct 'būkūr' (buku, Letter 22),<sup>18</sup> suggest that this is true of final '-h' and final '-r'.

#### Stops

Although modern Malay spelling allows every stop (except the *palatals*) to occur in word-final position, standard pronunciation allows only three final stops, all voiceless, viz. *bilabial*, *dental-alveolar* and *glottal*.<sup>19</sup>

The spelling of the letters in general follows modern practice, but the divergences appear to show that, in pronunciation, only one final stop was used, the *glottal*.<sup>20</sup>

This is illustrated in Table I. The column on the left gives the normal modern Jawi spelling, with the romanised spelling in brackets; in the other columns, N = final spelling normally used in the letters; X = no example found in the letters of this final spelling; and brackets enclose the number of the letter in which the example quoted is found.

#### Nasals

Standard modern spelling and pronunciation allow all nasals (except the *palatal*) to occur word-finally.

In the letters however, although the use of the final nasal roughly follows modern practice, the many divergences that occur suggest that the final nasal grapheme represented not a definite nasal (occlusive), but a nasalisation of the preceding vowel, i.e. that 'sekarang' was pronounced as [sakarã], 'masing-masing' as [masĩmasĩ], 'turun' as [turũ]<sup>21</sup> etc. (Table II).

- 
17. cf. Brown, *ibid*; Kassim Ahmad in his Introduction to the *Shair Musoh Kelantan*, p. viii; Pepys: GLO, p. 304; Sturrock: NOT, p. 6.  
18. The spelling 'b-r-gitũ' (begitu) is also found Letter 16).  
19. The *bilabial* and *dental-alveolar* voiceless stops are unexploded; there is also a tendency to glottalisation.  
20. cf. Brown: STU, p. 126; Sturrock: NOT, p. 5.  
21. For preferring [ã] to [i] as the nasalised [a] cf. Brown: STU, p. 126, Pepys: GLO, p. 304.

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TABLE I.

Final Stop	Spelt in the letters with			
	No Final Stop	-P(-B)	-T(-D)	-K(-Q,-')
-ap				
hār-p (harap)	X	N	hār-t (9)	X
s-g-n-p(se- genap)	X	N	s-g-n-t (24)	s-g-n-q (9)
-at				
būl-t (bulat)	X	X	N	X
-ak				
bāwā <sup>22</sup> (bawa/bawa')	bāwā (11)	X	m-mbāw-t (7)	N
-ip				
ṭ-bīb (tabib)	X	X	ṭ-b-t (9)	X
-it				
wichīt (Wichit)	X	wichīt (6)	N	X
-ik				
chī' (ché/ chūk)	X	chīb (2)	ch-t (11)	N
bāliq (balek)	X	X	bālit (15)	N
-up <sup>23</sup>				
tūp (tup)	X	N	X	X
-ut				
pātūt (patut)	X	X	N	p-t' (9)
kārūt (karut)	kārū (21)	X	X	X
-uk				
pūchūq (puchuk)	X	X	pūch-t (11)	N

22. Although the preferred spelling is now 'bāwā', the word is frequently pronounced 'bāwā', a pronunciation that was obviously used by the writers of the letters.

23. Spellings such as 's-nggōt' (sanggup) occur in the *Hikayat Seri Kelantan* (HSK, p. 30).

## Spelling of the Letters

TABLE II.

Final Nasal

Spelt in the letters with

No Final Nasal

-M

-N

-NG

	No Final Nasal	-M	-N	-NG
<i>-am</i>				
sī-m (siam)	X	N	X	sī-ng(15)
pāh-m (paham)	X	N	pāh-n (24)	X
<i>-an</i>				
lāw-n (lawan)	X	X	N	tāw-ng(2)
k-b-nār-n (kebenaran)	X	X	N	k-b-n-r-ng(16)
<i>-ang</i>				
s-kār-ng (sekarang)	X	s-k-rām(1)	X	N
m-n-g (menang)	X	X	mān-n(2)	N
<i>-im</i>				
t-krīm (takrim)	X	N	X	X
<i>-in<sup>24</sup></i>				
ithn-in (ithnain)	ithn-ī(1)	X	N	X
m-skīn	X	X	N	X
<i>-ing</i>				
māsīng <sup>25</sup> (masing <sup>2</sup> )	X	X	mās-n <sup>2</sup> (9)	N
<i>-um</i>				
b-lūm (belum)	X	N	X	X
<i>-un<sup>25</sup></i>				
lāmūn (lamun)	lāmū (22)	X	N	X
tūrūn (turun)	X	X	N	tūrūng(6)
<i>-ung<sup>26</sup></i>				
(kampung)	X	X	k-mpūn (7)	N

24. Spellings such as 'sālim' (salin) occur in the *Hikayat Seri Kelantan* (HSK, p. 27.)25. Spellings such as 'tūr-m' (turun) occur in the *Hikayat Seri Kelantan* (*ibid.*)26. Spellings such as 'būr-m' (burung) occur in the *Hikayat Seri Kelantan* (*ibid.*)

#### 4. THE STYLE OF THE LETTERS

The style of the letters fluctuates between two extremes, the ornate – wordy, full of embellishments and conventionally pious sentiments (often in Arabic) – and the colloquial.

Such a fluctuation is not untypical of writings in Malay. The greatest of the Malay classics, the 'Sejarah Melayu', uses for its 'Exordium' its 'Last Will and Testament' speeches and other 'elevated' passages an equally ornate and Arabic(ised) style,<sup>1</sup> but in the main body of the narrative employs a style that is often decidedly colloquial.<sup>2</sup> The letters edited here that are addressed to fellow-Malays begin with a passage of conventional pieties usually in Arabic, but continue in a style whose disjointed and repetitious nature bears all the marks of extempore conversation or dictation.<sup>3</sup>

An interesting feature of this style is the amount of Thai influence discernible in it. In view of the relations between Kelantan and Siam, it is not surprising if Thai words such as 'ka luang', (royal commissioner), 'mé tap', (commander of troops), 'samian t(e)ra', (Clerk of the Seal) etc.<sup>4</sup> are used fairly frequently in the letters, it will be noted however that nearly all of the Thai words used refer to features of the Siamese (as opposed to the Malay) administrative system, and outside the field of administration, the letters contain few Thai loan-words.<sup>5</sup>

There is, however, a great deal of *indirect* influence from Thai. At the vocabulary level, the letters provide many examples of 'loan-translations', e.g. phrases such as 'ibu angkatan besar' (commander of troops), 'segala buku perkara' (all the *details* of the matter), 'hubong-berhubong pergi' (continue) etc., which would be more or less meaningless to Malays with-

1. *Sejarah Melayu*, e.g. p. 42, p. 88, p. 144.

2. *ibid.*, p. 166.

3. On the 'jerky' nature of live speech, cf. Hockett: LIN, p. 142-143.

4.  $\text{กษัตริย์}$  ("kha: (h)luang");  $\text{แม่ทัพ}$  ("me: thaph"),  $\text{เสมียนตรา}$  ("samian tra:"). On one occasion (in Letter 5), Kedah is referred to by its Thai name of 'Cherai(buri)'  $\text{ไชยบุรี}$  – "(th)saiburi:".

5. The conjectured 'ka' in Letter 14 (Thai  $\text{กา}$  – "kha:" or  $\text{กา}$  – "kha:t") meaning 'to kill' is one; another is probably 'puak' (Thai  $\text{พูก}$  – "phuak") although apparently a much earlier borrowing and generally taken to be a native Malay word (e.g. by Wilkinson: MBD who gives no 'Siam(ese)' label to it).

out some acquaintance of the Thai idioms of which these phrases are direct translations.<sup>6</sup>

Expressions such as these — translations so literal as to verge on the incomprehensible — are by no means uncommon in the letters but even commoner examples of Thai influence are to be found in phrases that seem not so much incomprehensible as typical of 'bazaar-Malay', particularly if this is defined as 'Malay spoken by foreigners' (or by Malays 'talking down' to foreigners).

In its dealings with the Malay vassal-states, the Siamese used both Malay and Thai, and letters composed in Thai would be accompanied by a Malay translation,<sup>7</sup> made by translators and interpreters who were often neither Malay or Siamese, but men of Indian or Portuguese origin, who might be fluent in many languages without being master of any one.<sup>8</sup> It was perhaps in this way that 'Thai-Malay' phrases came into being, to be picked up and used by the Malays themselves, who may have been then, as they still are to-day, only too ready to 'talk down' to foreigners.

Typical of 'bazaar-Malay' is the use of the simple verbal root in preference to the affixial forms of the verb. It is true that this preference is also found in colloquial speech, but the letters take this preference altogether too far, even for colloquial Malay, and strings of verbal roots such as 'angkat turut turun mari' (Letter 5), 'boléh churi lari mari' (Letter 10), 'beri pindah balék pergi' (Letter 14) etc. are surely influenced by Thai, in which there are no verbal affixes, their place being taken by 'secondary' verbs, either preceding or following the 'principal' verb.<sup>9</sup>

Thus, although the writers of our letters can, and do, occasionally use the normal Malay phrase 'mendengar khabar' (e.g. Letter 7) for 'hear the news', they seem to prefer the phrase 'boléh dengar khabar' (Letter 5)

6. Thai แม่ทัพ ("me: thaph", literally 'mother, army'); ข้อ ("kho:", literally 'joint');

๗ ไป ("to: pai", literally 'join, go').

7. cf. Letter 11.

8. cf. Crawford: SIA, vol. 1, chapters IV-VI. A case in point is Luang Khoja Ishak, the envoy-cum-interpreter who in 1839 took Senik and Tuan Besar up to Songkhla to see Phaya Si Phiphat. It was this same Luang Khoja Ishak whom Bangkok used as its interpreter in its dealings with Crawford's mission in 1822. Crawford, who got to know him well, says that his name had originally been 'Nakhoda Ali' and that he was "one of those Mohammedan adventurers whose ancestors had come several ages ago from the coast of Coromandel. He had visited Queda, Penang and Calcutta . . ." but spoke Malay "tolerably" rather than fluently (*ibid.*, p. 113, cf. also Finlayson: MIS, Chapters 3-5.)

9. For these terms, see Haas and Subhanka: SPO, vol. 2, p. 319-320.



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(literally: 'can hear news'), a direct translation of the Thai idiom for 'to hear the news', viz. ไต่ข่า "dai yin kha:w" (literally: can hear news).

Perhaps the most striking example of Thai influence is the repeated use of the Malay verbs 'pergi' (go) and 'mari' (come) as secondary verbs following the principal verb, in phrases such as 'angkat pergi' 'balék pergi' (Letter 14), 'naik pergi' (Letter 6), 'turun pergi' (Letter 11), 'balék mari' (Letter 2), 'masuk mari' (Letter 23), 'terbit mari' (Letter 1), 'turun mari' (Letter 5) etc. In all these phrases, the verbs for 'go' and 'come' are superfluous in Malay, but not so in Thai, from which language all these phrases are direct translations.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, wherever the letters read at all oddly, a literal translation into Thai often results in the meaning becoming clear.

It would, however, be going too far to ascribe *all* divergences from classical Malay usage to Thai influence.<sup>11</sup> For example, the use of 'kepada' where one would expect 'pada', e.g. 'perbuat surat kepada sembilan likur' (Letter 2); the use of 'akan' where one would expect to find 'ke', e.g. 'turun mari akan kota baharu' (Letter 5); the use of 'pada' and even 'dari' where one would expect to find 'di', e.g. 'dudok pada kampong laut' and 'dudok dari kampong laut' (both phrases occur in Letter 19) — a somewhat 'random' use of prepositions that is found in other Kelantan writings<sup>12</sup> — is probably due less to Thai influence than to the writers following a Malay literary norm slightly different from that of classical Malay.

Apart from the Thai influence, there is little that smacks of 'Kelantan Malay', apart from the pronunciation (which has been dealt with above). A slight preference for the 'pe(r)-' prefix (e.g. 'diperharga' in Letter 1, 'perbuat surat' in Letter 2, 'perhimpun orang' in Letter 19), an occasional local

10. ยกไป "yok pai" (literally; lift, go) to advance; กลับไป "klab pai" (literally; back, go) to go back; ขึ้นไป "khun pai" (literally; ascend, go) to go up; ลงไป "long pai" (literally; descend, go) to go down; กลับมา "klab ma: (literally; back, come) to come back; เข้ามา "kha:u ma:" (literally; enter, come) to come in; ออกมา "o:k ma:" (literally leave, come) to leave; ลงมา "long ma:" (literally; descend, come) to come down. Another verb over-worked in the Letters is 'bolh', used in imitation of the Thai secondary verb ไต่ "dai" (literally: be able).
11. One might conjecture that the repeated use in the letters of 'additive compounds' (the use of two words, of virtually identical meaning, where one would do), e.g. 'betul benar' (Letter 11), 'salah silap' (Letter 11), 'tegah larang' (Letter 14), 'terima ambil' (Letter 23), etc., is influenced by the extreme fondness Thai shows for such constructions, were it not that Malay itself provides many such examples.
12. cf. the remarks made by Mohd. Taib b. Osman, in his introduction to the *Hikayat Seri Kelantan*, p. 37.

## The Style of the Letters

connotation given to a (standard Malay) word (e.g. 'musoh' - 'fighting' - in Letter 9; 'berasa' - 'to be ill' - in Letter 22), the use of the forms 'menjemelah' (Letter 5 etc.) and 'jemerang' (Letter 13 etc.) for 'menyebelah' and 'menyeberang', the use of 'sekat' to mean 'from, since' (Letter 12) - but all in all, there is not a great deal of 'dialect' material.

Finally, a word on the Arabic used in the letters. Although used fairly liberally, (e.g. Letter 1) it is never entirely free from error, and the mistakes occur not only in spelling, but also in grammar and idiom. As one speaks of 'dog-Latin' one might almost speak of the 'dog-Arabic' used in the letters.

It will be seen from the remarks made above that the letters, while full of interesting details, are scarcely masterpieces of Malay composition. In translating them, I have avoided 'polishing up' the English, and tried to reproduce roughly what the original writer or drafter would have said, had he used modern English, cliché for cliché and colloquialism for colloquialism.

## 5. SYSTEM OF DATING USED IN THE LETTERS

Although the 25 letters are all written by Muslim Malays, only about half are dated according to the Islamic calendar.<sup>1</sup>

The rest are dated according to the Siamese calendar, then in use, the 'Chun Sakarat' ('Lesser Era').<sup>2</sup> This began in A.D. 638, so that the Letters are written in the year 1201 of the Siamese Lesser Era.

Both Siamese and Islamic years were lunar years, based upon a 29-day month alternating with a 30-day month, so that the 7th day of the Siamese 8th month is also the 7th day of the Islamic month of Rabiulakhir.<sup>3</sup> However, the years began at different times and Rabiulakhir is not the 8th month of the Islamic year, but the 4th. Moreover, the overlapping of the day of the month applies only to the first half of each month, for unlike the Muslim practice, the Siamese follow the Hindu practice of dividing the month/moon into a 'waxing' half and a 'waning' half, so that the 18th day of the Islamic lunar month corresponds to the 3rd of the waning half of the Siamese month.<sup>4</sup>

A further point of difference was the way in which the two systems adjusted their lunar year to conform to the Solar calendar. The Islamic calendar adopts the 'Leap Year' method of adding an extra day to certain years, whereas the Siamese system inserted an extra 'thirteenth month' once every three years, intercalated after the normal eighth month.<sup>5</sup>

As further 'checks' upon the date, the Siamese also used two other cycles, a twelve-year 'Animal' cycle, and a ten-year 'Numeral' cycle. Thus, the year in which the Letters were written was, in full: the year 1201 of the Lesser Era, the Year of the Pig, the First of the Decade.<sup>6</sup>

- 
1. The Letters are written in the year 1255 A.H., which began on 17 March, 1839.
  2. Thai จุฬศักราช "cu(1)n sakara:t(ch)" (Small Era). It is the 'Lesser' Era as compared with the มหาศักราช "maha: sakara:t(ch)" (Great(er) Era), the Saka Era dating from the birth of the Saka king, Salivahana, in A.D. 78. Both Greater and Lesser Eras have given way to the พุทธศักราช phuththasakara:t(ch), the Buddhist Era, commencing in 543 B.C., so that 1964 A.D. is 2507 B.E.
  3. cf. Letters 6, 7.
  4. cf. Letters 16, 17.
  5. cf. Crawford: SIA, vol. 2, p. 32; Caham: SIA, vol. 1, p.368.
  6. cf. Letter 25, where the Thai term โศกศก 'e:kasok' is used. In the Letters, the year of the Pig (Thai: หนู "kun") is always spelt hypercorrectly as 'kura'.

## 6. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS OF THE LETTERS

The letters were deposited in the Wachirayan National Library in Bangkok, where they were listed as Nos. 281 to 308 inclusive, in 'Section 3'.

In general, the letters were quite well preserved, although in a few places, termites, or the manner in which a letter has been folded, have resulted in the loss of a few words. The catalogue numbers allotted to the letters by the Library did not follow any chronological order, and to facilitate reference a 'Conversion Table' is given below

<i>No. used here</i> (chronological order)	<i>Library</i> <i>Catalogue No.</i>	<i>No. used here</i> (chronological order)	<i>Library</i> <i>Catalogue No.</i>
1	301	19	281
2	290	6	282
3	292	5	283
4	299	10	284
5	283	14	285
6	282	17	286
7	302	15	287
8	303	20	288
9	300	2	290
10	284	25	291
11	295	3	292
12	297	23	293
13	298	11	295
14	285	12	297
15	287	13	298
16	308	4	299
17	286	9	300
18	305	1	301
19	281	7	302
20	288	8	303
21	304	21	304
22	307	18	305
23	293	24	306
24	306	22	307
25	291	16	308

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It will be observed that three Catalogue Numbers are 'missing', Nos. 289, 294 and 296. Nos. 294 and 296 deal not with Kelantan, but with Kedah and Trengganu respectively, and have been edited elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> The remaining 'letter', No. 289 is in fact two documents, one (in Malay and Thai) being merely a superscription, and the other being a brief letter of acknowledgement, which reads:

(Cat. No. 289a)

### al-mustahiqq

- (1) surat perhamba ché' ali ma'lum mari sampai kepada tan raja (pécha) buri beri ketahui maka adalah yang tan beri surat pergi sampai kepada perhamba
- (2) maka perhamba pun boléh nyata segenap perkaranya maka perhamba boléh bawa tuan haji shamsu din itu mengadap sultan kedua segala buku didalam
- (3) surat itu sudah perhamba dengar sekalian sangatlah perhamba (?sukanya) dan segala perintah dinegeri kelantan itupun tersebut nyata didalam surat sultan
- (4) kedua itu ma'lum mari sampai kepada (tan) boléh nyata didalam surat itu inilah perhamba ma'lumkan perbuat surat kepada hari khamis bulan enam tamat

In translation:

### O Deserving One

This is a letter from your servant Ché' Ali to YE, the Raja of (?Phécha) buri to inform YE that as regards the letter YE sent me I have fully understood its contents. I have taken Haji Shamsuddin to have audience with the two Sultans<sup>2</sup>. The details in YE's letter I heard with much pleasure (?) and the situation in Kelantan is clearly set out in the letter from the two Sultans sent to (YE). This is what I have to inform YE. Letter written on Thursday, the sixth month<sup>3</sup>. End (of letter).

1. See Skinner: KED, and Skinner: TRE.

2. Sultan Muhammad and Sultan Déwa (i.e. Senik and his brother.)

3. Probably at the beginning of May, 1839.

The superscription (Cat. No. 289) reads:

(Cat. No. 289b)

surat negeri kelantan sampai mari kenegeri singgora empat kelim bulan enam tahun kura hari (?jum'at perintah) perang nik 'isāh bawa mari

In translation:

Letter(s) from Kelantan received in Singgora on the 4th of the dark (half of) the 6th month, in the year of the Pig, Friday<sup>4</sup>, on military service, Nik Isa the bearer

At the side, still in the Malay-Arabic script and fully vowelled (but written after the paper has been turned upside down) are the words: "bang kuntang" which I conjecture to be a (Kelantan-)Malay attempt to reproduce the Thai phrase บังคมทูต ("bangkhom thu:(1)n") – 'making obeisance (to a superior)'.

Underneath the Malay superscription is a line of Thai, rather difficult to read. I conjecture something like:

...คำ ปีกุน เอกศก....สำ กาลเฒ่า ถือหนังสือ จะอาหลิ....ต้นต้น

In translation:

... night(s) years of the Pig, the first of the decade . . .

... Kasim brought letter(s) from Ché' Ali . . . . .

(Ke)lantan?

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4. Probably 6/7 May, 1839.

APPENDIX A

INDEX OF PERSONS AND PLACES MENTIONED IN THE LETTERS.

(NB. 'Kelantan' and 'Siam' have not been listed.)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Letter No.</i>
Abdulhamid, Pa' (see 'Duhamid, Pa'')	
Abdulkarim, Enché'	20.
Abdullah, Penghulu (see 'Dullah, Penghulu')	
Abdullah, Raja	21, 22.
Abdulrahman, Tuan Long ('Tuan Abdulrahman'; 'Tuan Long Deraman')	6-8, 11, 13, 25.
Abdulrahman, Tuan Long (Senik's uncle)	25.
Ahmad, Tuan Long ('Raja Muda Kelantan')	1, 2, 5-11, 13, 14, 17, 19, 25.
Ali, Ché' (perhaps the same as 'Seri Paduka, Luang')	289.
Ali, Enché' Ku	25.
Ali, Mé Kong	21, 22.
Ali, Tuan Long	11, 12, 19, 25.
Arifin, Enché'	7, 8.
Banggul	19.
Banggul, Raja	11, 13, 15, 17, 19.
Batu Seputéh	17.
Béng, Kapitan	11.
Besar Tuan ('Tengku Besar'; 'Perdana Menteri Kelantan')	1-7, 9-14, 16-19, 21, 22.
Besut	11, 25.
Bukit (Marak)	2, 5-11, 17.
Bulat, Tuan	6-9, 25.
Cha Kang, Dato'	11.
Chai Phon Phak, Luang	11, 13.
Chaiya, Raja ('Phaya Chaiya')	20-23, 25.
Chana'	4.

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Changwang, Raja ('Raja Penambang'; 'Engku Kota'; Tuan Kota; Phaya Changwang'; 'Sultan Déwa')	1, 5-8, 11, 13, 14, 17, 20-23, 25, 289.
Chanok (?) Khun (perhaps the same as 'Nut Ché'?)	5.
Chau Khun Mé Thaph (see under 'Si Phiphath, Phaya')	
Cherai (see under 'Kedah')	
Cherang Tengék (?)	19.
Chi (?), Kapitan	11.
Chik, Raja	2, 6-11, 13, 17, 25.
Chua, Kapitan	11.
Da(h), Nik (see under 'Saiburi, Raja')	
Demong, Tuan A Luang(?)	19.
Déwa, Sultan (see under 'Chang- wang, Raja')	
Duhamid, Pa'	19.
Dullah, Penghulu	21, 22.
Enché, Raja (see under 'Chik, Raja')	
Endut (?) Ché' (see under 'Nut, Ché')	
Gagap, Tuan Long (Se)nik (see under 'Senik Gagap, Tuan Long')	
Hitam(?) Ché' (see under 'Tam Ché')	
In, Khun (Luang?) (perhaps the same as 'In, Tuan Long')	6, 11, 13.
In, Tuan Long (perhaps the same as 'In, Khun')	7, 8, 10, 21, 22.
Isa (?), Nik	
Jaafar, Ché'	17.
Jaafar, Tuan Sayid	25.
Jakang	20.
Jala	2.
Jambu	2, 13.
Jambu, Raja (probably used for the Raja of Jering)	2.



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Jamil, Enché	25.
Jaringa	15.
Jid, Enché	4-6, 11, 13.
Kampong Laut	2, 5-9, 13, 19, 21, 22.
Kedah ('Chera')	2, 5, 11, 13.
Kota, Engku (see under 'Changwang, Raja'; outside the letters 'Engku Kota' refers to 'Tengku Seri Putera Maharaja')	
Kota, Tuan (see under 'Changwang, Raja')	
Kota B(ah)aru	5-8.
Khram, Ko'	13.
Ku, Raja	25.
Labok	11.
Lam(b)or	11, 13.
Laut, Kampong (see under 'Kampong Laut')	
Layar(?), Khun	6.
Lebai, Nik	19.
Lebai, Tuan ('Ku Lebai')	11, 17, 19.
Legor (Nakhon Si Thammarat)	2, 13, 25.
Legor, Raja ('Chauphaya Legor')	11, 22.
Legor, Raja Muda ('Phra' Sanéha Montri')	25.
Long, Ché'	10.
Lun(d)ang Paku	11.
Majid, Ché' (see under 'Jid, Ché'')	
Makari, Haji Lebai	14.
Muhammad, Tuan Said (probably the same as 'Muhammad Salléh, Tuan Said')	16.
Muhammad Saad, Tuanku	5.
Muhammad Salléh, Tuan Said (probably the same as 'Muhammad, Tuan Said')	21, 22.
Muhammad, Sultan, al-marhum, (Sultan Muhammad I)	12, 22.

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Muhammad, Sultan ('Raja Kelantan'; 'Phaya Kelantan')	2, 3, 5-14, 16, 17, 20-23 25, 289.
Musa Pa' Deraman	21, 22.
Niut, Ché' (?) (probably the same as 'Nut Ché')	13.
Nut, Ché' (perhaps the same as 'Chanok, Khun?')	11.
Pasir (E)mas	13.
Patani	2, 4, 13, 15.
Pekan, Kampong	13.
Penambang, Raja (see under 'Chang- wang, Raja')	
Phakdi (Lam), 'Mé Thaph' (perhaps the same as 'Phakdi Raja, Luang')	11.
Phakdi Raja, Luang	13, 14
Phéhaburi, Phaya (Phaya Si Surén Chai')	4-8, 19, 12-14, 16, 17, 21-23, 289(?).
Phithak, Luang	11.
Pinang, Sungai (see under 'Sungai Pinang')	11.
Po Ta, Kapitan	11.
Pulai(?) Chondong	11.
Raja, Khun	10, 11.
Raja (yang maha besar) ('Somdét Phra' Phanahua'; 'Raja Benua' — the King of Siam).	5, 11-15, 22.
Raja Muda	2, 5-8, 11, 13, 20, 23.
Rat Mim Ta(?), Luang	11, 13.
Sai(buri)	4, 5, 12, 18, 19, 21, 22.
Saiburi, Raja	1, 4, 7-9, 15, 18-20, 22-24.
Sala (Salor)	13.
Salléh, Tuan Long	13, 25.
Samian Tra (see under 'Thiph Akson, Luang')	
Sanéha Montri, Phra' (see under 'Legor, Raja Muda')	
Sang, Nai(?)	11.
Selat, Negeri (Straits Settlements)	19.
Semerak ('Kuala Semerak'; 'Sungai Semerak')	15, 17, 19, 24, 25.

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Senik (see under 'Muhammad, Sultan')	
Senik Gagap, Tuan Long ('Tuan Long Nik Gagap'; 'Tengku Seri Indera')	5-8, 11.
Senik Sungai Pinang, Tuan Long	6-8, 25.
Serdang	11.
Seri (E)mas, Engku ('Engku Seri (E)mas Raja')	2, 11, 13, 19.
Seri Indera, Tengku (see under 'Senik Gagap, Tuan Long')	
Seri Paduka, Luang (perhaps the same as 'Ali, Ché')	11, 13.
Seri Putera Maharaja, Tengku (known—outside the letters—as 'Engku Kota')	13.
Seri Suréntera Chai, Phaya (see under 'Péchéaburi, Phaya')	
Shamsuddin, Haji	18, 20, 22, 289.
Si Phiphath, Phaya ('Chau Khun Mé Thaph'; 'Ibu Angkatan Besar')	3, 5-8, 10-12, 14, 17, 20-23, 25.
Si Surén Chai, Phaya (see under 'Péchéaburi, Phaya')	
Singgora (Songkhla)	7, 8, 10, 13, 20-23, 289.
Singgora, Raja Muda	22, 23.
Sipin (?), Enché'	5.
Son Sèni, Luang	5-8, 10, 11, 17, 25.
Sulaiman, Enché'	11, 13.
Sungai Pinang	2, 13.
Tam (?), Ché'	21, 22.
Tanjong Enché' (?)	19.
Temenggong (A Luang Tan)	11.
Tengah, Ku (nephew of Raja Chik)	25.
Tengah, Tuan ('Ku Tengah' — cousin of Raja Chik)	11, 17, 19.
Thiph Akson, Luang ('Samian Tra')	3, 10, 11.
Thip Ob(?), Luang	11, 13.
Tikat	12.
Titian Papan	6-8.

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Trengganu	11, 25.
Umar, Ché	19, 14, 17.
Usman, Wan	22, 23.
Wichit Wathi, Khun	6, 10, 11.
Yuththa Samat, Khun	10, 11.

## APPENDIX B

### SIAMESE NAMES MENTIONED IN THE LETTERS

#### 1. *A Note on the Method of Transliteration*

The English transliterations of these names are admittedly 'rough and ready', but as the Thai spelling is given, no confusion should arise.

#### 2. *A Note on Siamese Titles.*

There are repeated references in the letters to the five grades of (conferred) nobility in Siam.<sup>1</sup> These are, in ascending order of importance:

(1) Khun	ขุน
(2) Luang <sup>2</sup>	หลวง
(3) Phra <sup>3</sup>	พระ
(4) Phaya <sup>3</sup>	พระยา
(5) Chauphaya	เจ้าพระยา

These titles were given not only to Siamese but also to the Malay Rajas. In 1839, Kelantan had three Rajas of the rank of 'Phaya' — Raja Banggul, Senük and Tuan Kota. The Margrave of Nakhon (who died in 1839) was a 'Chauphaya'.

- 
1. The title 'Nai' นาย is roughly equivalent to 'Esquire' or simply 'Mr.'.
  2. Used in the Letters with the (honorific) prefix 'a' thus 'A Luang'.
  3. All the stress in the word comes on the final 'a', the preceding 'a' being slurred over. (Incidentally the combination 'ph' is not pronounced as 'f'; in the combinations 'ph', 'th', 'ch' and 'kh', the 'h' merely indicates a fairly strong aspiration of the preceding consonant.)

Siamese Names Mentioned in the Letters

3. *Siamese Names in Transliteration*

Chai Phon Phak, Luang	หลวงไชยพหลศักดิ์
Chaiya, Phaya	พระยาไชยา
Chana'	ชนะ
Changwang, Phaya (Phaya Sunthon Thibodi S(r)i Sultan Déwa Maharaya)	พระยาจางวาง พระยาสุนทรธิบดีศรีสุลต่านเความหารายา
Chanok(?) Khun	ขุนชนก
Chau Khun Mé Thaph	เจ้าคุณแม่ทัต
Cherai	ไทรบุรี
In, Khun	ขุนอินทร์
Kelantan, Phaya (Phaya Phiphith Phakdi S(r)i Sultan Mahamad Ratana Nuchit Santi, Sunthon Bowo(r)n Wong(s) )	พระยาภักดี พระยาพิพิธภักดีศรีสุลต่านมะหะหมัด รัตนบุชิตซานติสุนทรบวรวงษ์
Khram, Ko'	เกาะคราม
Nakhon Si Thammarat	นครศรีธรรมราช
Phakdi Raja, Luang	หลวงภักดีราชา

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Phéchanguri, Phaya (Si Surén Chai)	พระยาเพชรบุรี พระยาศรีสุเรนทร์ชัย
Phithak, Luang	หลวงพิทักษ์
Saiburi (Kedah) see 'Cherai'	
Saiburi	สายบุรี
Samian Tra	เสมียนตรา
Sanéha Montri, Phra'	พระเสน่หามนตรี
Si Phiphath (Ratanarachakosa), Phaya	พระยาศรีพิพัฒน์รัศมีราชโกษา
Son Séni, Luang	หลวงสรเสนีย์
Songkhla	สงขลา
Thiph Ob(?), Luang	หลวงทิพย์โอบ
Thiph Akson, Luang	หลวงทิพย์อักษร
Wichit Wathi, Khun	ขุนวิจิตรวาที
Yuththa Samat, Khun	ขุนยุทธสมศักดิ์

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Journals are abbreviated as follows:

- JIA            *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*  
 JMBRAS       *Journal, Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*  
 JSBRAS       *Journal, Straits Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*  
 JSEAH        *Journal of South-East Asian History*  
 MIH           *Malaya in History*  
 VKI            *Verhandeling, Koninklijk Instituut (voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde)*

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