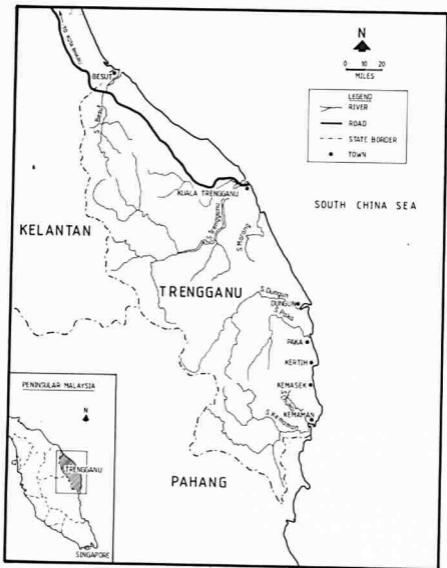


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Map of Trengganu as it was in 1941.

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PAPERS RELATING TO
TRENGGANU

A Short History of Trengganu
The Weaving Industry of Trengganu
Wayang Kulit Stories from Trengganu
Cargo Boats of the East Coast

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A Short History of Trengganu

by M. C. ff SHEPPARD, M.B.E., E.D.

(Received, March 1949)

I.

Early History & the Telanai Tradition.

Modern research in Malayan pre-history has established the fact that the cradle of the Malay race was somewhere between Yunnan and Cambodia and it is probable that during the neolithic and megalithic periods several waves of migrants passed down the peninsula, some settling on its hospitable river banks and coast, others passing on to Sumatra, Java and beyond.

No attempt has yet been made to look for prehistoric relics in Trengganu, but it is reasonable to assume that one of the channels of migration was down the east coast of Malaya, and that at a very early date there were settlements in Trengganu similar to the one which set up slab graves in the Tembeling valley. Whether the migrants of this period travelled by land or sea it is scarcely conceivable that they would make homes in Pahang and ignore Trengganu.

The Proto-Malay was a natural seafarer, and the yellow sands and numerous river mouths of the Trengganu coast must have presented an irresistible attraction to him, while the tin and gold which were to be won a short distance inland provided him with the means to barter for Cornelian beads and magic amulets which Indian traders brought on their way to China, probably some centuries before the Christian era.

Ptolemy's map of the Malay Peninsula, which is believed to have been drawn in Alexandria late in the 2nd century A.D. from information supplied by Indian sailors, shows two ports on the east coast which he named Perimoula and Kole. The first of these may have been intended to correspond to the mouth of the Trengganu river and the latter has been tentatively identified by Dato Sir Roland Braddell with Kemaman. Whether these identities are correct or not, the map establishes the fact that when Ptolemy drew his map the east coast of Malaya was already a port of call for traders travelling between India and the Far East.

Not long after this pioneer work in Eastern cartography was completed a prosperous Malay kingdom came into prominence in the area which would now be described as South Siam and North Malaya. This kingdom of Lankasuka owed its prosperity to trade, and in particular to its possession of sources of raw material then,

as now, in great demand—gold and tin. Some of its supplies may well have been drawn from Trengganu.

Records of this early Malay kingdom are so fragmentary and rare that it is not yet possible to discover when Trengganu first assumed independent identity, but there are references in Chinese annals and records of the thirteenth century A.D. which provide evidence of an important trading centre on the Trengganu river at that time. TSCHAU JOU KUA, writing in 1225, mentions TONG-YA-NONG (登牙儂) and KI LAN TAN as two ports on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula and placed them as dependencies of SAN FO TS'I (Srivijaya, Palembang). Pelliot, writing in 1904 (Vol. 4, p. 344), gives a number of Chinese versions of the name: he includes TING KO NOU (丁噶嚨) from a source entitled HAI KOOU WEN KIEN LOU; TING KO LOU and TING KIA LOU (丁加羅) from a source referred to as the YING HONAN TCHE LIO; TING KIA LO (丁咖囉) from another source named HAI LOU, which may refer to the HAI LU SUI SHIH compiled by Yeh T'ing-Kuei in 1149 A.D. Little more than a century after Tchau Jou Kua, WANG TA YUAN mentioned Trengganu and recorded in 1349 the existence of human sacrifices to wooden images, probably to Kali, the Hindu Goddess of Death in that region.

Following closely on this fragment of information comes a reference from a very different source. The kingdom of Majapahit in East Java embarked on a campaign against her Malay trade rivals at Tumasek or Singapore about 1360, and subsequent to its successful conclusion published a list of vassal states or trading centres which were claimed to be included in the spoils of conquest. This list, which was prepared in 1365 in the Nagarakretagama, includes not only Trengganu but also Paka and Dungun, two rivers in the south of the state which in modern times can boast nothing larger than a fishing village apiece, though both have rich mining areas up stream which are worked to this day.

Majapahit influence which probably dates back to this period, has been traced in Kelantan in the present century and since Trengganu and two other rivers or villages were considered worthy of inclusion in the Javanese record, while a Chinese chronicler of the same century describes religious practices in this area, it is reasonable to assume that the Javanese invaders penetrated to the east coast of Malaya and that when they did so they found a well established community of considerable size.

Support for this assumption has fortunately been discovered during the present century and it is now clear that at a date which cannot be later than 1386 A.D. there was a Malay kingdom in Trengganu which had already adopted Islam as its state religion

and had as its ruler one who was styled Raja Mandulika and Sri Paduka Tuhan. The source of this information is a stone fragment, discovered near Kuala Berang, some 24 miles inland from Kuala Trengganu, about 1897 by an Arab trader and tin prospector Sayid Hussin bin Ghulam al-Bokhari and subsequently described by Mr H. S. Paterson, M.C.S. (J.M.B.R.A.S., 1924). The inscription on this stone is the oldest known Malay text in the Arabic script, and is the earliest contemporary record of Islamic influence in Malaya.

While Indians and Arabs traded and settled on the West coast of Malaya, seafaring Khmers from Cambodia and Chinese were probably regular visitors to the east coast for many centuries before the Raja Mandulike promulgated his code of Muslim laws; and the exceptional talent as craftsmen for which the Malays of Trengganu and Kelantan have long been famous may in part be due to Khmer influence both before and after the builders of Angkor were overrun by the Thais in 1292.

Unfortunately the stone fragment tells us very little about the kingdom of Trengganu or its ruler, but it is possible that his hereditary title was Telanai. He is so referred to in the 25th Malay Annal a century later, and this name has such ancient associations that further research may well show that rulers bearing this title had exercised authority at least on the Trengganu river for several centuries before the foundation of Malacca.

This title appears in Sumatran legend, and in an inscription on a statue to Buddha erected in South Siam in 1186 as well as three times in the Malay Annals, and deserves further comment. In the Third Malay Annal, a descendant (possibly a son) of the legendary ruler of Palembang, Demang Lebar Daun, is given the title of Telanai of Bentan or Tun Telanai when he is created ruler of Bentan, after marrying the queen of this island kingdom. This is the lady who is credited with the introduction of the Nobat (a set of musical instruments, usually eight in number, which has been the exclusive prerogative of Malay royalty for many centuries). She is also stated to have visited Siam. We are told that this title was subsequently held by the descendants of Demang Lebar Daun in Bentan, and it reappears in the Thirteenth Annal as the name of the eldest son of Tun Perak, the great Bendahara of Malacca, who at this later date (C. 1456) held Bentan as his fief. Perhaps it is more than a coincidence that when Sultan Mansur Shah wished to send an envoy to Siam he chose the fifteenth century Tun Telanai.

The third reference in the Malay Annals occurs in the 25th Annal and describes how in 1478, on the accession of Sultan Aladin Shah as ruler of Malacca, the "Telanai Trengganu" came

to pay homage to his overlord. Before we follow the subsequent history of this unfortunate individual it is worth digressing to mention the other two recorded references to a Telanai. Dr F. M. Schnitger, in his *Forgotten Kingdoms of Sumatra* mentions a legendary king of Jambi named Sutan Telanai. His son who was apparently rebellious, was cast into the sea in a chest and found his way to Siam where he was received by the king, and later led an expedition against his father and killed him. Whether the ruler's title was hereditary is not stated, but the association with Siam which recurs each time the name appears is intriguing, and it takes on a further significance when we consider that the title also appears in an inscription on a bronze statue of Buddha, erected in 1183 A.D. at Grahi in what is now the Malay area in South Siam. The holder of this title was the governor of Grahi, and the order for the erection of the statue was given by a king bearing a Malay name, which according to M. G. Ferrand is identical with that of the kings of "Malayu" (Jambi). Dr George Coedès has pointed out that Grahi formed the northern limit of the possessions of the Malay empire referred to in 1225 by the chronicler Tchou Jou Kua as San-fo-tsi, and corresponds to the site of Jaiya, one time capital of the Malay empire of Sri Vijaya.

Until further evidence is discovered it is not possible to establish a definite link between Trengganu and twelfth century Siam on the one hand, or with the Sumatran kingdom of Jambi on the other; but further research may show that there was already a Malay kingdom in Trengganu (probably Buddhist) before the empire of Sri Vijaya shifted its capital to Sumatra in the 8th century A.D., and that the title of Telanai which had already been created in North-Eastern Malaya, was carried across to Sumatra and was later handed on by Demang Lebar Daun when he founded Tumasek.

The conversion of Trengganu to Islam preceded that of Malacca by at least a quarter of a century, but where those who introduced the new religion came from is a matter for conjecture. Placed on an established trade route, Trengganu undoubtedly gave shelter to the same type of Arab missionary trader who preached Islam in China in the seventh century and who preceded Marco Polo to the east coast of Sumatra in 1292.

As Malacca grew in wealth and power throughout the fifteenth century her sultans claimed overlordship of neighbouring Malay kingdoms, in some cases in rivalry with the ruler of Siam. The Eleventh Annal tells us that Sultan Mohamed Shah (C. 1390-1414) claimed that his kingdom extended to the west as far as Bruas and to the north as far as Trengganu, and Sultan Mansur Shah sent an expedition to Pahang in 1459 under the leadership of Tun Perak, the Bendahara, which brought back the Siamese

viceroy a captive and replaced him by a Malay warrior chief named Tun Hamzah, Sri Bija Diraja. We know also from the 18th Annal that when Sultan Mansur exiled his eldest son, Raja Ahmad, whose mother was a daughter of the former Siamese viceroy, he sent him to Pahang as its first sultan, and allotted him a stretch of territory "from Sedili Besar to Trengganu".

Up to this time it is probable that the Mohammedan ruler of Trengganu, the Telanai, exercised independent authority over a river kingdom based on Kuala Trengganu, but with a second stronghold either at Kuala Berang or further up stream, without interference either from Siam, Pahang or Malacca. He may have paid some nominal form of tribute to Malacca in the fifteenth century, but there is nothing to indicate that he was in any way subject either to Siam or the Siamese viceroy of Pahang before the latter's defeat in 1459. One may infer from his action on the death of Sultan Mansur and the accession of Sultan Aladin late in 1477 that he regarded Malacca, and not Pahang, as his overlord, whatever opinion to the contrary might be held by Raja Mohamed, elder brother of Sultan Aladin, who seized the Pahang throne soon after his father's death.

The 25th Annal tells us of the Telanai's visit to Malacca, probably early in 1478. He arrived to pay homage and stayed as a guest of Sultan Aladin long enough to be described as a close friend. He proved to possess exceptional skill with the spear, splitting coconuts as they hung on the palm. This proficiency recalls the account given by D'Eredia, writing in 1600, of Proto-Malay sea tribes who were said to have inhabited the coastal areas of Malaya prior to the founding of Malacca. These men he said used pointed javelins called *saligi* and pursued fishes with such accuracy that they could tranfix them in the depths of the sea and used no other weapon.

News of the Telanai's visit to Malacca and his friendly reception was carried to Raja Mohamed (now Sultan Mahmud), the ruthless usurper in Pahang. He was still fiercely indignant that he had been passed over in favour of his younger brother for the Malacca throne, and he chose to regard the Telanai's action as a direct insult. Shortly after the Telanai returned to his own country, Sri Akar Diraja, captain of the guard at the Pahang court and a son of Tun Hamzah, the former Malay governor of Pahang, was despatched to Trengganu with orders to kill him. Sri Akar's first act on arrival was to summon his victim to come and meet him and when the Telanai refused to do so, as being contrary to Adat (custom), he sent a body of cut-throats to murder him. How many other members of the Telanai's family were killed at the same time we are not told, but the 25th Annal relates that three of his grandsons, whose names are given as Megat

Sulaiman, Megat Hamzah and Megat Omar, escaped to Malacca and reported the atrocity to Sultan Aladin, who ordered them to be cared for. Clifford recorded in 1895 that "the descendants of this ancient family (Megat) are still found in Trengganu, and the tradition that they were once the dominant class is preserved in that State."

According to the Hikayat Hang Tuah, a sixteenth century collection of legendary adventures which cannot claim to possess the same historical value as the Malay Annals, Sultan Aladin seriously contemplated waging war on his brother to avenge the Telanai, but was dissuaded by the Bendahara. This account goes on to describe how Hang Tuah was sent to the Pahang court and how he contrived the death of a near relative of Sri Akar Diraja by having him stabbed in the Sultan's presence without punishment, thus apparently re-establishing the moral superiority of Malacca.

Whether this 'face saving' episode occurred or not, it is clear that the Telanai family ceased to rule Trengganu in 1478, and the 25th Annal states that Sultan Mahmud of Pahang rewarded Sri Akar Diraja with the vacant position, and that his descendants were still ruling in Trengganu when the Annals came to be recorded at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The new ruler, like his ill-fated predecessor, also came of very ancient Malay stock being descended from the 'Muntah Lembu' tribe, which claimed to trace its origin back to the old Sumatran Malay court, the home of Demang Lebar Daun.

The link between Bentan and Trengganu appears to have survived as late as the beginning of the sixteenth century, though its precise significance is not clear. The 28th Annal describes how Raja Isap, son of Raja Tuban of Indragiri (in Sumatra) was driven out and fled to the Riau islands where he found a raja named Maharaja Trengganu. Raja Isap married the Maharaja's daughter and succeeded him as Raja of Lingga when he died about 1507.

There is little to be gleaned from the Malay Annals about the descendants of Sri Akar but it would appear that he or one of his successors assumed the title of Raja. The 24th Annal contains an account of a "Raja Trengganu" named Raja Mohamed, son of a Trengganu princess who had married the Raja of Kelantan. He came to Pahang as a suitor for the daughter of Sultan Mansur Shah of Pahang who reigned c. 1497-1515, but he was not considered a suitable match and had to be content with one of the ruler's second cousins.

It is not until 1587 that we hear of Trengganu taking any part in the struggle between the Malays and the Portuguese. When

the Portuguese attacked Johore in that year the Sultan summoned the Rajas of Trengganu, Indragiri, and Kampar to his aid, but although Trengganu men formed part of the defending force of ten thousand, they were unable to prevent Dom Paolo de Lima from destroying Johore Lama.

In the century which followed, the shifting fortunes of the southern Malay kingdom, engaged alternately in suicidal struggles with Sumatran states or with the Portuguese, do not seem to have been shared in any way by Trengganu. Even when first Johore and then Pahang were overrun by the Achinese, the former in 1564, 1618 and 1620, the latter in 1617, 1620 and 1635, Trengganu escaped their unwelcome attentions, and subsequently became a popular refuge for fugitives.

In spite of this isolation Trengganu appears under the title of TING CHIA HSIA LU (TENG KA HA LO in Hokkien: TING KA HA LOU in Cantonese) in the WUPEI CHI charts which were probably based on information collected during Cheng Ho's voyages to Malaya in the fifteenth century, and were prepared between 1511 and 1601. These charts also include Pulau Tengkul (off Dungun) and several island groups off Trengganu and Kelantan. Trengganu appears in Linschoten's map of 1623, where it is referred to as PEREGENAOU. This latter map also shows CAPAS, P. REDAM and some islands named FONCIAM, sited where the Perhentians lie. It is of interest to note that though Linschoten shows CALANTAO and PATANE, PADRAM (Batu Pahat) and MUAR, neither Pahang nor Johore are included.

During the seventeenth century the dispossessed rulers of Johore took refuge in the Riau islands on several occasions, and after the sack of Batu Sawar by Jambi in 1673 this area was energetically prepared for the reception of Sultan Ibrahim of Johore by Laksamana Hitam. The latter's greed for power which led him to marry his daughter to the Sultan's heir, and to secure the position of regent when the Sultan died in 1685, caused his fellow chiefs to combine against him, and he fled to Trengganu in 1688, remaining there till his death. Soon afterwards Tun Mohamed, son of Bendahara Tun Rantau, became so unpopular at Riau that he too retired to Trengganu, and twenty years later the first of the new line of Bendahara-Sultans chose Trengganu for his place of exile.

II

Foundation of the Sultanate (1718—1764).

Whether by chance or intention Trengganu continued to keep aloof from Malay politics in the early years of the eighteenth

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century. While in Johore the last of the Malacca line, Sultan Mahmud III, was murdered in 1699 and was replaced by Bendahara Habab Abdul Majid, there is at present no indication that this milestone in Malay history ruffled the calm in the northern state.

When Sultan Abdul-Jalil (ex-Bendahara) was driven from Johore by Raja Kechil (who claimed to be the posthumous son of Sultan Mahmud III) in 1718 he followed the example of his cousin, Tun Mohamed, and took refuge in Trengganu, accompanied by many members of his family and a number of Johore chiefs.

He seems at first to have intended to remain there and he is known to have conferred titles on a number of his supporters, in particular the title of Paduka Maharaja on his younger half brother Tun Zainal Abidin, but we are told that the Trengganu *mentri*, *orang besar* and *hulubalang* would not accept his authority and after a stay of about a year he moved south to Kuala Pahang. While he was in Trengganu a number of Johore rajas and chiefs who had left Johore for Malacca when Raja Kechil seized the throne came to visit him there, including another of his brothers Tun Mahmud, Orang Kaya Indra Bongsu, but they too found the atmosphere uncongenial. Captain Alexander Hamilton visited Trengganu while Sultan Abdul-Jalil was there and describes him as "a poor distressed King who by his senseless devotion to superstition ruined his country and his family". It is clear that the Sultan commanded no respect either in Johore or Trengganu, and his religious devotion was regarded as a sign of weakness in an age when rulers no less than their ministers maintained their position largely by force of personality and arms.

Captain Hamilton visited Trengganu twice, in 1719 and again in 1720. He describes the capital as consisting of about a thousand houses, not built in regular streets but scattered, ten or twenty in one place. He states that the products of the country were pepper and gold. He found that the town was partly peopled with Chinese who had "a good trade of three or four junks yearly, besides some that trade to Siam, Cambodia, Tunquen and Sambas". Hamilton came to Trengganu to dispose of part of his cargo and to procure a new one (he states that "the kind King", i.e. the Sultan, assisted him to do both): it must therefore have been a trading centre of some considerable size. He adds that "the King several times asked me if I thought the English might be persuaded to settle a colony in his country, that Pahang might be made a place of great trade if there were shipping and stock to carry off the pepper and tin. I told him I could give him no encouragement to believe they would. He told me that when I came to Bombay I should acquaint the Governor of the desire he had to live under the protection of the English."

Ex-Sultan Abdul Jalil was murdered at Kuala Pahang in 1721 by the order of Raja Kechil, and his son Tengku Sulaiman, born after the Bendahara was made Sultan and therefore entitled to a raja's title, was taken a captive to Riau. From there he sent an invitation to the Bugis warrior chief, Daeng Perani, and his four brothers, who had established themselves in Selangor, to come and drive out Raja Kechil. The Bugis who saw in this invitation an opportunity to extend their sphere of influence, invaded Riau, Raja Kechil's new capital, in 1722 and drove him out and proclaimed Tengku Sulaiman Sultan of Johore and Pahang. On the advice of his non-royal elder half brother Bendahara Tun Abbas, the young Sultan gave to Daeng Merewah the third of the five brothers, the important title of Yam Tuan Muda and to another brother, Daeng Menambun, (the second eldest) the title of Raja Tua, and married his sister and his aunt to two of the Bugis brothers.

The circumstances leading to the accession of the first Sultan of Trengganu are difficult to establish. Trengganu oral tradition, which was referred to by Clifford in 1895 and survives to this day, is at variance with the account recorded by the Bugis historian Raja Ali Haji in his 'Tuhfat al-Napis', which was written in Riau.

All sources are agreed that Tun Zainal Abidin, younger half brother of Sultan Abdul Jalil was the first Sultan, but according to Trengganu historians he was placed on his throne through the friendly influence of the Queen of Patani, whose name is given as Nang Chayam, whereas the Bugis historian claims that it was the Bugis Raja Tua from Riau who installed him, at the request of Sultan Sulaiman, Tun Zainal Abidin's nephew. According to the Tuhfat this event took place in 1725.

The Patani tradition is so strongly held that it must be recorded. During the early part of Sultan Abdul Jalil's reign, when he was still taking an active interest in the government of his kingdom, a warrior named Wan Derahman won fame and honours and thus became the object of court jealousy. He was falsely accused of intimacy with one of the Sultan's "gundek" (concubines) and a plot was hatched reminiscent of Othello, in which a silk handkerchief served as convincing evidence of infidelity. Wan Derahman had adopted the young Tun Zainal Abidin, who was one of the family of sixteen brothers and sisters, and the youth was brought up in the company of the warrior's sons. Biding his time, Sultan Abdul Jalil arranged an expedition to some islands on which he was accompanied by all his chiefs. At a given signal certain chosen followers fired a salvo of guns at Wan Derahman's boat. The warrior was taken completely by surprise but quickly determined to resist. In the confusion his

swivel gun was inefficiently loaded and the shot, when fired, fell scarcely a dozen yards from the boat. Interpreting this as a bad omen, Wan Derahman decided to resist no further and gave orders to flee. His son Wan Abdullah and Tun Zainal Abidin were in another boat nearby and they followed his example. Followers of the Sultan set off in pursuit and eventually succeeded in over taking the fugitive off the coast of Trengganu and he was executed near Kuala Takir. Corroborative details in support of this story are stated to be traceable from local place names. The boatmen, who were referred to as *gegelang* (*gegelam*), were killed at the headland since named Tanjong Gelang; the head boatman who held the rank of "Batin" was executed at a spot which has since been known as "*Telaga Batin*", and the scene of Wan Derahman's death named "*Telok Dato*" is to this day regarded as a "*kèramat*" or shrine, where fishermen believe that they receive supernatural aid from the Dato who was innocent of the crime for which he was punished. The boat containing the murdered warrior's son and Tun Zainal Abidin had become separated earlier in the journey and sailed on to Patani, unaware of Wan Derahman's fate.

Learning of the identity of the young visitor, Nang Chayam, the Queen of Patani, gave him accommodation in her palace and treated him like an adopted son. When nearly a year later Sultan Abdul Jalil discovered the whereabouts of his half brother and sent an escort to bring him back the queen refused to part with him unless Sultan Abdul Jalil came in person. The Sultan is said to have visited Patani and to have married the queen, who like her sixteenth century counterpart in England, had previously remained unwed, but Tun Zainal Abidin remained in Patani, apart from a short visit to his brother's capital, until he was of age.

Some arrangement had been agreed on during the Sultan's visit as to the distribution of the Johore territories, and Trengganu had been named as Tun Zainal Abidin's heritage. When news of the death of the Sultan Abdul Jalil eventually reached Patani, the queen decided to implement this arrangement and gave orders that a Sultan's regalia should be prepared. When this was ready she despatched Tun Zainal Abidin with a following of eighty Patani families and he was proclaimed Sultan of Trengganu. The followers are said to have settled in a kampong which to this day is named Kampong Patani.

Prior to his arrival the administration of the Trengganu river mouth was in the hands of a Johore chief named to' Raja Kilat, and when Tun Zainal Abidin was first installed he settled some 20 miles inland near Kuala Berang. As time passed he moved towards the coast and eventually built a fort on Bukit Kledang,

named 'Kota Lama', inside which he was eventually buried, together with his Patani wife, who was a cousin of the queen and who was given the title of 'Che Puan Besar'. The Bugis account makes no reference to Patani, and claims that Sultan Sulaiman, some three years after he had secured his throne in Riau through an alliance with the Bugis, sent one of the five brother chieftains, Daeng Menambun, to instal his uncle, Tun Zainal Abidin, as first Sultan of Trengganu in 1725. Sultan Zainal Abidin could trace his descent back to the first Bendahara of Malacca, Tun Perpatih Besar, uncle of Sultan Mohamed Shah, and the present Trengganu ruling house has thus a pedigree stretching back to the fourteenth century.

According to tradition Sultan Zainal Abidin had four sons by his Patani wife: they were named Ku Tana Wangsa, Ku Tana Ali, Ku Tana Ismail and Ku Tana Mansur. When the youngest of the four was born Dato Pulau Manis, an elderly chief, prophesied that the child would be a great ruler and would free the sea of pirates and insisted that he should be given the name of Mansur. While still very young the child showed remarkable powers and was credited with invulnerability, and when the Sultan died in 1733 the three elder sons, with unprecedented generosity waived their claims to the throne in favour of the young prodigy, Mansur, who was then only seven years of age. Sultan Zainal Abidin was buried on Bukit Kledang and was given the title of "Marhum Bukit Nangka".

The affairs of Trengganu were controlled by Tun Husain the Bendahara, while Tun Dalam or Tun Kechil, as Mansur was generally referred to, grew up. The status of this Trengganu Bendahara, probably the first and last of his line, may be assessed from the fact that when Sultan Sulaiman of Riau paid a visit to Trengganu in 1735, after building a wall round his father's tomb at Telok Kandang, Kuala Pahang, he married his nephew, Tun Abdul Majid, then a youth of about 15, to one of the Bendahara's daughters. This Tun Abdul Majid who afterwards became Bendahara of Pahang, died at the great age of 82 and was the direct ancestor of the present Pahang ruling house. Sultan Sulaiman was accompanied on this visit by the new Bugis 'Raja Tua' Daeng Kemboja and during this visit news was received that Raja Kechil was threatening to attack Trengganu: a fort was hastily constructed but the attack did not materialise. After a stay of about 2½ months Sultan Sulaiman returned to Riau and when Raja Kechil made an unsuccessful attack on his headquarters Maharaja Denda of Trengganu was sent with twenty pikuls of saltpetre, made partly of bat-guano as a contribution to the Riau armoury. In 1737 when Raja Alam son of Raja Kechil, who carried out his expeditions from Siak in Sumatra; had been soundly defeated, there were great celebrations in Riau; and Sultan

Sulaiman felt sufficiently secure to turn his attention to his young cousin in Trengganu.

Mansur, who now used the title of Yang di-pertuan Kechil of Trengganu was invited to Riau in 1739, and was married to Raja Bulang, daughter of the Bugis Yam Tuan Muda, Daeng Chela. Later the same year he was invited to pay a second visit and was married to Raja Bakul, Sultan Sulaiman's own daughter.

There was at this time a series of visits by Trengganu notables to Riau, including Nakhoda Ali, bringing letters from the Temenggong, the Dato Dungun, Tun Nara Wangsa, Raja Mohamed, Enche Punat, who is described as an emissary from the Trengganu Bendahara, Tun Abdul Rahman and Tun Abdul Majid the son-in-law of the Bendahara.

In the following year (1740) Sultan Sulaiman paid another visit to Trengganu accompanied by his son Raja Ibrahim, Tun Sulong Muda, his nephew Tun Abdul Majid, Tun Pasang, Tun Hassan Indra Bongsu, and many chiefs and warriors. When they arrived they found twenty-nine ships from Palembang anchored in the river mouth and soon after his arrival he ordered a census to be taken of all houses at Kuala Trengganu and up river. Seven weeks later Long Pandak came from Kelantan, accompanied by Enche Ahmad, to pay his respects and Sultan Sulaiman gave Long Pandak the title of Dato Sri Maharaja.

When the Sultan had spent five months in Trengganu he seems at last to have felt sure enough of his position to announce the conferment of the title of Sultan of Trengganu on his son-in-law and cousin Tun Dalam, who now took the name Sultan Mansur Shah. This young man was to rule for fifty-four years, a length of reign seldom equalled in Malay history, and was to play a prominent part in the affairs of the Johore empire. The accession ceremonies were attended by Long Pandak of Kelantan who was subsequently escorted back to his state by Maharaja Denda of Trengganu.

Sultan Sulaiman prolonged his stay in Trengganu for another six weeks before setting off on his return journey to Riau. After calling at Pulau Kapas and Dungun he spent a month in Pahang. Long periods of absence from their capitals by these two Sultans does not appear to have interfered with the management of state affairs and Sultan Mansur, though so recently installed, accompanied his royal father-in-law to Riau. Tun Hussain the Bendahara of Trengganu escorted the two Sultans as far as Pahang and remained there with them until they left for Riau. One of Tun Hussain's sons sailed with the Sultan, as did the Bendahara Tua of Pahang and a number of Trengganu chiefs.

After an absence of two years and two months Sultan Mansur returned to Trengganu but again visited Riau three years later in 1746. It was now more than twenty years since Sultan Sulaiman had invoked the aid of the five Bugis brothers and their chain-clad warriors to re-establish the Bendahara dynasty and to resist the attacks of Raja Kechil. The price of his security proved to be payable with compound interest and the Malays of Johore and Riau found that as time passed more and more power and authority was grasped by the Bugis brothers and their followers. Sultan Sulaiman appears to have inherited some of his father's weakness of character and to have made little independent effort to check the Bugis encroachment, but his son-in-law Sultan Mansur was of different mettle. During his long stay in Riau Sultan Mansur watched with growing impatience the way in which Malay interests and authority were subordinated, and observed the autocratic ways of Daeng Chela, the third senior of the five brothers, who had married Sultan Sulaiman's sister and had been made Yam Tuan Muda in 1728 on the death of his elder brother Daeng Merewah. When Sultan Mansur revisited Riau in 1746 it may have been more than a coincidence that Daeng Chela died suddenly six days after his arrival and he quickly became the leader of the Malay party in Riau who wished to see the power of the Bugis greatly reduced. In this he had the support of both the Bendahara of Pahang and Temenggong of Johore, but since new and influential appointments at Court had been created and filled by Bugis, and trade was largely in their hands, and since they still retained the support of Sultan Sulaiman, the Malay opposition met with little success. Bugis independence was characterised in their selection of Daeng Kemboja, son of Daeng Perani, the eldest of the original five brothers, as Yam Tuan Muda. This selection was made not in Riau but in Selangor where the Bugis had settled in large numbers, and the new Yam Tuan Muda only came to Riau for confirmation more than two years later.

From 1746 for nearly fourteen years Sultan Mansur was content to leave the affairs of his Kingdom in the hands of his ministers and taking up his residence in Riau, accompanied by a considerable following of Trengganu chiefs and warriors, he devoted his energies to the task of dislodging the interlopers from Riau. A golden opportunity to gain the support of Sultan Sulaiman for this policy seemed to have presented itself when Raja Buang, also known as Sultan Mahmud, of Siak came to Riau to ask for assistance to recover his throne from which he had been driven by his half brother Raja Alam. Both were sons of Raja Kechil, but Raja Buang's mother was Tengku Kamariah, sister of Sultan Sulaiman, whereas Raja Alam's mother was a Sumatran lady. Sultan Sulaiman agreed to help his nephew and called on Daeng Kemboja to provide boats and fighting men, but Daeng Kemboja refused to assist. It had become clear to Sultan Mansur that

there was only one means of freeing Riau of the Bugis, and that was by an arrangement with the Dutch at Malacca. As a first step he persuaded Sultan Sulaiman to go with him to Malacca and ask the Dutch to join them in an attack on Raja Alam, promising them trade facilities in Siak as the price of their support. The Dutch agreed and the combined force reinstated Raja Buang while Raja Alam fled to Siantan.

Unfortunately before this alliance could be strengthened Raja Buang, finding the presence of a Dutch trading station at Pulau Kentong uncongenial, murdered the factor and drove out the Dutch. To make matters worse Raja Alam showed signs of renewing his warlike activities using Siantan as his base, and Sultan Sulaiman decided that he must be ejected from there also. It was obviously no time to ask for further Dutch assistance, but reinforcements they must have, so swallowing their pride the two Sultans turned again to Daeng Kemboja, who was still at Riau, and asked him for fighting men. The Bugis Yam Tuan Muda once again refused to support an attack on Raja Alam, although his father Daeng Perani had originally driven out Raja Kechil. He was well aware of the resentment which the Bugis had aroused among the Riau Malays, but he knew that in war Riau was still incapable of achieving victory without his aid and he decided to leave his vacillating victim to discover this unpalatable truth for himself.

The two Sultans decided to proceed with their attack and for five months carried on a desultory campaign against Raja Alam without success. At last even Sultan Mansur agreed that they must have outside aid and they made a further urgent request to Daeng Kemboja. This time he consented and arrived from Riau with five hundred Bugis in 1749. In the ensuing battle the total casualties on both sides amounted to over four hundred, but Raja Alam was decisively beaten and he fled to Matan leaving all his arms and possessions behind.

While Sultan Sulaiman and Sultan Mansur remained in Sumatra to attend the reinstatement of Raja Buang, Daeng Kemboja returned to Riau and arranged to strengthen his position still further by two marriages. He already exercised considerable influence over the young heir to the Riau throne, Tengku Abdul Jalil, also known as Raja di Baroh and he now arranged for him to marry Tengku Puteh, the daughter of the late Yam Tuan Muda Daeng Chela and niece of Sultan Sulaiman. Almost simultaneously he gave his sister in marriage to Raja Alam. When Sultan Mansur returned to Riau he found his enemy more firmly established than ever and he could no longer rely on Sultan Sulaiman for any support. Daeng Kemboja's belated assistance against Raja Alam coupled with the new ties of marriage had destroyed any

chance of his continued sympathy for an anti-Bugis policy and from now on Sultan Mansur realised that he must act independently.

The Malay chiefs readily joined in a campaign to make Riau too uncomfortable for Daeng Kemboja and the Trengganu men who mustered a considerable body staged large scale disturbances in the town three or four times each month, laying the blame on the Bugis whom they accused of attempting to burn the fort, or of wishing to fight. These incidents invariably occurred at night when it was impossible to identify the instigators, and though enquiries which were led by Daeng Kemboja and the Bendahara did not substantiate the Trengganu accusations, Sultan Mansur persisted in his war of nerves. Before long his efforts bore fruit and Daeng Kemboja made a formal request to Sultan Sulaiman for permission to leave Riau but it was refused. Encouraged by the success of his policy Sultan Mansur organised further disturbances and Daeng Kemboja's patience came to an end. Packing all his possessions, he had them loaded into boats and comparing himself to a sack which was full and overflowing, he bade farewell to Sultan Sulaiman and sailed for Linggi, leaving his cousin Raja Haji, son of Daeng Chela, to look after Bugis interests in Riau.

Turning his attention to Raja Haji, Sultan Mansur renewed his nocturnal activities, and when a Dutch warship arrived he tried unsuccessfully to persuade the captain to remove Raja Haji. When the Bugis chief heard of this he assembled his warriors and prepared to fight. Both the Trengganu men and the Bugis manned their boats, but before they could join battle Sultan Sulaiman heard what had happened and summoned Sultan Mansur to the palace. Almost speechless with rage he threatened to abdicate and made it a condition that if he were to remain as ruler of Riau Sultan Mansur must go to Linggi and bring back Daeng Kemboja and arranged for a fresh pact of friendship with the Bugis.

Reluctantly agreeing, Sultan Mansur sailed north accompanied by Raja Haji but instead of going direct to Linggi he called at Malacca, allowing Raja Haji to precede him. Sultan Sulaiman probably accompanied Sultan Mansur on this visit to Malacca and made a trade agreement with the Dutch by which they were given the right of free trade in Riau and a tin monopoly in Klang and Linggi, he then returned to Riau leaving Sultan Mansur behind. This resourceful ruler decided to follow up the trade agreement with a proposal for military aid against the Bugis whom he accused of planning to seize Johore, and he succeeded in persuading the Dutch to join in an expedition against Linggi. A plot to capture Raja Haji narrowly failed and in the defence of Linggi Raja Haji was wounded and was carried in a litter to Rembau,

where Daeng Kemboja was already installed, leaving Linggi deserted.

It was obvious that Sultan Sulaiman would strongly disapprove of his attack on the Bugis, Sultan Mansur therefore decided to return to Trengganu and if possible to take his father-in-law and Tengku Abdul Jalil with him, and thus allow the storm to blow over in their absence. His plan almost succeeded: Sultan Sulaiman agreed to accompany him, though Tengku Abdul Jalil refused, and most of the Trengganu men and their families and many members of the Riau court were already in their boats waiting to sail when a trading vessel arrived from Malacca and disclosed the true position. Sultan Mansur immediately gave orders to his followers to put to sea and set sail himself without taking leave of his father-in-law. The gamble had failed and from now on he determined to leave Riau to take care of itself. In his absence Sultan Sulaiman, now more than sixty years old, came to terms with the Bugis and made a fresh agreement with Daeng Kemboja by which their old ascendancy was restored.

It soon became clear that this action was exceedingly ill advised. Sultan Sulaiman died in 1760 and his son Tengku Abdul Jalil survived him by only a few months. Daeng Kemboja had gone on a visit to Selangor after Sultan Sulaiman's death, accompanied by Sultan Abdul Jalil and his nine year old son Tengku Ahmad and while they were there the new Sultan was suddenly taken ill and died, to be followed to the grave a few weeks later by his elder son. The Malays of Riau openly accused the Yam Tuan Muda of poisoning them but they were powerless to prevent Daeng Kemboja from declaring Sultan Abdul Jalil's second son, Tengku Mahmud, an infant aged one year, as Sultan and himself as guardian. The Malay party would have preferred Sultan Abdul Jalil's brother, Tengku Abdul Kadir, but Daeng Kemboja packed the court with armed men and stifled any opposition.

The Bendahara, Temenggong and other Malay leaders then wrote to Sultan Mansur calling on him to help them to drive out the Bugis. They also wrote to Pahang and to Raja Ismail, who had succeeded his father Raja Buang as Sultan of Siak in 1760. But Sultan Mansur had learnt his lesson and though Raja Ismail paid a special visit to Trengganu to try and secure the services of the Trengganu fleet he could obtain nothing except fair words and he eventually made an unsuccessful attack on Riau without the hoped for reinforcements.

Daeng Kemboja was now all powerful in Riau: the pro-Malay Bugis Raja Tua retired to Palembang and the Bendahara Tun Hassan withdrew to Pahang, leaving the Yam Tuan Muda to

conduct a lucrative trade in tin, opium and cloth with the Dutch and English. Had the Trengganu Sultan's policy of friendship with the Dutch been followed consistently this would never have occurred and the Malays might have freed their island kingdom permanently from Bugis control.

III.

Independence & Expansion under Sultan Mansur I (1764—1793).

Though Sultan Mansur was determined to avoid further entanglement in Riau affairs he saw in Raja Ismail of Siak a valued ally for a policy of expansion to the north, and when this courageous warrior prince sent a relative to ask for one of the Trengganu princesses as his bride he returned a favourable answer.

Raja Ismail, undeterred by a series of disasters, eventually sailed into the Trengganu anchorage one summer afternoon followed by a fleet of fighting vessels. Since his last meeting with Sultan Mansur he had been roundly defeated by the Bugis, driven from his Kingdom, befriended by the Sultan of Palembang, led an attack on Mempawa, and had captured and killed the chief of Siantan, and plundered the town. He had also been invited by Raja Haji, the Bugis warrior chief; to join him in an attack on his recent host the Sultan of Palembang, but had declined.

On arrival in Kuala Trengganu Raja Ismail and his men were allotted a separate kampong and preparations for the wedding were set in motion. He had brought with him three half brothers, Raja Abdullah, Raja Musa and Raja Daud, his full brother Raja Abdul Rahman and several sisters. When the day of the wedding arrived the bridegroom was carried in procession through the town with Raja Musa on his right and Raja Abdul Rahman on his left. When they reached the entrance to the palace compound they found that the young Trengganu rajas had played a practical joke on them; the gate was shut and barred. From inside they demanded a large sum of money before they would admit the Siak party. Raja Ismail was not in the mood for jesting and his face flushed with annoyance: seeing this Raja Abdullah who sat at the front of the bridegroom's litter carrying the sword of state leapt to the ground and shouted "if you Trengganu rajas do not open the gate I shall spring over the wall like a tiger and *mengamok*". Word of the dispute reached Sultan Mansur and he quickly ordered the gate to be opened, Raja Ismail then rode in state to the palace and bride and bridegroom sat together and were fed with scented rice following the ancient marriage ritual which survives to this day. The wedding was celebrated with public entertainments and feasting for a period of three months and when all the ceremonies

had been completed Raja Ismail made his home in his father-in-law's capital.

For some time previously affairs in the neighbouring state of Kelantan had engaged Sultan Mansur's attention. For a century or more there had been no central authority in Kelantan and power had been in the hands of local chiefs, but one of the objects of Long Pandak in coming to Kuala Trengganu in 1740, while Sultan Sulaiman was preparing to instal Sultan Mansur, was to gain his support and when he returned to Kelantan with the title of Dato Sri Maharaja he had gone far to establish himself as its new ruler. He was followed by Long Bahar and Long Drahman, the latter seizing power and murdering his rival, while Long Yunus, the young son of Long Bahar was taken to Trengganu for safety.

Sultan Mansur viewed the rapid rise of Kelantan from a vassal state to militant independence with natural concern, and when Long Yunus was of age he was installed as ruler with the help a large Trengganu force in about 1775. Raja Ismail and his Siak warriors accompanied this expedition, which included a fleet of one hundred Trengganu war boats and three thousand Trengganu fighting men. Sultan Mansur moved with his army, and both he and Raja Ismail were mounted on elephants. The Kelantan resistance was stubborn and the Trengganu casualties were heavy but the blunderbusses carried by the Siak men eventually turned the scale. The final attack followed an interval for the midday prayer: the Kelantan army held a ring of twenty-five forts and were estimated to be five thousand strong: surrounded by a body of 150 picked warriors Raja Ismail charged the enemy and in the hand to hand fighting which followed the Kelantan force were routed with heavy losses. According to the account of this campaign given in the *Tuhfat al Napis*, the Raja of Kelantan took an oath of allegiance after his defeat and was then allowed to resume his position. The account goes on to say that the Kelantan raja twice failed to observe the terms of allegiance and was twice defeated by Trengganu forces, led by Raja Ismail. From this it would appear that at first Sultan Mansur was content to allow Long Drahman to remain in power, after he had accepted the Trengganu ruler as his overlord, but he was eventually obliged to replace him by Long Yunus. To strengthen the link between the two states Sultan Mansur married his younger son Tengku Mohamed to the daughter of Long Yunus, and when the Kelantan ruler died it was arranged that Tengku Mohamed should succeed him.

Although he would have no further dealings with the Dutch or Bugis Sultan Mansur abandoned his policy of isolation in 1781 and accepted an invitation from Siam to take part in an attack on a neighbouring state, probably Ligor. The Siamese had already

overcome opposition before the Trengganu fleet arrived, but a portion of the spoils of victory, which according to tradition filled twenty boats, was presented to the Sultan.

Wishing to show his gratitude for the generosity of the Siamese Sultan Mansur consulted his officials as to the form which his gift should take and decided to send a gold and a silver flower, referred to as "*bunga mas*".

This was the first time in the history of Trengganu that "*bunga mas*" was sent to Siam and it is clear that the gift was an entirely voluntary one and was not sent at the request of the Siamese. These flowers were despatched to Bangkok with an embassy in 1782 and were subsequently sent at intervals of three years.

Sultan Mansur's motive in creating this precedent was to establish friendly relations with the only power in his vicinity who might disturb his country's peace, and any suggestion that the "*bunga mas*" was a form of tribute has always been entirely repudiated by successive sultans and chiefs of Trengganu. In support of this view it is of interest to observe that although Siam had been independent of China for a long period the *bunga mas* was still being sent from Bangkok to Peking in 1820.

The Sultan's action was soon to prove embarrassing and in 1787 he wrote to Captain Light in Penang complaining that the King of Siam had given orders that the rulers of Trengganu, Kedah and Patani should go to Bangkok and do homage, and that when he refused to do so the king had sent an envoy who demanded a hundred pieces of cannon and a variety of rich articles. Later the same year the Sultan wrote again asking Captain Light to send two warships to protect him from Siamese aggression, and reported that the King of Siam had threatened that if the Sultan or his heir apparent did not go to Bangkok and do homage he would invade Trengganu. Fortunately these were empty threats, for Captain Light was unable to offer any assistance, and Sultan Mansur persisted in his firm refusal to surrender his independence.

Malay chiefs from Riau continued to appeal to Sultan Mansur for help against their Bugis masters, for Raja Haji who had succeeded Daeng Kemboja as Yam Tuan Muda in 1777, on the latter's death, lived in Riau and watched over the upbringing of young Sultan Mohamed, whom he married to the daughter of a Bugis chief, Bandar Hassan, in 1780. But Sultan Mansur knew from bitter experience that without Dutch assistance the Malays had no chance of success and for the present he declined to do more than write occasional letters to the Dutch at Malacca and Batavia

and to the English in Bengal, Madras and Ceylon, asking them to attack Riau and rescue Sultan Mahmud from the Bugis.

So long as Raja Haji and the Dutch remained on good terms Sultan Mansur's letters bore no fruit, but eventually a dispute arose over the share of an English prize ship loaded with opium, and captured by the Dutch in Riau waters as a result of information supplied by Raja Haji—probably the *Betsy*, whose captain was Captain Robert Geddes—and open war followed. The Bugis, led by Raja Haji, attacked Malacca in 1784 and for five months Malacca was besieged, but when reinforcements arrived the Bugis were driven off, Raja Haji was killed in action at Telok Ketapang, and an agreement was signed by Sultan Mahmud, and four Malay chiefs accepting a Dutch Factor in Riau and excluding the Bugis from all important state appointments.

If Sultan Mansur expected that this settlement heralded the end of Riau importunities he was doomed to disappointment: more probably he remained aloof with the sure knowledge that dependence on either the Bugis or the Dutch involved inevitable friction and unrest. The first Dutch factor, Abram Rhude, was an unfortunate choice: he was impatient, intolerant and ignored Malay *Adat*. After three years of uneasy association Sultan Mahmud sent to Tempasok and called in the Illanun, and the entire Dutch trading post was wiped out. The Malay population of Riau at this time was estimated at 50,000 but Sultan Mahmud fearing Dutch retaliation, gave orders that they were all to move to Lingga, leaving Riau deserted except for some Chinese labourers. He then set off for Kuala Trengganu and naively asked Sultan Mansur to make his peace with the Dutch. Many Malays from Riau came to Trengganu and others went to Kelantan while the Bendahara settled temporarily in Pahang.

About a year after the arrival of Sultan Mahmud a fleet of thirty war boats was reported to be approaching Kuala Trengganu, led by Syed Ali, grandson of Raja Alam and aspirant to the throne of Siak. Fresh from the sack of Singgora his intentions were far from certain and Sultan Mahmud hurriedly assembled a hundred boats in Trengganu bay and asked an English sea captain, who was at anchor awaiting a cargo of tin ore, to give assistance if necessary.

Although now an old man Sultan Mansur was with his fleet when Syed Ali arrived, and he had the royal barge rowed alongside the Siak flagship and invited his visitor to come on board. Syed Ali brought with him his three brothers and his war chiefs, and Sultan Mahmud and all the leading Trengganu rajas were present on Sultan Mansur's barge. In spite of an incident which nearly led to blows the visit passed off peacefully, though the hot heads

on both sides were spoiling for a fight. As Syed Ali came aboard the royal barge a young Trengganu Raja, Raja Musa, took hold of the visitor's leg as he climbed the ladder to the upper deck and tried to prevent him from mounting: Sultan Mansur fortunately saw what occurred and quickly ordered him to desist. After making obeisance to the Sultan and exchanging a few words the Siak brothers descended, and as he came down the ladder Syed Ali tapped the heads of many of the Trengganu rajas, who were seated below, with his left hand as if he was counting them. Tempers were high on both sides and as soon as he reached his fleet Syed Ali gave orders for the *kajang* covers to be removed from his guns. But Sultan Mansur was determined to avoid a fight and had himself rowed across to Syed Ali's boat, taking Raja Musa with him, and offered an apology for the discourtesy. Shortly afterwards the Siak men sailed away and a year later Syed Ali deposed Sultan Yahya, son of Raja Ismail, and made himself ruler of Siak. The deposed Sultan Yahya retired to Kemaman where he died.

About this time (1790) Sultan Mansur acceded to the repeated request of Sultan Mahmud and sent an embassy to the Dutch at Malacca, consisting of three picked men, Sri Stia Wan Kubat, Enche Ismail and another. They met Peter Jacob Van Braam on a warship in Riau and the Trengganu letter was read to him by his interpreter, Che Abdullah son of Imam Lebai Pandak. The Dutchman laughed and shook his head and dictated a reply to Che Abdullah which was duly delivered to Sultan Mansur by his representatives.

Following ancient Malay custom which decreed that a letter from a neighbouring state must be received with great respect, the Dutch reply was carried in state to the *Balai Rong* in Kuala Trengganu and there read publicly. The Dutch had sent a short reply refusing Sultan Mansur's offer of mediation and a longer one in which Van Braam set out in detail the reason for his refusal which included a recital of Sultan Mansur's part in the relations between the Malays and the Dutch beginning from the original attack on Linggi in 1757. Only the short reply was read in public, the Sultan then went to Kuala Ibai and there assembled his sons and grandsons and read them the text of the longer document. This was couched in such language and contained so many impolite references to the Trengganu ruler that as soon as it had been read we are told that it was torn up and the fragments thrown to the dogs, but even they would not lick them. Not long afterwards the writer of the letter, Che Abdullah, arrived on a visit from Riau and had an audience with the Sultan. He received a sharp reproof for the phrases he had used and was told that if he wished to redeem his misconduct he must endeavour to make peace between Trengganu and the Dutch, then with a playful slap on Abdullah's back the old Sultan dismissed him.

In spite of his great age—he was then over seventy years old—Sultan Mansur was not prepared to swallow an insult of this nature and he immediately embarked on a scheme to organise a combined attack on the Dutch, inviting Johore, Lingga, Siak, Siantan, Indragiri, Solok and Rembau to join with him in this campaign. He had previously written to Captain Light urging him to attack the Dutch and had sent Captain Glass, who acted as chief intermediary between Trengganu and the English, with a letter to Bengal; unfortunately his ship the *Prince Henry* was wrecked and Captain Glass was drowned. The English, who were established at Penang, watched these activities with interest and it is recorded in the Penang Archives of June 1790 that the coalition mustered four hundred boats armed with six, nine and twelve pounders, and a land force of twenty thousand men. There was however no unity of command for Sultan Mansur was unable to lead the expedition in person on account of his age, and when he died in 1795, after a reign of fifty three years, the coalition broke up and the projected attack came to nothing.

The benefit of keeping aloof from Riau controversies during the latter part of his reign may best be judged by Trengganu's economic position at the time of his death. Captain Light, in a report to Lord Cornwallis written in June 1789, describing "the several countries with their productions surrounding Prince of Wales' island" entered under the heading "TRINGANO": Malay port, chief trade with China. Produces pepper, gold and some tin. Yearly exports thirty thousand Spanish dollars. This same account makes no mention of Kelantan and describes Pahang and Johore as "unfrequented", the latter having been "wholly destroyed by the Dutch." The English had hitherto obstinately declined to take sides in the dispute between the Malays and their enemies, to the great advantage of the Dutch who according to Captain Light held Malacca and even Batavia with such small garrisons that "the smallest exertion on our part would have occasioned their destruction." It is acknowledged, he continues, "that had even so small a force as two hundred men joined the Malays at Rhio, Malacca would have been lost and Batavia in the greatest danger". He added that "the Malays are no less astonished than the Dutch".

Two years after Sultan Mansur's death the British assumed control of Malacca and one of their first acts was to recognise Sultan Mahmud as ruler of Riau-Lingga unconditionally (The Dutch had been negotiating with Raja Indra Bongsu for the same purpose but the price of their recognition had been sixty thousand dollars).

Meanwhile in Trengganu Sultan Mansur had been buried with full ceremony and had been given the posthumous title of *Marhum Janggut*.

His imposing grave stands close to the Abidin Mosque, built by his son and successor, in the centre of the town, and its metal

pinnacles and covering, which are ornamented with a yellow and pink floral design, described in Malay as *Kacha puri*, are said to have been ordered from China during the Sultan's lifetime. Raja Bulang, daughter of Daeng Chela, and the late Sultan's first wife, is buried by his side, but her grave is marked with orthodox stonework. Sultan Mansur was succeeded by his son Tengku Zainal Abidin who was already a man of middle age.

IV.

Civil War & the Conqueror (1793—1876).

Soon after the accession of Sultan Zainal Abidin II, who was also known as *Yam Tuan Mata Merah* (the Red-Eyed Ruler) affairs in Kelantan once more demanded attention. Long Yunus died in 1794 and although he had several sons of his own, it was arranged that Tengku Mohamed, brother of Sultan Zainal Abidin, who had married the daughter of Long Yunus, should succeed him. The sons of Long Yunus accepted this continued subjection to Trengganu with thinly veiled hostility, and when Sultan Zainal Abidin made it known that he intended Tengku Sulong, eldest son of Tengku Mohamed, to marry his daughter, they organised a rebellion and Tengku Mohamed withdrew to Trengganu. Although Raja Ismail and his fighting men were no longer available (he had died in 1781), the Trengganu army had no difficulty in suppressing the revolt and Tengku Mohamed was re-instated. An army of occupation which remained for five months, probably added to his unpopularity and before long he was once again obliged to take refuge at his brother's court. On this occasion Long Mohamed, the rival claimant, obtained the services of several thousand Chinese from Pulau and with their help defeated a combined Trengganu and Patani force. Sultan Zainal Abidin made one further attempt to maintain his position as overlord of Kelantan, but his army was again defeated and Long Mohamed, son of Long Yunus, became independent ruler of Kelantan in 1800 with the title of Sultan Muhammad I.

After a short and otherwise uneventful reign Sultan Zainal Abidin died in 1808 and was succeeded by his eldest son who took the title of Sultan Ahmad Shah. Sultan Ahmad was one of three brothers, the others being Tengku Abdul Rahman and Tengku Mansur, all three being grandsons of Sultan Mansur I's Bendahara. Tengku Ahmad and Tengku Abdul Rahman's mother, who was styled Enche Puan Besar, was the Bendahara's elder daughter and Tengku Mansur's mother was a younger daughter, and was styled Enche Puan Muda. No record remains of the male descendants of Trengganu's only Bendahara. When he died he was not replaced: with the lessons of Malacca and Johore fresh in his

memory Sultan Ahmad abolished the office and his successors did not revive it.

Sultan Ahmad's reign was uneventful and for more than ten years Trengganu remained in a state of isolation. Eventually the Riau ruler, remembering its reputation as a sure refuge for fugitives and dispossessed Sultans, determined to settle in Kuala Trengganu. Four years after his accession Sultan Mahmud, who had assumed the title of Sultan of Lingga since his re-establishment in Riau, died and was succeeded by his second son Tengku Abdul Rahman, the Bugis candidate, while the eldest son Tengku Hussain was absent from court.

The new ruler of Lingga had married Raja Anitah, daughter of Sultan Sulaiman and had a son by her, named Tengku Besar Mohamed. Raja Jaffar, son of Raja Haji, was Yam Tuan Muda at Riau and his principal adviser. After a period of nine years during which a rich revenue was collected from tin found on Sinkep and a Dutch Resident was accepted with his headquarters at Tanjong Pinang, Sultan Abdul Rahman decided to visit Trengganu and he set out in 1821 accompanied by his son Tengku Besar Mohamed, and a son of Raja Jaffar. Raja Jaffar accompanied the Sultan as far as Pahang where the Bendahara Tun Ali took over the role of chief escort. On arrival at Kuala Trengganu Sultan Ahmad Shah received him with every honour and allotted him a palace to accommodate his numerous followers. After a short time two royal weddings were celebrated: Sultan Abdul Rahman married a sister of Sultan Ahmad, and Tengku Besar Mohamed married Sultan Ahmad's daughter Tengku Teh.

Although Sultan Abdul Rahman had reigned for nine years he had not yet succeeded in obtaining possession of the ancient Johore Regalia, which Tengku Hamidah, fourth wife of the late Sultan Mahmud had clung to since his death, and it was partly a desire to conceal his embarrassment at this long delay which led Sultan Abdul Rahman to visit his royal cousin. He now settled in Trengganu as if for an indefinite stay.

Malacca had been temporarily returned to the Dutch by the treaty of Vienna in 1818 and its governor, Timmerman Thyssen, now decided to take the Johore Regalia by force from Tengku Hamidah. The Dutch then sent Yam Tuan Muda, Raja Jaffar, to Trengganu in a warship manned by 120 Dutchmen, and accompanied by a number of other boats, to arrange for the Sultan's return. After Sultan Abdul Rahman had been absent from Riau for over a year a son was born to Tengku Teh, wife of Tengku Besar Mohamed; this child was to succeed him eighteen years later as Sultan of Lingga and was named Raja Mahmud. The Dutch arrived soon after this event and as soon as they anchored a Malay

boat flying a yellow flag was seen approaching from the shore. When the colonel on board the warship learnt that it was the heir to the Lingga throne who was approaching, he fired a salute of guns. But Tengku Besar Mohamed, possibly inheriting the Trengganu resentment at the Dutch insult to his grandfather by marriage, showed a complete disregard for formalities and wore no baju when he came on board, with the result that the colonel cancelled his order for a second salute on his departure. The Yam Tuan Muda came ashore later in the day and called first on Sultan Abdul Rahman. The old feud between Trengganu and the Bugis evidently persisted, and Raja Jaffar next called on Enche Mariam, widow of Bendahara Koris of Pahang and only after he had done so did he go and pay his respects to Sultan Ahmad Shah. He then took up his residence with Sultan Abdul Rahman.

That night one of the Dutch boats was struck by lightning and the main mast was damaged. Timber for repairs was promptly supplied by Trengganu Malays the next morning and the Dutch sailed back to Riau. A few days later Bendahara Tun Ali arrived from Pahang and with the Yam Tuan Muda began preparations for the return of Sultan Abdul Rahman to Lingga. A fleet of over one hundred vessels was assembled and when the infant Raja Mahmud was forty days old the whole party sailed, arriving at Lingga on November 3rd, 1822.

Siamese interference in the affairs of Kedah and Kelantan led to the conclusion of a treaty between Lord Amherst, Governor of Bengal, and Siam on 20th June, 1826, which was negotiated and signed by Captain Burney on behalf of the East India Company and by Prince Ktom Menn Loorin Thaerakas. Article XII of the treaty read: "Siam shall not go and obstruct or interrupt commerce in the states of Tringano and Calantan. English merchants and subjects shall have trade and intercourse in future with the same facility and freedom as they have heretofore had...." This clause was speedily violated when the Raja of Patani took refuge in Kelantan in 1831, after a crushing defeat by the Siamese, and the Raja of Kelantan was compelled to surrender the fugitive and to send a large present of gold and gold dust to Bangkok, but Trengganu remained undisturbed, in spite of a rapid succession of rulers.

Sultan Ahmad Shah died in 1826. He was known as Almarhum Parit, on account of the Trench which he had made round his fort. The tradition of longevity among Trengganu rulers was then broken and four Sultans followed one another in the space of twelve years. Sultan Ahmad had three official wives and left three sons and two daughters. The eldest, Tengku Daud, was the son of the first wife; the second wife had no sons but a daughter, Tengku Kelsom, also known as Tengku Teh, who married Tengku

Besar Mohamed of Lingga. The third wife bore Sultan Ahmad two sons, the eldest Tengku Omar, the second Tengku Mahmud, and a daughter, Tengku Chik. This third wife was a Chinese girl, whose father came to Trengganu as manager of a party of travelling Minora players from the Kelantan-Patani area. News of the Chinese and of the beauty of his three daughters reached Sultan Ahmad and he summoned them to his capital where they were converted to Islam. The second daughter, who was the most beautiful, was renamed Che Hajar and, after marriage to the Sultan, was given the title of Enche Puan Besar.

It is related that when Tengku Omar was still a boy, an astrologer predicted that he would rule Trengganu, and pointed to a mole which had grown on his chest. Tengku Daud who was a few years older, resented this prophecy and bit off the mole a few days later. Sultan Ahmad was buried in the graveyard which is known as Makam Sheikh Ibrahim, not far from the present Government Offices, and 'Che Hajar, the Enche Puan Besar, his Chinese wife, was buried near by in the same walled enclosure. Tengku Abdul Rahman, a full brother of Sultan Ahmad was the first to succeed, but he died in 1831. Tengku Daud who followed was the eldest son of Sultan Ahmad, but he only reigned for forty days. There were then two rival claimants to the throne: Tengku Omar, Sultan Ahmad's second son, who had been appointed Yam Tuan Muda as soon as Sultan Daud succeeded to the throne, and Tengku Mansur, the only surviving brother of Sultan Ahmad, who was simultaneously given the title of Bendahara Paduka Raja. At first the Trengganu chiefs attempted a compromise and Tengku Mansur was invited to assume the title of Yang di-pertuan Tua, with Tengku Omar as Yang di-pertuan Besar, but even in a state as unaccustomed to civil war as Trengganu, two rulers could not live side by side in one place. Tengku Mansur appointed as his chief officials his maternal uncles, 'Che Ku Omar and 'Che Ku Ahmad, while Tengku Omar gave the title of Mentri to his father-in-law, Tengku Ismail. Both sides kept a large body of armed retainers and lived in fortified positions, Tengku Mansur at Balek Bukit and Tengku Omar near Bukit Petri.

Tengku Mansur sent messengers secretly to Tengku Ismail offering him the post of Mentri and a large sum of money, if he would persuade Tengku Omar to withdraw. The offer was accepted and Tengku Ismail prevailed upon his son-in-law to disperse his followers, with an assurance that Tengku Mansur wished to make peace. As soon as Tengku Omar's fighting men had gone back to their homes, Tengku Mansur sent men to surround his fort and drove him out. Taking his young sister, Tengku Chik, with him, Tengku Omar retired first to Stiu then to Besut and eventually to Kemaman. Tengku Mansur was then installed as Sultan Mansur II.

From his headquarters at Kemaman, Tengku Omar organised piratical raids on traders visiting Trengganu and caused so much damage and injury that Sultan Mansur felt obliged to build several forts. When Sultan Muhammad Shah, who had succeeded Sultan Abdul Rahman as ruler of Lingga in 1832, visited Pahang, Tengku Omar who was his brother-in-law went to see him and Sultan Muhammad tried to effect a reconciliation. He sent two sons of Al Kaddi Engku Syed Mohd Zin to Trengganu with a letter which was read in the Balai. After consulting his chiefs, Sultan Mansur despatched a reply in which he stated that he could not agree to receive back Tengku Omar, though if Sultan Muhammad wished to send anyone else—"even a black man"—he would willingly receive him.

Sultan Muhammad accepted this reply as final and shortly afterwards visited Kemaman with Tengku Omar. Ever since Sultan Yahya of Siak had taken refuge there, his relatives had continued to reside in Kemaman. During this visit Tengku Omar referred the case of Tengku Mansur, a Siak raja who was accused of molesting one of Tengku Omar's women, to Sultan Muhammad for his decision. Sultan Muhammad ordered him to be executed and then returned to Lingga taking Tengku Omar with him.

Sultan Mansur II died in 1836 and was succeeded by his young son, a youth of fifteen, who was given the title of Sultan Muhammad Shah. Munshi Abdullah who visited Kuala Trengganu in 1836 describes him as irresponsible and unpopular, and Clifford states that the prince was known as *Yam Tuan Teilor*, a title indicating that he was afflicted by an impediment in his speech. The once prosperous kingdom, partly no doubt as a result of Tengku Omar's piracy, had fallen on evil days, and Tengku Omar, who was still in Lingga, saw his opportunity and set out for Trengganu with his brother Tengku Mahmud. Calling at Kemaman to collect reinforcements, he arrived off Kuala Trengganu early one morning. In a council of war he decided to make his landing at noon when he calculated that most of the men would be at sea, fishing, and the remainder would be sheltering from the heat. Leaving most of his men on board, he landed with only forty followers—Clifford gives the number as 25 fighting men—among whom Wan Omar, Wan Abdul Rahman and Wan Osman were his chief lieutenants. They took possession of Kota Tengku Selmah, also known as *Kota dalam bata* (the Brick Fort) without striking a blow and quickly rallied supporters. Sultan Mohamed would have withdrawn, but 'Che Ku Omar and 'Che Ku Ahmad, his father's uncles, were determined to resist. After a few days in which he assembled more allies, Tengku Omar attacked Bukit Petri, where Sultan Mohamed was established and succeeded in driving him and his grand-uncles out at the third attempt. The young Sultan and his followers fled first to Dungun, then to Besut,

where 'Che Ku Omar was killed by Wan Abdul Rahman, and then to Kelantan.

Munshi Abdullah's description of Kuala Trengganu written after his visit in 1836, gives a vivid picture of conditions which prevailed long after Baginda Omar's death. Houses sited in a haphazard manner, many of them with a small shop on the front verandah with women in charge; each house claiming two or three coconut trees; lanes narrow and crooked; piles of dried coconut husks underneath most houses to drive away mosquitoes; no schools; a large Chinese quarter with a Capitan China who spoke fluent Malay and dressed in Malay costume; fishing the main occupation of the male Malay population, who are described as being otherwise idle; the Sultan's palace made of stone and a flag pole on Bukit Petri; the Kora'an taught to small groups of boys; and very beautiful fishing boats: all these survived into the twentieth century.

The richest man in Kuala Trengganu, when Munshi Abdullah paid his visit, was a Chinese named Ah Cheng Koh who had been given the name of 'Che Salleh when he became a convert to Islam: he was said to be worth between twenty and thirty thousand dollars. Food was cheap: a goat cost a dollar but the local people seldom ate meat, preferring fish and vegetables. Trengganu's exports at that time were carefully listed: gold, tin, coffee, pepper, betel nut, silk cloth and fine sarongs interwoven with gold and silver thread, and minor products such as rotan, damar and buffalo ghee. Opium, thread and European cloth were stated to be the principal imports.

Peace was restored to both Trengganu and Kelantan in 1839 and both states accepted rulers who were to remain in power for the next thirty-seven years. The new Sultan, who adopted the prefix Baginda (meaning conqueror) was a remarkable man. He was tall, strongly built, with wavy hair, a pale skin, a high bridged nose and very penetrating eyes. He wore a head cloth tied in the shape of a low crown, a fashion which no one else might imitate, leaving the top of his head uncovered. For many years he made a practice of using a six-foot iron cannon as a walking stick: this cannon stood at the steps of his palace and when he left the building he would lift it up and walk with it as far as the outer gate, where he leant it against the gate post and climbed into the litter in which he usually travelled. Even before he became Sultan he was popular with the general public and was noted for his sense of humour. Some of his youthful doings are remembered to this day. On one occasion during the lifetime of Sultan Ahmad, Tengku Omar and his circle of palace youths were sitting disconsolately, wondering where to raise funds, when they heard the sound of gongs being beaten on the river. Tengku Omar went

with his followers to the river bank and there saw a procession of boats filled with Chinese and learnt that they had brought an image from Pulau Babi, which was noted for healing sick people, at the request of the Chinese traders at the capital. Tengku Omar called the Capitan (Chinese headman) and told him that the spirit of the image had told him that it had spent too long in the cold mists upriver and wished to bathe in the warm waters of the river mouth. Without waiting for a reply Tengku Omar ordered his young men to take the image and tie it to a mooring post in the river. He then retired to his house and gave orders that he was not to be disturbed. The Capitan went to the palace and asked the Sultan to intervene, but he declined to do so. He then went to Tengku Omar house but was told that the prince was sleeping. He might, they added, be woken if it was made worth their while. After a short period of bargaining five hundred dollars changed hands and a few minutes later Tengku Omar emerged, apparently freshly aroused from sleep. He told the Capitan that he had had another dream in which the spirit of the idol had said that it was now satisfied with the warmth of its bath and was ready to proceed, and he gave orders to his men to untie the idol and restore it to its boat.

Baginda Omar appointed Tengku Idris as Mentri: he was a first cousin of Sultan Ahmad and was one of the first men to welcome him on his return. He took his uncle, Tengku Musa, as his principal adviser, and others to whom he gave office were his adopted son, Dato Bentara Haji, whose eldest son was appointed Dato Kaya Bija di Raja and later, as described by Clifford, ran amok, Dato Kaya Duyong, Imam Perang Losong and Tengku Panglima. To Wan Abdul Rahman he gave the title of Orang Kaya Megat Sri Mahkota di Raja and Wan Osman received the title of Orang Kaya Panglima Dalam Stia di Raja. Tengku Abdullah, son of the Sultan Abdul Rahman, who had been appointed heir to the throne by Sultan Mohamed was allowed to continue to hold this title.

The peaceful artizans of Kuala Trengganu and the fishermen of the coast villages, who had little inclination for fighting, recognised in Baginda Omar a man of far stronger nature than his young nephew, and he proved himself to be a ruler of exceptional energy and ability. Only one further attempt was made to dispute his authority. This was made by Tengku Hitam, also known as Tengku Wok, son of Tengku Besar Padang. This Riau raja had come to Trengganu during the reign of Sultan Zainal Abidin II, after the latter's son, Tengku Ahmad, had married a Riau princess. When Tengku Ahmad became Sultan he bestowed the Dungun river territory and revenues upon Tengku Wok Hitam as a mark of friendship and as evidence of the close ties which joined Riau & Trengganu. During the dispute over the succession in 1831,

Tengku Wok Hitam supported Tengku Mansur against Tengku Omar, and he now made a final effort to reinstate Tengku Mansur's son, who had taken refuge with him at Dungun.

A month after the Baginda had seized the throne he set out with between two and three hundred men and landed at Chenering at night. His arrival was noticed by a villager named Chik, who ran to warn the Sultan. Baginda Omar had only 17 persons with him in his fort (the brick fort), and some of them were women, but he gave three spears to each and arranged them at intervals and gave orders for them to make as much noise as possible and to clash their spears together. Tengku Hitam's force arrived at 2 a.m. but failed to make an entry: their gun powder had been saturated in the surf when they landed and the rebel leader sent men to the magazine on Bukit Petri to replenish their stocks. Once again fortune favoured the conqueror: a watchman on Bukit Petri saw suspicious movements below him and emptied a cauldron of water into the magazine, and when Tengku Hitam's men arrived they found all the gunpowder unserviceable. When the dawn broke the Sultan's small garrison opened fire on the rebels while Tengku Idris gathered reinforcements and, attacking them from the rear, soon put them to flight.

During the first few years of his reign the Baginda lived in a fort erected by him on the summit of Bukit Petri. Subsequently he built himself a palace on the site of that occupied by his predecessors, known as the *Istana Hijau*, which was, however, destroyed by fire in 1882.

He improved the appearance of his capital by erecting a handsome stone mosque, which is named Masjid Abidin, after Sultan Zainal Abidin II who laid its foundations. He also built stone causeways in the town which can still be seen, and he made it a practice to sit daily in his Balai to dispense justice and to give free access to any of his subjects who wished to approach him. He became famous for the grim jests which accompanied sentences of mutilation or death or of imprisonment in gaol-cages, and although he could neither read nor write, his interest in trade and learning led him to encourage students, skilled artisans and craftsmen from other countries to settle in Trengganu and to teach his people. He gave orders for men to prospect for tin in Kemaman and for gold in the Ulu Nerus, and he travelled extensively in every part of his kingdom.

Baginda Omar had seen enough of Riau politics during his temporary eclipse to make him appreciate the wisdom of the traditional Trengganu policy of isolation, and he devoted his time and energy to the revival of trade and ordered government. He maintained remote but friendly contacts with Riau on one side

and with the powerful court of Siam on the other, without submitting to any form of control by either. He discontinued the practice of sending *bunga mas* to Bangkok.

In Riau, Tengku Mahmud, Baginda Omar's nephew, succeeded to the throne of Lingga in 1841, at the age of eighteen, and quickly established a reputation for reckless extravagance and irresponsibility which was to lead to his deposition by the Dutch sixteen years later. He developed a taste for travel and some years after his accession he brought his mother, Tengku Teh, on a visit to her half brother (Baginda Omar) in Trengganu, where they were royally entertained. But the young Sultan made only a brief stay, preferring the novelties and attractions of Singapore, and scandalised his elders in Riau by building a new palace to a Western design, filling it with European furniture and pictures and even keeping dogs.

By 1857 the patience of the Dutch was exhausted, the principal dispute being over the appointment of a Yam Tuan Muda. Sultan Mahmud wished to appoint his son-in-law, Raja Mohamed Yusof, while the Dutch preferred an older man, Raja Abdullah, brother of the late Yam Tuan Muda Raja Ali. The dispute reached a deadlock since the Sultan's candidate was a nephew of the Dutch nominee and refused to supersede his uncle. Neither side would give way and the Dutch finally deposed Sultan Mahmud. Although Sultan Muhammad had left only one son, his half brother by a non-royal wife, Tengku Sulaiman was still alive and he was now appointed by the Dutch as Sultan Sulaiman.

The ex-Sultan left Riau and after a visit to Pahang settled in Trengganu where he urged his uncle and Tengku Mahmud, Baginda Omar's brother, who had married the ex-Sultan's sister, to help him to regain his throne. Once again Baginda Omar had the sense to adhere to a policy of isolation and although he willingly provided a refuge for his nephew he refused to espouse a lost cause for reasons of sentiment. In contrast to this decision the Trengganu ruler actively intervened in the civil war in Pahang which followed closely on the death of Bendahara Tun Ali in 1857. Tun (Wan) Mutahir, the eldest son succeeded his father as Bendahara, but the younger son, Wan Ahmad, disputed the succession and retired first to Singapore and then to Kemaman, which he used as a base. Baginda Omar sent orders that he was to be given every assistance, and when Wan Ahmad invaded Pahang in November 1857 the campaign was known locally as "the War of the Kemaman Men". After an initial success this expedition was driven back to Kemaman after suffering heavy losses.

Wan Mutahir had refused to entertain the idea of reviving the Sultanate of Pahang in favour of ex-Sultan Mahmud, the latter

therefore supported Wan Ahmad and no doubt encouraged his uncle, Baginda Omar, to do the same.

In 1858 the Governor visited Pahang and Trengganu in an effort to end the civil war and persuaded Baginda Omar to summon Wan Ahmad to Kuala Trengganu. The Governor had scarcely returned to Singapore, however, before Wan Ahmad retired to Kemaman and continued his preparations for a second attempt. This took the shape of an attack by sea and occurred in March, 1861, but after 5 months Wan Ahmad was driven out once more. Although Baginda Omar readily supported Wan Ahmad, his nephew, the ex-Sultan, could get no such practical assistance and eventually Sultan Mahmud realised that he could expect no help from Trengganu and expressed a wish to visit Siam in search of a new ally. In spite of every effort by Baginda Omar and his Trengganu chiefs and rajas to dissuade him, he announced his determination to go and take his sister, Tengku Sapiah with him, and after spending six months in Kuala Trengganu sailed north in a steamship.

In March 1861, Baginda Omar visited Singapore and called on the Governor, Sir Ord Cavenagh. He requested British intervention to protect his country from the Siamese who continued to threaten aggression, and re-iterated the statement that Trengganu was entirely independent.

It may be inferred that Baginda Omar was uneasy lest the King of Siam might wish to punish him for his obstinate refusal to pay homage, by sending the ex-Sultan of Lingga to displace him, and it would appear that though the King of Siam never had any intention of embroiling himself with the Dutch, he saw in the ex-Sultan an opportunity which might, with cautious handling, enabled him to establish some degree of control over Trengganu or Pahang or both. At his first audience the Siamese King made it clear that he was well informed about the ex-Sultan's conduct and character and remarked that if he had behaved in a similar manner his people would probably have killed him. A month later the king asked for Tengku Sapiah as his wife, an act which had been feared and anticipated by the Trengganu Court, and would take no refusal. Two days after the wedding the King promised the ex-Sultan that he would help him but advised him to be patient, and then for six months took no further action. Finally, after repeated requests by Sultan Mahmud the King supplied him with a steamship, a small force of Siamese soldiers and letter of authority to obtain free supplies at Singgora, and sent him to Trengganu in 1862. The Siamese King's intentions remain a riddle but it must have been more than coincidence that when the ex-Sultan arrived off Kuala Trengganu, flying the Siamese Royal flag, three Siamese warships were also in Trengganu waters, one

of which carried the Crown Prince of Siam and the Siamese Chief Minister. But while Sultan Mahmud went ashore, accompanied by Siamese soldiers, and called on his uncle and mother, a British gun boat arrived in Trengganu bay and the Siamese ships weighed anchor and sailed for Singapore. Baginda Omar, whether from courtesy or in an effort to avoid civil war, offered to surrender his throne to Sultan Mahmud, but finding that his principal supporters had left the neighbourhood the latter returned a non-committal reply.

The British Consul in Bangkok, Sir R. H. Schomburgh wrote to the Governor on July 16, 1862 about this incident: "I took the opportunity during an audience of the First King to turn the conversation upon the affairs in Tringano. His Majesty declares that the ex-Sultan of Lingga is not sent to Triangano as successor of the present Raja: he went there because his mother lives there. He will not be permitted to interfere with the good order of the state...but if after the present Raja dies the people wish to elect Sultan Mahomet, His Majesty would not interfere."

In this atmosphere of uncertainty Baginda Omar entertained his royal nephew for several months. The British who were watching the situation closely had written to Siam requesting that a ship be sent to remove the ex-Sultan, but the King temporised and took no action. Eventually in November 1862 Colonel Mac Pherson was sent from Singapore in H.M.S. *Coquette* accompanied by H.M.S. *Scout* and on arrival at Kuala Trengganu he went ashore and requested the ex-Sultan to come on board and proceed with him to Siam: this Sultan Mahmud refused to do, on the pretext that he had received no letter from the Siamese King. The Colonel replied with an ultimatum that if he did not comply with these instructions within 48 hours Trengganu would be shelled.

That evening Sultan Mahmud visited Baginda Omar and after a quarrel the latter withdrew from his capital, leaving his royal nephew behind. After two days the British shelled the fort and about twenty people were killed: Sultan Mahmud and a large section of the population then left the town and the two rulers met once more some miles inland. This time the ex-Sultan took his uncle's advice and retired to Besut where a Siamese steamship called and brought him to Siam. He was already in poor health and he died two years later in Pahang at the early age of forty-one.

The decision to despatch gunboats was taken by the Governor, Sir Ord Cavanagh, as a result of representations from the Chairman of the Singapore Chamber of Commerce who complained that ex-Sultan Mahmud was openly assisting Wan Ahmad in his preparations for an invasion of Pahang from Trengganu territory and that as a result their trade with Pahang was at a standstill.

The representations of the Singapore Chamber of Commerce, were, in fact, inspired by Temenggong Abu Bakar of Johore who feared that the deposed Sultan, as the representative of the old Riau-Johore Kingdom, might succeed in asserting his claim to sovereignty in the Peninsula. The Governor appears to have shared these views and the bombardment was probably intended to be directed at two targets, the shipping which was believed to be in course of preparation for an invasion of Pahang by Wan Ahmad, and the fort on Bukit Petri which the ex-Sultan might be expected to use if he wished to usurp the throne of Trengganu.

The naval commander was a man of independent judgement and it appears that when he found no fleet assembled and an undefended town he protested in the strongest manner at being compelled to shell it. He forwarded his protest to London and the verdict of the Secretary of State for the Colonies was that the bombardment of Trengganu was "at the least, precipitate".

The removal of Sultan Mahmud did not, however, interfere with Wan Ahmad's activities, for Baginda Omar also continued to give him support, in spite of personal representations made to him by Temenggong Abu Bakar of Johore, and Wan Ahmad entered Pahang via Ulu Dungun on his final and successful expedition in August 1862.

Baginda Omar was the first Trengganu ruler to establish direct relations with England and in 1869 sent envoys to London bearing presents to Her Majesty the Queen and the Prince of Wales and letters in which he expressed the wish to place Trengganu under British protection. Replies to the Sultan's letters and return presents were forwarded from London to Sir H. Ord who was then Governor, for transmission to Trengganu. It would appear that Sir H. Ord was not aware of the provisions of Article XI of the Burney Treaty of 1826, and he forwarded the letters and presents to Bangkok, and it is believed that they were never received by Baginda Omar. This course of action not unnaturally caused keen dissatisfaction in Trengganu and was the subject of comment by one of the leading Kedah officials when Mr Frank Swettenham, then British Resident, Perak, visited that state in November, 1889.

A notable feature of Baginda Omar's reign was his deliberate centralisation of administration and authority. At the time of his accession the time honoured feudal system, common to all Malay States, was in operation. The country was divided into a number of territorial divisions, each of which was held in fief from the Sultan by a Dato. Each of these areas was subdivided and controlled by a Dato Muda, who held his position in fief from the major chief, and each village in these subdivisions was controlled

by a Ketua or Headman, appointed by the minor chief or Dato Muda. The principal duties of the Major and Minor Chiefs and the Headmen were to supply levies of able bodied fighting men when required by the Sultan, and to collect taxes and to exact free labour from the raiyat.

Baginda Omar declined to appoint successors when territorial chiefs died and instead appointed Penghulus in charge of one or more villages who were directly responsible to him. As an example, separate Penghulus were placed in charge of the Trengganu Valley, the Upper Kerbat, the Chergul river and the lower part of the Ulu Trengganu river, although formerly all this country was under the Orang Kaya Belimbing, on whose death the post was left vacant. In more thickly populated areas each village was managed by a Penghulu. The Baginda moved so freely among his subjects that during the latter part of his reign he was affectionately referred to by the raiyat as *Toh Nyang*, and on Friday mornings, when he was in Kuala Trengganu, he frequently made tours of inspection, carrying with him a sackful of coins which he distributed to the poor.

This policy of direct control led to what is sometimes referred to as *Perang Besut*, the solitary instance of internal disturbance during the Baginda's long reign. The causes of this episode reached back over a number of years. Early in his reign Baginda Omar appointed Tengku Ali bin Tengku Kadir to administer Besut and married him to Tengku Nik, the widow of the late Yam Tuan Muda Abdullah, a son of Sultan Abdul Rahman who had been appointed Yam Tuan Muda when Sultan Muhammad came to the throne in 1836. At the same time Baginda Omar married Tengku Hitam, the brother of Tengku Ali, to Tengku Mandak, widow of Tengku Panglima. Neither of these marriages were happy ones and Tengku Ali married a 'dayang'—servant—of Tengku Nik by whom he had a son, and remained aloof from the Court for fifteen years. Tengku Hitam also married again and had a son who was subsequently robbed of his inheritance by Tengku Ali, after the death of his father, and driven from Besut.

During his prolonged absence from the capital Tengku Ali took up the cause of Tengku Chik Muda, son of Yam Tuan Muda Abdullah, and tried secretly to secure the support of Kelantan to an attempt to place this youth on the throne in place of the Baginda. His efforts were unsuccessful and eventually when Tengku Chik Muda died, Tengku Ali revisited Kuala Trengganu. Before Baginda Omar would receive him, he was obliged to swear an oath of loyalty, and he returned to Besut after a very short stay.

Not long afterwards arrangements were put in hand for the installation of Tengku Ahmad, son of Tengku Mahmud, the

Baginda's brother, as Yam Tuan Muda in 1864. Baginda Omar invited Tengku Ali to bring his son to the capital to be circumcised, so that the ceremony could coincide with that of the installation of the Yam Tuan Muda, but Tengku Ali refused the invitation and did not attend Tengku Ahmad's installation and reports reached the capital that Tengku Ali was making fresh overtures to Kelantan with the object of throwing off Trengganu control. Baginda Omar sent Tuan Muda, Tengku Ibrahim and To' Kaya Megat Mahkota to Besut with instructions to bring back Tengku Ali to the capital. On arrival they found a large number of armed men from Kelantan camping in Kampong Raja and Tengku Ali refused to meet, much less accompany, the Sultan's representatives.

Tuan Muda and Tengku Ibrahim promptly returned to Kuala Trengganu and Baginda Omar learning of the presence of Kelantan men, sent Mufti Wan Abdullah to Kelantan to lodge a protest and a letter to the Siamese at Senggora reminding them that Besut was part of Trengganu territory and requesting that Kelantan be warned not to interfere. This the Siamese did and the Baginda assembled a strong force, said in one manuscript to have numbered 8,000 men, and sent them by sea, under the command of Tengku Mustapha. This expedition shelled Besut prior to landing and when they reached the shore they found that no resistance was offered and that Tengku Ali had fled. Tengku Ali died in Kelantan later the same year and was replaced by Tengku Chik, whose sister, Tengku Ngah had a daughter who married the Raja of Kelantan. A son of this marriage, Tengku Long eventually succeeded Tengku Chik as Territorial Chief of Besut and was given the title of Tengku Indra Segara by Sultan Zainal Abidin III.

Clifford described the salient characteristics of Baginda Omar's subjects. He stressed their mild temperament, their profound love of peace and their skill as artisans and traders and attributed their keen interest in religious study to the settlement of a hereditary line of Saiyids at Paloh. The first of these Baginda Omar induced to accompany him from Lingga, and each of them inherited from his predecessor both magic powers and a high reputation for sanctity. While lawless conditions prevailed along a greater portion of the East Coast both to the north as well as the south, Trengganu remained an oasis of peace which, though it may have earned its people some measure of contempt from their neighbours, brought wealth to the Ruler and chiefs and to the trading community.

When Tengku Mahmud, the Yang di pertuan Muda and full brother of the Baginda, who had succeeded Tengku Idris as Mentri, died in 1864 his place as Mentri was taken by Syed Zin bin Syed Mohamed, who was given the title of Engku Syed Sri

Perdana. The Baginda had married many wives but remained without heirs and Tengku Ahmad, son of Tengku Mahmud and of Tengku Dalam, the daughter of Sultan Muhammad of Lingga was then made heir apparent. In 1874 the Baginda, who was then an old man, appointed Tengku Ahmad, to rule on his behalf and took little part in the affairs of state until his death two years later. He received the Governor, Sir William Jervois, at Kuala Trengganu in the middle of 1875 and was described by the latter as "an old man of 69, much paralysed". The Governor was on a tour of the East coast which included visits to Singora and Patani.

In 1876 Baginda Omar died, having ruled his country with firmness and wisdom for thirty-seven years, and was buried with great ceremony in the Abidin Mosque, his coffin being accompanied by four white umbrellas, and carried to the sound of four salvoes fired by sixteen guns.

V.

Siamese Infiltration & the Treaty with Great Britain (1876—1909).

Tengku Ahmad was already a man of middle age when his uncle died and he survived him by only five years. Although the late Sultan Daud, elder brother of Baginda Omar, had left a number of children, Tengku Ahmad's succession was undisputed and he appointed his son, Tengku Zainal Abidin, to be Yang dipertuan Muda.

Two years after his accession the Mentri, Syed Zin, died and the Sultan appointed Syed Abdullah, who had married his youngest sister, Tengku Chik Bukit, during the Baginda's reign, as his chief minister.

When Sultan Ahmad died in December 1881, one of his younger brothers, Tengku Abbas, wished to succeed him, but the Mentri supported Tengku Zainal Abidin, who was then a youth of seventeen, and he was duly installed as Sultan Zainal Abidin III. Tengku Abbas was appointed Yang dipertuan Muda. With his accession the Trengganu tradition of long lived rulers was re-established and he reigned for thirty seven years. During his lifetime Trengganu was to change its status from a nominal subordination to Siam to that of an Unfederated Malay State under British protection, while at the same time, by travel and by the courteous reception of foreigners in his state, the Sultan was to abandon the ancient policy of isolation and to embark on a series of reforms which were little short of revolutionary.

The young Sultan was keenly interested in religion and was content, for the early part of his reign, to leave to others the

administration of the state. In the days of his granduncle and his father the revenues of the State had been paid into the Sultan's treasury and the rajas and chiefs were largely dependent on his bounty. Once the firm hand of an experienced ruler was removed the Sultan's relatives partitioned the State revenue, leaving the Sultan only a small portion and dividing the remainder among themselves. Kemaman and Kijal were allotted to Ungku Muda, an uncle of the Sultan, Kemasek went to Dato Mata-mata and Kerteh to Tengku Ambong the husband of one of the Sultan's nieces. Tengku Bukit, the Sultan's great aunt received Dungun, Merchang was given to Tengku Petera, a Singapore raja whose wife was a daughter of Tengku Long, who had married Tengku Sapiah, the ex-consort of the King of Siam. Tengku Besar, the Sultan's brother-in-law, was allotted Marang, Stiu went to Tengku Mahmud, nephew of the Sultan, and Besut to a great uncle named Tengku Chik Tepok. The revenues of the whole country above the Kelemang falls were granted to the Sultan's elder sister, Tengku Chik Pangiran, and the river Paka was added as a make weight. The country between the Kelemang falls and Kuala Telemong was given to Che Abdul Rahim, the Sultan's principal confidential adviser, the Telemong river went to Tengku Musa, a great uncle, and the Nerus river was allotted to Ungku Saiyid of Paloh, who was the Sultan's religious teacher. When all had received their share Sultan Zainal Abidin III was left with only the revenues of the Trengganu river from Kuala Telemong to the mouth and the small adjacent river Ibai from which to draw his income.

Engrossed in his religious studies the young Sultan had no conception of the misery and oppression which inevitably resulted from this change in the administration. The rajas and chiefs among whom the state revenues had been divided were for the most part absentee landlords and entrusted the work of revenue collecting to agents, usually natives of Kuala Trengganu, junior members of the court circle, who tyrannized mercilessly over the local headmen and peasants. Tengku Besar, who bore an unequalled reputation for kindness, farmed out the revenues of his area to a Chinese.

In Kuala Trengganu, there was soon widespread distress for an entirely different reason. The capital had suffered from periodic conflagrations during earlier reigns, but in 1882 the largest fire in Trengganu history occurred and destroyed over 1,600 houses. This disaster is known locally as "*Api pechah gedong*", referring to the explosion of the powder magazine which destroyed many buildings including the Sultan's palace. A sum of 2000 dollars to relieve distress was sent from Singapore and an equal sum from Bangkok, and the Sultan made small cash grants, accompanied by lengths of cloth to members of the Court and royal family, but for the majority no relief was available.

In spite of his virtual exclusion from administrative control the young Sultan showed firmness and independence when in 1885 his elder sister was involved in a court scandal. Tengku Long, son of the late Tengku Kudin, often referred to as Almerhum Din, and grandson of Sultan Daud and thus cousin of the Sultan, paid nightly visits to Tengku Chik Bukit, the sultan's sister, who was already married to a Riau raja. Tengku Long was noted for his prowess with kris and spear, and was popular at court, but when Sultan Zainal Abidin heard what was happening he summoned four of his 'Budak Raja', men in their middle twenties, and gave orders that Tengku Long was to be killed. The four young men, one of whom was 'Che Abdul Rahman, a friend of Tengku Long, laid in wait for their victim at night, and, intercepting him on his return from Tengku Chik Bukit's house, stabbed him to death. The Sultan rewarded 'Che Abdul Rahman with the title of Dato Lela and the grant of the revenues and territory of Kemaman, over which he exercised control for the next twenty-five years.

In July 1885, Sultan Zainal Abidin sailed for Pahang in the steamship *Sri Mangga* to marry Tengku Long, the eldest daughter of Sultan Ahmad, leaving his Mentri, Syed Abdullah, as Regent. Before his accession, the Sultan had been married to a *gundek*, 'Che Teh a Lingga girl, in 1878 as soon as his circumcision rites had been completed, when he was not yet fourteen, but he was now to take a royal wife.

Great importance was attached to the union of two neighbouring royal families and in addition to an entourage of over 400 chiefs and relatives who accompanied the Sultan in the steamship, one thousand others followed in sailing boats. This vast expedition reached Kuala Pahang early one morning where they were received by the Temenggong and Tengku Ali and conducted upstream with full ceremony.

The Pahang ruler was not prepared for so numerous a retinue but he supplied all with food for a period of ten days and during that time many of the visitors built additional temporary accommodation for themselves.

Preparations for the marriage covered the next three months and it was not till the 10th day of Rabiul-akhir that the ceremony was actually performed by Haji Ahmad bin Haji Yusof of Trengganu. A detailed account of the Royal visit to Pahang has survived and a translation of this will be found in the Appendix. Sultan Zainal Abidin remained in Pahang for one year and while he was absent, one of his uncles, Tengku Abdul Rahim, a half brother of the late Sultan Ahmad, released all the prisoners in Kuala Trengganu and attempted to cause an insurrection. The Regent reported the matter to the Sultan and was given authority

to take stern measures if any further incidents occurred. Not long afterwards Tengku Abdul Rahim again headed an attempt to displace the Sultan and was driven out of the capital and confined at Kampong Chenering.

The Sultan returned in the late summer of 1886. Shortly after his return Syed Abdullah resigned from the post of Mentri and was succeeded by Tengku Mohamed Yusof, also known as Tengku Tengah, son of ex-Sultan Mahmud of Lingga, who bore the title of Tengku Besar Paduka Indra. Tengku Besar held this post until his death about 12 years later.

The Sultan had scarcely had time to take stock of the situation in his capital when the Dato Kaya Bija Diraja ran amok at midnight and after killing his wife and killing or wounding the remainder of his household set fire to his house. The flames spread rapidly and when neighbours came out to try and extinguish the fire the Dato attacked them and killed or wounded many others. When the news reached the Sultan he gave orders for the madman to be shot, but before this was possible some thirty persons had been killed or wounded and over fifty houses had been destroyed by fire.

Tengku Long did not accompany the Sultan to Trengganu and he therefore paid another short visit to Pahang three months after his return, to escort his wife to her new home.

Close relations were thus established with Trengganu's southern neighbours and in April 1887, for the first time in Trengganu history, the King of Siam visited the State. The visit lasted two days and the King marked the occasion by bestowing Siamese decorations on the Sultan and the Raja Muda and distributing many gifts of gold embroidered cloth. He also presented the Sultan with a gold hilted and gold sheathed sword and gold ornaments to Tengku Long and other members of the royal family.

The royal visit marked an important change in Trengganu foreign policy. The initiative in this matter appears to have been taken by the King of Siam and to have begun four months after the Sultan's accession when he sent two members of his family and a court official named Tuan Phe Rong with a letter of greetings and instructions to attend part of the ceremonies connected with the Sultan's enthronement, but the new policy was actively supported by the Sultan's cousin, Tengku Besar Mohamed Yusof, son of ex-Sultan Mahmud of Lingga, who had spent part of his youth in Siam.

The Sultan's marriage with Tengku Long of Pahang proved an unhappy one and after three years she arranged with her

brother Tengku Besar Mahmud to send an escort to conduct her back to Pahang.

In the opinion of the Pahang men, their princess had been grievously neglected and they showed their resentment by killing a distant relative of the Sultan while they visited the Trengganu capital. Tengku Long refused to return to Trengganu and was subsequently divorced by Sultan Zainal Abidin, and friendly relations were not re-established until the Sultan's second son Tengku Sulaiman was married to Tengku Meriam, a younger sister of Tengku Long, many years later.

In February 1889, the King of Siam paid a second visit to Trengganu on his return from Singapore. He called first at Kemaman, where he was received by the Sultan, and after spending a few hours ashore and presenting the Orang Besar Kemaman with a gift of two hundred Mexican dollars, the two rulers sailed for Kuala Trengganu. The King was received with a salute of 21 guns and remained eight days in the capital before returning to Siam. On this occasion he made a present of one thousand dollars to the Sultan and gave gold ornaments to many of the palace ladies. During his visit the King asked the Sultan for details of the allocation of state revenues, the persons among whom it was divided and the service which each gave to the state.

Early in Sultan Zainal Abidin's reign, the practice of sending a gold and silver flower to Siam was revived. The "*bunga mas*" were sent every three years in the charge of four non-royal persons and were accompanied by numerous other articles, the products of Trengganu. For many years the emissaries who conveyed the "*bunga mas*" to Siam were Dato Balai Salim bin Umat, Long Mamat, Megat Ahmad and Che Ali Nakhoda Perahu.

There can be no doubt that this triennial gift was a gesture of friendship and a mark of cordial relationship and was not an admission of suzerainty and in return the King of Siam sent articles of at least equal value including considerable quantities of rice and salt.

The new policy brought other practical advantages: gifts of money and cloth to relieve the distress caused by the great fire have already been recorded, the depredations of pirates were relieved by Siamese craft sent at the request of the Sultan, and advice on administrative problems was asked and given. For a time this arrangement worked smoothly, but in 1892, the permission of the Sultan was sought by the Siamese for a Post Office to be opened in Kuala Trengganu in which stamps bearing the figure of the King of Siam should be sold. The Sultan declined to permit this to be done and replied that if he decided to introduce

a postal system into his Kingdom he would have stamps prepared bearing his own likeness.

The question of Trengganu's independent status has never been questioned by the people of Trengganu, but it may be of interest to quote a passage from the report of Sir Hugh Clifford, dated August 1895, written after his visit to Trengganu in pursuit of the Pahang rebels, on this subject :

"Before dealing with the history of Trengganu during the present reign, there is one other point connected with the records of this State which has been much misunderstood, and which therefore calls for special mention. I refer to the relations which have subsisted between Trengganu and Siam since 1776. In this year the "bunga amas" or golden flower, was sent to Siam by Sultan Mansur for the first time, not in compliance with any demand made by the Government of Bangkok, but because the Sultan of Trengganu desired to be upon friendly terms with the only Power in his vicinity which could disturb the peace of this country. The "bunga amas" has never been regarded by the Malays as an admission of suzerainty; and, indeed, this view of the question has been always entirely repudiated by the Sultan and Chiefs of Trengganu. When Sir Frederick Weld visited Trengganu in 1887, the Sultan on both occasions was careful to explain that the "bunga amas" was sent to Siam not as opti or tribute, but merely as a token of friendship and that the return presents sent by the King of Siam were given and received in a like spirit. The same view has been repeatedly expressed to me by the Rajas and Chiefs in Trengganu from whom I sought information on this subject, the "bunga amas" being invariably described by them as a 'tanda s'pakat dan bersehabat—a token of alliance and friendship.

Thus much for the opinion of the natives of Trengganu on this point, an opinion which is further confirmed by the views expressed by those who have had knowledge of the subject from the time of Sir Stamford Raffles. In his Paper on the Malayan Nations, written in 1809, which was subsequently submitted to Lord Minto, Sir Stamford writes as follows of the States on the East coast:-

"Of the Malay Peninsula, the principal States entitled to notice on the Eastern side are those of Tringano, Patani, and Pahang. The States on the Eastern side of the Peninsula, with the exception of Patani, which has been considerably influenced by the Siamese, seem generally to have admitted the superiority of the Malay Government first established at Singapore, and afterwards at Johore."

Up to within the last 15 years this statement remained as true as on the day when it was written; Pahang and Trengganu both recognising the superiority of the Sultanate of Daik. They did so, however, with the important difference that while Pahang was officially regarded as a dependency of Daik, the Bendahara of Pahang issuing his mandates to his people with a clause making them subject to the approval of the Sultan of that State, the Ruler of Trengganu, though junior to the Sultan of Daik, was as independent of him as of the King of Siam, and issued his chaps to his people without making any reservation whatsoever subjecting them to the approval or sanction of any other potentate. Just as the "bunga amas" was sent to Siam once in three years, so in the same manner were presents periodically despatched by the Sultan of Trengganu to the Sultan of Daik: and these presents had the same significance, neither more or less, than was attached to the customary triennial

gifts to the King in Bangkok. In 1882 the Bendahara of Pahang threw off his allegiance to the Sultan of Daik, and assumed the title of Sultan of Pahang. The position of Trengganu, however, both as regards Siam and Daik has remained absolutely unchanged.

That Trengganu occupies the position of an Independent Native State— independent alike of Great Britain and Siam—has been fully recognised by the Governments of both those countries; and this is proved by the provisions of Captain Burney's Treaty with Siam dated 20th June, 1826. By Article XII, Siam binds herself not "to go and obstruct or interrupt commerce in the States of Tringano and Calantan." A reference to Article XIV of the same Treaty will show that the State of Perak had also been accustomed to send the "bunga amas" to Siam, and that by her, as by Trengganu, the offering was evidently regarded as purely voluntary. Siam apparently acquiesced in this view of the matter. It cannot be maintained, with any show of reason, that Perak was at that time a dependency of Siam, yet the position of Perak in 1826 and that now occupied by Trengganu are absolutely identical.

In 1869 Baginda Umar sent envoys to the British Government bearing presents to Her Majesty the Queen and His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales; and in due course replies to the Sultan's letters and return presents were forwarded from London to Sir Harry Ord, the then Governor of the Straits Settlements, for transmission to the Baginda. Sir Harry Ord, it would seem, was not aware of the provisions of Article XII of Captain Burney's Treaty above quoted, and in writing to the Secretary of State on the subject of these return presents he stated that he had never heard it disputed that Trengganu occupied a position similar to that of Kedah and Patani with regard to Siam. Acting on his recommendation the return presents and the answers to the Baginda's letters were forwarded to Bangkok, a course of action which naturally gave great umbrage to the Sultan and People of Trengganu. With this sole deplorable exception, however, the independence of Trengganu has always been fully and consistently recognised by the local representatives of the British Government in the Straits Settlements. The Governors of the Colony have always communicated direct with the Sultan of Trengganu, and have frequently visited him in his capital. From 1886 to 1890 the Governor for the time being paid an annual visit to the Sultan of Trengganu, and a similar visit was paid again by Governor Sir Cecil Clementi Smith in 1893, during which the matter of the Pahang rebels was fully discussed with the Sultan. It is only during the last two years that the theory that Trengganu forms an integral part of the Kingdom of Siam has been hinted at by the Government in Bangkok but, so far as I am aware, this theory has never been officially propounded, nor has it ever been directly or indirectly admitted by the British Government; while the claims of the Siamese to suzerainty are entirely repudiated by the Sultan of Trengganu. The burden of proof lies with Siam, and, to the best of my belief, she will be unable to produce one tittle of evidence in support of her pretensions.

Siamese assistance was sought in the difficult task of attempting to capture Pahang rebels, driven from the State in 1892, who had raided the Tembeling District of Pahang in June 1894, assisted by a considerable number of Kelantan and Trengganu Malays. These rebels had been quickly driven back into Kelantan but Hugh Clifford, British Resident, Pahang, formed the opinion that so long as the Pahang rebel chiefs were at large they constituted a serious threat to the peace of Pahang, and he sought and eventually obtained the permission of the Governor and of the Colonial Office

to organise an expedition into Kelantan and Trengganu for their arrest. It was however decided by the Colonial Office that a Siamese Commissioner should accompany the expedition and while Clifford assembled a force of 252 men, (105 of whom were fighting men, armed with rifles and the remainder porters,) two Siamese officials made the journey overland via Kelantan and made it widely known that they would shortly be returning in the company of the British Resident, Pahang, following the Lebir river.

Clifford quickly decided to choose a different route, and accompanied by R. W. Duff, acting Superintendent of Police, Pahang, and Dr A. B. Jesser-Coope, Residency Surgeon, and the two Commissioners, Luang Visudh Parihar and Luang Sevasti Borirom, set off up the Tembeling river on March 17, 1895.

From that date until June 7th, Clifford travelled unceasingly, up and down rivers and through dense jungle in pursuit of the rebels who were latterly seldom more than a day's journey ahead, and eventually tracked them to Paloh on the outskirts of Kuala Trengganu, to the compound of Ungku Saiyid.

Ungku Saiyid denied all knowledge of the fugitives and though the Sultan sent a search party to Paloh under Tengku Besar they returned to report that they had found no trace of the rebels and Clifford left for Singapore by the *Sea Belle* on June 10th. The Siamese Commissioners proved an obstruction rather than an aid and professed to have no authority in Trengganu, which in fact they had not.

Clifford formed the opinion that the Trengganu authorities assisted the rebels much more on account of a blind reliance on the wishes of Ungku Saiyid, who was universally believed to possess magic powers, than on account of sympathy for the Pahang men or hostility to the British. Ungku Saiyid had sworn in an unguarded moment to stand by the rebels when danger seemed far away, and since his oath had become a matter of public notoriety he could only break it at grave risk to his saintly and infallible reputation.

Although the expedition failed to capture the rebels, six of them including the ex-Orang Kaya of Semantan, surrendered themselves to Siamese officials in November 1895 and were taken to Bangkok and they never again troubled Pahang.

An important, though subsidiary result of this expedition was a long and detailed report of conditions prevailing in Trengganu which was prepared by Clifford shortly after his return.

Clifford describes the people of Trengganu as the most ingenious and among the most industrious Malays in the peninsula and estimated the population at approximately 100,000, which was forty per cent greater than that of Pahang. Of this total about 40,000 were circumcised Males and of these 8,000 were fishermen, 5,000 artisans and 26,000 agriculturists, the remaining 1,000 men being chiefs or their relatives and "hangers on".

The existence of a comparatively large manufacturing class in Trengganu was partly due to the interest and encouragement of Baginda Omar and partly to the existence of the Kelemang Falls, below which 44,500 out of a total of 45,000 inhabitants of the Trengganu river valley elected to live. Of this number about 12,000 occupied Kuala Trengganu and the villages in the immediate neighbourhood and 32,500 were crowded into the space between the falls and the capital. The chief articles of manufacture were silks, cotton fabrics, native weapons, metal and wood work. Of these the weaving was done exclusively by the women but the other articles of manufacture including white brass vessels (*Tem-baga puteh*) and fishing boats, were all made by the men.

The Agricultural class was chiefly engaged in the cultivation of rice, coconuts, sugar cane, fruit trees, gambir and vegetables, but approximately one third of the State's rice requirements were imported from Siam and the Straits. The price of rice on the coast was approximately \$2.50 a picul, rising to \$4.00 per picul up country.

Of the Trengganu fishermen Clifford records that their average monthly earning during the open season, from March to November, was eight dollars, and that of a working boat-owner who steered his own craft nearly double the amount. Several thousand piculs of fish were dried in the villages along the coast, seven eighths of which were exported to Singapore.

The currency of the State consisted of only two tin coins, one minted by the State and the other by the Capitan China—the official head of the Chinese community. The first of these, referred to as either *keping* or *pitis*, was a small round coin, the size and thickness of a letter wafer; the other, known as *jokoh*, was a little larger than the Straits Settlements copper cent and had a hole in the centre. These were specially coined for use in the Chinese gaming houses, but were legal tender in the capital and its immediate neighbourhood. Shortly before Clifford's visit three other varieties of coin had begun to make their appearance: the *keping bharu*, the token value of which was equal to ten of the old *pitis*, and two additional types of *jokoh* minted by the *Juru Bahasa* and the *Juru Tulis*—the Sultan's Chinese Interpreter and Chinese Scribe,—the right to do so being granted in lieu of other remuneration.

ration. These two new *Jokoh* differed slightly in weight and inscription from each other and from those minted by the Capitan. One dollar represented nine hundred and sixty *pitis* or *keping*, ninety six *keping bharu* or forty *jokoh*. Owing to the increased facilities for steam communication between Trengganu and Singapore the prices of produce had more than doubled during the fifteen years preceding Clifford's visit and the *pitis* was no longer being minted. The profit to be realised on the minting of the new *keping* piece was slightly over 245% and the right to mint 96,000 of this coin monthly was granted to Tungku Petri, daughter of the Sultan of Daik, recently wedded to the Sultan. A similar concession was granted to Inche Kelsom, the chief royal concubine, who was then the mother of the Sultan's only son, and from this source each of these ladies realised a monthly income of \$700.00, thus relieving the Sultan of the necessity of making any other provision for them.

Clifford estimated that there were \$10,000.00 worth of the old *pitis* in circulation and \$30,000.00 worth of the new *keping*, which were being added to at the rate of \$2,000.00 monthly, to which must be added an unknown number of counterfeit coins which through the ingenuity of the Trengganu artisan were exact imitations.

The Yen and the Mexican dollar were in common use, but notes were not legal tender. No gold was in use as currency, but the existence of gold currency in the past was suggested by the use of the word *amas* by natives of Trengganu to indicate a sum equivalent to twelve *keping bharu*, or 50 cents of a Mexican dollar.

The principle forms of taxation then prevailing were *Banchi* or Polltax and *Serah*. The polltax of one dollar per head was imposed by the Sultan on every circumcised male once in three years to defray the expenses connected with the sending of the '*bunga mas*' to Siam. The Rajas in charge of various districts were also empowered to collect a smaller polltax of 50 cents per head either annually or triennially, but usually preferred other and more productive methods of taxation.

Serah was managed in one of two ways: either a consignment of goods was sent to a village or an individual, and a price considerably in excess of that current in the markets was demanded in return, or else a sum of money was sent accompanied by a message informing the recipients that a fixed quantity of rubber or other jungle produce, altogether disproportionate to the sum received, was required in exchange.

In addition to these two sources of revenue, there was the traditional system of forced labour known as '*Krah*', which in

Trengganu was used as a means of providing the District Raja with free timber or jungle produce, which he disposed of in the open market.

In the coast districts, the principal source of State revenue was an export duty of \$1.00 per pikul of fish. The right to collect this duty was usually farmed out to locally born Chinese. About \$5,000.00 per annum was derived from an import duty on opium and a still smaller sum from the gaming farms since only Chinese were permitted to gamble.

The Sultan's own share in the revenue of the State was made up mainly from the duty levied on fish exported from Kuala Trengganu, from the duty on imports, from harbour dues, from coinage and from fines inflicted by the Courts of Justice.

Sultan Zainal Abidin did not personally administer justice, preferring to leave matters in the hands of Tengku Musa, who presided over the Court assisted by Tuan Hitam and Che Abdul Rahim. Of these Tengku Musa and Tuan Hitam, a Saiyid, were relatives of the Sultan and the latter acted as his Treasurer, while Abdul Rahim was his principal confidential adviser.

Court revenue was of two varieties, the fees of Court, the *pembasoh balai*, (literally the money paid for cleansing the State Hall after the hearing of a case has soiled it) and the fines which were inflicted for almost every offence. Clifford recorded that he was convinced that the Sultan was a just ruler and remained unaware of the things which were done in his name.

Fines were usually fixed according to the wealth of the offender and a reputation for affluence was liable to cause its possessor to be charged and convicted for an imaginary offence, since in many cases a large part of the fine was retained by the Court Officials. Adequate proof of guilt was seldom required, in practice no appeal was possible from the decisions of the Courts either at the capital or in the districts and the Courts existed mainly as a means by which revenue could be exacted.

When fines or debts to the State could not be paid, the persons by whom they were due were placed in the *penjara* or prison, until payment was made by their relatives or by others who desired to purchase them as slaves.

Clifford visited the prison in Kuala Trengganu on April 22, 1895 and his description reads as follows:

It consists of an enclosure, built in the very centre of the Kedai Tanjong—one of the most crowded portions of the town—surrounding the cages in which the prisoners are confined. The prison is built of heavy slabs of wood

some 3 inches thick, 2 feet broad, and 10 feet high, which are fitted together so as to form a solid wall. Inside this fence, and at a distance of 30 inches from it, are two rows of cages placed back to back, which are made of heavy bars of wood with intervals of a couple of inches or so in every eight for the admission of light and air. These cages are raised about 6 inches from the ground, and measure some 6 feet in length, 2 feet in width, and 5 feet in height. The cages are 20 in all, that is to say 10 in each row, and when I visited the 'pen-jara' it was fairly full, in one instance two men being confined in the same cage. Prisoners once condemned to incarceration are not again released until the money for which they are detained has been paid by their relatives, or until death sets them free. When I say that they are not released, I mean that they are literally never permitted to leave the cages in which they have been placed. No sanitary arrangements of any kind are provided; no one ever cleans out the cages; and the space between the floor and the ground, and the interval which separates the cells from the surrounding fence, is therefore a seething mass of excrement and maggots. Owing to the heavy bars which form the sides of the cages, the close proximity of the prisoners to one another, and the solid wooden wall which shuts out all ventilation, the atmosphere inside must be something appalling, for even in the spaces between the cages and the fence—a comparatively airy spot—it is calculated to turn the strongest stomach. To add to their misery, no bathing appliances of any kind are supplied to the prisoners, and the filthy persons of the inmates of these cells beggar all description."

Similar prisons were said to exist at Kemaman, Dungun, Stiu and Besut.

All police duty at the capital was carried out by an irregular force of *Budak Raja* (Sultan's Young Men), under Tengku Yusuf, a distant cousin of the Sultan. These young men received no pay, but obtained what money they could by levies from persons detected in crime or by blackmail. From this brief account of conditions in the State in 1895 it will be seen that by delegating his authority to his relatives and underlings the Sultan had placed his people at the mercy of men who used every available means to oppress them.

The Trengganu Malays were essentially men of peaceful disposition and were both reluctant and ill equipped with the means to make their miseries known to their ruler, they were moreover the most zealous Muslims in the peninsula.

The Sultan set an example to his people by the strict observance of the letter of Islamic Law and not only attend the chief Mosque in person but never missed the five hours of prayer, and enforced a similar observance on his people. As a result it was rare to find a circumcised male in Trengganu who had not read the Kuran from end to end, and since the Malay characters are the same as the Arabic, a youth of average intelligence who had mastered the Kuran had little difficulty in acquiring the art of reading and writing his own language.

Clifford left Kuala Trengganu for Singapore by the *Sea Belle* on June 10, 1895, and the remainder of his small force was recalled a week later. In the conclusions at the end of his report he emphasised the view that the Siamese would neglect no opportunity to strengthen their influence in Trengganu, and that the Malays of the East Coast would interpret any further action taken by the British through the agency of the Siamese as being dictated by fear of Siam.

A year later, in April 1896, Sultan Zainal Abidin paid his first visit to Siam, travelling in a Siamese warship named the *Mukut*. He was accompanied by twenty of his chiefs and relatives including Tengku Besar, Tengku Chik Malacca, Tengku Chik Abu Bakar, Tengku Peters, Tengku Embong Musa and Tengku Musa bin Tengku Panglima Besar. Fifty seven other persons were also included in the entourage.

The Sultan appointed Tengku Chik Besar to conduct the affairs of State in his absence, assisted by Tengku Dalam, Tengku Chik Besut and Saiyid Mustafa bin Mohd. Idrus.

The King of Siam received the Sultan with every mark of friendship and presented his royal guest with a gold sheathed sword, a Siamese sailing boat and 2,000 kor (Siamese currency). Many of the Trengganu chiefs also received gifts and the party returned after twenty three days absence greatly impressed by Siamese hospitality and gratified by an assurance given by Bangkok officials that the Siamese King had never before shown such favour to any other Malay ruler.

The Sultan continued to take an active interest in external affairs: in November 1898 he visited Singapore, travelling in a warship lent for this purpose by the King of Siam, and in August 1899, he received a visit from the Sultan of Kelantan. In 1902 he received two visits from the governor of the Straits Settlements, Sir Fank Swettenham; the first in September and the second six weeks later. During his visit Sir Frank Swettenham enquired from the Sultan whether he referred matters of state to the King of Siam before or after reaching a decision to which the Sultan replied that he kept the King informed of the progress of state affairs, but invariably made his own independent decisions. The particular purpose of the governor's visit was to discuss with the Sultan a draft agreement which had been prepared in London by Lord Lansdowne and the Siamese Special Commissioner in England, PHYA SRI SAHADEB, and to which the Sultan's signature was intended to be affixed.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, when British protection was extended to Selangor, Negri Sembilan, Perak and

Pahang, Siam was anxious to establish a definite claim to suzerainty over Kelantan and Trengganu, and the purpose of this agreement was to place their claim on official record.

At no time had any treaty or written agreement been entered into between Siam and either of the two States, but in the lengthy negotiations which were conducted at this period between Great Britain and Siam there was a persistent tendency to assume that both Kelantan and Trengganu were already dependencies of Siam. In a declaration attached to the draft agreement which Sir Frank Swettenham brought with him on his visit, the preamble read "The State of Trengganu has been recognised to be a dependency of Siam".

The close relationship with Bangkok which had been such a feature of Sultan Zainal Abidin's reign may well have given Great Britain grounds for misunderstanding but, although the Sultan of Kelantan signed the agreement during Swettenham's visit to Kota Bahru, the Sultan of Trengganu refused to accept either the English version or the Siamese version which had been sent from Bangkok.

The main terms of the 1902 agreement were an engagement by the Sultan to have no dealings with any foreign power except through the medium of the Siamese, an undertaking by the Sultan to pay the salary of an Adviser and Assistant Adviser to be appointed by the Siamese, whose advice he was to follow on all matters of administration other than those touching on the Mohammedan religion and Malay custom. The King of Siam for his part was to undertake not to interfere in the internal administration of the State so long as peace and order were maintained and so long as it was governed for the benefit of its inhabitants.

Prior to the signing of the agreement in London Sir Frank Swettenham had pressed for direct negotiation with the two Malay States but his advice had been rejected.

Swettenham's account of his visit includes the following passage:—

"I sent on shore to tell the Sultan and he sent back an officer inviting me to land which I did at 2 p.m. I was received by a guard of spearmen and a salute was fired then and when I left at about 5 p.m.

The Sultan is an extraordinarily reserved man very silent and a very devout Mohammedan. His method is never to commit himself to anything and this line of policy has so far completely checkmated the Siamese and practically kept Europeans out of the country. I think Mr. John Anderson, the senior partner of Guthrie & Company, Singapore, is the only European who has ever obtained and worked a concession in Trengganu.



Almarhom Sultan Zainal Abidin III ibni Almarhom Sultan Ahmad, K.C.M.G.
(Posthumous title, Marhum Haji).



Almarhom Sultan Suleiman Badrul Alam Shah ibni Almarhom Sultan Zainal Abidin III, K.C.M.G.



Sultan Ismail ibni Almarhom Sultan Zainal Abidin III, C.M.G.



J. L. Humphreys, C.B.E., M.C.S.

The Sultan is a poor man and though very little is known of his country I fancy it is neither rich nor populous but there probably are some paying tin fields near the borders of Pahang.

I give the purport of my conversation with the Sultan below and when I had once got him to speak at all on the subject of his relations with the Siamese, I was rather surprised at the freedom with which he discussed the question. From his point of view the Siamese are friends or acquaintances and nothing more and it is quite evident that his object is to stand aloof and to have no closer connection with any power.

Whilst I was in Trengganu I heard (but not from the Sultan) that when the Sultan was last in Bangkok he had been told that the Siamese Government would lend him \$2,000,000 and that he could have \$500,000 as advance. This was a large sum to a poor man and it is a credit to him that he declined it.

It would probably be no exaggeration to say that the Siamese have as little to do with the Administration of Trengganu as they have with that of Singapore. The Sultan of Trengganu sends to Bangkok once in three years the Bunga Mas and as he carefully explained to me yesterday, he received equivalent presents in return. The custom has obtained for over 100 years. The present Sultan of Trengganu who has ruled for 20 years has visited Bangkok I think on two occasions and when yesterday I said something about this he reminded me that he and his predecessors also visited Singapore and that he had been there less than three years ago as guest of the Straits government.

There is not now and never has been a single Siamese official in Trengganu nor have the Siamese ever exercised any authority in that state. According to the Sultan and his chiefs the Siamese have never in any shape or form interfered in the administration of Trengganu nor has there ever been any kind of treaty agreement or arrangement written or verbal between Trengganu and Siam.

It has been suggested to me that Siam's best claim (to sovereignty) rests upon the action of the British Government first in asking for Siamese help to arrest the Pahang rebels when they escaped into Kelantan and Trengganu and more recently when the Boundary agreement was made in November 1899, as it does not appear that Trengganu was consulted in the settlement of the Pahang—Trengganu frontier."

Since Sultan Zainal Abidin had courageously refused to sign either the English or the harsher Siamese version of the agreement in 1902, Trengganu retained her independence, but Kelantan received two Englishmen, Graham and Thomson, appointed by the Siamese Government, as Adviser and Assistant Adviser in 1903. Graham had been in the service of the Siamese government for a number of years and was inevitably prejudiced in favour of the Siamese. Neither officer could speak Malay.

The Sultan and his circle of advisers in the Trengganu capital were alarmed by the uncertainty of the situation and the possibility of further pressure being exerted by Siam, but four years passed without any further developments, and on the 15th

December 1907, the Sultan celebrated his Jubilee, the completion of twenty-five years as an independent ruler on the Trengganu throne.

For three nights every town and village was illuminated with lanterns and small lamps while a feast was prepared at the various mosques. The Sultan marked the occasion by conferring new titles on four of his officials; 'Che Embong bin Shahbandar Jaafar became Dato Shahbandar, 'Che Yusof bin Panglima Perang Musa became Panglima Perang Kiri, Wan Hamid bin Said received the title of Dato Sangsura Pahlawan and 'Che Othman bin Idris was given the title of Panglima Muda.

On the third day of the celebrations the Sultan received an address of congratulation from his officials and subjects at his palace, the Estana Maziah which he had built in 1895. Tengku Mahmud was deputed to read the Sultan's reply in which he thanked his people for their loyalty.

The Sultan's eldest son, Tengku Muhammad was then twenty years of age and was already taking a share in state affairs. Two other princes had been born, Tengku Sulaiman and Tengku Ismail, the former in 1894 and the latter earlier in the year of the Sultan's jubilee. Two other sons, Tengku Ahmad and Tengku Mahmud were born subsequently: all five princes were borne by different consorts; 'Che Kelsom bore Tengku Muhammad, Tengku Sulaiman's mother was 'Che Asiah, the mother of Tengku Ismail was 'Che Maimunah a Siamese lady, 'Che Zainab bore Tengku Ahmad and Tengku Mahmud's mother was Tengku Mandak, a daughter of Tengku Mustapha and great grand-daughter of Tengku Idris one of Baginda Omar's trusted friends.

Some idea of the expansion in trade and of the development of Trengganu during the Sultan's reign may be gained from the records of the year 1910 which have survived: an extensive export trade existed with Kelantan, Siam, Indo China and Borneo of which no records are available, but in 1910 the total value of exports to Singapore was \$1,513,914. The grand total must have reached a much larger figure since 439 port clearances were issued during the year to vessels leaving Trengganu for northern and other destinations as compared with 161 port clearances for vessels bound for Singapore. Fish, tin and copra were the principal exports to Singapore: the fish so exported was valued at \$464,288, the tin at \$313,177 representing 6,000 pikuls and the copra at \$281,813. All the tin was mined in the south of the State mainly in the Kemaman area, Bundi lode mine being the principal source.

This expansion did not benefit the State revenue to the extent which might be expected owing to the system of farming out

much of the proceeds for a number of years at a time. It was to be one of the first tasks of the British Agent on his appointment in 1910 to explore ways and means of reorganising of State finance.

Sir Frank Swettenham retired from the post of Governor of the Straits Settlements on January 13, 1904, to the relief of the Siamese. He had been a staunch upholder of the interests of the East Coast Malays and had received applications for British protection from the Rajas of Patani, Sai and Reman before he left Singapore.

For six years the position of Trengganu continued to be a subject for desultory diplomatic negotiation, but eventually on March 10, 1909, a Treaty between Great Britain and Siam was signed at Bangkok by Mr Ralph Paget, the British Minister, the terms of which were not apparently conveyed to Trengganu until after signatures had been affixed in the Siamese capital. Article One of the Treaty read:—

“Transfer of Kelantan, Trengganu, Kedah, Perlis and Adjacent Islands to Great Britain.

The Siamese Government transfers to the British Government all rights of suzerainty, protection and administration and control whatsoever which they possess over the states of Kelantan, Trengganu, Kedah, Perlis and adjacent islands”.

Other articles referred to the Delimitation of the Anglo-Siamese boundary, Public Debt of ceded territories and Abolition of Consular Jurisdiction in Siam, and simultaneously with the Treaty was signed an agreement between the Government of the Federated Malay States and the “Railway Department of the Kingdom of Siam” whereby the Federated Malay States granted Siam a loan of four million pounds to be devoted to the construction of railways in that country.

W. L. Conlay, on behalf of the British Government, accepted the transfer of suzerainty of Trengganu from a Siamese Commissioner, acting on behalf of the Siamese Government in the presence of the Sultan of Trengganu and his principal officials on July 14, 1909. Conlay emphasised that Great Britain was not responsible for the omission by the Siamese Government to inform Trengganu of the terms of transfer of alleged suzerainty.

Finally on April 22, 1910, an agreement between Great Britain and Trengganu was completed providing for mutual help, extradition of offenders, protection of Trengganu by Great Britain against attacks, prohibition of political dealings by Trengganu with any foreign power without the consent of Great Britain and

the appointment of a British officer to reside in Trengganu and to be an Agent with functions similar to those of a consular officer.

VI.

The Growth of the Modern State (1910—1945).

In the years that followed the 1909 Treaty, an improved system of administration was gradually introduced.

The Annual Reports of the British Agent provide a chronicle of slow but steady development of administrative and financial progress, which in spite of its novelty was accepted and applied with a minimum of friction. Sultan Zainal Abidin took the initiative himself when on November 2, 1911, he introduced the *Undang-Undang Tuboh Negri* which, in a document containing fifty-three clauses, provided a written constitution for the State.

A census was taken throughout the State on the 10th March 1911 and a total of 154,073 persons were enumerated, of whom 149,379 were Malays and ten were European. The High Commissioner, Sir Arthur Young, visited Trengganu on October 9th, 1911 and invested the Sultan with the Insignia of a Knight Commander of the Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George, which had been conferred on His Highness on the occasion of the coronation of His Majesty King George V. His Highness's supporters were the Tengku Besar of Pahang, C.M.G. and E. L. Brockman, C.M.G.

In December 1911, a telephone line (the first in the State) was erected connecting the Post Office with the Sultan's Istana and with the quarters of the British Agent, which had been completed in August of the same year.

Sultan Zainal Abidin paid his first visit to Besut on June 13th, 1912, accompanied by the British Agent and also inspected the Perhentian and Redang islands. Besut possessed an evil reputation as a refuge for bad characters from Kelantan and Trengganu; cattle stealing, robbery with arms and boat stealing were common, and in the absence of a regular Police Force proved impossible to control effectively.

Two months later the Kelantan delegates on the Trengganu and Kelantan Boundary Commission arrived at Besut and commenced their work accompanied by the British Agent. A final settlement of the boundary was arrived at in November 1913.

The year 1912 saw the commencement of various other improvements: land settlement in Kuala Trengganu was begun, 4½

miles of new roads were laid in the town and work commenced on a road to Kuala Ibai, the organised collection of town refuse was begun, and the Sultan abolished the shipping toll known as "*Laboh Batu*" which had been collected from time immemorial on all Chinese junks arriving at or sailing from the capital. On arrival this toll was collected in kind—(usually rice and salt)—and on clearing the Port, in cash, varying from \$15.00 to \$35.00 per junk. This toll had been divided into twenty shares which were distributed as follows:—H.H. the Sultan 6 shares, the Yang di-Pertuan Muda 4 shares, the Datoh Bandar, the Capitan China and the Jurubahasa 2 shares each, Haji Ngah, Enche Mat, the Jurubahasa's son and the Dato Mata-Mata 1 share each.

In the same year agreements were signed by the Sultan providing for the mutual rendition of fugitive criminals between the State of Trengganu, the Straits Settlements, the Federated Malay States, other Protected States, and the Kingdom of Siam.

On the 8th October, 1913, Sultan Zainal Abidin, whose lifelong devotion to religion was already notable, sailed from Singapore on a pilgrimage to Mecca, accompanied by a suite of fifteen persons, among whom were his private secretary Haji Ngah, who had been given the title of Dato Sri Amar di-Raja, Tengku Abdullah bin Tengku Abbas, who was a cousin of the Sultan, Tengku Husain (Tengku Pekerma) and a young grandson.

During the Sultan's absence his eldest son, Tengku Muhammad, was appointed Regent and administered the country with the help of the State Council, on which the British Agent was then for the first time given a seat. In February 1913 Tengku Muhammad had been given a "*Kuasa Negri*"—granting him full administrative power and he took over the revenues of all the rivers from the territorial chiefs, promising compensation at a later date.

Although the Sultan was taken seriously ill in Cairo he made a complete recovery and was given a tumultuous welcome on his return. His Highness possessed an unflagging interest in external developments and in addition to annual visits to Singapore and a visit to Kuala Kangsar and Kuala Lumpur, which he made before proceeding to Mecca, he travelled to Kelantan in 1914 and spent several days at the guest of the Sultan, he also visited Kemaman accompanied by his second son, Tengku Sulaiman, and inspected the tin mine at Bundi. On this visit the Sultan refused the offer of a motor launch to convey him up river, and the locomotive at the river bank to draw his wheeled conveyance, preferring to be rowed by the raiyat and electing to travel from the river bank to the mine on a trolley pushed by the villagers.

The Sultan was accompanied on his travels, other than the pilgrimage, by his personal bodyguard, H. Gild, an Australian, who was given the title of Dato by the Sultan in 1913 and became his confidential adviser. Gild took an active part in tin prospecting, notably at Bukit Tawang at the head of the Trengganu river, and introduced the first motor car into the State, he also opened a dispensary at a time when no Government medical services were provided.

The greatest obstacle to administrative expansion was the system of farming out many of the main sources of revenue to the material advantage of those who obtained the farms and at increasing loss to the State. As an example, land revenue, which in Kelantan brought in \$133,000 in 1913, realised only \$4,620 in Trengganu in 1914. This situation was aggravated by the grant of concessions over very large areas of land to persons who had neither capital nor credit and were incapable of developing the land so acquired. In 1914 the rent payable on these concessions, which covered several hundred square miles was \$5,795, of which only \$4,045 was paid.

One of the evil results of this system was a consequent inability to pay adequate salaries to Government officers and subordinates. For example in 1916, the monthly salary of the Head of Chandu Monopoly Department was \$125/-, the State Secretary and the State Engineer were paid \$100/- each, the Chief Justice and the Chief Police Officer \$75/- each, and the wages of Police rank and file varied from \$7/- to \$9/- per month.

The task of reorganisation was the more difficult owing to the absence of persons possessed of even elementary education to fill administrative posts and to undertake the considerable responsibilities which fell to their lot as soon as the collection of revenue ceased to be made through tax farmers or concession holders.

By great good fortune J. L. Humphreys was transferred from Muar, where he had been Assistant Adviser, to Trengganu in November 1915 and for the next ten years, with one interval for long leave, he carried out the delicate and difficult task of guiding the Sultan and his advisers and chiefs through a period in which more revolutionary and beneficial changes took place than at any other time in Trengganu history.

The debt which is owed by the State to this talented administrator is incalculable. His personality, foresight, tact and determination enabled him to bring about reforms and expansion in almost every branch of the administration, and after nearly thirty years absence his name is still fresh in the memories of all with whom he came in contact. His untimely end, as a result of

pneumonia while on holiday in Tientsin in December 1929, after winning the China Golf Championship, was deeply mourned in Trengganu, and a memorial, in the form of a sundial, was erected near to the Government Offices in 1933. His portrait, painted in oil, hangs in the State Secretariat to this day, having been carefully preserved during the Japanese occupation.

The administration was in the hands of the State Council which in 1917 consisted of twenty-four members, all officials or ex-officials, including the eight Mentri who formed an inner council. The decisions of the council required the approval of the Sultan and the Raja Muda which were rarely refused. Haji Ngah, who proved to be Humphreys's staunchest supporter in the work of effecting administrative reforms, was appointed Chief Mentri during the year. 1917 saw a notable increase in State revenue mainly as a result of the abolition of the Opium Farm and of the Import and Export Duty Farm which had been urged by successive British Agents. These two reforms provided an immediate increase of \$180,000 for the year and enabled salaries of officials and subordinates to be appreciably increased. A financial committee was appointed and visited all the districts, and State Estimates and a Civil List were prepared and approved for the first time. Humphreys's comment on this innovation reads: "This marks a very definite advance in the administration of the state. Hitherto the demands on the Treasury by the numerous members of the Ruling House have only been limited by the balance available: all future additions to the Civil List will require the sanction of the State Council."

In his report for the year 1917 Humphreys points out that Trengganu was then the only Malay State under British Protection in which the custom of debts slavery openly continued. The number of debt slaves in Trengganu was estimated at no less than six thousand, and since, with rare exceptions, the work done by a debt slave was not calculated as a means of reduction of the debt, but only as interest on the money lent, the number showed no signs of decreasing. Humphreys persuaded the Sultan and his ministers to agree to the abolition of the system and this was finally put into effect in 1919.

A man of Humphreys's character and charm not unnaturally won the confidence of many people of all classes, and he became increasingly aware of the unsatisfactory conditions which continued to exist, notably in the Kemaman region. This knowledge was supplemented as a result of a prolonged tour of all the districts which he made in September and October 1918 in company with Haji Ngah, Tengku Embong, Che Da Omar the head of the Chandu Monopoly Department, and Haji Wan Sulaiman the Chief Justice.

The history of the Kemaman area, owing to its remoteness from the State Headquarters is not mentioned in court records, but a note by the first Malay State Commissioner, Kemaman, written in 1924, reads as follows:—

"In the time of Sultan Parit of Trengganu (Sultan Ahmad I. 1808-1827) the Kemaman district was ruled by a certain Lebai Saris, whose authority for his position was however merely his own influence and wealth. He had come from Patani, and he was the first man to settle at Kampong Nyior (in Kemaman river about 6 miles from the mouth) where he made a clearing and settlement.

"Lebai Saris had a son named 'Che Abu Bakar who was a celebrated warrior. He used to give himself airs as though he were a Sultan. At the padi season he used to build a great pavilion of State in which he used to sit, from whence he would visit the various padi plantings carried in a litter by some of the men who owed allegiance to him. He paid no attention to any instructions received from the Sultan in Trengganu, but merely set them at defiance. Before very long however the Sultan ordered a certain Engku Kembal, a foreign Malay to arrest 'Che Abu Bakar and Lebai Saris, and both of them were arrested and sentenced.

"There followed a series of headmen over the district until we come to the time of Dato Kaya Penglima Hassan. He was a man named Hassan, and he received his title from the Sultan. It was he who made the first clearing and started the village of Chukai. Shortly after his death at Kemaman, the district came under the sway of Tengku Wot, who was sent there by Tengku Puteri, consort of Sultan Parit, the district having been generously presented to her by the Sultan as a marriage portion. At this time there was a famous Chinese trader at Kemaman called Cheong Teng commonly known as 'Che Teng. When he died he was buried on the hill in Kemaman town which is now known as Bukit 'Che Teng.

"Soon after the death of Tengku Wot, Kemaman was governed by Enche Mat (Dato Bentara Haji) by the Sultan's command, but after 4 months he was recalled to Trengganu and was succeeded in the Government of Kemaman by Tengku Yusof. In his day a wooden fort was built and a boom in the river at the point of Tanjong Chukai: the fort was fitted with cannon. In consequence of this Tengku Yusof was recalled to Trengganu and Kemaman was given by the Sultan temporarily to Enche Wan Ngah, a Kemaman man. The substantive authority however was conferred soon afterwards on Enche Abdul Rahman bin Musa a Trengganu man, and Enche Burok bin Khatib Ismail, with equal authority. Enche Abdul Rahman administered the Kuala while 'Che Burok used to look after the river places, as he had some knowledge of Mining. They both received an annual dole from the Sultan in the form of rice. It was from the enterprise of 'Che Burok in touring the country side that tin was discovered at Bundi and at Sungei Ayam. These mines were worked by 'Che Burok with the assistance of a headman called Tan A Pok, a Hokkien. The capital for coolies' wages was supplied by the Sultan and the profits belonged to him.

"In the days of 'Che Burok the mines were found and opened up in this district. Soon afterwards 'Che Burok became blind, but such was his success and fame that he continued in his official position. It was at this time that Tengku Hitam bin Tengku Derahim came to Kemaman for purposes of trade. He managed to obtain favour with 'Che Burok at whose request he was

appointed by the Sultan (Ahmad) to the Government of Kemaman. Enche Abdul Rahman left and went to live at Gebang in a sulk.

"After the death of Sultan Ahmad, Tengku Hitam was recalled and 'Che Abdul Rahman returned to Kemaman from Gebang and held office in conjunction with Tuan Merat of Beserah. His official acts and decisions are not set down here as they are already on record.

"About three years after that Kemaman came under the rule of Tengku Muda—Tengku Penglima, and he sent 'Che Abdulrahman bin Isahak, now Dato Lela, to live in the district and carry on the administration of Kemaman, and Kijal as well, a sub-district which lies to the North of Kuala Kemaman.

"In 1332 'Che Drahman received a letter of authority (tauliah) officially appointing him as Commissioner of State (Pesuruhjaya), and in that year a Court and other Government departments were stated."

As a result of annual reports submitted by successive British Agents, the High Commissioner appointed a commission consisting of Sir John Bucknill, K.C., Hayes Marriott, and F. M. Elliott, with J. W. Simmons as Secretary, to visit Trengganu in September 1918 and to enquire into the administration of the Kemaman District, the administration of the Trengganu goal, and the action of the Trengganu Police and the Trengganu Court in the case of rape committed by Said Mohamed (nephew of the famous Ungku Said of Paloh) upon Tengku Selamah, a debt slave of Tungku Embong Musa, a nephew of the Sultan. Dr J. Argyll Campbell, Professor of Medicine, King Edward VII Medical College, Singapore, N. M. Hashim, Senior Malay Interpreter to the Supreme Court, Singapore, and J. T. Handy, private secretary to the Chief Justice, Singapore, accompanied the expedition.

In a detailed report which covered 34 printed pages excluding appendices, the Commission made clear the existence of serious abuses and the general backwardness of Trengganu Administration. The following extract from the section dealing with the administration of Kemaman is representative of the general contents:—

"The head of the District is 'Che Abdul Rahman bin Isahak. He has held the post for 30 years and is now about 55 years old. In this evidence before the Commission he gives his theory of the administration of the district. From his own statement, as well as from the distance which separates Kemaman from headquarters, it may be taken that he is the virtual ruler of the district. His salary until 1918 did not exceed \$70/- per month but this year was increased to \$150/-; the evidence taken however indicates very forcibly that these emoluments have been substantially amplified by 'borrowings' from well to do Chinese, fines, betting on cock fighting and so forth. There is nothing in this at which to be surprised: what perhaps is, on first thoughts, somewhat remarkable is the docility with which the raiat submit to it.

"'Che Abdul Rahman stated before the Commission that he had for some time officiated as Judge or Magistrate and that no one in the district, since the death in 1917 of the previous Magistrate, Tungku Ismail, had any other

judicial powers. The facts, however, really appeared to be that the Registrar of the Court had been sitting as Magistrate on Che Abdul Rahman's instructions, whom he consulted as to the sentences passed or to be imposed. The impropriety of a system under which sentences are imposed or varied capriciously by a person not even present at the trial is too obvious to require further comment. The evidence of the Registrar, the admissions of the "*Budak Raja*" (plain clothes, unpaid police) as to their proceedings at Bundi mine, and the evidence given by the Judge, 'Che Nik, in the enquiry into the case of rape at Trengganu will show that such conditions are not unusual and that the Judiciary (such as it is) is in but small degree, if at all, independent of the Executive.

"That 'Che Abdul Rahman should treat the police force as a body of personal retainers is quite natural, and the irregularities of the *budak raja* at Bundi and elsewhere are entirely due to this fact.

"The main complaints which we received as to the action of the *budak raja* came from Bundi. The Commission spent much time in investigating these complaints, and the evidence recorded on the subject is voluminous..... a recital of the facts in one particular case may be looked upon as typical of the behaviour of the *budak raja* at any suitable locality throughout the district.

"In May 1917 two *budak raja* named Wan Awang and Awang Rimpin visited Bundi on the 'Che Abdul Rahman's instructions. One night at 2 a.m. they went armed with kris and pistol to Tasek, a neighbouring village, where the Malay woodcutters of the mine live, and proceeding to the house of one Merah, who was absent in search of a stray buffalo, loudly hailed the inmates. Sadiyah (Merah's wife) was sleeping inside a room: and Karim (Sadiyah's brother-in-law) and Isahak (Karim's cousin) were sleeping outside on the verandah. Wan Awang went up into the house and into Sadiyah's room and told her that she must consider herself as being under arrest, alleging that she had misconducted herself with Karim. They ordered her to accompany them to Bundi, but as she pleaded pregnancy, they eventually permitted her to remain in her house. Karim they led away. Two days later at Bundi, Awang Rimpin purported to 'try' the case. He took his seat as Judge in the house of a Chinese named Leong Teng and fined Sadiyah and Karim \$60 - each, finding them guilty on a charge of adultery. The proceedings were farcical: there were no witnesses: both parties strenuously protested their innocence. Sadiyah's husband, Merah, who had in the meantime returned, asserted that he did not for one moment believe the charge, and that he had himself left Karim in charge of the house. Karim had lived as a lodger with Merah on and off for many years. Such, however, is the awe with which the *budak raja* are regarded that Sadiyah and Karim had no thought of disputing the penalty: the matter came to light simply because they applied to the mine manager for an advance of wages to pay the fines."

The main conclusion of the Commission was that no satisfactory or permanent improvement could be hoped for without the fuller measure of British control which already existed in the other Protected States. The High Commissioner agreed with this conclusion and after some months of negotiation the Sultan visited Singapore and on May 24th, 1919, signed, with Sir Arthur Young, an agreement repealing Article II of the Treaty of 22nd April 1910 and substituting for it a new article which read:

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"His Highness the Sultan of Trengganu will receive and provide a suitable residence for a British officer to be called the British Adviser, who shall live within the State of Trengganu and whose advice must be asked and acted upon in all matters affecting the general administration of the country and all questions other than those touching the Muhammedan Religion.

"The cost of the British Adviser with his establishment shall be determined by His Excellency the High Commissioner and be a charge on the Revenues of Trengganu.

"The collection and disbursement of all Revenues of the country shall be regulated under the advice of the British Adviser."

It was noted as an omen of complete accord that by a strange coincidence the 24th day of May (the date of the signature) corresponded according to Trengganu reckoning with the 24th day of lunar month of Sha'aban.

Largely as a result of the tact and personality of Humphreys, who became the first British Adviser, the change to the new regime was smooth, and progress was mainly delayed by the absence of trained officers and educated subordinates. Even in May 1920 the British Adviser was still the only European officer in the State.

Shortly after the commission had left Trengganu, to the consternation and deep sorrow of his subjects, by whom he was genuinely revered, Sultan Zainal Abidin died on 26 November 1918 after a very short illness. He was fifty-four years of age. The epidemic of influenza which swept through many parts of the world after the first World War visited Kuala Trengganu and caused wide-spread distress. Palace records show that His Highness, though in poor health, personally distributed alms to the relatives of those who died during the epidemic and continued this practice until the day of his death. The notable progress which was achieved during his reign must be attributed in large measure to his enlightened outlook and wide interests, while the deficiencies were a legacy from his forebears, of which, owing to his lifelong concentration on religious study, he was largely unaware.

The Yang di-Pertuan Muda, Tengku Muhammad succeeded his father as Sultan Muhammad II and it was with him that the High Commissioner negotiated the revision of the Treaty in 1919. Temperamentally the new Ruler was ill suited to the altered status which followed the appointment of a British Adviser, and after a short reign of eighteen months he announced his decision to abdicate in favour of his younger brother, Tengku Muda Sulaiman, on May 26th, 1920. Tengku Sulaiman did all in his power to persuade his brother not to take this step, but without success, and the Mentris proclaimed Tengku Sulaiman Sultan later the same day. The ex-Sultan withdrew to Singapore where he remained until the Japanese conquest of Malaya in 1942.

During the year 1920 three additional European officers arrived to strengthen the State administration: Major H. S. Paterson arrived in July to act as Assistant Adviser, Captain A. C. Campbell Rogers was appointed State Engineer in August, and Mr E. Cheers arrived to take up the appointment of Commissioner of Police in October.

The revenue for the year was the highest in the history of Trengganu and totalled \$970,541, compared with an expenditure (limited by the absence of experienced officials) of \$757,645.

With the appointment of an experienced officer as Commissioner of Police, one of the most urgently needed reforms was at last undertaken. The activities of the '*budak raja*' have already been mentioned, and although a small force of Police had been in existence in the capital for ten years, they had received no training, were inadequately and sometimes belatedly paid—(on one occasion in 1916 their pay was three months in arrears and many of the men were compelled to abandon their duties and seek a livelihood as fishermen). No rules or regulations existed and their officers possessed neither the experience nor the ability to supply the deficiencies.

In 1917 the Force consisted of 53 non-commissioned officers and men divided up between the eight districts, under the control of local Magistrates and not subordinate to the Commissioner of Police. The personnel were mainly drawn from local Malays of doubtful character or from ex-police constables who had been dismissed for offences committed in other States. As a result members of the police force appeared frequently before the criminal courts as accused and on one occasion a policeman was discovered in the act of breaking open the Court safe. A system of privilege in favour of influential offenders was also prevalent.

Crimes of violence were common, and parts of the central Trengganu plain in particular were so infested with thieves that cattle and poultry could not be kept, crops were reaped and stolen by night and even graves were rifled. Other factors which contributed to the prevalence of crime were the decay of the system of appointing village headmen, the insufficient deterrence of Muhammadan law as administered in Trengganu and the prohibition of carrying arms which left the peasants without protection against bad characters.

Humphreys proceeded on richly deserved leave on 26th February 1921 and was absent from the State for fifteen months. On the night of his departure the launch in which he was travelling out to his ship overturned on the bar in rough water. Six Chinese who were in the launch were drowned, and Humphreys,

though he succeeded in swimming ashore, narrowly avoided a similar fate and lost all his baggage.

1922 saw further important developments. A Medical Department was formed and a European Medical Officer, Dr. A. B. Jesser Coope was seconded from the Straits Settlements. Prior to this there were no State medical services other than two small out-patients dispensaries at Kuala Trengganu and Kemaman in the charge of unqualified men, and some years earlier when the British Agent fell a victim to Cholera he treated himself using Dr. Gimlett's book as his guide. A telegraph line was constructed linking Kuala Trengganu with Kuantan in Pahang, and was opened on 18th March with a message of congratulation from the High Commissioner; a P.W.D. office and workshop were built and equipped by the Director, D. H. Laidlaw; the principal rivers were mapped and road traces were investigated; a new Police Station was erected in Kuala Trengganu and at Kertai, the number of vernacular schools in the State was increased to twelve with a total enrolment of 560, compared with a total of four in 1920, and Trengganu made a notable contribution to the Malaya-Borneo Exhibition, winning many prizes and diplomas in the Arts and Crafts and Forestry sections.

In spite of a general trade depression which first became evident in the 1921 revenue figures, the policy of introducing long needed reforms and expansion was maintained. This was made possible by the loan of one million dollars to the State by the Straits Settlements Government in 1923. Nearly one quarter of this sum was used to redeem eight of the Ruling House concession covering 400,000 acres of land. There were in all twelve of these concessions, covering an area of 700,000 acres, which had been given out by Sultan Zaiual Abidin III and which included three quarters of the known mining land in the State. Arrangements for the surrender of these concessions were made by a committee consisting of the British Adviser, the Mentri and two members of the State Council, and increased prospecting activity followed immediately.

With the arrival of J. E. Kempe, M.C.S., as the first Commissioner of Lands in February 1923, a Settlement Enactment was drafted to enable land ownership to be determined and a policy of collecting land rents annually was prepared and agreed to by the Sultan in Council, at the same time the first Reconnaissance Survey of the State was begun, the cost of which was paid from the loan.

In May 1925, after nearly ten years close association with Trengganu, Humphreys left the State on transfer to Kedah. He was awarded the C.B.E. on the occasion of the King's birthday in

recognition of his work. He combined the best attributes of an administrator and he was subsequently appointed Governor of British North Borneo. His exceptional knowledge of the Malay language enabled him to conduct all his own official correspondence with State officials, without reliance on translators, though it is related that, since he had a theory that he should not do anything unless he could excell at it, he wrote all his letters and minutes in romanised Malay and had them copied into Jawi script (which was the official medium of correspondence), although he could read and write Jawi with considerable facility. He excelled at Golf and laid out a 9 hole Golf course, later extended to 18 holes and taught many Malays to play the game, including Sultan Sulaiman. One of his pupils, a caddy named 'Che Da, defeated the reigning Malayan Golf champion over the Trengganu course.

In the years that followed, Malay Officials, many of them friends and admirers of Humphreys, took an increasingly important share in the Administration. Among these Dato Jaya Perkasa, who was appointed the first State Commissioner, Kemaman in June 1924, was the most able, and working in harmonious partnership with Mr. J. V. Cowgill, who was transferred to Kemaman as the first Assistant Adviser, Kemaman, rapidly converted the area which had earned so much adverse comment from the Bucknill Commission, into an efficiently organised mining district.

Assisted by a second loan of one million dollars from the Straits Settlements Government, Trengganu gave ample evidence of the natural resources and trade prospects which were predicted by the early British Agents and even an outbreak of disorder in Ulu Trengganu, sometimes referred to as the Trengganu Rebellion, did nothing to interrupt the steady advance towards efficient administration and general prosperity. This "rebellion" was organised by a group of Malays, led by Haji Abdul Rahman, who took advantage of the poverty and ignorance of the village people to encourage them to oppose the payment of land rent and the control of indiscriminate felling of Forest areas, which were part of the new administrative reforms. Haji Abdul Rahman proclaimed wholehearted disapproval of the Sultan's acceptance of British control, and planned to lead as large a body of peasants as he could muster down river to the capital to restore the old order.

Although reports of opposition to Government notices had been received in Kuala Trengganu at intervals for more than a year it was not until April 1928 that matters came to a head. On April 20th when A.C.P. Tengku Mohamed went upriver to open a new Police Station at Kuala Telemong he heard that a Police Constable stationed at Alor Limbat (the home of Haji Abdul Rahman), who had been instructed to serve summonses had been pursued by a hostile crowd and that some four hundred men had assembled, whose intentions were obviously hostile.

When this report was received in Kuala Trengganu, the Mentri Dato Amar, after conferring with the British Adviser and the Sultan, declined all European offers of assistance and sent Dato Lela and Tengku Nara Wangsa upriver to investigate the situation, accompanied by a Police escort. They met the leaders and invited them to come to Kuala Trengganu for a discussion but they were unwilling to do so unless accompanied by their supporters who now numbered about one thousand.

On May 3rd, Sultan Sulaiman himself travelled upriver to Kuala Berang and met some of the leaders, who had now assembled nearly two thousand peasant supporters. These two attempts to persuade the peasants to disperse proved unsuccessful and Police reinforcements were asked for from Kuala Lumpur. Before they could arrive, however, an attack was made on the District Officer, Kuala Berang, Wan Mohamed. He and his staff were obliged to evacuate and the Peasants Red Flag was hoisted over the Government buildings. On their arrival in Kuala Trengganu they reported that the rebels were assembled at three points, Kuala Berang, Kuala Telemong and Marang, and a party of twelve police under Sub-Inspector Tengku Abdullah and Dato Lela was despatched upriver to evacuate Police Stations between Kuala Berang and Kuala Trengganu, so as to reinforce the thirty-nine police of all ranks at the capital. Whilst evacuating the Police Station at Kuala Telemong news was received by the Sub-Inspector of an attacking force who were advancing down river; some were armed with muzzle-loaded shotguns, others with spears, parangs and krises.

The rebels could be heard from a distance chanting as they moved slowly forward and when they came into view Tengku Abdullah had already arranged his small force on the edge of a rice field, under cover of a low bund (batas), while he stood alone on the path and shouted to the advancing multitude, who numbered approximately one thousand, telling them to lay down their arms. When they ignored his warning and continued to march forward, he gave the order to fire and with great determination then ordered his men to fix bayonets and charge. In an instant the spell of their fanatical leaders was broken and the rebels were transformed into a rabble in full flight. Toh Janggut, the military leader of the peasants, was one of the first to fall mortally wounded and this crippled the rebellion; eleven of the attacking force were killed in this engagement and a number of others wounded.

Reinforcements arrived from Kuala Lumpur that night, but the danger was already past, and there remained only the task of arresting the leaders and re-establishing authority in the Ulu. This was soon completed; Haji Abdul Rahman was sent under escort to Singapore and thence to Mecca and the majority of the

other leaders were sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment, to be served in Singapore, which were remitted two years later by the Sultan.

There is considerable evidence to show that this rising was a symptom of the clash between the Red Flag and the White Flag Malay Secret Societies, such as has not uncommonly occurred in other Malay States. To cover this the grievances of the peasants were seized on, although their general circumstances were in fact considerably easier than a quarter of a century earlier.

No further disturbances interrupted the steady development of the state.

Sultan Sulaiman visited England to attend the coronation of King George VI in 1937, accompanied by his brother Tengku Paduka (later Sultan Ismail) and the grand old man Haji Ngah, Dato Amar, the Mentri.

The invasion of Malaya by the Japanese in December 1941 brought great suffering and misery to the State. Hitherto the Japanese had been welcomed in Trengganu and there were two large iron mines, one at Bukit Besi, near Dungun and the other near Kemaman, both owned and staffed by Japanese, which contributed a large sum to the annual revenue.

Sultan Sulaiman did not long survive the shock of invasion, and though still a comparatively young man he died in September 1942 after a short illness.

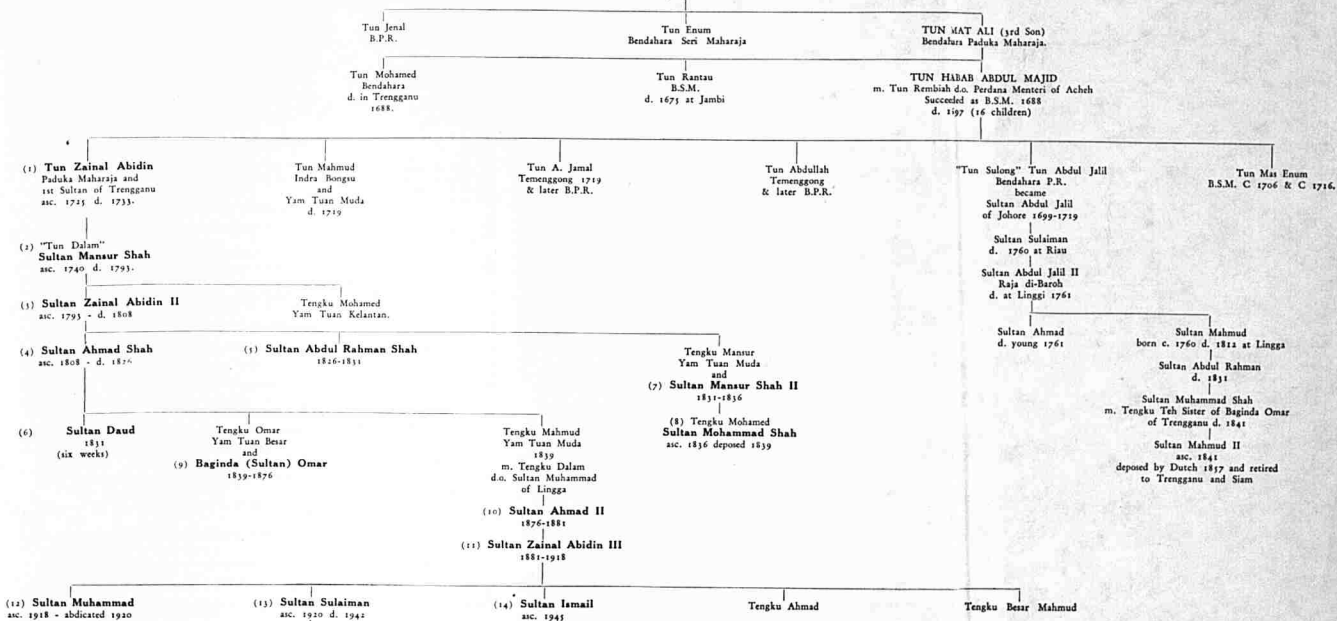
Subsequent events are too recent to be included in this short history: it is necessary however to record that the centuries old determination to remain independent of Siamese control was abruptly overcome in December 1943 when, without consulting the Ruler or chiefs, the Japanese transferred the control and administration of Trengganu to the Siamese. Hitherto Trengganu had been subjected the misrule of a Japanese Governor and numerous Japanese officials, who held office at the capital and in every district. After the transfer, the Siamese contented themselves with a nominal centralised control, reviving the old system in which the Sultan presided as President of the State Council ("Montri Spa"), and left the maintenance of security to the Japanese Kempeitai, who remained until the defeat and surrender of Japan and the arrival of Lt. Col. D. Headly, M.C.S., and other members of Force 136 to liberate Trengganu in September, 1945.

CHANGI (1943)—KLANG (1949).

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TRENGGANU ROYAL PEDIGREE.

Bendahara Paduka Raja of Johore
TUN MAMAT Sri Lansang m. T. Munah.
 (Bendahara 1580—1615)
 "Dato yang ka-Acheh"



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Appendix A.

Sultans of Trengganu

1. Sultan Zainal Abidin I "Marhum Bukit Nangka."	1725—1733
2. Sultan Mansur Shah I "Marhum Janggut"	1740—1793
3. Sultan Zainal Abidin II "Marhum Masjid."	1793—1808
4. Sultan Ahmad Shah I "Marhum Parit."	1808—1827
5. Sultan Abdul Rahman Shah "Marhum Surau."	1827—1831
6. Sultan Daud "Marhum Kampong Daik."	1831
7. Sultan Mansur Shah II	1831—1836
8. Sultan Mahmud Shah "Marhum Teilor."	1836—1839
9. Baginda Omar "Marhum Baginda."	1839—1876
10. Sultan Ahmad Shah II "Marhum Bahru."	1876—1881
11. Sultan Zainal Abidin III "Marhum Haji."	1881—1918
12. Sultan Muhammad	1918—1920
13. Sultan Sulaiman Shah	1920—1942
14. Sultan Ismail	1945—

Appendix B.

British Agents and British Advisers

British Agents.

W. Conlay	1910.
W. D. Scott	1911—March, 1913.
E. A. Dickson, M.C.S.	1913—July, 1914.
C. N. Maxwell, M.C.S.	1914—1915. (President of Council till 1917).
J. L. Humphreys, M.C.S.	Nov. 1915.

British Advisers.

J. L. Humphreys, C.B.E., M.C.S.	24 May 1919—May 1925.
W. E. Pepys (acting) M.C.S.	Nov. 1919—Jan. 1920.

H. C., Eckhardt (acting) M.C.S.	Feb. 1921—May 1922.
J. W. Simmons, M.C.S.	1923—1926.
W. M. Millington, M.C.S.	1926—1928.
A. J. Sturrock, M.C.S.	1928—1930.
G. L. Ham, M.C.S.	1930—1932.
C. C. Brown, M.C.S.	1932—1933.
N. R. Jarrett, M.C.S. (acting)	June 1933—Feb. 1934.
J. E. Kempe, M.C.S.	1935—1936.
N. R. Jarrett, M.C.S.	1936—1937.
P. A. B. McKerron, M.C.S. (acting)	Sept. 1937—Dec. 1937.
A. E. Coope, M.C.S.	1937—1940.
G. A. C. de Moubray, M.C.S.	1940—Dec. 1941.

Appendix C.

The Trengganu State Crest and State Flag.



The Trengganu State crest is of recent adoption. It was designed by Che Mohamed bin Abdul Rahim, a brother of Dato Nara Wangsa, Mohamed Ali bin Abdul Rahim (better known as Dato Mata-mata) and approved for general use by the Council of Ministers in 1932.

Its component parts are:—

The star and crescent indicating that Islam is the state religion.

The crown representing the ruler.

A sword and a long kris, crossed—articles selected from the state regalia.

The Koran (on the right)—The foundation of the Islamic religion.

The book of the Law (on the left)—The mark of justice.

A ceremonial sash arranged round the crossed sword and kris—part of the palace uniform.

The whole enclosed by a double circle, within whose borders are inscribed in Arabic script, at three separate points in the circumference, the words: "Jawatan Kerajaan Trengganu".

The state colours of Trengganu are black and white, and the state flag which was adopted during Sultan Sulaiman's reign consists of a black flag, with a white border 3 inches wide, and a large white star and crescent in the centre. According to tradition white was the Sultan's colour, indicating purity of character and motive, and long before the adoption of a state flag, the ruler's white flag was in use. The colour black was added to represent the raiyat and the star & crescent to indicate the state religion.

Appendix D.

An account of the visit of Sultan Zainal Abidin III ibni Almarhom Sultan Ahmad II of Trengganu to Pekan on the occasion of his marriage to Tengku Long, eldest daughter of Sultan Ahmad Al-Muadzam Shah of Pahang.

Translated from the Trengganu court Diary lent Tengku Ampuan Meriam.

At 8 a.m. in the morning of the 27th day of Muharam in the year 1303 A.H. (July 1885) the Trengganu royal party boarded steamer en route to Pahang; the retinue consisted of members of the royal family, the ministers, the chiefs and other high officials of the court who travelled in the steamer with their ruler. Sultan Zainal Abidin III, while many other followers went in sailing boats (*perahu besar*). Some of the *anak raja-raja* had their *perahu besar* following them on this journey; there were thirteen of these in all, belonging to the Yang di-pertuan Muda, Tengku Panglima Besar, Tengku Dalam, Tengku Ibrahim, Tengku Muda, Tengku Ngah Menantu, Enche Engku Muda, Tengku Muda Dungun, Tengku Muda Singapura, Tengku Bukit, Tengku Tengah, Tuan Muda and Engku Muda. Eight of the chiefs, the Bendahara, Dato Mata-Mata, the Bentara, Penglima Perang, Penglima Dalam, Dato Kaya Duyong, Dato Kaya Wan Zainal and Wan Sulaimon and each of their followers also brought their own *perahu-besar* along with them. There were in addition three more *perahu-besar* in the Kapitan China's party; the Jurubahasa came in his own *perahu-besar* too; and three other *perahu-besar* owned by the Ruler which were loaded with rice. Both the men and women in the steamer, excluding those from Pahang, numbered about four hundred and thirty, whilst those in the *perahu-besar* exceeded a thousand.

After almost an hour everything was ready and the royal party sailed away to reach Kuala Pahang Tua, the mouth of the river, at 9 p.m. where they dropped anchor for the night. At daybreak on the following Friday morning they made for Pahang Muda, and there the royal party was met by the local Penghulu, who came in a small boat to the steamer. While thus at anchor the ever increasing roughness of the sea caused dizziness to the ladies and princesses. A small boat and a gig were then lowered to take ashore Their Highnesses the Yang di-Pertuan Besar and the Yang di-Pertuan Muda and the two sons of the Sultan, accompanied by bearers of the State regalia, the *biduandas* (Royal Messengers) carrying the sword of state (*pedang kerajaan*), the long kris (*kris panjang*) and the betel-box (*tepak*). The other court officials including the ministers and chiefs and the male and female members of the royal family all followed to assemble on shore at Kuala Pahang.

The Temenggong and Tengku Ali with diverse stately boats came down to welcome and usher the royal party up-river to Pekan. The royal barges were then towed by steam-boats with the rest of the perahus sailing behind in procession to arrive at the wharf at Pengkalan Dewan by 2 o'clock in the afternoon. The whole of the route from the wharf to the main pavilion at Pengkalan Dewan was lined with an array of men armed with muskets and spears and a salute of sixteen guns was fired as soon as the royal barge touched the wharf where the Bendahara, Enche Wan Ngah ibni Almarhom Wan Tanjong, waited to receive His Highness

the Yang di-Pertuan Besar of Trengganu and the other royal guests. For some time the whole entourage remained at the Pengkalan Dewan pavilion where they were housed and fed. After ten days the party separated; some were billeted in houses whilst others put up temporary sheds to relieve the congestion in the pavilion. By this time, with the exception of His Highness and the royal family, the rest of the party from Trengganu were obliged to fend for themselves.

It was not until Saturday, 21st Safar, nearly a month later, that the giving away of the dowry (*Hantar Belanja*) took place. The dowry consisted of a sum of one thousand and six hundred gold dollars, eight suits of silk sarongs, tunics and veils, and four maid servants. The ceremony began with the party led by Tengku Besar ibni Almarhum Yang di-Pertuan Muda Tengku Abdullah Trengganu leaving the Istana Gedong, which had been allotted as the headquarters for the royal bridegroom. The procession was headed by sixteen spear-bearers each holding a *tombak* (ceremonial halberd) with Andong wood (*Dracaena*) handles plated with gold. Following them were twenty yellow and white umbrellas fringed with gold flowers under which walked women with silver trays; twelve of these contained the dollars and eight the silk clothes. Then came sixteen of the royal ladies with about a hundred other women, and only three or four male members of the royal family headed by the Temenggong, with twelve chiefs and other court officials and their companions numbering about fifty persons. On reaching the Istana Besar, residence of the royal bride, all the ladies and gentlemen were then shown into the reception chamber where the ceremonial handing-over of the dowry was performed by Engku Chik Besut, Tengku Ibrahim and Tuan Long Beladau, after which light refreshments were served. Before leaving, selected ladies in the dowry party went to see the bride; and Tengku Long upon thanking them also asked them to convey her regards and respects to the Tengku Ampuan at Istana Gedong.

After an interval of thirty four days, on Friday 4 Rabial-awal, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon came the ceremony of acknowledging the receipt of the dowry (*Menerima Isi Kebun*). The contents of the dowry were carried in a procession to the bride's mother, the Tengku Ampuan. The usual sixteen spear-bearers with others of the Trengganu party carrying the white and yellow umbrellas and the silver trays again took part in the procession, but this time instead of twenty silver trays as previously, the number was reduced to twelve; eight of these held the gold dollars and four the silk clothing. Four maid servants came immediately behind followed by others carrying ninety-six betel boxes draped with embroidered cloths. The ladies of the court in the procession were led by Tengku Hamidah and Tengku Safiah, who were carried in litters; Tengku Penglima and Tengku Muda bin Abdul Jalil headed the anak raja-raja and chiefs. On arrival at the Istana Gedong, the residence of the Tengku Ampuan, flags at the Istana Gedong and the Pengkalan Dewan were hoisted simultaneously with the firing of sixteen guns to mark the commencement of the ceremony of the day. All present were received at the *balairong*, the assembly hall, with Tengku Penglima and the Trengganu party occupying the right wing and the Bendahara and Temenggong with the Pahang Party on the left. In return the Tengku Ampuan presented gifts of one gold water vessel, two gold boxes and eight suits of tunic and trousers to her future son-in-law. The guests were then entertained with sweets and preserved ginger, after which *sireh* (betelnuts) was served.

A week elapsed and then starting on Friday, 11th of Rabial-awal, by command of the Ruler of Pahang, Sultan Ahmad ibni Almarhum Bendahara Ali, sixteen guns were fired twice daily in the morning and evening to mark the occasion, and various amusements were provided for the people in the royal compound. The following day a prayer of thanks-giving was held at the Assembly Hall (*balairong*) at which Sultan Ahmad himself was present.

At 2 a.m. on Thursday, 23rd-Rabial-awal, Sultan Ahmad accompanied by the Temenggong, Engku Muda and other chiefs and warriors called on the royal bridegroom, who was then occupying the west wing of Istana Gedong. The Yang di-Pertuan Muda Tengku Abbas with the male and female members of the Trengganu royal family had already assembled ready to leave for the Istana Besar, and by 3 a.m. the royal bridegroom's party left the Istana Gedong in a procession which Sultan Ahmad himself accompanied. The State Regalia followed immediately behind the Rulers; Tengku Mahmud carried the sword of state (*Pedang Kerajaan*), Tengku Yusop the betel box (*tepak*), Tengku Ismail the cigarette box and Enche Engku Yusof the betel chewers' cuspidor (*ketur*). Then came the Yang di-Pertuan Muda, other court officials, chiefs and members of the royal family with seven litters carrying the royal ladies, while other ladies of the court followed on foot. The Sultan of Pahang entered the audience hall first, with a small dagger in his hand, leading the royal bridegroom to the bridal throne: they were followed by the five bearers of the State Regalia and fourteen others—the Bendahara, Temenggong, Tuan Mandak, Yang di-Pertuan Muda, Tengku Penglima, Tengku Tengah, Tengku Ngah, Tengku Oihman, Tengku Musa, Engku Muda, Tengku Long, Enche Mon, Tuan Simbok and Tengku Dalam.

The amusements for the evening then began, prominent among which was the *makyong*, and gambling tables occupied the assembly hall. A *joget* party made up of four persons was presented on a stage within the courtyard of the Istana, and in the reception chamber at the Istana talented female vocalists chanted recitations in praise of Allah and the Prophet Mohamed (*Zikir*).

On Thursday, 30th Rabial-awal the Kapitan Pahang brought his presentation of gifts for Sultan Ahmad consisting of five flags, twelve buffaloes and sixteen trays of foodstuffs, all covered in royal yellow.

The religious part of the marriage ceremony, the *akad nikah*, was held on Thursday, 10th Rabial-akhir in the audience hall at Istana Besar. At 3.00 a.m. Sultan Ahmad gave his official *titab* to the Penghulu Balai, the Master of Ceremonies, ordering that four persons from the bridegroom's party be summoned to court, namely Tengku Tengah, Tengku Muda, Tengku Ngah and Engku Muda. The Penghulu Balai then approached the Bendahara to deliver the Royal '*titab*'. The Bendahara with 8 anak raja-raja and 5 Hajis dressed in ceremonial robes forthwith entered the Istana to escort the royal bridegroom to the bridal throne in the audience hall where the *akad nikah* marriage ceremony was to be performed by the Tuan Kathi, Haji Mohamed bin Haji Yusof of Trengganu. The royal bridegroom, seated upon a golden mat, size four by four studded with two hundred diamonds, and surrounded by all the ladies of the court in colourful dresses, provided a magnificent spectacle. The ceremony lasted till dawn and closed with the usual prayers by the Kathi.

The *Berbina* (Henna-sprinkling) ceremony followed a week later on Sunday, 18th Rabial-akhir. Eight yellow and eight white flags preceded the royal bridegroom who was carried in a litter followed by a *Zikir* party, behind which came the bride's palanquin accompanied by a bodyguard of 16 men wearing ceremonial yellow sashes across their shoulders and another 12 armed with muskets. The procession moved from the Istana Besar past the assembly hall and out to the main road. At the entrance to the compound of the assembly hall everybody lined up opposite the main pillars holding the daggers of state with yellow sashes slung across the shoulder. In the meantime a *miengarok* display (men dressed in white tunics and trousers with black sarongs and headresses) had assembled in the compound. At this moment Sultan Ahmad arrived with his consort Tengku Besar in a litter; this display ceased temporarily to make way for the royal arrival. As soon as His Highness ascended the royal dais in the assembly hall, the Temenggong and Engku Muda and other distinguished personalities took their seats on

both flanks of the dais, the Pahang men on the right and Trengganu on the left, and were then entertained to a banquet which lasted till 10.000 p.m., the Penghulu Balai then informed the Temenggong of the royal titah summoning him to bring Tengku Muda, Tengku Tengah and Tengku Penglima into the istana. The aforementioned gentlemen with several court ladies then escorted the royal bridegroom to the *pebalaijan* (pavilion) and dressed him in ceremonial garments with gold bangles around the wrists and ankles. The Temenggong led the royal bridegroom to the wedding dais and the *letak inai* (ceremonial sprinkling with henna) ceremony opened with Sultan Ahmad first performing the ritual. By royal command the Temenggong, Engku Muda, Tengku Tengah and Tuan Mandak followed suit, after which the royal bridegroom then retired to the pavilion. Acting on the *titah* from the Tengku Ampuan the royal bridesmaid Enche Wan Ngah proceeded with the same routine for the royal bride. The ceremony was repeated successively for three days; on the first day the 5 persons above named performed the ritual; on the second day 7 with Tengku Muda and Tengku Ibrahim; and on the third 9, with Tengku Hitam and Enche Wan Buang. The firing of a 16 gun salute marked the end of the *berbina* ceremony. With Tengku Tengah taking the lead, the royal bridegroom in a litter borne by Enche Othman and Enche Tahir, and a retinue of about 600 men and women, returned to the Pengkalan Dewan.

On the morning of Thursday, 22nd Rabi'ul-awal the courier bells rang and crowds of people streamed into the precincts of the *balai* (assembly hall). Three palanquins were brought in; one was called the *Jempana*, meant for the royal bridegroom, and the others carried the *joget* and sets of musical instruments. The procession was arranged in this order: twelve persons with muskets in the forefront; the *tombak pechab logan kerajaan*, (the State Spear with gold blade and gold handle intertwined with silver); 2 *tombak* with andong wood handle, and 15 other spears of kamuning; *tombak gabara* belonging to the royal bridegroom, 16 andong wood spears with handles wrapped in gold; 16 javelins, 16 women holding candles, 16 women with folded sarongs on their shoulders (*kain selapai*); and then the palanquins for the *joget* and musical instruments. Everyone including Sultan Ahmad himself took part in the pageantry. The royal bridegroom occupied the *Jempana*, sitting on a velvet upholstered chair lined with richly embroidered white silk. Among the articles of the State Regalia appearing on this occasion were the *pedayang*, a trapezium-shaped box of gold studded with diamonds, the *sireh puan*, the state betel box, the sword of state, and the long *keris*. Two Bestmen flanked the royal bridegroom, each holding golden fans—Tengku Ismail on his right and Tengku Mansor on his left; the gold salver and cuspidor were in the charge of Tengku Hitam bin Tengku Muda and another. On either side of the *Jempana* (the bridegroom's palanquin) stood four more *biduandas*—Tengku Ibrahim, Tengku Hitam, Tengku Othman and Tengku Kadir. On instructions from the Yang di-Pertuan Muda, Tengku Tengah gave the order to move. Following the *Jempana* were 16 attendants with the *kain tetampayan*, 16 with the "*kain lokong*" and 16 female attendants plus about 200 ladies including members of the royal family. On reaching the precincts of the *balai-rong* the royal ladies turned away into the istana compound while the procession resumed its route before finally stopping at the entrance of the Istana Besar. Sultan Ahmad then gave orders to the Bendahara to receive the royal bridegroom from the *Jempana* and *bunga rampai* of gold and silver petals were scattered over it. After paying due respect to the royal bridegroom, the Bendahara taking his right hand with the Yang di-Pertuan Muda on the left and Tengku Tengah behind led him into the istana. At the steps inside the istana Sultan Zainal Abidin was then passed into the hands of the Tengku Ampuan and other ladies of the court. The royal bride was then made to lead the royal bridegroom by the right hand to the throne accompanied by Tengku Hamidah, Tengku Safiah, Tengku Bukit, Tengku Besar and Tengku Jah. Having set themselves on the dais, Tuan Kenik wife of Perdana Menteri Zambir Amir took the right hand of the royal bridegroom and washed it and then made him feed the royal bride with three mouthfuls of the *nasi kunyit* (saffron tinted rice). The

royal bride in turn was made to do the same thing. After having completed this Tuan Kenik then turned to Sultan Ahmad and suggested a royal titah for a thanksgiving prayer. Penglima Dalam Haji Enche Hitam was duly summoned to perform the "*bacha-doa selamat*" (prayers for safety), at the end of which a salute of sixteen guns was fired. Tuan Kenik then requested the royal couple to proceed to the wedding dais. As the royal couple stood up the royal bridegroom's hand was placed to rest on the royal bride's shoulder and vice-versa and the royal couple was then led up the steps of the wedding dais. While mounting the couple dropped hands, then the right hand of the bridegroom was joined to the left hand of the bride. On reaching the top of the wedding dais the bridegroom was made to sit in front of the *Nasi Damai* with the bride sitting opposite him.

The wedding ceremonies ended on Monday, 10th Jamadil-awal. The *bendera putnis* was lowered and a smaller flag hoisted instead; the daily firing of guns henceforth ceased. On Thursday, 13th Jamadil-awal, at 12.00 p.m. the flag was lowered to mark the close of the occasion.

Note: The period from the date of the arrival of the Trengganu party until the conclusion of the wedding ceremonies covered a period of three and a half months.

(Translated by Tengku Ismail bin Tengku Muhammad, Malay Administrative Service)

The Weaving Industry in Trengganu

(Received, May, 1948)

By A. H. HILL, M.A., B.SC.

Since the liberation of Malaya the demand for textiles has given a new impetus to the weaving industry in Trengganu. This village craft is carried on in nearly a thousand Malay homes in the State, mainly concentrated in an area round Kuala Trengganu town and upriver as far as Paloh, comprising the Mukim of Chabang Tiga; and a few coastal villages, Kuala Ibai and Chendering, south of the estuary. The Chabang Tiga looms, on which some 600 workers are employed, are controlled by Tuan Bharu and his sister Tuan Sharifah who buy and process the silk before passing it out at piecework rates to the weavers. The industry is a colourful one in every sense and although marketing is arranged centrally, up to now with the assistance of the Department of Industry and Commerce, it still remains as it has been for many years a co-operative home industry, carried on entirely by women and free from the trammels of big business.

Through the kindness of Tuan Bharu and Tuan Sharifah I was allowed to visit the homes where the processing and weaving are done and to see details of the technique used in making the silk cloth. I am grateful for the assistance given me by Tengku Besar Mahmud ibni al-Marhum Sultan Zainalabidin, who until recently was in charge of the Department of Industry and Commerce; by Miss M. Dickinson, Personal Assistant to the British Adviser, Trengganu; and by Che Ali bin Long, Inspector of Malay Schools, Trengganu. Dr. C. A. Gibson-Hill has kindly allowed me to select illustrations from his collection of Malayan photographs.

I give below a description of the technical processes involved in making the cloth, and some account of the various types of cloth produced in Trengganu.

Initial Processing.

Chinese 2-ply silk thread is bought from importing houses in Singapore, through local Chinese Agents, in bundles (*bantal*) of 3 katties weight each. Thread for the warp (*loseng*) is finer than that for the wool (*pakan*), and each bundle contains 36 hanks (*tongkol*) which are further divided into 10 skeins (*gechik*), each weighing $\frac{1}{4}$ tahl. The hanks are separated and thoroughly washed in cold water to remove superficial dirt. The light straw coloured silk thread, which is not bleached, then passes straight to the dyers.

Dyeing.

Aniline dyes of American manufacture are imported from China. It is claimed that British dyes cause too rapid deterioration of the silk fibre. The dyes used are reasonably fast and the old local vegetable dyes (e.g. *kesumba*, etc) are no longer used at all, except occasionally the kunyit yellows. Four different colours are bought; the three primary colours, red, yellow and blue; and, curiously enough, green. The dye crystals are dissolved in boiling water in an iron bowl (*kuali*) over a small open wood fire to make a solution of the required strength. At one mixing sufficient silk is dyed to make about eighty sarongs. The hanks are dipped one by one in the hot dye and vigorously squeezed for 10-20 minutes until the desired shade of colour has been obtained, then are rinsed in boiling and in cold water until the colour no longer runs. After about half-an-hour's rinsing the dyed hanks are hung on a horizontal bamboo pole to dry in the shade for 2-3 hours. This is intended to ensure no further shrinkage or fading.

Much skill is shown in the blending of the dyes in varying proportions to give minute but definite differences in shades of colour, which the local experts can identify from experience. A general distinction is made between light or medium shades (*warna muda*) and rich dark shades (*warna tua*). The following are among the commoner colour used:—

- (a) Mauves—*bulir gemia*, *bulir setar*, *ungu*, *ungu manis* (crimson)
- (b) Blues—*biru ayer laut*, *biru ungu*.
- (c) Greens—*puchok pisang* (leaf green), *batang bemban* (bottle green) *lumut*, *terusi* (turquoise).
- (d) Yellow—*kunyit* (lemon yellow), *kunyit chat* (royal yellow).
- (e) Browns—*kunyit pinang masak* (orange), *kunyit bata*, *bulir kahwa* (chocolate brown).
- (f) Reds—*jambu* (scarlet), *darah ikan* (blood red) *asam jawa* (maroon).

Winding on to Spools. (see Plate 5).

The dried hanks are then stretched taut on a machine which has four strings connecting the ends of two interlocking bamboo cross-pieces (*daun ruing*) which open out to form a frame (*ruing*) about 12 inches square. The thread is run off on to a bamboo spool (*peleting*) of $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter which is connected to a winder (*rahat*). The end of the silk thread is twisted round the spool which is mounted on the end of a projecting metal axle (*mata*

rahat), slightly tapered to hold it firm and kept in position by a thwart tied to it with short rattan stays (*telinga rahat*). A driving belt (*tali rahat*) made of strong thick thread (*kelindan*) passes round the middle part of the axle and over a wheel made of wooden flanges (*daun rahat*) threaded with cord to form a cylindrical frame, which is mounted horizontally between wooden uprights and fitted with a handle (*langan rahat*). (There were the types of wheels used by Tuan Sharifah at her working centre; elsewhere we saw solid machine-turned wooden wheels replacing these more primitive types). After the hank of thread has been stretched on its frame this is placed in wooden guides so that it can revolve easily and the thread is rapidly wound off onto the spool. For the warp the spool is 4—5 inches long while that for the woof is twice this length. The spools holding the woof are now ready for use by the weavers.

Arranging the Warp (see Plate 5b.)¹

The threads for the warp are next arranged by so combining them that they form a repetitive pattern (*chorak*) when stretched on the loom. The design usually takes a tartan or check form, or one with simple straight lines of harmonising colours. This is pre-determined at the processing centre by selecting threads of various colours and winding them off the spools on to a special type of frame (*anian*). Spools containing thread of the required colours for all different effects to be produced in the finished cloth are fixed in the right proportions (usually 40—60 spools) in two parallel rows of a horizontal wooden rack (*metek*) by means of thin metal skewers (*tidi*) which fit through holes in the wooden frame.* The rack is about 5 feet long and one foot wide and is mounted on wooden supports at either end. The frame to which the threads are to be transferred is placed beneath the spool rack, and consists of two wooden bars about 3 feet long, one at each end, connected on extensible wooden guides. Each bar is fitted with a single row of upright wooden pegs (*anak anian*) about 8 inches high and about 2 inches apart. Adjacent to the last peg in the row is an extra peg (*kepala anak anian*). The frame is extended to a length convenient to the operator (*pengani*) who sits at the side with the extra peg on her right. The number of pegs is not always the same; on the one illustrated there are seventeen pegs, and sufficient warp for 10 sarongs is usually produced at one operation.

1. The Plate 5b shows a woman using a shortened *anian* for a small-sized cloth, perhaps a *kain selendang*, not a full-size one as described in the text. The general procedure is, however, the same. C.A.G.-H.

* The unit of cloth measurement is the *lok* which consists of 40 strands of the warp on the loom, normally one inch in width. The colour strips which make up the pattern are measured up as simple fractions of one *lok*. Thus at this stage of ani process 5 - 10 - 20 - 40 etc. spools will be in use.

The operator pulls down the threads from the rack, gathering those required to make the border of the cloth in her hand. These are looped over the extra peg on the side opposite to her and are then cast on (*mengani*) to each peg in turn from side to side as she works towards the extra peg near her right side, where the threads are sorted into the component colours (*pungut*) and looped round it. The threads now placed out constitute the warp for the first line of pattern to be placed on one of the lines of heddles. The operator works back again to the further end of the frame, the new set of threads coming over the first set and constituting the corresponding warp to go on the other line of heddles. During this process the operator holds the threads between forefinger and thumb, guiding them skilfully from side to side. She now selects the threads required for the next line of pattern and the process is repeated until enough threads have been placed to cover the whole width of the cloth. Everytime she reaches the end nearest her she sorts out the pattern on the extra peg on which is built up the strips of colours (*ragi*) in the order which they will appear in the finish cloth. When sufficient threads has been placed out on the frame to cover the width of the sarong the strips of colour looped round the end peg are tied separately with white string, and all the thread is then taken off the frame and rolled into large bundles. The warp is now ready for the weavers.

Collecting the Materials for Weaving.

To the working centre come the weavers from their houses in the neighbourhood, bringing with them the detachable boards (*papan gulong*) which hold the thread at the foot of the loom and baskets to hold the spools for the wool and any special gold or silver thread which they may use. Standing on the paths outside they unwind the bundles of warp to their full length (about 60 feet), holding the threads carefully off the ground. The cables of thread already tied in their separate colours are mounted on a wooden slat in the correct order and spaced evenly in the order in which they will be attached to the loom. From this they are wound up carefully on to the board.

Weaving. (see Plate 8).

Weaving is an ancient industry and the Malay hand loom (*kek*) in design and operation is much the same as that of any other country. A brief description of its structure will suffice, the weaving frame holding the warp is stretched between 4 wooden posts (*tiang kek*) about 4 feet high and sloping down from a height of about 2 feet at the weaver's end to about 6 inches from the ground at the opposite end where the board holding the warp is fixed in slotted wooden guides (*pasong*) suspended from a crossbar. Another crossbar holds the heddles (*karap*) and the comb (*jentera*) and both bars rest on two horizontal wooden beams

running the length of the whole loom, about 8—10 feet, and fixed to the wooden posts which are held rigid by wooden beams socketed into the feet round the four sides. The weaver sits on a wooden bench about 5 feet long built into the loom.

For each loom there are several pairs of heddles. These consists of wooden rods (*geliging*) made of nibong clamped together and mounting fine white cords for holding the warp to each interlocking heddle. The usual width of a sarong requires a total of 1,680 warp threads. There are 20 heddles to the inch, two stands of the warp being passed through each of the tiny loops tied about 3 inches below the rods. Sometimes there are 3 threads per loop (*tiga sekarap*) and very rarely 4 to make a thick coarse material, especially if it is to be richly embroidered. The other ends of the cords are held by rods below the warp, connected by strings to the trettles (*jijak karap*). After threading (*mengarap*) the assembly is fastened to the loom by attaching either end of a pair of strings (*tali chaman*) to each heddle. At the top these strings pass through two short bamboo tubes (*chaman*) suspended at their centres from a crossbar. These swing in a vertical plane to move the heddles up and down in turn when the weaver presses on the treadles with her feet. Next the threads are drawn through the comb (*masuk champak*) by a bamboo or nibong hook (*pengail*), somewhat like a large flat crochet hook in shape. The comb consists of a row of teeth (*gigi jentera*) 40 to the inch, made of fine langkap wood shavings. These are held in a frame consisting of an upper part (*gerak*) with carved hand-grips and a lower part (*dagu*) joined at the sides by carved tenons (*keng*). The comb hangs by strings from a crossbar and is free to swing along the line of warp from the heddles up to the wool which it presses into position. The ends of the warp are attached to a thin bamboo slat which fits into a recess in a wooden bar (*pesa*) mounted on supports by the weaver's bench. Slots are cut in the ends of the bar which fit over notches on the supports, so that the cloth can be wound up as the weaving progresses. The warp frame is stretched taut by attaching the board holding the warp to a strong bamboo pole (*buloh penarek*) which is tied to a foot beam (*kayu penegang*) by several turns of strong twine. One or more pairs of wooden slats (*belira karap*) depending on the type of cloth being woven, are inserted in the warp, and separate the component strands according to the pattern required. If the cloth is a *kain songket* requiring the use of gold or silver thread to produce the characteristic raised pattern, another slat (*belirag bunga*) is inserted close to the heddles. The slats can be turned edgewise to the warp so that they force different sections apart for the needle weaving the gold and silver wool thread.

In its simplest form the weaving operation requires little description. The weaver moves the treadles with her feet and passes the spool holding the wool from side to side in a cigar-shaped case

(*lorak*). In the simplest type of cloth (*kain gelek*) one colour only is used; in others (e.g. *kain bugis*, etc.) the pattern outlined on the warp is followed either exactly or in harmonizing colours by changing spools as required.

Much greater skill is required in making the well known *kain songket*. This type of cloth possesses a more or less intricate repetitive pattern in gold or silver on a background of a single colour. For the main design the silver threads are carefully twisted round those of the basic colour when the edges are reached to ensure firmness, and the slats controlling the warp are changed as the design takes shape. For the borders a special type of bamboo embroidery needle (*chubang*) with a grooved tongue is used. The silver thread is wound round the base of the needle and sewn into the ward.

* When sufficient material for a complete sarong has been woven a short length of the next sarong is completed, a slat being inserted up against the bar on to which the finished sarong has been rolled. The latter is then cut off with a sharp knife and the slat is fixed in the bar.

Into the centre of each sarong is woven a strip (*kepala*) of varying width often contrasting strongly in design and colour with the rest of the sarong. Simple in the unpretentious *kain bugis*, this is often of ornate design in the *kain songket*.

Types of Cloth.

It would need quite a long thesis to describe fully all the different types of cloth made by the local weaving industry. As is only to be expected in an art form which offers to the artist such a wealth of traditional designs on which to ring the changes, there is no rigidly scientific classification of the products. Types of which appeal to the public taste, or to sections of it, find a ready market all over Malaya. As popular lines are developed and extended they acquire an extensive and often elaborate nomenclature of their own. Fashions come and go in this country as they do in Bond Street. In general the locally-produced cloths may be grouped according to:—

- (1) their size and the way they are made up
- (2) the ground pattern (*chorak*)
- (3) the gold and silver embroidery, if any, used to ornament the main part of the cloth, the edges and the centre (*kepala* or *pantat*), each of which are separately designed in the finer types of sarong,

(4) the method of dying used.

The normal full-size sarong (*kain bujang*) is woven in one piece (*sa-lerang*) 6-6½ feet long and is then sewn up end to end to make the familiar large skirt, which reaches just below the knees and is normally worn with seluar. The *kepala* appears, correctly, at the back of the wearer and the join is hidden by the folds of the wearer and the join is hidden by the folds of the garment in front, though there is a modern tendency among women to wear it with the *kepala* in front. The width of the sarong ('length' when worn) is limited to 42 lok, say 40-44", by the width of the loom, and is determined by the greatest distance through which the weaver can conveniently move from side to side during her operations. Greater widths for making larger sarongs which reach to the ankles are obtained by sewing together side by side two single pieces of cloth to make what is called a *kain kampoh* (*dua lerang*). The single piece is narrower than a full-size *kain bujang*, being normally about 24-30 inches wide; and to make it small heddles and comb are used on the loom. With a full pattern and a neatly embroidered border round the edges a cloth of indeterminate size is used by itself (*kain lepas*) for wearing as a short apron (*k. samping*) with *batu* and *seluar*, or sometimes rolled up round the waist (*k. bekong*). A very fine *k. lepas* was included in the wedding gifts sent to Princess Elizabeth in October 1947 by Their Highnesses the Sultans of Malaya. Made in Trengganu before the war, it had a broad border exquisitely embroidered in gold thread (*benang mas*). Smaller sizes are worn loosely over the shoulder (*k. selendang*) by women, who also use them as head-cloths partially veiling the face (*k. kelubong*). As the traditional Malay head-dress for ceremonial occasions men wear the *destar*, made of finely embroidered cloth 18-24 inches square wound round the head in a special way. In Trengganu it is known as *kata selangan* (= *sapu tangan*).

The simplest type of unembroidered cloth is one of uniform colour all over, with no pattern (*k. gelik*), though it may have a narrow white border and a *kepala* of different colour, sometimes with thin pencil lines of white thread (*chinchang*) running through it. An example of the *k. gelik* is seen in Plate 6., No. 1., though owing to its decorated *kepala* this particular cloth would be more usually described as a *kain songket* (see below), and the embroidered lines as *chorak berdiri*.

As has already been explained the design on patterned cloths (*k. beragi*) is set out during the arrangement of the warp on the *anian*. In the simplest type the wool threads are of one colour throughout (*selajak*), forming a striped cloth of contrasted colours. Commonest is the *k. semerenda* which usually has broad lines of medium or dark colour running through a black background. A

variant of this is the *kain mastuli*, a name derived from a particular type of coarse unprocessed silk which used to be spun (*mengolak*) in the southern States of Malaya. This silk is no longer used, but the name has lent itself to a rather striking pattern, derived from the old locally-produced dyes which were used, in which broad stripes of mauve or chocolate-brown with white borders run through a background of green or brown. An example of the *k. mastuli* form, with modern additions, is seen in Plate 6, No. 2.

Of the true *kain berchorak*, where the weaver follows the pattern on the warp in two or more identical or harmonizing colours, the cheapest and most ordinary is the *k. chorak muar* which has a simple check pattern of board squares in light pastel shades, greys, pinks and white. The most popular of the medium-priced cloths is the *kain bugis* of which there are many varieties. Its pattern is a close and often intricate network of small squares in which several colours may be used, usually on a green or red background. The chequered design may be sub-divided into small units by thin lines of light colour, and strips of the same colour may be grouped together to give a tartan effect. But the real tartan style is achieved in the *kain giling* where broad bands of colour cross each other in groups leaving 'holes' on a background commonly of yellow. These spaces may have embroidered flowers or other designs in them, and in general the *k. giling* is the only type of *k. beragi* on which needlework in gold and silver thread is employed to improve the design (Plate 6, No. 3; and Plate 7, No. 4). Other well-known patterns are *chorak melintang*, *tapak chator* and *mata bilis*.

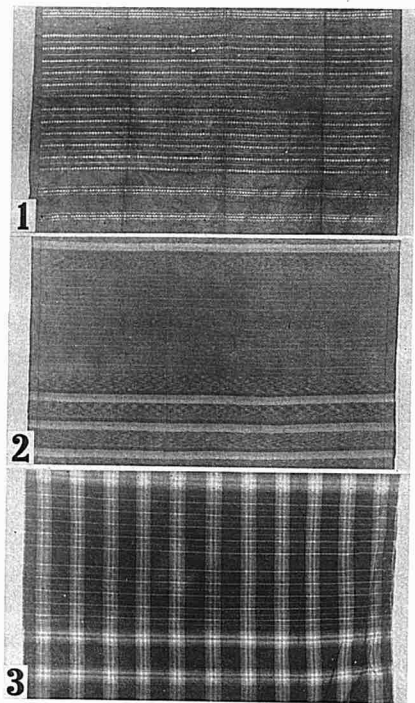
The finest types of finished cloths all belong to a class known generically as *kain songket* in which gold or silver thread (*benang kilat*) is sewn or woven into the material as it takes shape on the loom. The word *songket* (= *sungkit*, Wilkinson's Mal.-Eng. Dict.) really means 'to sew' or 'to embroider' with the special type of needle (*chubang*) already described. But it has come to be used of any kind of cloth decorated with gold or silver thread. The weaver divides the warp threads into segments by means of a transverse wooden slat, which is turned up so that its edges force the segments apart for the shuttle to pass through. The gold or silver thread is then woven into the cloth in the usual manner, sometimes passing on top of as many as five consecutive warp threads. Then the heddles are changed over, the slat readjusted and the operation repeated. This gives the characteristic low relief of the design on such cloths. If the pattern is to be an intricate tracery of connected thread running all over the cloth a third heddle, without treadle and operated by hand, is placed behind the two ordinary heddles. The fully woven *songket* is called *songket penoh* to distinguish it from that worked with a needle



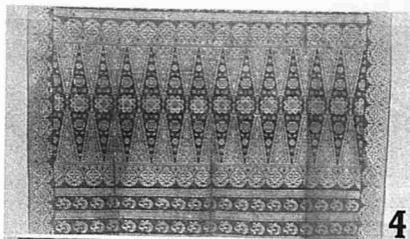
The *rabut* and *ruing* for winding the thread on the spools.



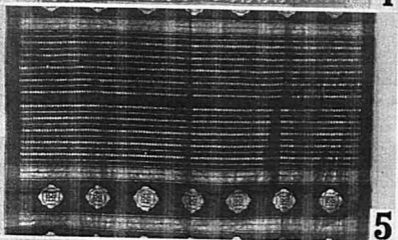
A *pengani* fixing the *chorak* by arranging on the *anjan* the warp threads selected from the loaded spools on the *metak* above it.



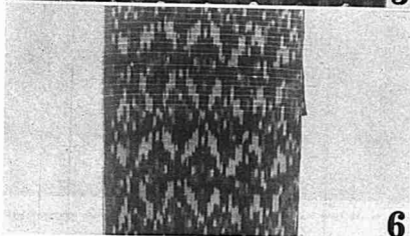
Trengganu sarong. (1) kain songket, cborak berdiri: with kepala jari. (2) kain mastuli with bands of bunga selambar nibong (ikat chuai): kepala jari. (3) kain giling, cborak gilings with kepala jari.



4



5



6

Trengganu sarongs. (4) *kain songket penuh* with *kepala puchok rebong*; flower motif is *bogan*. (5) *kain giling selit bertabur*, with *bunga atlas*. (6) *kain perang rosak (ikat cбуai)*.



Side view of the *kek*. The weaver is pressing the wool thread into place with the *jentera*.



Close-up of the *karap* assembly. A *belira bunga* is inserted to separate component sections of the warp for weaving a *kain songket*.

(*songket chubang*) where a thicker stronger kind of thread (*benang mas*) is often used. Plate 7., No. 4 is a good example of the *songket penuh*. The weaving of a *k. songket* is slow and difficult work calling for judgment and experience. The weaver can produce many rich and exotic effects by using the techniques at her command. A plain background may be improved by conventional designs (*bunga tabur*) like *chempaka*, *bogan* (Plate 7, No. 4), (Plate 7, No. 5) *jambangan*, *pechah rotan*, etc. repeated at even intervals on the cloth. As has been noted the *k. giling* may be so treated, to make a popular style of cloth known as the *k. giling bertabur*. Another common device is the pencil trace of parallel silver threads running across the pattern of the *kepala*. It is often employed in decorating the edges of the strips of colour in the main pattern of the cloth, which is then known as *kain selit* (See Plate 7, No. 5).

It is in the *k. songket* that the *kepala* blossoms out into a real work of art. The two most commonly met with in Trengganu are the *kepala puchok rebong* (Plate 7, No. 5) and the *kepala laui ayam*. Of the *k. beragi* only the *k. giling* can normally have an embroidered *kepala*, while the *k. bugis* and others of the type usually have *kepala* of contrasted but not very striking pattern known generally as *kepala jari*. Often the *chorak giling* is superimposed on *kain ikat chuai* (see below), onto which gold *bunga tabur* and *kepala* are sometimes embroidered. To call such types hybrids would be to do less than justice to the subtle harmonies of pattern and colour which are produced, and to misconceive the art of cloth designs. It is rather that the technical devices employed allow of so free a style as to defy systematic nomenclature. The few details I have given here can serve only as an introduction to a subject of considerable complexity.

Most brilliant and gorgeous of all the *k. songket* are those to which the term *k. benang mas* is specifically applied. In these rich garments every space on the cloth is filled in to make a regular interlocking pattern (*telok berantai*) in gold against a background usually of black or dark monotone. Those made nowadays never seem to achieve quite such a fine finish as the older ones which they imitate. Their prototypes have been jealously guarded for generations as family heirlooms, relics of the days when such costly things were *larangan raja*, the perquisite only of royalty. On the market they fetch collectors prices.

Mention must be made of another and very different type of pattern which is produced by partial dyeing of the material during the manufacturing process. In one process, called *ikat chuai*, the bundles of undyed silk thread after the arranging of the warp are unwound, and selected short lengths of the cable are firmly bound with banana skins tied tightly to them with strong thread. On

immersion in the dye bath the untied portions only receive the colour. Two or three successive immersions may be made, the positions of the bindings being changed between each. The light colours of the first dyeing may be deepened to dark greens, dark mauves and even black by combination with dyes of other colours, while other parts of the thread may be left undyed. The wool in the weaving may be of one colour only or it may be similarly dyed to the pattern required and woven in so that colours fall into their correct positions, the weaver pulling the thread from side to side until it is in exactly the right place. This slow work calls for much patience and is now rarely done. One form of the finished cloth, called *k. chorak jepun*, has a curious mirror-image pattern of curves rather like the 'ghost' signatures of the schoolboy's scrap-book. It contrasts strongly with the right-angled regularity of all the *k. beragi*. Another favourite pattern is one having a succession of weird flaky streaks zigzagging in steps across the cloth, called *k. perang rosak* (Plate 7, No. 6). Other popular effects produced by this process are known as *bunga rumput*, and *selumbar nibong* seen in Plate 6 No. 2. In another process various simple geometrical designs are printed onto the woven but undyed cloth with a wooden stamp. The edges of these designs are then stitched tight. They are then bound round with thread, or if large by using the banana skin technique, before the rest of the cloth is dyed. By this method the well-known *kain pelangi* are produced. The patterns are rather crude and resemble some of those produced by batak work on fabrics seen in Malaya.

This short account of Trengganu weaving is not concerned with the economics of the industry. But it is interesting to note that the rates of remuneration vary considerably according to the degree of skill required to make the different types of cloth. For the small-size *k. selerang* the weaver receives about fifty cents a piece, for a *k. bujang* eighty cents. One of these takes only a day or two to weave. For the ordinary *k. songket* rates start at about two dollars and go up to eight or ten dollars for the fully worked *k. benang mas* which may take several weeks to complete. An ordinary *k. Bugis* sells retail at about fourteen dollars and the choicest *k. benang mas* for anything up to two hundred dollars, so it is evident that labour costs are small and the profit to the manufacturer and the middleman presumably high.

Wayang Kulit Stories from Trengganu

By A. H. HILL, M.A., B.S.C. (OXON).

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In Malaya the shadow play is rapidly becoming a thing of the past. At amusement parks and important public functions on the east coast of the Peninsula the 'To Dalang still erects his pang-gong, and, using nowadays a car headlamp and 12-volt battery, works his buffalo-hide puppets before a critical audience of the older generation which still delights in the epic struggles of Panji against the demons and divine monsters of Indra's heaven, and a handful of young Malays who drift in and out and have little idea what the story is about. But in front of the Public Relations cinema van a short distance away Malay men and women of all ages crowd eagerly to see films about coal-mining, deep sea fishing or the Royal Wedding. This is just as it should be in a country whose heirs are keenly alive to the importance of modern education, and realize the part it will play in their own advancement. Sir Richard Winstedt has drawn attention to the possible factual basis of the Panji tales, but it is not as history that they are presented on the screen, and they have little real cultural value.

To the historian and the folklorist, however, they are interesting for the light they throw, or may be expected to throw when a great deal more research has been done, on the complicated anthropology of the Far East, the migrations of various cultural groups and the results of their impact upon one another. The few manuscripts that have been preserved have been studied in some detail, but apparently little has been done in collecting stories, corrupt though they be after passing from generation to generation by word of mouth, from the performers themselves.

The following extracts from the repertoire of a wayang kulit performer were collected from the Kemaman district of Trengganu. The first, *Bentara Keripan* (or *Kuripan*), I took down from the words of 'Che Awang bin Abdullah, a 'Toh Dalang who enjoys a high local reputation, after I had seen part of it performed at the Chukai Agricultural Show in 1947. He told the story in his own way throughout, and I did not prompt him or interrupt, except to get him to repeat words or phrases, which he was able to do without variation, while I wrote down his words in longhand. In addition I showed the method of transcription that I wanted to my group teacher, 'Che Muda bin Abdul Rahman, and in the course of the next few weeks he obtained for me the remaining four extracts. For convenience of reference I give summaries of all five as separate sections although they are fragments, isolated or

slightly overlapping episodes, covering a part of the Chekel Waneng Pati, called by Sir Richard Winstedt "this interminable romance". 'Che Awang in fact said to me: "Were I to tell you the whole story, not even ten of those large books which your teachers use could contain it". He claimed that the stories given were those best known to, and liked by, his public. In the course of departmental duty I have since been transferred away from Trengganu, and it seems worth while giving the stories told me in this rather incomplete state. To show the style of language used in the narratives, I am also giving, after the summaries, the Malay text of the first extract.

'Che Awang took credit in claiming that his story-cycle contained a purer element of the Javanese in it than did those of other performers on the east coast, which he scorned as being corrupted by Siamese influence, though he admitted they were more popular with the crowds than his own. He said that some years ago a manuscript had come into his hands, and from it he had obtained most of the material that he now uses. He had parted with the MS sometime ago, and was vague when pressed for details, but presumably this was some version of the Chekel Waneng Pati. Anker Rentse has stated that two forms of the wayang kulit are found in Kelantan: the Siamese, in which the Ramayana cycle is performed, and the Javanese which he says is of recent importation. Some grounds for 'Che Awang's claim may perhaps be found in the use of Javanese words like 'kaula' and 'yadi' along with their peninsular equivalents 'patek' and 'adek', but the narration contains a number of modern idioms like 'walau beberapa di-pujuk pun', and 'walau sa-macham mana pun'. The Chekel Waneng Pati tale shows Ramayana influence, episodes like the hero marrying his sister and the demon Raksasas attacking them being common to both. The phrase 'dewata mulia raya' is used for the Deity, but Mecca is named and words of the Mohammedan religion like 'amal' and 'Kiamat' are found.

Summaries in English

I. BENTARA KERIPAN

Four brothers, the princes of Keripan, Deba, Gegelang and Singasari are sent by Semar to Mecca after which they return to rule their own countries.

One day the ruler of Keripan shouts to Betara Guru in the Sixth Heaven for a warrior of supernatural power to help him in his fight against the Demon Giants. Alarmed by the noise and shaking, Betara Guru confers with the other six gods Betara Nengada, Betara Omar, Betara Burhan, Betara Kerma Jaya, Betara Indera and Betara Indera Jaya. Only Kerma Jaya is equal to the task, but he is the favourite of Sangyang Tunggal, the Lord of the Highest Heaven. So they go off to the Seventh Heaven, and in

answer to their entreaties Sangyang Tunggal agrees to send Kerma Jaya down to Earth, at the same time counselling them to return and guard carefully Princess Lela Anata 'Ajaiib, and the sacred flower Jayang Malai which grows in the Princess's garden.

Then Sangyang Tunggal takes Kerma Jaya and, turning him into a custard apple, casts him down to Keripan. The nymph Lela Kesokma he turns into a pomegranate and sends to Deha. Sang Gera he sends to Gunong Wilis, and Wiron into the hinterland of Keripan. He turns Sang Kala into a wild rambutan fruit and sends him down to the forest. Unwillingly Sangyang Tunggal also allows Bentara Busu (= *Bongsu*, youngest) to go, turning him into a piece of rotten wood the size of a coconut, and casts him into a lake called Martapura, on condition that he never returns to the Seventh Heaven.

One day Betara Keripan is out hunting with Wiron and Andaga and his followers. They have spent several days in the forest without finding anything, when suddenly they see a golden hind which disappears when they chase it. Then they meet seven sisters of the pagan tribes which inhabit the forest. Pursued, the sisters all escape, except the beautiful Princess Bungsu Pangan who becomes Betara Keripan's mate. She longs to eat a rambutan fruit, and when the wish is miraculously granted she becomes pregnant. Thinking of the embarrassment which the love-child of an aboriginal mother would cause him when he returned to his kingdom, he decides to kill the Princess, but on the advice of his chief minister she is given his ring and placed in a well. After a son named Keratala is born to her in the well she places the ring on his finger, and exhorts him to go and search for his father when he is older.

Back in Keripan the King's wife longs one day for a custard-apple, and when this wish is also miraculously granted she becomes pregnant and bears a son Radin Inu Kartapati. As he grows up the fame of his good looks spreads far and wide, but his parents refuse all marriage proposals made by the envoys of foreign countries. To the King of Deha a daughter, Princess Radin Golok, is born. At length the news reaches the ears of the ruler of Menggada, a large and important kingdom of Java, who wishes to find a match for his daughter of surpassing beauty, Princess Sinaran Pati. The King himself heads an embassy of his ministers and warriors to Keripan, but Radin Inu is unwilling, and vowing vengeance the King returns to Menggada. A month later he sends three of his trusted ministers to capture Radin Inu. They snatch him away as he is playing in the palace garden, and carry him back to Menggada where he is looked after by forty duennas of the royal household. Summoned into the presence of the King of Menggada, and offered his daughter's hand and the kingdom, Radin

Inu turns his back defiantly and walks out. No amount of coaxing, not even binding in chains, makes him change his mind, for, he says, Keripan is a greater kingdom than Menggada. He is thrown into a dungeon guarded by seven ranks of warriors, starved and made to work as a slave.

Sangyang Tunggal descends to Earth and, donning a beggar's garb which he finds under a tree, suddenly turns jet-black in colour, his body swelling out and three tufts of hair sprouting from his head. He bathes in the lake of Martapura and rubs himself vigorously; then he throws the lump of removed dirt, the size of a coconut, into the lake and at once a human form emerges and climbs onto the bank. Sangyang Tunggal gives him the name of Turas and changes his own to Semar. They travel on together, and reach an old disused well from which comes the sound of a voice. Turas, frightened of the ghostly sounds, runs away but Semar lifts the stone lid and finds inside a woman of the forest tribes and her child. Semar says he is searching for a prince to make his follower, and Princess Bungsu Pangan says that her son is the Prince of Keripan. She tells him their story and then he and the young men set off to find the King of Keripan, after he has taught him how to make a correct obeisance before a ruler. But then he recognises the ring on his finger, and says that he has no need to do obeisance before the King.

While he is making his way through the forest Turas is seized by the Cannibal Demons, ruled by Bota Kala Sunyi. They are about to devour him when he tells them that he is the Head Keeper of the Forests, at which they release him with profuse apologies and show him the way to Keripan, with promises of help if he should ever need it. He meets Semar and is told that the voice in the well was that of a human being, and that the young man following him is Keratala, the son of Bentara Keripan.

When Semar and Turas appear before the King of Keripan to ask to be taken on as palace slaves, they find him stricken with grief at the loss of Radin Inu, and are told that they must first bring his son back to Keripan. Semar mentions that they have a man who will do this and Keratala, summoned before the King, reveals his identity. On learning of it the King withdraws to the palace and Keratala, left standing in the entrance-hall, is so angry that he shakes the walls until the whole palace trembles. Coming out again, the King says that he will acknowledge Keratala as his son, if he will bring Radin Inu back. He agrees and asks for weapons. A box of "këris" is brought, and he tests them one by one by stabbing his chest. The points of all except one break, and this one he hands to Andaga. He tests another boxful in the same way and hands the one unbroken këris to Wirun. In the third test he selects for himself a këris called Lok Sangsokugo

(the Kēris with Twenty-five Curves in its Blade). He sets out for Kingdom of Menggada in company with Semar and Turas, while Andaga and Wirun watch out for their return in Keripan. Semar and Turas become slaves at the court of Menggada, and soon make themselves favourites with the King. They are told to guard the palace precincts, and find a very emaciated Radin Inu in the dungeon. Primed with a plan of escape Keratala goes down and smashes open the dungeon, grabs Radin Inu and dashes up out of the gate of the fortress. But the noise has disturbed the whole palace, and he finds himself surrounded by soldiers of the King's bodyguard. He passes Radin Inu on to Semar, and then runs amuck, killing many of his opponents. Remembering the King of Keripan's promise he breaks off, and they all return safely to Keripan with Radin Inu. The King goes back on his word and Keratala, furious at his perfidy, again shakes the entrance-hall of the palace until the whole building trembles. Enquiring the reason for the disturbance Radin Inu is told the whole story by Keratala, whom he then addresses as elder brother and accords the new name of Sila Kalam, "Foster Prince."

Six months later the King of Menggada starts out on expedition to ask for the hand of Radin Galoh, the Princess of Deha. Coming to the borders of Keripan they are met by Sila Kalam, Wirun and Andaga, sent by Radin Inu, who has recognized the standard of his enemy. Radin Galoh is already betrothed to Radin Inu, and in a fight lasting seven days and seven nights his three protagonists utterly rout the hosts of Menggada.

II. KERA EMAS

One day while on his travels through foreign countries Radin Inu, accompanied by Semar, Turas, Andaga, Wirun and Sila Kalam arrived at the court of Betara Deha. He tells the King that after hunting for some time in the forest they are tired, and wish to rest. The King is delighted to see them for his land is threatened by his enemies, and Radin Inu's fame as a warrior is widespread. He sends for the Queen and their daughter Princess Radin Galoh, and a sumptuous feast is laid before the visitors. Radin Inu is invited into the King's dining hall and sits at table with his brothers, Radin Emas Aria Gunong Sari and Radin Perbuang.

One day Radin Inu defends the town of Deha against a Demon Giant who attacks it trying to abduct Radin Galoh. All his comrades except Semar fall unconscious after being bitten by the Demon, and Radin Inu is compelled to retreat because the Demon's magic powers make him invulnerable to Radin Inu's sword. Radin Inu shows his sword to Semar who spits on it, and at their next encounter he thrusts it into the Demon's mouth and kills him. Semar revives the unconscious men, and they all return to the palace.

Not long afterwards Radin Inu suggests to Semar that they should all go into the mountains and practise asceticism, in order to gain supernatural power the better to protect the Kingdom of Deha. With the King's permission they leave for Gunong Wandang-Wandang, after Radin Inu has made Radin Emas Aria Gunong Sari promise on his life that he will guard Radin Galoh from all, whether good or bad, who come pressing their suit. Then Radin Inu ascends to the highest peak of the mountain while his followers remain at the foot.

Meanwhile the King of Keripan is becoming more and more anxious for news of Radin Inu. At length one of his other sons, Radin Charang Chenaloh, begs to be allowed to go and search for him, and when this is refused threatens to leave by force. Angered, the King turns him into a Golden Monkey who leaps away and runs into the forest. By and by he comes to Gunong Gandang Wandang, on top of which lives an old hermit monkey who possesses very great magic powers. His name is Hanuman Kapi Wara. He warns Radin Charang Chenaloh that only his elder brother, Radin Inu, can restore him to proper shape, and that he is practising asceticism. He advises Radin Charang Chenaloh to do likewise, and together they go to the summit of Gunong Gandang Wandang. The princes of Deha carry out their promises faithfully. An expedition under Prince Belamangan Jaya comes to Deha, and demands Princess Radin Galoh with angry threats, but the King, exhorted by Radin Emas Aria Gunong Sari, procrastinates and the foreigners wait impatiently outside the town. But the Prince says that if his request is not granted he will lay waste the whole land of Deha.

Hanuman Kapi Wara decides to release Radin Charang Chenaloh, although his period of devotion is not yet finished, so that he can go to the aid of Princess Radin Galoh. He tells him that after his past studies no one except Radin Inu would be able to resist him, and takes him to the borders of Deha, where he instructs him to make for the garden of the Princess. Radin Charang Chenaloh arrives at the gate of the garden, but the janitor refuses to admit a monkey. So he kills him with a vicious kick. Then he pushes into the garden and creates a disturbance by uprooting all the plants and trees. The gardeners run off in a panic, and tell the King and Prince Belamangan Jaya, who is with him, that a Golden Monkey is destroying the garden. Three of Belamangan Jaya's warriors are despatched and the monkey kills two of them by banging their heads together. Then the Prince himself at the head of his fighting men tries to capture the monkey, but the monkey strikes at him with the branch of a tree while his body is invulnerable to their weapons. The attackers are killed and scattered, and the Prince, deprived of his clothing during the fight, returns disconsolate to his own country.

The King of Deha tells all the other claimants that anyone who can capture the Golden Monkey shall win his daughter's hand. They all try but none can prevail against the monkey's magic. In the end only four are left; Prince Solok, Prince Seludang, Prince Chempedak and Prince Raga-Raga. They decided that it is useless to continue, and return to their own countries, resolved to find other brides, while the Golden Monkey remains in possession of the Princess's garden.

After Radin Inu has been living as an ascetic on top of Gunung Wandang for nearly forty years Semar, afraid that if he completes his devotions his magic power will be so strong that Heaven itself will be consumed, summons him down to the foot of the mountain. There they bathe themselves and Radin Inu combs his long hair. Semar notices that he has a curbuncle growing from the back of neck, and he replies that this is a sign of the special favour bestowed upon him by the gods. They rouse the others and all set out for the kingdom of Deha after changing their names, Radin Inu to Mese Gemete, Semar to Lebah Labu, Turas to Abu Tatir, Sila Kalam to Keratala, Andaga to Pota Wira Yura, and Wirun to Jeludeh. The King of Deha does not recognize Mese Gemete and asks brusquely from what country he comes. But he is pacified when Mese Gemete promises to capture and slay the Golden Monkey. The monkey is enraged at the approach of the warriors, and starts by thrusting at Mese Gemete with an areca palm, while Mese Gemete lunges forward with his sword. The fight is long and bitter, and the latter is getting the worst of it. Keratala strikes with his magic *kēris* Sangsokugo, and the others also unsheathe their weapons and rush to his aid. But the monkey's powerful magic makes them fall in a faint and Mese Gemete, fighting with bare hands after sheathing his useless weapon, is seized and thrown into the air, landing unconscious in Waringin tree,¹ as far away as a bird can fly in seven days. After reviving he returns at once to the fight, remembering his promise to Sangyang Tunggal to subdue the world, and upbraiding himself for being worsted by a mere monkey. With a hard blow he fells the monkey to the ground and stamps on him, but the monkey seizes the trunk of a tree and breaks it across Mese Gemete's body. In trying to grab another tree-trunk he is seized round the waist by Mese Gemete who with a mighty effort hurls him high in the sky into Heaven. There he is met by Sang Kaki Betara Kala, who tells him that Mese Gemete is his elder brother. If he returns to Earth and does obeisance to him he will regain his human shape. He returns and greets his brother as Radin Inu, begging his forgiveness and telling him the story of his plight. He is changed back into human shape. Then they both resume their former name

¹ *Ficus benjamina* Linn. It is an old Malay custom to plant two of these trees before a royal dwelling, while according to a folk tale the shadows on the face of the moon in part represent a Waringin tree.

and Radin Inu takes Radin Charang Chenaloh, escorted by their six comrades, back to the land of Keripan.

III. KELANA WIRA JAYANG SAKTI

The King of Menggada is told by his chief minister that Radin Galoh, the daughter of the King of Deha, is a Princess of peerless beauty, and would make a fitting wife for so important a ruler as him. But she is already betrothed to Radin Inu Kartapati, the son of the King of Keripan. The King of Menggada, threatening to devastate the kingdom of Deha if he cannot wed the Princess, gathers all his available force, and marches to Deha to find preparations for the wedding in progress. Arrogantly he demands the bride, but is challenged to fight by Radin Inu. In the ensuing struggle, in which "blood flowed like a river", he is stabbed by Radin Inu and killed.

One night Sang Kaki Betara steals away the Princess Radin Galoh, and puts her on Gunong Maha Meru with duennas and attendants to wait on the royal captive. The next morning the palace is searched high and low for Radin Galoh, but the door of her chamber is open and she is nowhere to be found. The King deeply mourns her loss, and Radin Inu volunteers to go and find her. With his two attendants, Semar and Turas, and his three warriors, Sila Kalam, Sila Andaga and Wirun he arrives at the boundaries of a certain country which Semar tells him is Sembawa.

The King of Sembawa is holding council with his captains when three of his subjects enter to say that a strange man and his two wicked henchmen have been stealing vegetables from their orchard. Enraged, the King sends two of his captains, the Temenggong Sembawa and the Temenggong Gelombang Senggora, to the hut where the strangers are lodging. To their question, Radin Inu answers that his name is Kelana Wira Jayang Sakti, that his two attendants are Lebah Labu and Abu Tatir, and his three warriors Keratala, Pota Wira Yura and Jeludeh. He says haughtily that they do not seek an audience with the King, and that if the King wishes to know who they are it is for him to seek an audience with them. The two captains prepare to kill them but Keratala rushes out and puts them to flight. They report to the King who assembles his fighting men to capture Kelana Wira Jayang Sakti, but when the battle is joined they are overcome by his magic power, and the King and all his warriors are killed. Only one of the King's wives remains, and she is taken by Kelana Wira Jayang Sakti who becomes the ruler of Sembawa.

IV KERAK NASI

Pegawan Besmi, the King of Menggada, before going off to practise asceticism, hands over his kingdom to his son when he

comes of age. Wishing to find a wife, he learns from his chief minister that the most beautiful maiden is Radin Galoh, daughter of the King of Deha. So he despatches the minister with a letter proposing marriage to the court of Deha, where he is asked to wait seven days for the answer.

Radin Galoh is already betrothed to Radin Inu, the son of the King of Kuripan, who is hastily sent for to claim his bride in the face of other suitors. Elaborate preparations are made for the marriage. The King of Kuripan and his host of warriors, court attendants and subjects are received in Deha with royal honours. His announcement that he has come to give his son in marriage to Radin Galoh is the signal for dancing, singing and all kinds of entertainment, lasting for forty days and nights. Semar and Turas are put in charge of the merry-making, but they soon start quarrelling with each other when Semar asks to share the gleanings from the rice-pot, which he sees Turas eating off a long-handled scraper. Turas hands him the scraper, but every time he dips it into the pot and scoops out some rice, Turas licks it clean. The noise of their brawl wakes the whole place. Radin Inu angrily chases them both out of the grounds, brandishing a bow and arrow to speed them away.

The pair arrive at the foot of Gunong Wandang. There Semar leaves Turas under a tree and ascends to the summit to practise asceticism for three years. At the end of this period he rejoins the waiting Turas and confides in him that he intends to abduct Radin Galoh. They go back to Deha, and when Radin Inu peremptorily refuses the demands of Semar (whose real identity is not known to him) the ensuing fight goes against him. So he visits Betara Guru in Heaven to appeal for help, and Betara Guru advises that only one man can aid him, his old follower Semar. But Radin Inu says that Semar has left him. He returns to Earth and receives the same advice from the King of Kuripan. Baffled he sits down in the middle of the field and implores Semar to come to his aid. This so touches the heart of Semar that he calls for his beggar's garb, and putting it on approaches Radin Inu who asks where he has been all this time. Radin Inu tells him that he has been attacked by a young man possessed of great strength and supernatural power. When Semar asks where he is Radin Inu replies that the young man disappeared when he called for Turas. At Semar's suggestion they all return to Keripan with their band of followers.

V. PANJI GAGAK BAKONG

The gods in Heaven are troubled by a Demon Giant, Ratudu Putaran, who wishes to become their ruler. Betara Guru refuses as it is against the wishes of Sangyang Tunggal, the Lord of the Highest Heaven. Whereupon the Demon Giant threatens to

destroy Heaven, and waits in the middle of the battle-field to meet the challenge of the gods.

Betara Guru consults with Betara Nengada, and they agree to start the fight the next day. Betara Omar is put in command, with Betara Burhan on the left flank, Betara Brahma on the right, and Betara Indera in the centre. On the morrow the ranks of the gods pit their strength against Ratudu Putaran but cannot prevail; Betara Guru asks for a week's truce which is given.

Summoning all the gods in audience before him at Sangga Maya, Betara Guru asks how the Demon Giant may be overcome. Betara Nengada consults a book on astrology which says that only Panji Gagak Bakong, a child of Singasari, will save them. But the child is still in its mother's womb. Sent down to Earth Betara Omar goes to the kingdom of Singasari, where he finds all the inhabitants anxiously awaiting the birth of the child to the Queen. The child is born in a gorgeously decorated chamber in the palace and is laid on a silver tray. Quickly Betara Omar snatches the child from under the eyes of the seven midwives who have come down from Heaven to be in attendance, and returns with it to Betara Guru who is beginning to fear that some mischance has occurred. Betara Guru sees the frailty of the newly-born infant with some misgiving, but is assured that it will beat the Demon Giant.

On the next day the truce is up and the beat of drums and other alarms herald the arrival of the Demon Giant at the gates of Heaven. The child is escorted onto the field of battle by the assembled gods, but it faints away on hearing the voice of Ratudu Putaram. A further forty days truce is agreed to, and the gods reassemble at Sangga Maya where Betara Nengada consults the book on astrology, and finds that the child must be cut in pieces and placed in a cauldron with poisoned weapons. The directions are followed, Betara Guru standing by the cauldron and reciting a magic incantation calling on Sangyang Tunggal to restore the child to life. The seven-layered cloth covering it is then removed and out steps the child alive. He is bathed at the well of Bandun Kasua and presented to the assembled gods at Sangga Maya. They endue him with their magic power and he is named Panji Gagak Bakong, the Champion of Heaven.

At the end of forty days the Demon Giant appears again, and Panji Gagak Bakong goes out onto the battle-field to find him waiting. They hurl abuse at each other. Then Panji Gagak Bakong draws his sword and falls upon Ratudu Putaran. At the end of a day and a night Ratudu Putaran is defeated and returns to Earth, pursued by Panji Gagak Bakong who chases him into a cave in Meunt Miang Tunggal, but the Demon Giant closes the entrance against him.

Two suitors for the hand of the Princess of Mentaung, named Kelana Lang-Lang Buana Sakti and Kelana Jayang Sakti, arrive to find two Princes, Champaka and Roga-Raya, already there on the same quest. Kelana Lang-Lang finds high favour with the King of Mentaung, who offers his daughter to him in marriage. This angers the two Princes and a furious battle starts, Heaven itself shaking with its vehemence. Panji Gagak Bakong asks what is causing Heaven to shake, and is told that his cousin Radin Inu Kartapati is fighting with the two Princes. He descends to Earth and witnesses the fight in which Kelana Lang-Lang Buana Sakti is victorious. In answer to his enquiry the latter denies that he is Radin Inu Kartapati. Then he asks what the fight was about, and hearing that Kelana Lang-Lang Buana Sakti wishes to abduct Princess Chendera Wati, the daughter of the King of Mentaung, he claims that she is already betrothed to him and that he will take her off by force. The fight that follows is heard in Heaven, and Betara Nengada tells Betara Guru that Radin Inu Kartapati and Panji Gagak Bakong are in mortal combat. Advised by Betara Nengada, Betara Guru goes down to Earth and stops the fight, telling Radin Inu Kartapati that the man he is fighting is his own cousin, the Prince of Singasari. After Betara Guru has returned to Heaven the pair of them go to Mentaung, where Radin Inu Kartapati marries Princess Chendera Wati. Then they return to Keripan, where the King is overjoyed at the return of his son after so long an absence. Already old, Betara Keripan hands over his kingdom to Radin Inu Kartapati, who promises not to go on any more of his travels, and Panji Gagak Bakong stays in Keripan as the captain of his forces.

Comments.

We may first distinguish the comic episodes to which every patron of the wayang kulit looks forward as light relief after the life-and-death struggles between the hero and his opponents, neither side scrupling to use the supernatural powers with which it is somewhat capriciously endowed. These interludes centre round Semar, an incarnation of Sangyang Tunggal, the Supreme Lord of Indra's Heaven, and his weak-kneed comrade Turas. The story in No. 1 of the birth of Turas from the dirt removed from Semar's body is well-known in the Kelantan wayang kulit, where Pa' Dogah (Semar) bathes at a well or spring, and Wa' Long (Turas) emerges from the ground at the spot where he buried the dirt. The seizure of Turas by a raksasa in No. 1, Semar's discovery of a carbuncle on Radin Inu's neck in No. II, and the quarrel over the rice gleanings in No. IV, are all examples of such interludes.

As to the principal story there is no account of the divine birth of Radin Inu and Radin Galoh. Nos I and III mention four brothers, the princes of Keripan, Deha, Gegalang and Singasari, who are descended from the gods. In the Chekel Waneng

Pati it is Betara Kala who arranges the kidnapping of Radin Inu, who is betrothed to Radin Galoh, and the carrying off of Radin Galoh by a raksasa: in No. I Radin Inu is captured by the ruler of Menggada after refusing to marry his daughter, and in No. II Radin Galoh is the object of an attack by a raksasa on Deha. There are three accounts, in Nos I, III and IV, of the Chekel Waneng Pati story in which the ruler of Menggada comes to claim Radin Galoh as his bride but is overcome by Radin Inu. A golden hind is mentioned inconsequentially in No. I. In the Chekel Waneng Pati, Betara Kala, angry because the King of Deha has refused his daughter Radin Galoh to her rescuer Radin Inu as promised, throws a ring to earth where it becomes a hind with golden antlers. Radin Galoh longs for it and the King promises her in marriage to anyone who can capture it, but Radin Inu is again cheated of his reward.

In the Chekel Waneng Pati, Radin Charang Chenaloh, the brother of Radin Inu, attacks Deha and is defeated by Radin Inu who then recognizes him and faints. To judge from Winstedt's summary there is no mention in it of the golden Monkey (No. II) and Mese Gamete (Winstedt mentions a MS called the Mesa Kumitar). Before they recover, Betara Kala has carried away Radin Galoh in a storm. No. III mentions her abduction by Betara Kala to a mountain.

Many MSS of the Panji tales mention the jungle princess in No. I. In the Ken Tambuhan poem she is the daughter of the ruler of Deha, and is murdered by Radin Inu's mother. The story teller here has perhaps given his own twist to the tale to bring in Keratala, Radin Inu's half-brother, who wields the magic *kēris* Lok Sangsokugo, and rescues Radin Inu from the clutches of the King of Menggada (No. I). But it would be interesting to know whether this story is found in any of the Panji MSS.

No. IV is largely a repetition of the episodes in No. I, the King of Menggada's interference with the preparations for Radin Inu's marriage to Radin Galoh, his appeal to Betara Guru, with the usual comic interludes featuring Semar and Turas.

No. V seems to take its subject matter from a different source, and it would be interesting to know where, if anywhere, the name Panji Gagah Bakong, or the story of his dismemberment, occurs in original texts. If Panji Gagah Bakong is to be identified with Radin Inu, it would be easy to account for the rather *ad hoc* end to the story by supposing that the narrator, not recognising this, had grafted new names onto a familiar story to give a garbled version of the visit of the King Menggada to Deha. The story as it stands is hopelessly confused; it is under the name of Jayang Sakti that in No. III Radin Inu searches for Radin Galoh. The identical changes of name of his five followers in Nos

II and III may be noted. The name Sila Kalam for Radin Inu's half-brother Keratala also occurs in No. I. Is Mentaung to be identified with Deha of the other extracts?

Radin Emas Gunong Sari, a younger brother of Radin Inu, is mentioned in No. II as the special protector of Radin Galoh, abducted in No. III. The names occurs in the Chekel Waneng Pati as the son of the King of Deha who goes to look for the lost Radin Galoh.

BENTARA KERIPAN: MALAY TEXT

Tersebut-lah raja empat beradek ia-itu raja yang berketurunan daripada Dewa² ia-itu Bentara Keripan, Bentara Deha, Bentara Gegalang dan Bentara Singasuri, keempat² beradek ini telah di-bawa oleh Semar pergi ka-Mekah. Apabila ka-empat²-nya telah turun dan balek ka-negri-nya masing² menjadi raja bagi negri masing².

Pada suatu masa Bentara Keripan telah berseru² memohon kepada Bentara Guru yang di-kayangan yang ka-enam memohon sa-orang anak laki² yang berani lagi gagah perkasa serta kesaktian supaya dapat membunuh bota² raksaksa. Pada masa itu kayangan pun bergerak. Maka lalu bertanya Bentara Guru kepada kakang-nya Bentara Nengada, "Mengapa dan apa sebab-nya kakang-ku, maka kayangan-ku ini bergerak?" Maka jawab Dewa Bentara Nengada, "Ya yadi-ku, tidak-kah kamu dapat tahu Bentara Keripan yang sudah memohon kepada yadi akan sa-orang anak laki² yang gagah perkasa lagi kesaktian?" Maka jawab Bentara Guru, "Di-mana-kah kita hendak ambil?" .Maka bermesuarat-lah ia dengan adek-beradek-nya yang ketujuh bersaudara itu, ia-itu baginda sendiri, Dewa Bentara Nengada, Dewa Bentara Omar, Dewa Bentara Burhan, Dewa Bentara Kerma, Dewa Bentara Indera dan Dewa Bentara Indera Jaya. Di-dalam bermesuarat itu, berkata-lah kakang-nya yang tua, ia-itu Dewa Bentara Nengada, "Pada pemandangan kakang tidak-lah lain daripada Dewa Kerma Jaya yang boleh kita bawa turun ka-alam dunia yang boleh di-jadikan anak kepada Bentara Keripan." Maka jawab yadi-nya Bentara Omar, "Harus tidak boleh kerana Dewa Kerma Jaya itu kekesahan Dewa Sang Senohon Wong Agung Sang Yang Tunggal." Maka jawab Bentara Guru, "Baik-lah, choba kita bertujuh bersaudara ini naik kekayangan yang ketujuh mengadap Dewa Sang Yang Tunggal, kita pohonkan kepada-nya akan Dewa Kerma Jaya itu." Maka ka-tujuh bersaudara pon naik-lah ka-kayangan yang ka-tujuh, bila sampai, maka Bentara Guru pon masuk mengadap Dewa Sang Yang Tunggal lalu menyembah, sembah-nya, "Ampun tuanku beribu² ampun jangan-lah tuanku murkakan kepada patek." Titah Sang Yang Tunggal, "Apa hajat mu naik ka-kayangan yang ka-tujuh berjumpa dengan aku ini?" Maka sembah Bentara Guru, "Patek hendak pohonkan kepada tuanku ia-itu patek pohonkan Dewa Kerma Jaya hendak minta turun ka-alam dunia supaya jadi anak kepada Bentara Keripan." Bertitah Dewa Sang Yang Tunggal, "Apa sebab-nya maka kamu minta kepada aku?" Maka sembah Bentara Guru, "Ada pun sebab-nya maka patek pohonkan kepada tuanku, kerana anak patek Bentara Keripan memohon sa-orang anak laki² yang gagah perkasa lagi kesaktian yang mana boleh membunuh segala Bota, Raksaksa yang mengachau di-dalam 'alam dunia, jika tidak dapat neschaya anak patek tidak hendak memerintah 'alam dunia." Maka titah Sang Yang Tunggal, "Hai Dewa Kerma Jaya, sekarang turun-lah engkau ka-alam dunia, hendak-kah engkau atau tidak?" Maka sembah Dewa Kerma Jaya, "Ampun tuanku, titah di-junjong." Kemudian Dewa Sang Yang Tunggal pon bertitah kepada Bentara yang ka-tujuh yang naik mengadap itu, "Sekarang turun-lah tuanhamba balek ka-kayangan yang ka-enam. Hendak-lah tuanhamba jaga akan Puteri Lela Anata 'Ajaib dan bunga Jayang Mala yang di-dalam taman Tuan Puteri itu, serta berikan makanan² kepada-nya dengan sechukup dan jangan di-beri hilang satu² apa pun, jika kira-

nya hilang salah satu daripada-nya neschaya aku rontohkan kayangan ini, sila-lah tuanhamba turun." Maka Bentara yang ka-tujuh beradek itu pun turun-lah.

Sa-telah itu, maka Dewa Sang Yang Tunggal memegang Dewa Karma Jaya, lalu di-upar-nya sa-hingga menjadi sa-butir buah lonan di-lemparkan dia ka-alam dunia dan terjatoh ka-dalam taman Bentara Keripan Kemudian baginda Dewa Sang Yang Tunggal pegang kepada bidadari yang bernama Lela Kesokma, di-uparkan sahingga jadi sa-biji buah delima, di-lemparkan ka-alam dunia dan terjatoh ka-dalam taman Bentara Deha. Kemudian baginda pegang kepada Dewa Sang Gerga di-lemparkan ka-alam dunia jatoh ia kepada Gunung Wilis. Kemudian di-regang kepada Dewa Wiron di-lemparkan ka-alam dunia jatoh ia di-hulu negri Keripan dan akhir-nya sa-kali di-ambil sa-ekor Dewa Sang Kala di-uparkan dia sahingga menjadi sa-buah rambutan Pangan, di-lemparkan dia jatoh di-dalam hutan. Di-dalam itu berkata-lah Dewa Bentara Busu kepada Dewa Sang Yang Tunggal, "Patek misti bersama¹ turun ka-alam dunia juga tuanku." Maka jawab Dewa Sang Yang Tunggal, "Engkau tidak boleh turun, engkau misti jaga kayangan ini." Maka jawab Bentara Busu, "Patek tidak suka sa-kali." Titah Dewa Sang Tunggal, "Jika engkau turun tidak boleh naik lagi ka-kayangan ini." Jawab Dewa Bentara Busu, "Biar-lah patek tidak boleh naik pun." Maka Dewa Sang Tunggal pun memegang akan Dewa Bentara Busu lalu di-uparkan dia sahingga menjadi sa-buah daki kayu besar-nya sa-besar buah kelapa, kemudian di-lemparkan dia ka-alam dunia jatoh ka-dalam sa-buah kolam yang bernama Martapura. Maka tinggal Dewa Sang Yang Tunggal sa-orang diri di-atas kayangan itu.

Tersebut-lah kesah Bentara Keripan pergi berburu rusa pada suatu hutan bersama² dengan Pateh Keripan, Wirun dan Andaga serta rasyat sakalian mengiring baginda. Apabila sampai ka-dalam hutan maka baginda pun menitahkan supaya mendirikan bangsal dan pondok. Lebeh kurang tiga kali Jumaat baginda duduk³ di-dalam hutan itu ta' usahkan berjumpa rusa, akan lalat langau tiada melintas. Maka di-panggil oleh baginda akan Pateh Keripan kata-nya, "Ayohai kakang Pateh Keripan, selama kita di-dalam hutan ini tiada nampak apa⁴ binatang pun usahkan rusa lalat langau pun tidak melintas, lebeh baik kita balek." Apakala terluchut sahaja perkataan baginda yang demikian itu, tiba⁵ melintas sa-ekor kijang emas di-hadapan baginda. Apabila terpandang oleh baginda akan kijang emas itu, maka baginda pun kejar-lah bersama⁶ dengan rasyat baginda, di-dalam hal itu, maka kijang emas itu pun ghaib-lah.

Tiba⁷ berjumpa-lah oleh baginda dengan sa-pusk pangan tujuh orang ia-itu adek beradek, lalu di-kejar oleh baginda, pangan⁸ lain dapat lari, melainkan sa-orang puteri Bungsu Pangan sahaja yang tiada sempat lari. Maka baginda pun menitahkan kepada Pateh Keripan suruh bawa balek puteri Bungsu Pangan ini ka-pondok baginda, di-pakai oleh baginda sa-bagai orang laki bini di-dalam hutan itu. Ada pun sifat dan rupa paras Puteri Bungsu itu tidak-lah dapat di-katakan lagi betapa elok-nya paras-nya, sa-kadarkan yang menyachat rupa-nya itu di-sebabkan bangsa pangan sahaja. Pada suatu hari Peteri Bungsu Pangan telah mengidam hendak makan buah rambutan, maka dengan takdir Dewata Mulia Raya tiba⁹ terlihat-lah ia sa-biji buah rambutan tergolek di-tepi pondok tempat duduk-nya. Maka Puteri Bungsu pun ambil lalu di-makan-nya, dengan hal yang demikian Puteri Bungsu itu pun hamil-lah.

Shahadan, apabila diketahui oleh baginda Betara Keripan akan Puteri Bungsu itu sudah hamil, maka baginda pun berfikir di-dalam hati-nya, hendak pun baginda membawa balek Puteri Bungsu ini ka-dalam negri-nya tentu sahaja akan mendapat suatu kaipar yang besar, kerana Puteri itu tidak sa-bangsa dengan-nya, lagi pun ia daripada bangsa pangan. Maka di-panggil oleh baginda akan mentri-nya Pateh Keripan, titah baginda, "Hendak pun kaula bawa balek Puteri Bungsu ini ka-dalam negri, telah tentu kaula akan mendapat keaipan, kerana puteri itu tidak sa-bangsa, lagi pun ia daripada bangsa pangan, apa fikiran kakang hendak kita bunoh-kah

dia?" Maka sembah Pateh Keripan, "Ampun tuanku beribu² ampun, sembah patek harapkan di-ampun, ada pun pada bichara patek, jikalau tuanku bunuh Puteri Bongsu itu tentu-lah menjadi sedih hati memandang darah paduka anakanda yang di-dalam perut ibu-nya, pada fikiran patek lebih baik tuanku kurniakan chinchin Kerajaan kepada Puteri Bongsu dan kita buangkan dia ka-dalam sa-buah telaga kita tutup dengan batu² besar." Apabila di-dengar oleh Bentara Keripan akan sembah Pateh Keripan itu, maka baginda pun senyum seraya bertitah, "Ayohai kakang, tersangat-lah perkenan kaula akan fikiran Pateh," Lalu baginda pun menchebut chinchin yang di-jari-nya di-masokkan kepada jari Puteri Bongsu itu, lalu dipanggil sakalian hulubalang bawa Puteri Bongsu itu masokkan ka-dalam telaga, serta di-tutup-nya dengan batu² besar. Sa-telah selesai, maka Bentara Keripan dan mentri hulubalang sakalian pun balek-lah ka-dalam negeri Keripan.

Shahadan, maka tersebut-lah kesah Puteri Bongsu yang duduk di-dalam telaga itu, tiada berapa lama-nya selang daripada itu beranak-lah ia sa-orang anak laki² di-namai-nya Keratala. Bila Keratala sudah besar, maka Puteri Bongsu pun sarikkan chinchin yang di-jari-nya yang di-beri oleh Bentara Keripan itu kepada jari anak-nya Keratala itu seraya berkata, "Hai anak-ku, ada pun chinchin ini ia-lah chinchin yang di-kurnia oleh paman-mu Bentara Keripan, pesan-nya apabila engkau besar kelak pergi-lah engkau menchari paman-mu yang menjadi Raja di-dalam Negeri Keripan." Maka Keratala pun berdiam diri tidak berkata².

Tersebut-lah kesah Bentara Keripan yang balek² daripada berburu itu sa-telah sa-tahun lama-nya, maka isteri-nya pun mengidam hendak makan buah lonan. Maka titah baginda kepada mentri-nya Pateh Keripan menyuruh chari buah lonan itu kalau² ada, kemudian di-chari oleh Pateh Keripan tiba² berjumpa-lah ia sa-biji lonan sedang tergolek di-dalam taman baginda. Maka di-persembahkan-lah kepada baginda lalu di-bawa masuk di-berikan kepada isteri-nya, lalu di-makan-lah oleh isteri-nya. Selang tiada berapa lama-nya, isteri baginda pun hamil-lah, bila genap sembilan bulan beranak-lah ia sa-orang anak laki² lalu di-beri nama oleh baginda Radin Innu Kerta Pati Gagak Seri Nala Kuda Lawi² Selinggang Emas Chahaya Anak Jintan Putera Jenggala Jongjulok Kakayangan, maka tiada berapa putera baginda pun besar terlalu elok paras-nya. Maka termashor-lah kepada saluroh batangan Tanah Jawa yang sambong empat pendahat penjurur alam akan peri keelokkan Radin Innu itu sahingga raja yang besar datang meminang-nya, tetapi tidak di-beri oleh ayah bonda-nya.

Tersebut pula kesah isteri Bentara Deha yang mengidam hendak makan buah delima, maka titah baginda kepada pateh Deha suroh charikan buah delima, di-dalam masa Pateh Deha berjalan menchari-nya, tiba² bertemu-lah ia sa-biji buah delima di-dalam taman baginda, maka lalu di-ambil oleh pateh Deha di-persembahkan kepada baginda di-bawa masuk dan di-berikan kepada isteri-nya. Maka isteri baginda pun makan-lah. Tiada berapa lama antara-nya, isteri baginda pun hamil-lah, bila chukop bulan-nya beranak-lah ia sa-orang anak perempuan di-namai oleh baginda Radin Galoh Kesokma Ma'eraj Sa-gedong Manya, tiada berapa lama puteri itu pun besar-lah sangat di-kasehi oleh baginda laki isteri.

Shahadan, ada sa-buah negeri di-dalam Tanah Jawa, Raja-nya bernama Ratu Menggada terlalu besar Kerajaan-nya, chukup lengkap dengan segala hulubalang yang gagah² perkasa, akan baginda ada mempunyai sa-orang anak perempuan bernama Tuan Puteri Sinaran Pati, sangat chantek paras-nya tiada banding masa itu. Pada suatu hari baginda bermeshuarat dengan mentri hulubalang sakalian, baginda bertitah kepada mentri-nya dan hulubalang-nya, titah-nya, "Ada-kah Kerajaan yang lain di-dalam Tanah Jawa ini ada mempunyai anak laki² yang chantek yang boleh di-jodohkan dengan puteri kaula " Maaka sembah Pateh Menggada, "Ampun tuanku beribu² ampun, ada-lah patek mendengar dengan telinga patek, ia-itu ada sa-orang putera Bentara Keripan yang bernama Radin Innu Kerta Pati Gagak Seri Nala Kuda Lawi² Selinggang Emas Chahaya Anak Jintan Putera Jenggala Jong-

julok Ka-Kayangan tuanku, sekarang ia masih berumur enam belas tahun, tetapi sayang yang Radin Innu ini telah bertunang dengan Radin Galoh Kesokma Ma'eraj Sagedong Manya sa-pupu-nya."

Maka bertitah Raja Menggada kepada mentri-nya Pateh Menggada suroh siap-kan kerana hendak pergi ka-Keripan meminang Radin Innu putera Bentara Keripan itu supaya kahwin dengan puteri baginda, Tuan Puteri Sinaran Pati. Apakala siap lalu berjalan-lah ia dengan segala hulubalang-nya, mentri dan raayat sakalian. Bila sampai lalu masuk ka-dalam kota. Maka bertanya-lah Bentara Keripan, "Apakah hajat tuanhamba datang ka-mari?" Maka di-cherita oleh Ratu Menggada akan segala maksud² kedatangan-nya itu. Maka kata Bentara Keripan, "Boleh-lah tuanhamba tanya kepada-nya sendiri. Bentara Keripan panggil putera-nya Radin Innu keluar lalu dudok, Ratu Menggada bercherita-lah peri hal kedatangan-nya itu. Maka jawab Radin Innu, "Patek belum lagi hendak kahwin."

Sa-telah itu Ratu Menggada pun balek-lah ka-negeri-nya. Antara sa-bulan lama-nya, maka Ratu Menggada menitahkan kepada Temenggong-nya bertiga bersaudara itu pergi ka-negeri Keripan tangkap Radin Innu itu supaya di-bawa ka-mari. Maka Temenggong bertiga pun menyembah lalu keluar berjalan menuju ka-Negeri Keripan.

Pada suatu hari sedang Radin Innu bermain² di-dalam taman dan di-tepi² kota, tiba² datang-lah Temenggong ketiga masuk menangkap Radin Innu itu lalu balek ka-negeri Menggada di-persembahkan kepada baginda. Akan Ratu Menggada tersangat-lah sukacita hati-nya oleh kerana telah berhasil maksud-nya. Titah Ratu Menggada kepada puluh orang inang pengasoh-nya bawa Radin Innu itu masuk ka-dalam istana beri makan dan pakai dengan di-jagai-nya sa-chukup oleh inang² pengasoh itu.

Pada suatu hari baginda suroh inang² Radin Innu itu bawa Radin Innu supaya mengadap baginda, sa-telah sampai, maka berkata-lah Ratu Menggada kepada Radin Innu itu kata-nya, "Ayohai anak-ku Radin Innu, ada pun tujuan paman mengambal anak-ku ka-mari, ia-lah kerana paman hendak kahwinkan anak-ku dengan anak paman Puteri Sinaran Pati, bukan-lah paman hendak bust perhamba dan a'bdi, tetapi paman hendak bust anak menantu dan paman serahkan Kerajaan Menggada kepada anak-ku." Apabila di-dengar oleh Radin Innu akan kata² Ratu Menggada itu, maka ia pun menarek muka masam serta berpaling belakang kepada Ratu Menggada sa-olah² tidak menerima akan pemberian itu. Maka di-suroh oleh Radin Menggada kepada inang² pengasoh-nya memujuk akan Radin Innu itu. Supaya membuat bagaimana kehendak baginda, walau beberapa di-pujuk pun oleh inang² pengasoh-nya, tetapi tiada-lah juga menurut, serta berkata, "Jikalau di-bunuh mati sakali pun kaula tiada redza dan menurut sa-kali². Maka oleh inang² pengasoh pun berdatang sembah kepada baginda Ratu Menggada. Dengan hal yang demikian maka murka-lah Ratu Menggada lalu bertitah kepada Pateh Menggada suroh panggil sakalian hulubalang kenakan rantai dan belanggu kepada Radin Innu di-dudokkan di-dalam istana baginda. Di-dalam pada itu segala inang², mentri², hulubalang dan isteri orang² besar di-dalam negeri Menggada pergi memujuk Radin Innu itu, tetapi bagaimana pun di-pujuk tiada-lah jua menurut lalu ia pun berkata sa-kali lagi, "Walau di-seksa dan di-bunuh mati sa-kali pun kaula tiada menurut, kerana tiada taraf kaula berkahwin dan menjadi menantu kepada Ratu Menggada kerana kaula anak raja lebeh besar daripada Kerajaan Menggada." Perkataan ini di-sembahkan oleh Pateh Menggada kepada Ratu Menggada. Maka baginda pun murka yang terlalu amat sangat seraya bertitah kepada Pateh Menggada menyuroh penjarakan Radin Innu dan di-pukul serta jangan di-beri makan minum walau sa-suap nasi dan sa-teguk syer sa-kali pun. Maka di-kerjakan-lah oleh Pateh Menggada dan hulubalang sakalian bagaimana titah baginda itu. Radin Innu itu pun di-masokkan ka-dalam penjara besi di-kawal oleh tujuh lapis hulubalang yang terbilang. Ratu Menggada berpesan kepada hulubalang penunggu pintu kota istana-nya jangan dibenarkan sa-orang pun masuk ka-dalam kota.

Tersebut-lah kisah Dewa Sang Yang Tunggal baginda turun kepada sakmanya berjalan sa-orang diri tiada berjumpa sa-orang manusia dan binatang pun niat hati-nya hendak perhamba, di-dalam perjalanan-nya sambil berfikir di-dalam hati-nya, "Siapa hendak ambil aku jadikan hamba, sebab aku sa-orang raja, lagi pun rupa aku boleh di-katakan chomel juga, di-dalam hal yang demikian tiba¹ sampai-lah ia kepada sa-pohon kayu, di-lihat-nya ada satu sarongan yang amat besar dan huboh rupa-nya seperti sa-orang tua, maka lalu ia pun berfikir, lebeh baik aku masukkan ka-dalam sarongan ini. Sa-telah itu masuk-lah ia ka-dalam sarongan itu dengan serta merta, maka rupa-nya pun berubah-lah menjadi gemok tambun, hitam legam dan jambul-nya ada tiga tumpok. Apakala terpandang oleh-nya akan tuboh-nya kotor dan berdaki, maka ia pun berjalan menchari tempat yang ada ayer kerana hendak mandi dan gosok daki², tiba³ berjumpa-lah ia sa-buah kolam yang bernama Mertapura, maka ia pun terjun ka-dalam kolam itu mandi, sa-kali ia menyelam, naik-lah ia ka-tebing kolam itu sambil bergosok daki² pada tuboh-nya, dengan hal yang demikian daki² yang telah di-dapati pada tuboh-nya itu di-himpunkan. akhir-nya jadi sa-besar tongkolan buah kelapa, kemudian ia pun berfikir sa-orang diri-nya, "Di-mana-kah patut ku buangkan daki-ku ini? Jika di-buang di-dalam hutan neshaya di-makan oleh bota raksaksa atau ular halipan akan jadi makanan-nya, lebeh baik aku buangkan dia di-dalam kolam ini, supaya dapat di-makan oleh ikan⁴ yang ada di-dalam-nya, maka dengan tidak lengah lagi di-champak-lah daki² yang sa-besar buah kelapa itu ka-dalam kolam itu, tiba⁵ naik-lah sa-orang manusia (Dewa Betna Busu) dan duduk di-tepi kolam itu, apabila terpandang oleh Dewa Sang Yang Tunggal, ia pun hampir-lah seraya bertanya, "Mu mari dari mana?" Jawab orang itu, "Aku tidak tahu, mu-lah letak nama aku." Maka Dewa Sang Yang Tunggal pun beri nama orang itu Turas dan dia sendiri di-ubahkan kepada nama Semar. Maka berchakap⁶-lah kedua-nya lalu masing⁷ ajak berjalan menchari kerana hendak menjadi hamba, sa-telah bersatuju, maka berjalan-lah kedua-nya sampai kepada suatu hutan tempat Bentara Keripan berburu tadi. Tiba⁸ terdengar-lah oleh kedua-nya suatu suara manusia dari dalam sa-buah telaga burok, maka kata Turas kepada Semar, "Baik kita lari ini-lah dia di-katakan orang hantu hutan, kelak kalau dekat habis kita di-makan-nya. Maka kata Semar, "Jangan kita lari lagi, lebeh baik kita pergi tengok dahulu." Maka kata Turas, "Aku tidak mahu pergi." Lalu ia lari sa-orang diri, dalam hal ini Semar pun menuju kepada tempat suara itu, tetapi Turas chabut lari. Bila Semar sampai kepada telaga tempat suara yang berbunyi itu, di-dapati-nya ada manusia dua beranak sedang tertindeh dengan batu⁹ yang besar, lalu Semar pun angkat batu⁹ itu. Sa-telah habis lalu di-angkat naik kedua manusia tadi, di-kenali-lah nyata rupa bangsa manusia itu di-dapati kedua-nya daripada bangsa Pangan. Maka Puteri Bungsu pun bertanya kepada Semar kata-nya, "Wak hendak ka-mana?" Jawab Semar, "Aku hendak pergi menchari raja kerana hendak perhamba. Maka jawab Puteri Bungsu, "Anak hamba ini anak raja juga." Kata Semar, "Apa nama raja itu? Maka jawab Puteri Bungsu, "Bentara Keripan." Kata Semar, "Bagaimana mula-nya maka tuanhamba duduk dua beranak di-dalam telaga ini?" Maka Puteri Bungsu pun berchita-lah hal-nya dari awal hingga ka-akhir-nya. Bila di-dengar oleh Semar akan Cherita Puteri Bungsu itu, maka ia pun hendak berjalan, lalu di-suroh-nya oleh Puteri Bungsu akan anak-nya supaya mengikut dan pergi bersama dengan Semar, moga¹⁰ berjumpa-lah dengan syahanda-nya Bentara Keripan. Maka Semar bertanya kepada Keratala anak Puteri Bungsu itu kata-nya, "Engkau hendak pergi chari raja, pandai-kah engkau menyembah?" Jawab Keratala, "Hamba tidak pandai menyembah, aja pun belum kenal lagi." Maka lalu di-ajar oleh Semar kata-nya, "Mu angkat kedua tangan tinggi sampai ka-kening sembah kepada aku." Maka Keratala pun angkat kedua tangan-nya belom sampai ka-kening lagi maka tangan-nya jatoh di-atas kepala Semar. Maka kata Semar, "Mengapa mu tumbok kepala aku?" Jawab Keratala, "Hai Wak, tangan aku banyak berat tidak boleh hendak mengangkai lagi." Berkata Semar, "Chuba aku lihat tangan kamu." Maka di-lihat oleh Semar akan tangan Keratala ada sa-bentuk chinchin Kerajaan, kata Semar, "Mu tidak boleh menyembah kepada raja¹¹ mana pun. Maka kedua-nya pun berjalan-lah hendak pergi menchari raja.

Tersebut kesah Turas yang lari daripada Semar kerana takut suara yang dilal telaga itu, tiba¹ ia pun sampai kepada suatu hutan, maka lalu di-tangkap oleh empat puluh bota raksaksa yang di-ketuai oleh bota yang berna Bota Kala Sunyi hendak di-makan-nya. Maka berkata-lah Turas kepada bota² itu, "Hai bota sakalian, engkau manusia itu makanan aku." Maka jawab Turas, "Aku-lah Ratu Bendahara Hutan." Jawab bota³ sakalian, "Ampun tuanku, patek tidak kenal, jika patek kenal tidak sa-kali² patek tangkap tuanku, jangan-lah tuanku sumpah akan patek sakalian." Maka kata Turas, "Sekarang engkau gendong aku kerana aku hendak masuk ka-dalam negeri." Oleh bota raksaksa pun gendong-lah akan Turas di-bawa ka-pinggiran negeri, sa-telah itu berpesan-lah bota³ itu kepada Turas, sa-kira-nya tuanku dapat kesusahan, sila-lah serukan nama patek, supaya dapat patek menolong tuan-ku." Maka kata Turas, "Baik-lah."

Hatta berjalan-lah Turas sa-orang diri, di-dalam perjalanan itu ia pun menoleh ka-belakang, terpandang-lah ia kepada dua orang yang berjalan, maka di-kenali-lah oleh Turas akan orang yang berjalan itu, ia-lah Semar, lalu ia pun berhenti dan hampir kepada Semar, serta berchakap²-lah ia mencheritakan hal-nya lari sahingga di-tangkap oleh bota raksaksa tadi. Maka kata Turas kepada Semar, "Hai Semar, siapa dia di-belakang mu itu?" Jawab Semar ini-lah dia orang yang ber-suara yang kedengaran bunyi dari dalam telaga itu, dia bernama Keratala." Turas berkata, "Jika aku tahu manusia tentu aku tidak lari." Maka berjalan-lah ketiga³ orang menuju dan masuk ka-Negeri Keripan. Sa-telah sampai maka Semar dan Turas pun masuk-lah mengadap Bentara Keripan akan Keratala di-tinggalkan di-gigi hutan.

Tersebut-lah kesah Bentara Keripan yang kehilangan putra-nya Radin Innu di-churi oleh Ratu Menggada di-bawa ka-negeri-nya itu, baginda terlalu-lah dukac-hita siang dan malam sahingga tidak lalu makan dan minum. Pada suatu hari sedang baginda bermeshuarat dengan menteri dan hulubalang-nya di-balai tiba² masuk-lah Semar bersama³ Turas mengadap baginda. Titah baginda, "Darimana orang tua datang, dan hendak ka-mana serta apa hajat maka datang mengadap kami di-balai ini?" Maka sembah Semar, "Ada pun patik berdua bersaudara ini ia-lah orang gunung, tujuan patik mengadap tuanku ia-lah kerana hendak menjadi hamba 'abdi tuanku." Titah Bentara Keripan, "Sekarang aku tidak boleh buat hamba akan kamu lagi, kerana aku sekarang di-dalam kesusahan yang amat sangat." Maka sembah Semar, "Apa kesusahan itu tuanku?" Jawab Bentara Keripan, "Ada pun anak-ku Radin Innu itu telah di-churi oleh Ratu Menggada di-bawa ka-Negeri-nya di-buboh-nya di-dalam penjara besi, kalau kira-nya mu boleh ambil dia bawa balek, neschaya aku jadi-kan mu kedua ini hamba aku." Sembah Semar, "Patek tidak sanggop tuanku, tetapi saudara patek harus boleh." Maka titah Bentara Keripan, "Jika begitu segera-lah panggil saudara mu itu bawa kemari." Maka Semar pun menyembah serta keluar memanggil Keratala dan di-bawa masuk menga-dap baginda, sa-telah sampai lalu men-tadap. Titah baginda, "Apa nama mu?" Maka sembah Keratala, "Patek bernama Keratala anak Bentara Keripan." Apakah di-dengar oleh baginda, ia-pun diam-lah lalu masuk ka-dalam istana. Keratala rasa hangat hati-nya, lalu ia-pun sandar-kan belakang-nya kepada bali baginda, balai itu bergoncang-lah sa-hingga menjadi-kan gempar sa-sisi istana itu. Maka baginda pun keluar-lah lalu berkata, "Hai Keratala, jika sungguh mu boleh ambil anak-ku Radin Innu itu bawa kembali ka-negeri ini, maka aku akukan yang mu itu anak yang sajalan jadi. Sembah Keratala, "Ampun tuanku beribu³ ampun, jika dengan berkat daulat tuanku harus akan dapat patek mengambil putera tuanku itu, tetapi patek pohonkan senjata." Titah baginda kepada Patek Keripan suruh bawa sa-peti keris, apabila sampai lalu di-ambil oleh Keratala lepas sa-bi-lah sa-bilah di-tikam kepada dada-nya, di-dapati semua-nya patah mata-nya, melainkan sa-bilah sahaja tidak patah dan di-berikan kepada Andaga, kemudian di-keluarkan lagi sa-petu lalu Keratala mengambil-nya lepas sa-bilah hingga habis sa-bati patah mata-nya di-tikam ka-dada-nya hanya sa-bilah sahaja yang tidak, di-berikan kepada Wirun. Kemudian di-keluarkan oleh baginda lagi sa-peti, bagitu jua di-buat-nya hanya sa-bilah sahaja yang boleh di-gunakan oleh-nya sendiri, keris ini bernama Lok Sang-

sokogo Lok tengah tiga puluh itu. Sa-telah itu Keratala, Semar dan Turas pun bermohon keluar. Maka berjalan-lah ketiga orang itu menuju ka-negeri Menggada. Akan Wirun dan Andaga jaga di-negeri Keripan. Sa-telah sampai ka-Negeri Menggada oleh Semar dan Turas masuk mengadap Ratu Menggada akan Keratala ditinggal di-hujung negeri itu. Bila Semar dan Turas sampai dan mengadap baginda Ratu Menggada, baginda pun bertitah, "Siapa nama tuanhamba, dan dari mana datang tuanhamba?" Sembah Semar, "Patek bernama Semar dan saudara patek bernama Turas, kedatangan patek dari gunung kerana hendak menjadi hamba abdi kepada tuanku." Titah baginda, "Jika begitu sungguh-nya boleh-lah aku jadikan mu dua bersaudara ini hamba kepada aku." Maka dudok-lah kedua-nya menjadi hamba sa-hingga kaseh sayang Ratu Menggada kepada kedua-nya, makin sa-hari makin bebas kedua-nya, sa-hari² pekerjaan mereka kedua itu dudok berjalan di-dalam istana serta keliling kawasan istana menyiasat di-mana ada-nya penjara Radin Innu itu. Pada akhir-nya berjumpa-lah ia dengan penjara Radin Innu seraya hampir, masa itu Radin Innu sedang menangis dengan kurus kering tuboh-nya serta berisru³ akan ayah bonda-nya, kata Semar, "Tuanku, jangan susah, kedatangan patek ini ia-lah kerana hendak melihat tuanku, ada orang yang boleh ambil tuanku bawa balek ka-negeri ayah bonda tuanku, maka jangan-lah tuanku susahkan."

Shahadan, pada waktu suboh, Semar pun keluar serta beritahu kepada Keratala suroh masuk. Keratala pun masuk-lah sa-hingga sampai ka-dalam kota menuju penjara Radin Innu itu sambil ia berjalan keliling penjara itu, masa itu Radin Innu sedang berseru² paman-nya yang tidak dapat lagi hendak mengambil-nya, mati-lah ia di-dalam penjara ini. Akan seruan ini terdengar-lah kepada Keratala, ia pun naik radang lalu di-kopak penjara itu. Oleh kekuatan bunyi besi penjara itu, gempar-lah sa-isi istana itu, penjaga penjara pun terkejut-lah. Keratala pikul Radin Innu di-belakang-nya bawa keluar ka-pintu kota sa-hingga di-lengkong oleh hulu-balang Ratu Menggada. Maka Keratala pun mengamok sambil undor, bila sampai sa-paroh jalan Keratala Panggil Semar suroh ambil Radin Innu bawa balek. Keratala maseh mengamok hingga habis lari hulubalang Ratu Menggada, ada yang mati, ada yang patah dan ada yang buta. Hajat Keratala itu hendak mengamok hingga sampai ka-dalam kota, tetapi masa itu terlintas suatu fikiran di-hati-nya, "Ada-kah Bentara Keripan akukan yang aku ini anak-nya yang sa-jalan jadi?" Dengan hal yang demikian itu maka ia pun berpusing balek berjalan menuju ka-negeri Keripan. Akan Radin Innu di-bawa masuk ka-dalam istana. Maka keluar-lah Bentara Keripan sa-orang diri-nya ka-balai, seraya berkata, "Hai Keratala, aku tidak boleh akukan yang mu itu anak kepada aku." Bila di-dengar oleh Keratala akan kemungkiran Bentara Keripan demikian itu, maka ia pun goncangkan balai baginda sa-hingga gempar-lah sa-isi istana terkejut. Akan Radin Innu yang sedang leteh dan kurus kering itu keluar pergi mendapatkan Keratala lalu bertanya, "Apa sebab-nya maka engkau goncang akan balai ini hai Keratala?" Maka di-persembahkan-lah oleh Keratala akan hal Bentara Keripan yang tidak mahu mengakukan anak akan-nya. Jawab Radin Innu, "Hai Keratala, bagaimana paman aku hendak akukan anak, di-mana paman-ku berbini? Chuba-lah mu cheritakan kepada aku." Maka di-cheritakan-lah oleh Keratala dari awal hingga ka-akhir-nya. Maka kata Radin Innu perkara ini sabar-lah dahulu barang sa-hari dua. Suatu hari Radin Innu pun panggil sa-orang menteri yang tua sama sa-orang suroh cheritakan hal ini. Maka sembah menteri itu, "Ampun tuanku beribu³ ampun, ada pun segala kata² Keratala itu amat-lah benar." Sa-telah itu Radin Innu pun panggil Keratala lalu berkata, "Ayohai kakang-ku Keratala, sekarang kaula akukan kakang-lah kakak kepada kaula yang sa-jalan jadi," lalu di-letak-kan nama kata-nya, "Jangan siapa memanggil Keratala. Jikalau siapa, memanggil Keratala, pekakkan telinga, butakan mata dan keluaran lidah-nya sambil di-letakkan nama-nya "Sila Kalam." Maka sembah Keratala, "Apa erti-nya nama itu?" Kata Radin Innu, "Ada pun perkataan Sila itu ia-lah raja dan kalam itu berkata³; jadi-nya mana perkataan engkau itu, perkataan aku, perkataan aku ia-lah perkataan engkau, tetapi engkau tidak boleh lakukan satu⁴ angkara, jika tidak dengan perintah aku."

Hatta lebeh kurang enam bulan lama-nya, maka Ratu Menggada pun hendak pergi meminang Radin Galoh ia-itu Puteri Deha, akan perjalanan daripada Negeri Menggada hendak ka-Negeri Deha misti-lah menempoh negeri Keripan dahulu, sa-telah siap, maka angkatan Ratu Menggada pun keluar-lah dan berjalan menuju ka-negeri Deha, di-iringkan oleh menteri², hulubalang² dan raayat sakalian; apabila angkatan yang tersgub itu sampai dan lalu kapada jalan negeri Keripan, maka ternampak-lah panji² Ratu Menggada kapada Radin Innu sendiri, lalu ia pun memanggil Sila Kalam, Wirun dan Andaga suroh pergi menahankan angkatan Ratu Menggada di-tengah jalan serta berpesan, "Pergi-lah tuan hamba ketiga tanyakan ka-mana angkatan Ratu Menggada hendak pergi, jika dia menjawab kasar bunoh-lah ia selalu. "Maka berjalan-lah mereka ketiga orang itu, apabila sampai mereka pun menahan angkatan Ratu Menggada itu seraya kapada Temenggong Menggada, "Ka-mana hendak pergi angkatan ini?" Jawab Temenggong Menggada, "Raja aku hendak pergi ka-Negeri Deha meminang Puteri Radin Galoh." Jawab Sila Kalam, "Tidak-kah tuanhamba tahu yang Radin Galoh itu sa-pupu kapada gusti aku Radin Innu dan telah menjadi tunang-lanang-nya?" Jawab Temenggong Menggada, "Aku tahu itu." Kata Sila Kalam, "Jika kamu tahu sila-lah mu undor dan balek ka-negeri mu." Berkata Temenggong Menggada, "Tidak sa-kali² aku undor." Jawab Sila Kalam, "Memang gusti aku suroh bunoh mu." Di-dalam hal itu berbangkit-lah pergadohan di-tengah jalan itu tujuh hari tujuh malam sa-hingga mati-lah Ratu Menggada dan sakalian hulubalang² Menggada di-bunoh oleh Sila Kalam, Wirun dan Andaga. Sa-telah itu mereka ketiga pun berjalan balek menuju ka-negeri Keripan, ada-nya.

TAMMAT

Appendix

Glossary of certain Javanese and other words in the Texts

- asmara; love.
 bentala; a dagger.
 Bentara (=Betara); divine, holy.
 bota; a demon giant, raksaksa.
 gusti; a Javanese princely title.
 ising (= isin); ashamed.
 kakang (= kakak); elder brother or sister.
 kaula; I (humble, to a ruler; equiv. patek).
 Kayangan; Indra's Heaven.
 kebuli; an Afghan (from Kabul).
 Kelana; a warrior's title, "knight-errant".
 kindayang; follower of a prince.
 lonan (=anona); custard-apple. (*Annona reticulata* Linn).
 paman; father (equiv. ayah).
 pangan; a forest-dweller.
 pustaka; spell, magic formula.
 Radin }
 Ratu } ; Prince
 rubi; husband
 Sakin Maya; the Earth.

Sangga Maya; the Abode of the Gods.

wong; man.

yadi (= yai); younger brother or sister (equiv. adek)

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Cargo Boats of the East Coast of Malaya

By C. A. GIBSON-HILL, M.A.

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There is no systematic account of the locally built boats in use on the coasts of the Malay Peninsula. The greater part of the published data occurs in a paper by H. Warrington Smyth, in the *Journal of the Society of Arts* (1902: 570-586), but this author did not attempt a comprehensive survey, even for the period at which he was writing. In addition there is no doubt that a number of changes have occurred in the intervening years, and that more still will occur in the future. On both counts a catalogue of the designs extant now would be of value. Unfortunately such a work is not as easy to compile as it might appear to be, and it will be some time before one can produce a complete descriptive list of the native boats found in Malayan waters. In the meantime, this paper has been prepared, largely on data collected in July 1940, June 1947 and July-August 1948, to provide an introductory catalogue of the carrying boats normally used on the east coast of the Peninsula, south of the Siamese frontier. The centre of building in this area is in Trengganu, principally in the kuala of the main river, and to a much smaller extent at other points along its seaboard. In some respects this paper should have been preceded by a survey of the local fishing boats, but the problems that they present are very much more complex, and the amount of data that can be acquired very much greater. One would also like to have been able to give the basic lines of the larger vessels discussed here, but local builders do not work to set designs, and accordingly this is not possible at present.

Sea transport is an extremely important feature of communications on the east coast of Malaya. A large proportion of the population is settled on or near the river mouths, and the road system is still poorly developed. Unfortunately natural conditions complicate it to some extent. The estuaries are in all cases relatively shallow, with at least the greater part of their exits blocked by sand-bars. The larger kualas have channels which, at or near high tide, afford passage-way to boats of draughts up to 8 or 9 feet, but the great majority of the inhabited estuaries are closed at all times to anything requiring more than 4 or 5 feet of water. Even in these cases some experience is needed to enter them. The bars and sand-banks often shift annually, and no printed sailing directions are of much value if there is any appreciable sea running. On my most recent visit we travelled from Mersing to Tumpat in a motor launch with a draught of just under 3 feet. It was piloted by a Trengganu Malay, who had been up and down the

coast several times, and claimed to know it fairly well. Even then we were unable to get into several apparently patent estuaries, and we went aground at least once in over half the ones that we did enter. In consequence of this feature the coasting boats normally used are all of relatively shallow draught, and for the most part they run repeatedly over the same sections, with which their crews are thereby well acquainted. It is probable that this factor also has some influence on the sail plan adopted. All the local boats are driven by dipping lugs, which can be set and let down quickly.

Another problem that is afforded by the east coast of Malaya is that of the weather. From about October to March it is swept by the north-east monsoon (*Musim tutup kuala*, the season that closes the estuaries), which turns the whole of it into a lee shore and makes it almost impossible to get in and out of even the larger kualas under sail with safety and certainty. Between April and the end of September the steady wind is the south-west monsoon, and conditions are a great deal better, but unfortunately they are still not ideal over much of the period. From about July to the middle of September is the season of the Tenggara, a wind of varying strength which comes up rapidly from the south-east about noon, and usually drops shortly before sundown. It seldom reaches the strength of a Malacca-Straits Sumatra, but in the extremely shallow waters off the east coast it brings up a short, choppy sea very quickly, which again adds a hazard to the crossing of a kuala bar. In practice it means that the coasting boats usually keep well out from noon onwards, and try to make their landfalls before midday or at sundown. The advantages of being able to do this again set a premium on a detailed knowledge of local conditions, and of the capacities of one's boat, as we realised on several occasions. Thus, both the formation of the shore and the weather conditions combine to keep the coasting traffic in the hands of local men, for at least the greater part of the season. The boats that they use are described briefly here.

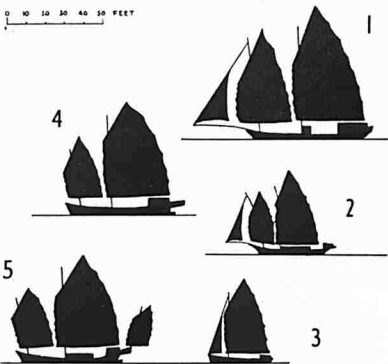
The easiest approach to a consideration of the sea-going carrying boats is to group them according to their sail plans. Such an arrangement is not, of course, possible in the case of the kuala and fishing boats, as these are normally limited to masts setting single square-sails. The rigs of the cargo boats, on the other hand, fall fairly easily into four groups. These are arranged below in order of their general importance in the local trade. When this is done it is immediately apparent that the greater part of the commerce is handled by locally compounded boats, of which the hulls are largely or completely on European lines, while the sail plan is partly Chinese and partly European in origin (the Pinas-Bedar group). The next most important section in Kelantan is afforded by the use of old fishing boats which are Peninsular in

both hull and sail, while in the south the coast-wise carrying is done by Chinese-owned launches spreading up from Singapore. Finally occasional boats (the Singapore Trader or Tongkang and the Gulf of Siam Trader) which are ultimately Chinese in origin are found running between the larger rivers and ports outside our area.¹ It may be remarked in passing that this is in sharp contrast to the arrangement on the west coast of Malaya, where the designs of the carrying boats are apparently entirely extralimital.

1. The Pinas-Bedar group

The Pinas of the east coast of Malaya is essentially a Trengganu boat, with its manufacture confined almost entirely to the kuala of the Trengganu river. It is the largest of the local craft,

0 10 20 30 40 50 FEET



Profiles of the major designs outlined in this paper, under full canvas. 1, a (Pèrahu) Pinas Golok. 2, a medium-sized Bedar (Luang Sudu). 3, a Katar, off the delta of the Kelantan River. 4, a two-masted Singapore Trader or Tongkang. 5, a Gulf of Siam Trader or wangkang. Both nos. 4 & 5 generally step two masts in the smaller boats, and three in the larger ones.

¹ No cognisance is taken of two boats which would seem to be genuine strays, not usually found north of Singapore. A Pèrahu Lontok, from South Borneo, was seen at Dungun in 1947, and there is an old Pèrahu Golek from Madura, beached on the tanjong at Kuala Trengganu at the present time.

and is normally used only between the deeper estuaries and distant ports. The Bedar, as defined here, occurs widely from Mersing north to the Siamese frontier at least, but it would seem that by far the greater part of the building is done along the length of the Trengganu coast. The larger Bedars run on much the same routes as the Pinas, but the majority of the boats are appreciably smaller, with a stem to stern length of 30-35 feet. These are used extensively in coastwise traffic, and at least one or two can usually be found in any kuala.

Both Pinas and Bedar are built and manned, but not always owned, by Malays. The hull shapes vary considerably, but the sail plan is constant, except in the case of the Kelantan Katar which is noted below. The remainder all carry two masts, one in the bows, and the other about amidships, the forward of which is markedly raked forwards, and the main usually slightly so. They have very long bowsprits, which are normally stayed so that the tip curves slightly downwards. The driving area is composed of two large polygonal lug sails, one to each mast, and of typical Chinese design. They are generally made of mats of tikars, and are strengthened by cross ribs of bamboo, like the sails of a junk. They are suspended from the mid-point of the yard, but as the luff of the sail, which is nearly straight, is only about half the length of the leach, which is markedly convex, the yard itself makes an angle of about 15° - 20° with the vertical when the sail is set. Normally the foresail is set on the port side of its mast, and the mainsail on the starboard side. In addition, under suitable conditions a jib, often of patched canvas, is set from the forward end of the bowsprit. In all cases they are steered with a European rudder and tiller.

These boats sail as far as possible with the wind on the quarter or forward to just aft of the beam. In the former case they carry the mainsail and jib out to leeward, and the forward sail to windward. With the wind on, or forward of, the beam they set all three sails to leeward. They cannot sail close into the wind owing to their relatively shallow draught, but in virtue of the jib they run much nearer to it than the majority of the local boats, especially when entering the estuaries. The jib, in fact, though much the smallest of the sails in area, is the most important single element in the plan, and when manoeuvring they not infrequently drop the foresail and run on the jib and mainsail only. If it is set, it is, of course, a diagnostic feature. Unfortunately if the wind is dead aft the men often reef the jib, and then when hull down their boat can be mistaken for a two-masted junk.

(Pĕrahu) Pinas

This boat (plate 9, fig. 2) and the next (plate 9, fig. 1) are in most respects very similar, and they are frequently lumped

together under the name of Trengganu Schooner.¹ Above water the hulls of both are characterised by the possession of well moulded clipper sterns. As has been said earlier they are fairly large boats, and fully laden they can enter only the deeper estuaries. At the present time they are employed mostly on runs between Kuala Trengganu and Bangkok, nominally going north in ballast and bringing back salt. They are said to make about three trips a year during the season of the south-west monsoon. They also occasionally run to Singapore and Saigon, but they seldom visit the other kualas on the east coast. They are normally worked with a complement of 5-7 men, including the master. The great majority, at least, are built at Kuala Trengganu. I have not seen them under construction anywhere else, but I have been told that a shipwright from Trengganu is now working at Kampong Balok, in northern Pahang. Building usually takes about 10 months, with a gang of 20 men.

The Pinas has a reasonable amount of sheer, and it is a good sea boat. The present pattern has also a well raked bow, terminating in an upturned wooden beak of standard form ("her slender nose Tip-tilted like the petal of a flower,"²), representing a stylised copy of the figure-heads of the old European sailing ships. On the other hand the hull is almost wall-sided, with a very full turn of the bilge fore and aft. The maximum beam is normally about a quarter of the length from stem to stern, and the depth at the midpoint nearly one-ninth. In general they have a good carrying capacity, but are slow in the water, with a maximum speed under normal conditions of 5-6 knots. The great majority are between 60 and 70 feet long, with a breadth of 15-17 feet, and a depth of 7-8 feet. Their draught is a little over 4½ feet when empty, and nearly 6½ feet when fully laden. Two examples registered at Kuala Trengganu have the following hull measurements.

Reg. No.	Stem to Stern	Beam	Depth	Capacity in Piculs.	Built
70	63'	16'	7'	1,230	1900
256	68'	17'	7½'	1,047	1930

As in all the larger boats in this group, the main and fore sails are of mats: they are strengthened by 6-7 bamboo ribs. The jib is usually of gunny sacks or canvas. The total area of sail set in a boat of about 65 feet from stem to stern is approximately 2,725 square feet; jib 275 square feet, foresail 1,100 square feet, and mainsail 1,350 square feet.

¹ Strictly speaking, of course, if a European name is to be applied to these boats they should be called Luggers. The Bugis Palari is the only schooner-rigged boat seen regularly in Malayan waters.

² *Idylls of the King*, 1859, line 577.

The Pinas has a planked deck, with two covered hatches to the hold. It is steered by a rudder, operated from a tiller swinging about 6 inches above the deck and partly damped by a system of pulleys. The steerman usually sits on the planking, and manipulates the rudder by forcing the end of the tiller, away from him with his feet, or drawing it towards him by the slack rope of the pulley system on his side. There is invariably a large coop (Malay, *kup*), made of matting strengthened on the outside by close-set, longitudinal strips of bamboo, at the after end of the deck. This affords shelter to the man at the tiller, and *inter-alia* the greater part of the rest of the crew. Behind it, hanging over the stern and detracting considerably from the general appearance of the boat, is a wooden box to serve as a lavatory. The hull is usually painted white or dull red.

The hull of the Pinas is undoubtedly based on European designs of the early nineteenth century or later, and might well be a reproduction in miniature of the East Indiamen of circa 1820-1860. According to the local tradition it is copied from boats wrecked on the Trengganu coast some 70-80 years ago. All the survivors except one eventually left the state. The one became a Mohammedan, married a Chinese girl from Kuala Marang, and settled on the Tanjong at Kuala Trengganu to earn his living as a shipwright. The names and number of his children are not given, but some at least are said to have used the patronymic *bin Franchis*. It is claimed that two of his known descendants, possibly grandsons, lived until comparatively recently, one Mat bin Franchis of Kemaman, dying only a few years ago. They were characterised by being rather taller and broader than the average Malays, with lighter hair and blue eyes.

Pinas, of which the local pronunciation approaches more nearly to *penis*, is obviously a corruption of the French *pinasse*, a small, usually two-masted sailing vessel, and the origin of the English word *pinnace*, a man-of-war's ferrying boat. *Përahu* is, of course, optional, and is frequently omitted.¹ These boats are also sometimes called (Përahu) Pinas Golok, to distinguish them from the next. *Golok*, from the Malay word for a matchet or sword with a convex cutting edge, refers to the curved, upturned prow.

(Përahu) Pinas Dogar

In general this boat (Plate 9, fig. 1) differs from the preceding one only in having a vertical bow with no beak. It is

¹ According to Wilkinson (1932/2: 249) *Përahu* is used for any undecked native vessel in contrast to the decked *Kapal*. This does not apply in current usage, which pays no attention to the presence or absence of a deck, and applies it to any large locally built boat, though in the obviously large boats, as here and in the (*Përahu*) *Payang*, it is often dropped.

sometimes more squat in its general lines (No. 282, built at Kuala Trengganu in 1946, is 69 feet from stem to stern, 7 feet deep and 18 feet beam, with a capacity of 1,343 piculs), and may carry less sheer, but this is not a standard distinction. To the Malays the only characteristic of importance is the finish of the forward end. At least one of these boats, Chinese owned but with a Malay crew, is at present running regularly from Singapore.

The origin and history of these boats is obviously much the same as that of the Pinas Golok. The hull, it may be remarked in passing, is very similar to that of the Bangkok Lorcha, but the latter has a typical junk sail-plan, with no bowsprit. The term Dogar (usually pronounced *Dogor* in Kuala Trengganu) does not appear in Warrington Smyth, who lists only the Pinas in general and I cannot trace it or a word from which it might have originated, in any of the standard Malay dictionaries. So far as I know it is used only for this boat, or sometimes for a sheer-ended Bedar (Katar) to distinguish it from those with projecting prows.

Bedar (Luang Sudu)

The boats grouped under the name Bedar (usually pronounced *Bedor* in Trengganu) do not allow of an easy definition. There is a typical pattern which is highly characteristic, and is the version seen most frequently, but the name is also given to other rather different designs. Roughly one finds, therefore, that among carrying boats on the east coast the term Bedar is applied to any boat setting one or two Chinese junk sails and a European jib, and lacking the clipper stern characteristic of the (Perahu) Pinas.

The typical cargo Bedar has a rig similar to that of the Trengganu Pinas. The hull, on the other hand, is equal-ended, not unlike that of a modern ship's lifeboat, but rather fuller in the turn of the bilge, and with the stem and stern raked. The bow is carried up to a flat round beak, which is reproduced again in miniature at the stern. In this respect, therefore, they closely resemble an enlarged version of the small fishing boat, or kuala ferry boat, also known as Bedar, or Anak Bedar. This latter boat is widespread and popular on the east coast from southern Trengganu to southern Kelantan. It would seem that the pattern of the projecting ends is probably derived, by elongation and refinement, from those on the dug-out or Jalur. It is possible that these in turn are a rendering in solid wood of the ends that would naturally be formed if a boat were made by tying sheaves of rushes together. In no case in the wooden boats has it any functional value, and in the small fishing boats it would seem to have certain disadvantages in a heavy sea.

The Bedar almost invariably has a square-ended lattice or decked projection over the stern, known as the *dandan*, which is

covered by a matting coop, similar to that in the Pinas. Here again it is used by the crew as their living quarters, and as a shelter for the steersman. The larger Bedars, which usually reach stem to stern lengths of 45 to 60 feet, are invariably decked. In some the *dandan* is a very stout structure, with an open balustraded gallery aft of the cabin. The smaller ones (Plate 10, fig. 2), which represent by far the greater number of these boats, have the deck restricted to the ends, and the intervening space covered by a long *kup*. In association with this the latter boats have the main mast stepped further forward, sometimes as little as one-third of the hull length from the bow, and carry relatively more sail on it, and less on the foremast.

The length of the projecting prow, and the whole cut of the bow, show considerable variation. In some of the boats the prow is long with a fine slanting bow. In others it is much shorter, and the bow is almost vertical. In all cases, however, where there is a projection the boat can be known as Bedar Luang Sudu (from *Sudu*, a spoon, and even more aptly *Sudu itek*, a duck's bill). To some extent the sheer varies with the length of the prow, small boats with relatively long forward beaks having the most sheer, and large one with short beaks the least, but the association is not rigid. Local shipwrights do not work to set lines, but build solely by eye and experience. Some of the older men, when constructing fishing boats at least, keep astonishingly close to the same measurements over a long succession of boats, but there is often a marked difference in flair or fullness between the output of two builders working in the same kampong.

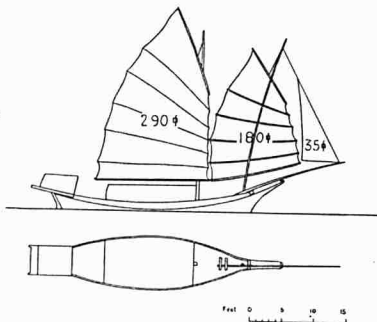
The dimensions of the larger and medium-sized Bedars are deceptive when compared with those of the Pinas. Two examples registered at Kuala Trengganu run as follows,

Reg. No.	Stem to Stern	Beam	Depth	Capacity in Piculs.	Built
259	44'	12'	5½'	418	1936
260	40'	11'	5'	318	1937

These figures suggest a slightly greater beam and depth, but the former applies only to the maximum breadth. In actual fact these boats lack the very full turn of the bilge of the Pinas, and taper more gradually at both ends. As a result, though their cargo capacity is relatively much smaller, they are appreciably faster, and under favourable conditions run at 6-7 knots. They normally carry one man for each 10 feet or so of hull length.

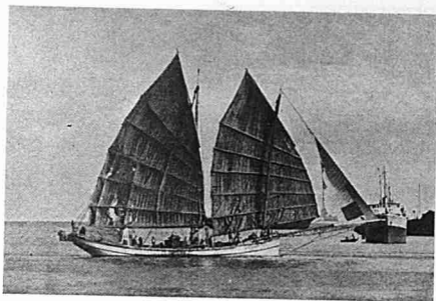
The smaller Bedars, of 30 to 35 feet from stem to stern, are less beamy, with a relatively greater draught. They also carry more sheer, and have a more marked downward curve to the bow-

sprit and forward rake to the masts. Again one or both of the driving sails may be of coarse canvas or sacking. The hull is generally painted white, green or dull red. Some of these boats, with a total sail area of about 500 square feet to a length along the water line of 30 feet, habitually make 8 knots in good sailing weather, and appear almost sprightly with a reasonable wind and a moderate sea.

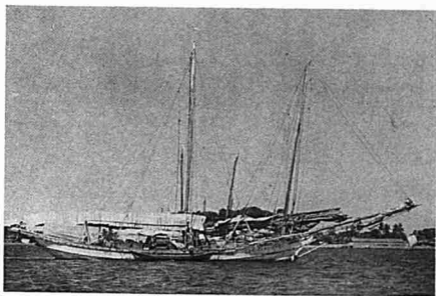


Profile and deck plan of a small Bedar (Luang Sudu). Larger boats carry less sheer, and have the foresail more nearly the same area as the mainsail. They also lack the long *kmp* over the hold.

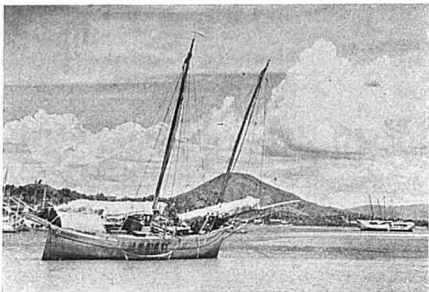
Bedar, or Bidar, was originally applied to a galley or long boat with sharp bows and a narrow beam. Warrington Smyth (1902: 577) cites it only as a boat propelled by oars, and carrying a crew of three, though he quotes Klinkert as saying that it was also used for a small, single-masted sailing boat (presumably the present Anak Bedar). He attributes the name to an unspecified word descriptive of the stemhead or beak. Wilkinson (1932/1: 137) gives *bidok* as associated with draught in boats, and cites a connection with the Përahu Bëlongkang, a Jalur or river dug-out with extra side-planks to enable it to carry cargo. There would certainly seem to be an affinity with the Jalur in the finish of the stem and stern, and this may well be the origin of the use of the term here. In addition the Bedar has a relatively greater draught than any of the other locally built cargo boats.



A (Pérah) Pinas Dogar entering Singapore Roads under full canvas.



A (Pérah) Pinas Golok lying at anchor, fully laden, in the estuary at Kuala Trengganu.



A Bedar (Luang Katar) lying beached in shallow water, at low tide, in the estuary at Kuala Trengganu.



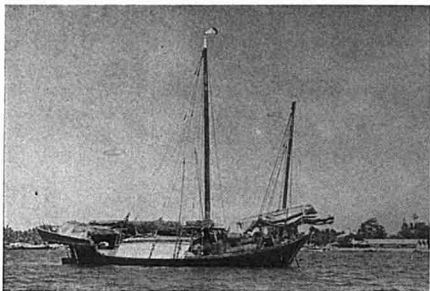
A Bedar (Luang Sudu) sailing under fore and main sails as it enters a Trengganu kuala.



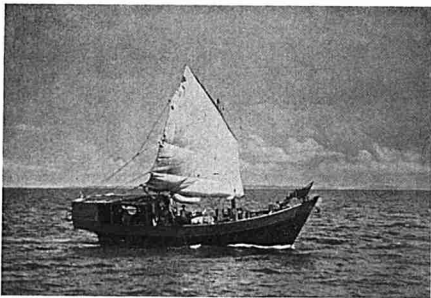
A *Pirahu Buatan Barat*, with the ends truncated, being used as a cargo carrying boat off the Kelantan coast.



The stern half of a small *Bedar* (*Luang Sudu*) lying in the river at *Kampong Sétiu*, on the *Trengganu* coast.



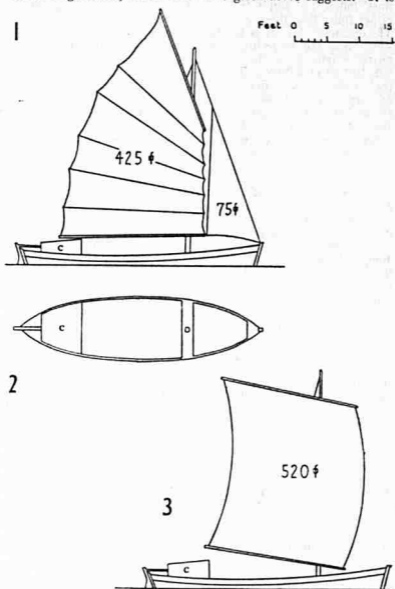
A Gulf of Siam Trader or Wangkang lying fully laden in the estuary at Kuala Trengganu.



A Chinese motor launch under auxiliary sail, at the eastern end of the Singapore Strait.

Bedar (Luang Katar) or Katar

In Trengganu this boat (Plate 10, fig. 1) is merely a variant of the cargo Bedar, as the first name given above suggests. It is



The Kelantan coast Katar. 1, profile with the customary sail-plan. 2, deck plan. 3, profile setting a single square-sail. In all cases "c" is the cabin or *kup*.

appreciably less numerous than the more typical forms, though one invariably sees several in the estuary of the main river. It would seem to be built only in lengths of about 45-55 feet. The lines follow the ship's lifeboat pattern, but they are generally rather fuller than those of the Bedar Luang Sudu, with less sheer. The diagnostic feature is the finish of the stem and stern, both of which lack the projecting beak. The bow is straight and very nearly plumb, while the stern is kanted to an angle of 15° or less, instead of 20°-25°. The finish, including the *dandan*, follows that of the typical Bedar. It is doubtful if these can be regarded as very successful boats. They are heavier in the water, and slower, without any great increase in cargo capacity. As their size suggests they are used only between the larger kualas. At different times I have seen them in the estuaries of the Pahang, Kuantan, Kemaman, Dungun, Trengganu and Besut Rivers, but not elsewhere along the coast. They also reach Singapore.

In the extreme north of our area, in the delta of the Kelantan River and at Tumpat, one finds a slightly different boat to which the name Katar is also given. The resemblance in the hull is obvious, though here it is rather beamier, with fuller bilges, less draught, and little sheer. The distinctive feature is that the Kelantan Katar has a modified sail plan, and usually no *dandan*. These boats have no bowsprit, and only one stout mast, stepped fairly well forward. They are set with a fore and aft rig, consisting of a canvas or gunny sack jib and a large lug mainsail, of the usual Chinese pattern, or with a single, large square-sail, like the fishing boats; the latter is obviously a favoured sail-plan in these waters, as one occasionally sees a Bedar Luang Sudu with two square-sails and no jib off the Kelantan coast. Normally they have a *kup* in the manner of the typical Bedar, but it does not project beyond the stern of the boat. Their total length generally lies between 35 and 40 feet, and they are managed with a crew of 3 men. Though there is never a projecting beak, the set of the stem and stern varies rather more than it does in the Trengganu sailing Katar. Boats with well-raked ends are usually used for carrying sand, and may accordingly be known as Bedar (or Katar) Pasir. Others with almost vertical stems are used for more general cargoes; sometimes in this case they are given the special name of Haribut (from the English, *Ferry boat*). In the lagoon at Tumpat, and in the Kelantan River itself, these hulls are often employed as lighters, without sails and drawn by motor launches. Then the general cargo boat is termed a Bedar Tunda (Malay *tunda*, drawn or following in the wake, being towed).

Katar is undoubtedly derived from Cutter, though these boats have much coarser and heavier lines than the English boat. The Kelantan version even retains in some examples an approximation

to the fore and aft cutter rig, though the usual gaff-mainsail has been replaced by a Chinese lug. In Trengganu, on the other hand, the boats have only a gross version of the hull lines. It would seem likely that the northern boats represent the earlier pattern, and are the ones to which the name Katar alone was originally given. Their inclusion in the Bedar group has probably come about later from the similarity of their function, the absence of the clipper stern, and the subsequent adoption of the straight stem by some of the Trengganu builders. Warrington Smyth (1902: 578) merely gives the Katar as a boat built of jati (= teak, *Tectona grandis* Linn.), "said to be one-masted", and quotes dimensions for the hull, 180 feet by 21 feet by 9 feet, with 4 feet freeboard and a 90 foot mast, which are clearly impossible. He himself expresses some doubts about the sailing qualities of such a boat if it were made with local materials: it would be surprising if it could be sailed made with any standard materials.

2. Adapted Fishing Boats

The fishing boats used on the east coast of Malaya range in length from 15 to nearly 45 feet, and exhibit a considerable variation in design and finish. In all cases, however, they have one or two masts stepped well forward, and setting single squaresails. Except for two, the Sĕkotchi and the Gĕlibat, they are steered by a paddle on the lee quarter. As far as possible they sail with a following wind, or at least with the wind aft the beam. Increasing difficulties are experienced if their course takes them further into it, and the crew usually reef the sail and propel the boat by paddles.

Any of the large fishing boats may occasionally be used for carrying cargoes along the coast, but their capacity is small and, on the whole, in the southern part of our area this is a rare occurrence. In northern Trengganu and Kelantan, especially between Sabak and Tumpat, on the other hand, it is not uncommon. For the most part one of two patterns are used, the Pĕrahu Buatān Barat or occasionally the Pĕrahu Payang, and the Kolek Ma' Siam or Jo'kong.

Pĕrahu Buatān Barat

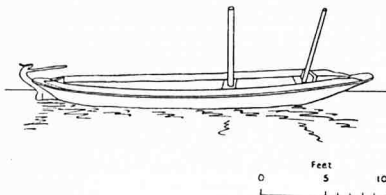
The Pĕrahu Buatān Barat is essentially a fishing boat, built principally for use in deep water with the larger nets. The bigger examples have a length of about 35 feet, with a beam of 6 feet, and a depth of about 30 inches amidships. The stem and stern are normally prolonged vertically upwards to a height of 5-6 feet, but these projections are usually cut off in old boats habitually employed for carrying purposes (Plate 11, fig. 1). They have two masts, one about 4 feet back from the bows, and one 12-13 feet back. One or two squaresails of canvas or sacking are set, according to the strength and direction of the wind. They are undecked, and have less than 10 inches freeboard when fully laden.

Accordingly they are generally used for cargo only in light winds, or in sheltered water. On these occasions they are habitually grossly under-canvased, and as a result normally drift along at a speed of 2-3 knots. The design of the Përahu Buatun Barat is believed to have spread down from the coast of Patani; in actual fact this lies north-west of Kelantan, but locally it is always spoken of as west of it.

The Përahu Payang has much the same lines as the Buatun Barat, but it is generally rather larger, ranging from 33-44 feet in length, with a beam of about 7 feet in the bigger boats. It is used mostly from estuaries, for work in deep water with the Pukat Payang; it is scarce on the Kelantan coast, but one occasionally sees old boats being used for cargo work between the rivers, in the manner of the Buatun Barat.

Kolek Ma' Siam

This is another fishing boat which appears to have reached Kelantan from the Siam Malay States. It has a wide range of size, and for distinction the larger examples are often referred to as Jo'kong.¹ These boats are seldom seen south of the Kelantan River. They are narrower and crankier than the Përahu Buatun



Hull of a Kolek Ma' Siam or Jo'kong. The name Kolek Ma' Siam is also applied to another smaller Kelantan-Patani boat, the Dogol, which is used almost entirely for fishing. It carries more sheer has the ends closed, and is generally steered with a paddle.

Barat with a maximum length of about 30 feet, beam $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet and depth amidships $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The larger boats have a freeboard of 8-10 inches when fully laden. Like the Buatun Barat they are undecked, and can only be used for cargo in sheltered or calm

¹ Jo'kong, from Jongkong, a dug-out canoe. The word can be used for any undecked boat without built-up ends, and is also the normal term for the small dinghy carried on the big Përahu Payang or the Përahu Buatun Barat.

waters. They are, however, rather faster, and are employed to bring the catch in from the fishing stakes off Tumpat, as well as for coastal communication in this area.

3. Motor Launches

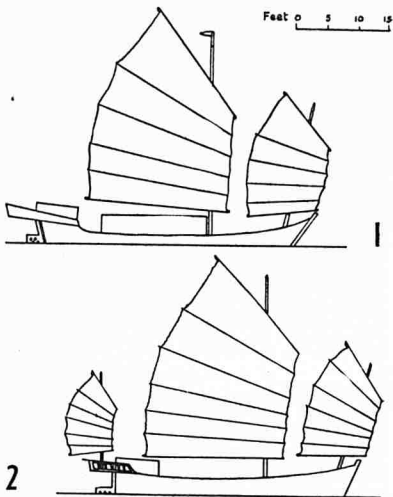
The greater part of the carrying in the waters off the east side of Johore, and on the Pahang coast as far north as Kuala Rompin, is done by Chinese owned and built motor launches. There are now a large number of fishing stakes in this area, from the islands of the Johore Archipelago north to the Duchong Islands, between Endau and the Pontian River, and in all cases the catch is brought to the mainland by these boats. For the most part it is carried on the launches themselves, but in the Pulau Tinggi group it is usually loaded on smaller boats which are towed in to Mersing. These have much the same lines as a Sampan, but they lack the backward projections of the sides, and thus bear a considerable resemblance to the Norwegian Pram.

The motor launches (Plate 12, fig. 2) represent a relatively recent development on this coast, though the design has been in Singapore for some time, and similar boats were used before the war by the Japanese for fishing from the island. They have a sharp-ended, well raked bow, and a square stern, which is nearly as broad as the midship section. They are almost wall-sided, with a hard chine and a nearly flat bottom. The forepart is used for cargo, with the engine aft of the beam, and the crew's quarters behind it, projecting back over the stern. In addition they often carry a single mast, on which a Chinese lug sail, and sometimes also a jib, may be set in an emergency, or to save fuel. The hulls are generally painted black or dull green, with the superstructure, if painted, black; but probably this only indicates the cheapest colours available at the present time. They are mostly 30-45 feet in length, with a maximum breadth of 6½-10 feet, and a draught of 2½-4 feet. Under favourable conditions their speed would seem to be about 6-7 knots.

4. Chinese Sailing Boats

Boats of Chinese design and build are not common on the east coast of Malaya, but one or two can usually be seen in the estuaries of the Kelantan and Trengganu Rivers, and occasionally at Kemaman and Kuantan. They are generally biggish boats, with lengths from 50-90 feet, and engaged on long distance carriage from Siam, Saigon, Tongking, or Hongkong. Only two kinds, the so-called Tongkang and the Gulf of Siam Trader are normally met with in our area, in spite of the popularity of Chinese boats in the Straits of Malacca and the fairly large number of different designs that can be seen in Singapore. Both have two or three dipping lug-sails, of the usual Chinese pattern, and no bowsprit. The foremast, which is raked markedly forwards, is stepped well up in the

bows, the main mast, which is almost vertical, amidships and the mizzen, which is much the smallest, far back over the stern. The last is discarded in the smaller boats, and then when hull down they resemble a Pinas or Bedar with the jib reefed, except that in the Chinese boats the foremast is appreciably shorter than the main. The hulls are decked, with hatches to the hold fore and aft of the main mast. They are steered by means of a large, heavy rudder, which is usually pierced by a series of diamond-



2
Profiles of medium-sized examples of (1) the Gulf of Siam Trader or Wangkang, and (2) the Singapore Trader or Tongkang. Both are shown fully laden. The mizzen is a variable feature, and may be seen on many of the larger boats in either group.

shaped holes. They normally set a course with the wind on the quarter or forward to the beam, and in spite of the position of foresail cannot get far up into it. They are sluggish, heavy boats, and seldom exceed 4.5 knots. A man walking briskly on the shore can almost keep pace with them.

Singapore Trader or Tongkang

The Singapore Trading Junk or Tongkang has a straight keel, with a pointed, well-raked bow. It is nearly wall-sided, with little flair, full bilges and a square-cut stern. From amidships aft to the stern the bottom is almost flat, with the chine rising slightly. The stern, and sometimes the bow, may be built up several feet, but the hull itself does not carry much sheer. Its general lines, therefore, are similar to those of the Chinese-built motor launches used on the southern part of the east coast and off Singapore. They undoubtedly have a good cargo capacity, but when driven only by sails they must be extremely slow and heavy to handle. There would, in fact, seem to be little hope for them if they ever get near to a lee shore, and they cannot be a sound design for use in this area, except in the short intervals between the north-east monsoon and the tenggara.

The Singapore Trader, like the motor launch, has a rectangular platform extending back over the stern, in this case nearly far enough to be square. There is generally a cabin of wood, or a matting coop, built over the forward part of it, which serves as a shelter for the steersman, and quarters for at least the greater part of the crew. Behind the cabin, and approached through it, is a clear gallery for the easy manipulation of the mizzen sail.

Although these boats are not satisfactory for work on the east coast, they are occasionally laid down at Kuala Trengganu and Chukai (Kemaman) for sale to Chinese ship-owners in Singapore. The dimensions of a fair-sized boat from the Trengganu yards are 110 feet from stem to stern, 29 feet beam, 7 feet draught, with 4 feet freeboard, and 73 tons register. During the recent war the Japanese attempted to build a large number of extremely clumsy, heavy hulls along these lines, but with almost plumb bows, wherever labour was available and timber could be floated down from the interior. The principal centres of this activity were Mersing, Pontian, Kuantan, Chukai and Kuala Trengganu, but a few keels were also laid down at about a dozen other kualas. Both wood and workmanship were of extremely poor quality, and on several occasions the builders excused themselves to me by saying that the boats would not have kept afloat for more than two or three years. Actually the great majority were destroyed by Allied bombing before they ever put to sea. A good instance of this can be seen at the mouth of the Kuantan River. The hulls were constructed near the town, on the north bank, and then

floated across to the shallow water off Tanjong Lumpur for fitting out. As soon as a sufficient number had accumulated at the tanjong incendiary bombs were dropped on them. This no doubt saved the lives of the men who might have had to sail the boats, but unfortunately the abandoned or burnt-out hulks still litter this and many of the other river mouths. The timber is said to be valueless even as firewood, and at the present times it seems as if they will remain until they disintegrate naturally, a process which is taking rather longer on the mudbanks than it would have done in the open sea.

This boat is generally known locally as the Tongkang, but the word presents several difficulties. In Singapore it is also used for the broad, beamy lighters sailed with one or two Chinese lug-sails, and for the large timber-carrying ketches with standing gaffs and three head sails. It cannot even be regarded as a generic term for Chinese-built boats, as in Penang it is applied to the Tamil sailing lighters. Further it is almost certainly not a real Chinese word. The characters used for it are generally 舢舨, or occasionally 東紅. In both cases the first portion is merely an attempt to render the sound "tong". Either the word has been adopted fairly recently from a foreign language, or it comes from the original Hokkien colloquial dialect (itself not Chinese). Its meaning, like its source, seems to be obscure, and an attempt is being made here to abandon it on general principles. For the most part the Chinese do not have distinctive names for the various patterns of sea-going boats, though the sailors can sometimes say where any particular design is current. For the rest they refer to them as *Phang Ch'un* (Cantonese *Faan Shuen*), 帆船 = sail ship. According to Worcester (1947: 31) *Ch'un* is the origin of the Javanese *Djong*, which the first Portuguese and Dutch merchants applied to any boats trading in these seas: from it came the Dutch *Jonk*, the Portuguese and Spanish *Junco*, the old French *Jonque*, and the English *Junk*. This last is obviously not distinctive in source or application, except in so far as it infers a cargo-boat of Chinese origin. For the present I am using the English word *Trader*, qualified by the apparent point of origin of the boat, for all such boats with a reasonably characteristic hull design. In this case it does not seem possible to trace the hull back to any authentic pattern formerly or still in use on the shore of the South China Sea. It seems probable, in fact, that it is a crudity formulated in or around Singapore which is still the main building centre.

Gulf of Siam Trader

This is definitely a Chinese-built boat, of which a few examples visit our area, coming mostly at the end of the north-east monsoon, and remaining until the weather is due to break again. They are made along the east side of the Gulf, on the coast of

eastern Siam, Cambodia and possibly Cochin-China. Poujade (1946: 257) gives a good illustration with the caption "Jonque des Chinois du golfe de Siam". They have appreciably better lines than the Singapore Trader, but even so they are heavy, slow boats, requiring at least a moderate wind force to keep them under way. Like the Tongkang they have almost straight keels, but they are less nearly wall-sided, while fore and aft the hull is equal-ended and tapers more gradually. The stem is well raked, and the pointed stern nearly plumb. They usually have at least as much sheer as the Pinas, and may carry appreciably more, but there is some variation on this point, as on the cant of the sides amidships. An interesting small feature is the presence of a cutwater, pierced with holes, projecting about 4 inches forward from the bow below the water-line.

The poop is generally raised several feet above the level of main deck, and from it a heavy rectangular, balustraded platform extends back beyond the stern, as in the Tongkang. It usually has a broad coop on it for the steersman, with a gallery behind it to give access to the mizzen sail. The main living quarters, are generally in a stout, long, wooden coop placed amidships, just behind the main mast, and running back to within a few feet of the raised poop. A projecting cross beam is fitted above the deck in the bows, over which the anchor rope passes. Quite often the sides of the hull are built up by a two-foot gunnel planking which runs out to the ends of the projecting beam, where it finishes. From a distance it gives these boats the appearance of having square-cut bows and sterns, like the majority of the North China boats. In the larger Gulf of Siam Traders the rudder is shipped in sockets and hung by a tackle, so that it can be adjusted for depth, or raised altogether if the boat is beached.

The Traders seen on the east coast of Malaya are generally about 55-65 feet from stem to stern, 14-16 feet beam and 5½-6 feet draught, with a freeboard, without the gunnel planking, when fully laden of about 2½ feet. The cargo capacity is in the region of 800-1000 piculs. One such boat, with a length of 55 feet, reached the Kemaman coast from China late in March 1948, on the tail of the north-east monsoon, with 109 persons on board who hoped to land unnoticed in Malaya.

The Gulf of Siam Trader is usually painted black with, if in good trim, the gunnel picked out in bright red. Some of the boats follow the practice common in Chinese waters of having a painted or wooden "eye" on each side of the bow. These point forwards, to enable it to pick up its landfalls, instead of downwards, as on the Chinese fishing Sampan, where the boat has to look for shoals of fish.

The east coast Malays refer to this boat as *Pèrahu Siam*, *Pèrahu Ma' Siam* or *Wangkang Siam*. Wilkinson (1932/2: 645) gives *Wangkang* as a Malay word meaning a Chinese ocean-going junk, and *Wangkang Siam* as the term used in the Hikayat 'Abdu'llah for Siamese junks. It does not seem to be a Chinese word, and as in the case of *Tongkang* its origin is obscure. It is tempting to connect the two, but a consonant change of "T" to "W" is most unlikely. In addition the boatmen at Kuala Trengganu still know and use both terms, the one for the Singapore boats and the other for the Siamese ones. Here, as in the case of the *Tongkang*, it is recorded by its function and area of immediate origin.

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A Note on the Plates

- Plate 9, fig. 1.** A (*Pèrahu*) *Pinas Dogar*, about 60 feet from stem to stern, entering Singapore roads under full canvas. This gives an indication of the set and spread of the sails with the wind on the beam.
- Plate 9, fig. 2.** A (*Pèrahu*) *Pinas Golok*, about 65 feet from stem to stern, lying at anchor fully laden in the estuary at Kuala Trengganu. The picture shows the general lines of the hull above water, and the set of the masts.
- Plate 10, fig. 1.** A *Bedar* (*Luang Katar*), about 55 feet from stem to stern, lying in shallow water, at low tide, in the estuary at Kuala Trengganu. This picture shows the finish, and to some extent the general lines, of the hull. On the right, in the middle distance, are two *Pèrahu Pinas*, left high and dry by the tide.
- Plate 10, fig. 2.** A *Bedar* (*Luang Sudu*), about 35 feet from stem to stern, sailing under fore and main sail as it enters a Trengganu kuala. The picture shows the long coop amidships which covers the hold in the smaller *Bedars*.
- Plate 11, fig. 1.** A *Pèrahu* *Buatan Barat*, about 35 feet from stem to stern, with the high ends truncated, being used as a cargo carrying boat off the Kelantan coast. She is drifting along under her foresail, the smaller of the two sails, only.
- Plate 11, fig. 2.** The stern half of a small *Bedar* (*Luang Sudu*), about 28 feet from stem to stern, lying in the river at Kampong Sétiu, on the Trengganu coast. The picture shows the *dandan* and stern *kup* to the right, and part of the long *kup* over the hold to the left.
- Plate 12, fig. 1.** A Gulf of Siam Trader, length about 60 feet from stem to stern, lying fully laden in the estuary at Kuala Trengganu. This boat is temporarily without its mizzen mast. A comparison with the *Pinas Golok*,

on Plate 9, fig. 2, shows the slightly greater thickness of the spars in the Chinese boats. The forward cabin, between main and mizzen masts should be noted; so also the large heavy stern gallery, and the cable for raising the rudder.

Plate 12, fig. 2. A Chinese motor launch under auxillary sail, photographed at the eastern end of the Singapore Strait.

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Summary

This paper gives a short account of the cargo carrying boats found on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, north to the Siamese frontier. It is based on information obtained in visits to this area in July 1940, June 1947 and July-August 1948. The most important boats in the local trade are those of the Pinas-Bedar group, which have hulls of basically European design, and carry a rig of two Chinese dipping-lug sails, and a European jib. The centre of their manufacture is in Trengganu. The paper also gives a brief outline of the other carrying boats occurring in this area, including the two three-masted luggers of Chinese design most likely to be seen there.