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A HISTORY OF PAHANG

by

W. LINEHAN

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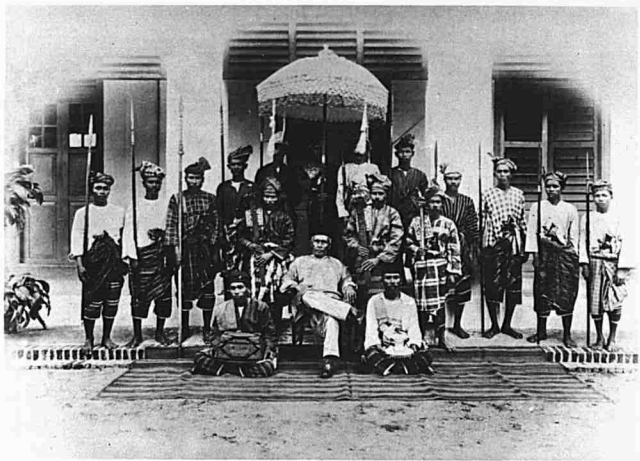
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*H.H. Sultan Ahmad al-Mu'azzam Shah ibni Bendahara Wan Ali,
Bendahara Sri Wak Raja 1863-1882, Sultan of Pahang, August
1882-1914, taken in about 1880.*

Photo Arkib Negara.



*H.H. Sultan Ahmad and his personal staff at Pekin in about 1885.
Photo Arkib Negara.*

CONTENTS

| | Page. |
|---|-------|
| Preface by Khoo Kay Kim | |
| Introduction by Dr. Linchan | |
| Chapter. | |
| I. Prehistoric Pahang and the Aboriginal Tribes | 3 |
| II. The Pre-Malaccan People | 5 |
| III. The Malacca Rulers of Pahang to 1590 A.D. . . | 12 |
| IV. Sultan Abdul-Ghafur. | 29 |
| V. Pahang the Province of the Bendaharas (Period 1699-1806). | 45 |
| VI. The Rule of Bendahara Ali (1806-1857) | 56 |
| VII. The Civil War (1857-1863) | 66 |
| VIII. The Selangor War | 90 |
| IX. Engku Muda Mansur. The Missions of Swettenham and Clifford. (1874-1887). . . . | 101 |
| X. The British Agency (1887-1888). | 112 |
| XI. Early Years of the Protectorate (1888-1891). . . | 127 |
| XII. Revolt of the Orang Kaya of Semantan . . . | 139 |
| Appendices: | |
| I. The Descent of the Early Sultans | 169 |
| II. The Family of the Bendaharas and Modern Sultans | 178 |
| III. The Principal Chiefs | 188 |
| IV. Selected Papers of Maharaja Perba | 201 |
| V. Ancient Graves | 226 |
| VI. Antiquities | 239 |
| VII. Extracts from Castanheda | 252 |

PLATES

- | | | |
|-------------|---|----------------------------|
| I. | H.H. Sultan Ahmad al-Mu'azzam Shah ibni Bendahara Wan Ali, Bendahara Sri Wak Raja 1863-1882, Sultan of Pahang, August 1882-1914, taken in about 1880. | frontispiece |
| II. | H.H. Sultan Ahmad and his personal staff at Pekan in about 1885. | reverse of frontispiece |
| III. | H.H. Sultan Ahmad, in about 1900. | facing page 66 |
| IV. | H.H. Tengku Mahmud, Tengku Besar and Regent, in about 1890. . . | facing page 112 |
| V. | H.H. Sultan Mahmud: 1914-1917. | facing page 138 |
| VI. | Group photo probably taken in 1888 in Pekan | facing page 139 |
| VII. | Hugh Clifford, aged 29. Acting British Resident Pahang, in 1889 . . . | facing page 141 |
| VIII. | H.H. Sultan Abdullah, 1917-1932. . . | facing page 168 |
| IX. | Orang Kaya Indera Maharaja Perba Jelai, and his son, Wan Chik. . . | facing page 200 |
| X., XI. | Tomb of Raja Fatimah binti Sultan Alauddin I. 1495 A.D. | facing pages 226 & 227 |
| XII., XIII. | Tomb of 'Abdul Jalil' 1511/12 A.D. (?) Sultan Abdul Jalil | facing pages 228 & 229 |
| XIV., XV. | Unidentified tomb. | facing pages 232 & 233 |
| XVI., XVII. | Unidentified tomb. | facing pages 234 & 235 |

MAPS

- | | | |
|----|--|-----------------|
| 1. | A Sketch illustrating operations in the Semantan Rising | facing page 140 |
| 2. | A Map of Pahang | facing page 256 |

PREFACE

In the 1930s, the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Malayan Branch* published a series on Malay state histories. R. O. Winstedt made prolific contributions to the project and his reputation as a scholar was hence further enhanced. Except for the more serious students of Malaysian history, few, possibly, have heard of the name W. Linehan. Yet, he produced a very fine piece of writing for the same series. "A History of Pahang" which was written in 1936 remains to-day an authoritative work and, in fact, the only substantial writing on the historical development of the Peninsula's largest state.

W. A. Linehan, C.M.G. (1947), M.A., D. Litt., was born on 6th August 1892 at Whitechurch, County Cork. He was the son of Senator Thomas Linehan and received his early education at the Christian Brothers College from where he proceeded to University College, County Cork. He married Mary O'Sullivan of Limerick and had three sons. It was in 1916 that he first became a Cadet in the Malayan Civil Service and rose to prominence in the 1930s. In 1931, he was Assistant Adviser in Kelantan and in 1934, Assistant Adviser, Johore. In 1937, he was Secretary to the British Resident of Perak and in 1938 was appointed Director of Education, Straits Settlements and Adviser on Education, Malay States. In the same year, he was President of the International Conference of Pre-Historians of the Far East.

During the Japanese Occupation, Linehan was interned in the Changi Gaol as well as the Sime Road Internment Camp, both in Singapore. After the war, when the controversial Malayan Union was introduced, he was given the responsible post of Constitutional Adviser. He retired from the Civil Service in 1948 and, on 19th January 1949, was re-employed as the Director of Museums, Federation of Malaya, which post he held until 1951. In 1955, he became Assistant Director of Research in Oriental Languages in the University of Cambridge but died on 19th October the same year.¹

"A History of Pahang" covers a very broad period, from prehistoric times to the 1890s. Despite this, it is not too much to say that this work has been meticulously written. The first five chapters are particularly valuable for the simple reason that the early history of the Peninsula, in fact up to the 18th century, is as yet not generally well known. Many travellers had written on the Peninsula since very early times but such records as they had left behind are widely scattered and not easily obtainable. Linehan has made references to a number of these sources which contain some information on Pahang. Linehan, of course, was keenly interested in the early history of the Malay Peninsula and his contributions in this field have been very impressive. The greater proportion of his writings appear in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic*

¹ *Who Was Who, 1951-1960*, Adam and Charles Black, London, pp. 663-4.

Society, Malayan Branch. Among these may be mentioned the following:

- Historical notes, mainly about Klang. Vol. 24, Pt. 3, 1951.
- The identifications of some of Ptolemy's place-names in the Golden Khersonese. Vol. 24, Pt. 3, 1951.
- Keramat Seri Benian. Vol. 24, Pt. 3, 1951.
- The kings of 14th century Singapore. Vol. 20, Pt. 2, 1947.
- Langkasuka, the island of Asoka. Vol. 21, Pt. 1, 1948.
- The nobat and the Orang Kalau of Perak. Vol. 24, Pt. 3, 1951.
- A note on Sai. Vol. 20, Pt. 2, 1947.
- Notes on some further archaeological discoveries in Pahang. Vol. 8, Pt. 2, 1930.
- Notes on the remains of some ancient brick structures in Pekan district. Vol. 6, Pt. 4, 1928.
- Notes on the texts of the Malay Annals. Vol. 20, Pt. 2, 1947.
- The prince of Chini. Vol. 2, Pt. 2, 1947.
- Some discoveries of the Tembeling. Vol. 6, Pt. 4, 1928.
- Source of the Malacca, Johore and Pahang genealogies in the Bustan-al-Salatin. Vol. 11, Pt. 2, 1933.
- The sources of the Shellabear text of the Malay Annals. Vol. 20, Pt. 2, 1947.
- Traces of a Bronze Age culture associated with Iron Age implements in the regions of Klang and the Tembeling, Malaya. Vol. 24, Pt. 3, 1951.

In view of the large amount of work which Linehan has done on the early history of the Peninsula,² it is clear that the first five chapters of "A History of Pahang" were written with some authority. Admittedly, Linehan has not been able to give a truly definitive account of the subject. But, he has certainly pioneered the way for more intensive research. He has made the task of future scholars so much lighter by listing down the very dispersed references to Pahang and it remains for someone as conscientious to continue the hard work of piecing together the many useful fragments, several perhaps not yet discovered, into a coherent whole. Also, as a result of Linehan's effort, it appears probable that a more careful and painstaking search into the Portuguese and Dutch archives might prove very rewarding, at least for the period covering the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries.

The last seven chapters of "A History of Pahang" which deal with the comparatively narrower period of one hundred years (about 1800s to 1890s) are, by comparison, less important for the serious students of Malaysian history. The greater proportion of Chapter VI, for example, is based on two sources — (i) C. Gray's journal of his overland journey from Malacca to Pahang,³ and (ii) *Kisah Pelayaran Abdullah*. Both these sources can be read in their entirety by those with an interest in the subject and Abdullah's book is easily available.⁴

² For a more complete list of Linehan's writings in *JMBRAS*, see *Index Malay-siana* (published by the Royal Asiatic Society, Malayan Branch).

³ For a full text of the journal, see "Journal of a Route Overland from Malacca to Pahang, across the Malayan Peninsula" *Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia*, Vol. 6, 1852.

⁴ See Kassim Ahmad (ed.), *Kisah Pelayaran Abdullah*, Kuala Lumpur, 1966.

In the next chapter, the Civil War (1857-1863) of Pahang has been very ably summarised by Linehan for the events of the time were extremely complex and the personalities involved, numerous. It was not a war confined to the boundaries of Pahang as it affected Johore, Trengganu, the remnants of the Riau-Lingga Empire and even Siam as well as the British. There is an abundance of official records on the war. Linehan's account, however, is based largely on the *Hikayat Pahang*, an extremely valuable indigenous source. This work is available in both the University of Malaya Library and the Malaysian National Archives.⁵ Chapter VIII of "A History of Pahang" which is concerned with Pahang's involvement in the Selangor War (more correctly known as *Perang Kelang* or the Klang War) is also based on the *Hikayat Pahang*.

The value of Chapters IX to XI which sketch the beginnings of British intervention in Pahang has been superseded since by more academic writings based on sources which Linehan then had no access to, namely, the Colonial Office Records, Series 273.⁶ But, Linehan had one distinct advantage over modern scholars who have a similar interest in the history of Pahang; he had before him the private papers of Maharaja Perba of Jelai, Wan Muhammad. From Linehan's own description of the papers,⁷ it is clear that they contain extremely valuable information on the internal affairs of Pahang. Present attempts to locate these papers have not borne fruit.

In the last chapter of his work which discusses the uprising in Pahang in the 1890s led by Dato' Bahaman or *Orang Kaya Semantan*, Linehan has been able to cite interesting letters from the Maharaja Perba collection, but otherwise a far more detailed account of the disturbances can be written by using the Colonial Office Records.⁸ It is important to mention here that Linehan's version of Dato' Bahaman's antecedents is disputed by Dato' Sallehuddin bin Mat Lela, the grandson of Dato' Bahaman. Linehan writes:⁹

The personal name of the Semantan Chief was 'Abdu'l-Rahman, Rahman, or Bahman. He was of humble, partly Jakun origin, and in his youth had been a menial servant attached to the Sultan's household.

According to Dato' Sallehuddin, Dato' Bahaman's father, who was called Dato' Imam Noh, originated from Kampung Kampar Kanan, Mangkinang, Minangkabau. He migrated from Sumatra to Pahang during his youth, travelling overland from Pedas, in Negri Sembilan, via Kuala Pilah and by river to Semantan. He and his followers then cleared the jungle and founded a settlement at a place

⁵ The original version of *Hikayat Pahang* is in Jawi. The author is unknown. In the National Archives, a Rumi version is available in typescript.

⁶ See Eunice Thio, "The Extension of British Control to Pahang" *JMBRAS*, Vol. 30, Pt. 1, 1957 and *British Policy in the Malay Peninsula 1880-1910*, Kuala Lumpur, 1968, Vol. 1.

⁷ See Appendix IV.

⁸ In fact, an M.A. dissertation on the subject was successfully completed in the Dept. of History, University of Malaya, in 1971 by a student from Universitas Gadjja Mada — Jang Aisjah Mutalib.

⁹ v. p. 139.

called Rantau Panjang. Dato' Sallehuddin claims that Dato' Bahaman had no other name and was born in Semantan after Dato' Imam Noh had settled down there. Dato' Sallehuddin believes that Linehan relied for his information on one or two *orang besar* (chiefs) who were not well disposed to Dato' Bahaman and was therefore misled.

One of the outstanding features of Linehan's work is that he made very full use of the available indigenous sources but, it is unfortunate that he tended to neglect the official documents. As noted above, he had no access to the Colonial Office Records; he had ample opportunity but obviously did not seriously examine the Straits Settlements Records in Singapore upon which Winstedt himself was primarily dependent for his writings on the history of the Malay states. In fact, parts of Winstedt's writings have become indispensable historical sources in view of the fact that the Straits Settlements Records, now housed in the Singapore National Archives, have become somewhat deficient owing to the ravages of war. However, it is possible that a complete duplicate set of the records — in effect, in the case of correspondence between Singapore and Bengal, the original despatches — exist in India. But until this is definitely established, scholars of the history of 19th century Malaya have to labour under the disadvantage of not being able to examine fully the records which were available to Winstedt.

Perhaps Appendices III and IV of Linehan's work represent his most significant contribution to Malaysian historiography. In these days when historians everywhere have become as much interested in culture and society as the social anthropologists and sociologists are, increasingly, more of their efforts have been devoted to the study of indigenous or pre-modern societies in Asia. University history syllabuses on Asia have been radically changed to give due emphasis to the subject. When J. M. Gullick published his *Indigenous Political Systems of Western Malaya*, (London, 1958), it was widely acclaimed as a major break-through in Malaysian historiography and the book is now popularly used as a basic text for courses on Malay society. But, Gullick discusses mainly Perak, Selangor and Negri Sembilan. For the student of history interested in the socio-political structure of Pahang society, he can turn to no better source than Appendices III and IV of Linehan's work as well as the *Hikayat Pahang* which are complementary to one other. Linehan might not have analysed his material as skilfully as Gullick did using social anthropological tools but, the data provided are invaluable and can hardly be bettered except by further extensive and intensive field work.

The present student of Malaysian history writing on the historical development of Pahang is apt to adopt a very different approach¹⁰ especially with regard to the post-1880 period. For the earlier period, he can probably do no better than add meat to the outline that Linehan has provided. The difference in approach does not *ipso facto* involve, as is too often assumed, the need to look at events from a different point of view. More fundamentally, it means that

¹⁰ A very good example is R. G. Cant's *An Historical Geography of Pahang*, Royal Asiatic Society, Malaysian Branch, Monograph No. 4, 1972.

attempts would be made to answer different kinds of questions. Linehan, like many historians of his time, was more interested in political issues and in dealing with the post-1880 period in Pahang history, he merely followed the tradition of his time by concentrating on wars and dramatic events. The modern student of history would tend to focus attention on the subject of change. He would attempt to trace the development of the state in terms of the altering demographic pattern, the establishment of a new network of transport and communication, the process of urbanisation, the growth of secular education and the emergence of a new economic structure while not neglecting the changes which occurred in the political-administrative system. The modern approach would certainly be less narrative in form as Linehan's work is; it would be more descriptive and analytical. It would also seek to answer questions which are, currently, more often asked about the Malaysian society.

Linehan lived in a different age and the questions which were important then no longer hold the same interest for people of the present generation except perhaps those who continue to subscribe to the idea that history is important for its own sake. But, all things said, "A History of Pahang" is still very much a classic in Malaysian historiography. It has long been in great demand because, together with Winstedt's "A History of Johore (1365-1895 A.D.)"¹¹ and "A History of Perak" (which was written in collaboration with R. J. Wilkinson)¹² it is one of the fuller accounts of the history of any single Malay state. And for many years, there has been no supply. This reprint should therefore prove of immense value to all students of Malaysian history.

Khoo Kay Kim
Dept. of History
University of Malaya.
August 1973.

NOTE by the Hon: Editor:

Dato Haji Sallehuddin, the grandson of Dato Bahaman, states that when Bahaman was 2 years old (in 1840) he was adopted by Bendahara Wan Ali, and was brought up as a close companion of Wan Ahmad (later Sultan Ahmad) who was two years older.

This corrects Linehan's statement in lines 3 & 4 of page 139 that Bahaman "had been a menial servant attached to the Sultan's household". Dato Sallehuddin adds that, having spent their boyhood and youth together, and having fought side by side during the Civil War against Bendahara Wan Mutahir, the ties between Sultan Ahmad and Dato Bahaman were very close.

Linehan's statement in lines 29 & 30 on the same page that "the Sultan, in spite of the Orang Kaya's misdeeds, had always retained a certain affection for him (Bahaman) because of his past services" is thus clarified.

M.S. August 1973.

¹¹ Vol. 10, Pt. 3, 1932.

¹² Vol. 12, Pt. 1, 1934.

INTRODUCTION

Pahang, the largest of the Malay States, has an area of 14,000 square miles with a long sea-board on the China Sea. It is bounded on the north by Trengganu and Kelantan, on the west by Perak, Selangor and Negri Sembilan, and on the south by Johore. Before the rise of Malacca the kingdom of Pahang embraced the whole of the southern part of the Peninsula. Majapahit used the name Pahang to designate the Malay Peninsula—an indication of the importance of this ancient State. In the 16th century the southern boundaries of the country extended to Sedili Besar, and on the west it touched Rembau and Selangor.

To the north and west Pahang is encircled by hills. Its main water-systems, the high-ways of communication in the past, are the river Pahang and its tributaries, and the Kuantan, the Bëbar, the Rompin, and the Endau. The country to the south-west between the head-waters of the Bëra and the Muar, where the ancient over-land route between the east and the west of the Peninsula passed, is only 180 feet above sea-level. The low-lying nature of the land at this point and the breadth and sluggishness of the Bëra, over part of its course an elongated marsh, have led to the conjecture¹ that at one time this stream formed the bed of the Pahang river which then flowed, not, as now, east into the China sea but west into the Straits of Malacca. It has been pointed out that the sharp bend in the Pahang river near Kuala Bëra suggests river-capture by a stream flowing into the China sea. Colour is lent to the conjecture by old maps of the 16th and 17th centuries which show a river flowing between Muar and Pahang.

Pahang was linked up with adjoining states by river-routes as well as by sea. The Sungai Tanum, a tributary of the Jëlai, and the Sat and Sëpia, affluents of the Tembeling, led into Kelantan. The Sëpia was also used as a means of communication with Trengganu. Perak was connected with Pahang by the difficult routes which followed the Bertam and the Lipis, tributaries of the Jëlai. Travellers to Selangor followed the Semantan (a tributary of the Pahang river) and its feeders. But one of the most important trade-routes was that which connected Pahang with Muar and Malacca: this ran from the Pahang river into the Bëra, thence into its tributary the Seriting, from the source of which stream boats and goods were portaged at Penarekan (or Penarek)² into a tributary of the Muar, and thence down the Muar river. In one of d'Eredia's maps, produced about 1590, in which this route is shown, is a note:

"By the 'Panarikan' they travel from Malacca to Pam in six days' journeying."

¹Scrivenor's "Geology of Malaya," pp. 12-13.

²"The Portage."

The ancient practice of defining territorial divisions and apportioning lands by water-sheds was due, no doubt, to the fact that the Malays had an intimate knowledge of the courses of rivers and their tributaries.

There were many variations of the name Pahang. The Chinese chronicler Chau Ju-Kua knew it as Pōng-fōng. According to the continuation of Ma Tuan lin's Cyclopedic, Pahang was called Siēm-lao thási. By Arabs and Europeans the country was styled Pam, Pan, Paam, Paon, Phaun, Phang, Paham, Pahan, Pahaun, Phaung or Pahangh. Camoens, the "Lusitanian Vergil," wrote in the 16th century:

" See Pam, Patane, and in length obscure,
Siam, that ruleth all with royal sway."¹

Pahang is the Khmer word for "tin": the tin mines at Sungai Lembing were worked in prehistoric times; it is possible that the name of the country was derived therefrom. Berthelot identifies the river Pahang with Ptolemy's *Attabas*. The proto-Malay Jakun of the Bebar say that their fore-fathers called the country *Mahang*. According to Malay legend, across the river at Kampong Kembahang where the present stream of the Pahang parts company with the Pahang Tua, in ancient times stretched a huge *mahang* tree from which the river and country derived their name.

The old court-name for Pahang was Indērapura. The capital of the country has always been known as "The Town," the Pre-Malaccans² calling it by the Sanskrit name *Pura*, the Malays, *Pekan*, the Portuguese, a *Cidade*. The people of Endau, Rompin, and Bēbar describe the capital as *Pēkan Pahang*, "the Town of Pahang." *Pura* may have covered a much larger area than the town which we know as *Pēkan*; in addition to the modern *Pēkan* it appears to have comprised the land on the banks of the Pahang and Pahang Tua rivers as far as Tanjong Langgar.

Pēkan is divided into "Old *Pēkan*," (*Pēkan Lama*), and "New *Pēkan*," (*Pēkan Baharu*). *Pēkan Lama* has been the exclusive abode of the Malay nobility at least as far back as the date of Admiral Matelief's visit in 1607.³ The older name for *Pēkan Baharu*, dating not later than the beginning of the 17th century, was *Kampong China*—"China-town."

¹Burton's translation.

²The term "pre-Malaccan" refers to the period prior to the conquest of Pahang by the Malays of Malacca about 1454 A.D.

³*Infra*, p. 30.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

In the preparation of this history I have had the benefit of assistance from many quarters. My thanks are due to Their Highnesses Sultan Abu-Bakar of Pahang and Tengku Meriam, the dowager Tengku Empuan Besar, for supplying photographs of Rulers. I am indebted to Dr. C. O. Blagden for searching for certain references to Pahang in the Maxwell MSS. in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, and for advice on the pre-Malaccan period. Dr. P. V. van Stein Callenfels, O.B.E., has helped with criticisms on pre-history. Mr. T. D. Hughes, M.C.S., supplied extracts from his translation of Castanheda, and let me see his translation of Tavares' "Jornada de Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho" before publication. The Rev. Fr. Cardon provided some references to Pahang from Portuguese sources. Mr. H. G. R. Leonard, late British Resident of Pahang, allowed me access to the minutes of the meetings of the State Council. Tengku Sulaiman, Tengku Besar of Pahang, has helped me in local details. Engku 'Abdu'l-Hamid bin 'Abdu'l-Majid of Johore has assisted in the translation of the inscriptions on ancient tomb-stones. Dato' Sétia Jaya, Haji Abu-Bakar, Secretary to the late Sultan Abdullah of Pahang, (a *laudator temporis acti*), provided me with the material for several of the notes on matters of local tradition. Engku Abdullah al-Haji, Orang Kaya Indëra Pahlawan of Chënor, has supplied a list of descent of his family, and has been of help in other respects. Dato' Husain, M.C.S., Orang Kaya Indëra Shahbandar, and Che Mahmud bin Mat, M.C.S., have made available, genealogies of the Shahbandar family. The maps here reproduced were prepared by Mr. L. D. Meyer of the Survey Department. Mr. F. W. Douglas provided some information from Brunai records.

My thanks are due above all to Sir Richard Winstedt who supplied me with material from the archives of the Colonial Secretariat, Singapore, and elsewhere. I gratefully acknowledge his unfailing assistance and advice. Where the histories of Pahang and Johore over-lap his "History of Johore" has been a mine of information which I have freely used, though original authorities, where available, have been studied, and I have not always accepted his conclusions.

W. L.

1936,
Muar, Johore.

History of Pahang.

CHAPTER I.

PREHISTORIC PAHANG AND THE ABORIGINAL TRIBES.

Nowhere in Malaya are there traces of a true palaeolithic culture. At Gunong Sennyum have been found relics of a mesolithic civilization using palaeolithic implements. At Sungai Lembing, Kuantan, have been discovered palaeolithic artefacts chipped and without trace of polishing, the remains of a Papua-Melanesoid civilization perhaps six thousand years old, the oldest known prehistoric migration to the Peninsula.

Late neolithic relics are abundant: polished tools of West Indonesian types, such as occur in Sumatra, Java and Bali, "quoit-discs," stone ear-pendants, stone bracelets, and cross-hatched bark-pounders. By 1500 B.C. quadrangular adzes of varying forms, coming probably from China through Indo-China, had arrived in Pahang. The advent of the beaked ("pointed") types found in Pahang, as elsewhere in Malaya, belongs to the same period.

Bronze relics are few; fragments of bowls have been found in the Tembeling and at Tresang. In the former place, too, the bronze tympanum of a war-drum dating, perhaps, from a period prior to the later H'an dynasty (1st century A.D.) has been picked up. It appears that bronze-age culture, such as it was, did not reach the Peninsula till about 400 B.C.

Often, side by side with neoliths, are found the primitive efforts of the early iron age which prehistorians associate with Munda influence after the beginning of the Christian era: iron spear-heads, and poor, ineffective iron implements, mining tools, sickles and the like. It seems that the late neolithic culture lasted for some time in association with early iron civilization. These pre-historic relics, found along the rivers throughout the country, are particularly numerous in the valley of the Tembeling, the old main northern high-way of communication.

On the Tembeling, in ancient gold workings at Tresang, and elsewhere have been found primitive iron implements of the type known as *tulang mawas*, the "ape's bone," the relics, according to Malay tradition, of prehistoric cannibalistic inhabitants of the country. At Selinsing on the Jelai are ancient gold-workings thought to date back to the early iron age.

We know little about the representatives of these early cultures. They developed the working of stone into a fine art,¹ made

¹Heine-Geldern's comment on the wonderful perfection of stone cutting displayed by the late neolithic people of Java and Sumatra and the artistic nature of the adze blades produced by them is applicable to the neolithic culture found in Pahang ("Sumatra" by E. M. Loeb and R. Heine-Geldern, Vienna, 1935).

artistic bracelets, ear-drops, war-like weapons and other stone objects. In the late neolithic period they became acquainted with the working of gold, tin and iron.

Malays, when they discovered neoliths (*batu lintar*), ancient ornaments or implements, used them as sharpeners, touch stones for testing precious metals (*batu uji*), or as charms to be used in sickness or war. Ancient iron implements were re-smelted and used in the manufacture of creese blades to give their owners invulnerability and bring them luck. In fact no creese was really lucky (*bertuah*) unless it was, in part, composed of a prehistoric iron implement.

The primitive tribes of which the Sēmang, Sakai and Jakun are the representatives appear to have been unacquainted with the use of stone implements or weapons.

The woolly-haired negrito Sēmang or Pangan, few in numbers in Pahang, are found as far south as the Cheka. They mixed slightly with the Sakai of the Tēlom. The Sakai, wavy-haired Indonesians, speaking a language with Mon-Khmer affinities, are found in many of the undeveloped parts of the interior. In the jungles of the coastal plains are encountered the proto-Malay Jakun and the sea-faring gypsies (*Orang Laut*) both of the same stock. Few *Orang Laut*, as such, remain though their vanishing tracks are perceptible in the islands, and at Kuala Pahang. They have disappeared off the sea-board, taken to the rivers, and amalgamated with their Jakun kinsmen in one people. The Jakun have mixed with Sakai, and their language has been affected accordingly. At their points of contact with Malays, a process of absorption, slow but perceptible, of the Sakai and Jakun by Malays may be observed. This transition stage may best be studied in the upper reaches of the Rompin, Bēbar, and Endau rivers.

The aborigines readily adopted the traditions of their rulers; the Krau people, fugitives from the Semantan during the Rawa rebellion of 1862, claimed descent from Menangkabaus of Pagar Ruyong,¹ while the Jakun head-men of Ulu Bebar asserted that they were the descendants of the pre-Malaccan "men of Siam." This claim calls to mind the opinion held by some writers, such as De Quatrefages, that in the Malay Peninsula conquest has destroyed States that were considerable and flourishing at one time but of which even recollection has been lost, driving back to the jungles and mountains the races which had founded them.

¹Journal F.M.S. Museums, Vol. XII, 1925, p. 64.

CHAPTER II.

THE PRE-MALACCAN PEOPLE.

In the seventh century A.D. a kingdom called by Chinese chroniclers San Fo-ts'i which has been identified by Dr. Coedès with the Malay Sēri-Vijaya with a capital, at one period, situated in Palembang, became predominant in the Malay Archipelago and the Peninsula. This empire has been thought to be the contemporary *Zabug* or *Zabag* of Arab geographers. In 1225 A.D. the Chinese writer Chau Ju-Kua, apparently describing conditions in the preceding century, records that Pong-fong (Pahang) was one of the dependencies of San Fo-ts'i. Another vassal state of San Fo-ts'i was Tan-ma-ling, to which place we shall return presently. The *Tao i chik lio* written by Wang Ta-Yuan in 1349 makes mention of P'eng K'eng (Pahang) and Pa-tu-ma (?Pulau Tioman) among other regions.

According to the Nagarakrtagama, composed in 1365, Pahang, Ujong Medini (Johore), Muar, Langkasuka, Kelantan, Trengganu, Paka and Dungun, Tumasik (Singapore), Sang Yang Ujong (Sungai Ujong), Kēlang and Kēdah were tributary states of Majapahit. To this list of the Javanese empire's dependencies the "Chronicles of Pasai" add various islands off the east coast of the Peninsula including Pulau Tioman, Pulau Tinggi, Pulau Pēmanggil and Pulau Laut.

The History of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1643)¹ presents a picture of Pahang in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries:

"Pahang is situated at the west of Siam. In the year 1378 the king, Maharaja Tajau, sent envoys with a letter on a gold leaf, and bringing as tribute six foreign slaves, and products of the country. They were received according to the established rules.

"In the year 1411 the king, Pa-la-mi-so-la-ta-lo-si-ni sent envoys carrying tribute. In 1412 Cheng Ho went as an envoy to their country, and in the year 1414 they sent tribute again.

"In the year 1416 they sent tribute together with Kalikut and Java, and Cheng Ho was again ordered to go there.

"The soil of this country is fertile; the climate is always warm, and rice is abundant there; they make salt by boiling sea water, and wine by fermenting the sap of the coconut tree.

"The higher and lower classes are on a very intimate footing, and there are no thieves; they are very superstitious

¹Book 325, quoted in "Notes on the Malay Archipelago" by W. P. Groeneveldt: Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China, 2nd Series, Vol. I, London, 1887, p. 256.

regarding demons and spirits, making their images of fragrant wood, and sacrificing men to them, in order to avert calamities or to pray for happiness.

"Amongst the articles which they brought as tribute were elephant-teeth, camphor bars, olibanum, lignum aloes, sandal wood, pepper, sapan-wood, and such more...."

Tajau of the Chinese chronicler may be *Tanjong*, and the reference may be to the northern head-land of the estuary of the river Pahang which was known to sea-farers as *Tanjong Pahang*, "Cape Pahang."

Pa-la-mi-so-la-ta-lo-si-ni was almost certainly the Chinese rendering of *Parameswara Telok¹ Chini*, "the prince of Chini Haven." Chini, which, in Siamese, means *gibbon*, gives its name to a mountain, a lake, a stream and a village situated about forty miles from the mouth of the river Pahang. There pre-Malaccan remains have been found.² In the same locality is Luit, with a village Singgora called after the capital of Patani, where, too, there are traces of pre-Malaccan habitation.³ Except on the banks of the river, Chini is still jungle-clad, and little investigation has yet been done. For the Malays, Lake Chini has associations with the past: in their eyes the lake and its adjoining mountain are sacred, and they credit the place with the possession of a white crocodile styled *Stri Pahang*: "the glory of Pahang." It is possible that the lake did not always exist in its present form and that it covers the site of an ancient town. Only when the jungle gives up its secrets will the truth be known.

Assuming the correctness of these identifications, we then have, in 1378 A.D., a king at *Tanjong Pahang* known by the designation of *Maharaja*, and, in 1411 A.D., at Chini, a ruler with the style of *Parameswara*⁴, a title also used by the founder of Malacca. Did these two kingships exist contemporaneously or do both titles refer to the same undivided line of rulers with merely a change of residence, or is it to be supposed that between 1378 and 1411 the king at *Tanjong Pahang* was displaced by the Chini potentate? These are questions which cannot, at present, be answered. We are told by d'Eredia that the kings of Pahang ruled only the coastal region. We know that the ruler of Pahang, at the date of its conquest by the Malacca Malays about 1454, bore the title of *Maharaja*. There is reason

¹Menangkabau: *talok*, a bay, or a bend in the river, commonly used in the expression *telok ranlau* "the bends and the reaches" of a river.

²J. M. B. R. A. S., Vol. VI, Pt. IV, 1928, p. 79.

³Journal, F.M.S. Museums, Vol. IX, Pt. 2, 1920, p. 152.

⁴Dr. P. V. van Stein Callenfels points out that the term *Parameswara* seems to have been, in mediaeval times, in Majapahit and Bali, the special title of the non-royal husband of a ruling princess, and that the word, where it occurs in old inscriptions, designates the consort of a queen.

to believe that, at least as far as the people were concerned, apart from their rulers, the region of Kampong Melayu near Chini was at one time the boundary between the Malays and another race.¹

The *Hsing-ch'a Sheng-lan*, written in 1436 by Fei Hsin, a Chinese Moslem and an Arabic scholar, gives the following interesting account of Pahang and its people :

" This country is situated at the west of Siam ; it is surrounded by rocky ridges of mountains, which, seen from a distance, have the appearance of a table-land. The ground is fertile, and they have abundance of rice. The weather is often very warm.

" Their customs cannot be much praised ; they make human images of fragrant wood, and kill people in order to make a sacrifice of the blood, when they pray for luck or try to ward off evil.

" Men and women have their hair in a knot, and are clad with a single piece of cloth. Girls of rich families wear four or five golden circles on their foreheads, and the daughters of the common people use strings of coloured glass beads instead.

" They boil salt out of sea-water, and make wine by fermenting rice-gruel.

" Products of the country are lignum-aloes, camphor, tin and a kind of wood used in dyeing. Articles of import are gold, silver, coloured silks, Java-cloth, copper and iron-ware, gongs, boards, etc."

According to d'Eredia, Pahang was the second Malay kingdom in the Peninsula, in succession to Patani, and flourished before the founding of Malacca ; the ruler of Pahang in the latter part of the fourteenth century, a relative (by marriage) of Parameswara, first ruler of Malacca, was Lord of Ujong Tanah (the southerly part of the peninsula including Singapore). d'Eredia² records that :

" Pan was the second seat of the Empire of the Malaios ; its site lies on the eastern coast of the Peninsula in three degrees of North latitude ; the port is just as much frequented by merchants, because of the gold from its auriferous mines : it contains the best and largest gold-mines in the whole Peninsula : it was from here, one presumes, that there came the gold which formed the subject of the ancient trade with Alexandria...."

¹ J. M. B. R. A. S., Vol. VI, Pt. IV, 1928, p. 81.

² " Report on the Golden Chersonese," translation by J. V. Mills (J. M. B. R. A. S., Vol. VIII, Pt. I, p. 233).

The same chronicler writes :¹

" It is to be noted that the eastern coast of Ujontana was peopled and frequented before the other or western coast : thus the histories relate that Malayos inhabited Pattane and Pam before the foundation of Malacca.

" At that time the ruler of Pam governed Syncapura : and the monarch who resided in Pathane, the metropolis of the Malayos, was tributary to the empire of Syam, for right down to the present day the Malayos regard the latter as their master : while the head of the principal empire and administration was the Emperor of Attay...."

He adds :

" Permicuri,² by birth a Jao of Palimban in Samatta or the Golden Chersonese allied himself in marriage with the lords and monarchs of Patane and Pam who belonged to the family of the Malaos...."³

This first Malaccan potentate chose Malacca as his headquarters about the end of the 14th century. d'Eredia relates that :

" Permicuri selected this spot in the interests of his own safety, for he stood in fear of the ruler of Pam, over-lord of the countries of Ujontana, who was making warlike preparations to capture him, in consequence of the treachery which Permicuri had perpetrated in Sincapura, when he assassinated the ' Xabandar ' who was related to the lord of Pam, despite the kindness which the ' Xabandar ' had shown at his house in Syncapura, when Permicuri took refuge there in his flight from his father-in-law the Emperor of Java Major...."⁴

In the same chapter d'Eredia calls Permicuri the " first king of the Malayos." According to d'Albuquerque's " Commentaries," it was the ruler of Patani of whom Permicuri stood in fear, and the murdered chief's name was Tamagi.

d'Eredia⁵ states that the religion of Islam was introduced into Patani and Pahang before it was accepted by " Permicuri at Malacca in the year 1411." That statement is certainly true of Trengganu (which at that time appears to have formed a province of Patani), and is probably true of Pahang, though we have no other evidence to show that Islam was practised in the country before 1454. Mahayana Buddhism, on which were superimposed

¹d'Eredia's " Description of Malacca," translation by J. V. Mills, *loc. cit.*, p. 37.

²An incorrect rendering of *Parameswara*.

³*Op. cit.*, p. 57.

⁴*Op. cit.*, p. 16.

⁵*Op. cit.*, p. 49.

Tantric orgies involving human sacrifice, had reached the Malay Peninsula about the 8th century. Its influence in Pahang, though it waned with the introduction of Islam as the State religion about 1454, may be traced up to the beginning of the 17th century.

In the 12th century the kingdom of San Fo-ts'i began to decline, and by the 14th century, in the south, the east-Java state of Majapahit had become predominant, while, in the north, by 1292, the Siamese (Thai) kingdom, with its capital at Sukhodaya, had emerged.

A vassal of San Fo-ts'i, according to Chau Ju-Kua, was Tan-ma-ling. Gerini¹ identified this country with Kuantan, a district of Pahang, on the ground that the north promontory of the Kuantan river was called *Tanjong Tembëling*, "Cape Tembëling."

Candrabhanu a king of Ligor who, according to the Jaiya inscription (which has now been discovered to have come from Ligor and not from Jaiya or Chaiya), styled himself Sëri Dharmaraja and Lord of Tambralinga, the Ceylonese "Mahavamsa" tells us, led two hostile expeditions against Ceylon about the middle of the 13th century with *Javaka* (Malay) forces.² By 1292, Ligor had become the extreme southern limit of the Thai kingdom of Sukhodaya (Sukhothai). Now Ligor has been widely accepted as being the Tan-ma-ling of Chau Ju-Kua³ and the Tambralinga of the Jaiya inscription. There are two localities in Pahang which are suggestive of the name given by the Chinese chronicler: the river Tembëling which, the discovery of numerous neolithic and early iron-age implements there indicates, was at one time a thickly populated district, and Tanjong Tembëling the northern head-land of the Kuantan river. Was there a connection between these places and Ligor? The history of the Ming Dynasty states that the Pahang ruler who sent envoys to China in 1378 was called Maharaja, the same style as that affected by the king of Ligor. When the Malacca forces conquered Pahang about 1454, according to the "Malay Annals"⁴ they found there a "Siamese" prince with the title of Maharaja Dewa Sura. The term "Siamese," it is to be remembered, was used by the Malacca Malays to denote their forerunners in Pahang, whether of Thai stock or otherwise. About the year 1500, less than fifty years after the Malacca invasion, the Malay chronicler records⁵ that a

1J. R. A. S. (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society), 1905, 498.

²Ligor, it appears, was a State of mixed population but under Malay rule.

³"Le Royaume de Crivijaya" by Dr. G. Coedès in B. E. F. E. O. (Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient), Tome XVIII, No. 6, 1918, especially pp. 4-5, 15-18, 32-33; and "The Struggle between the Sailendras and the Cholas" by Dr. R. C. Majumdar (Journal of the Greater India Society, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1934, pp. 71 ff.).

⁴p. 82 of Shellabear's 2nd edition (reprinted), Methodist Publishing House, Singapore, 1915.

⁵*Op. cit.*, p. 196.

Maharaja Dewa Sura, king of Ligor (who bore the same title as that of the prince who ruled in Pahang about 1454), on the instructions of the king of Siam invaded Pahang, following the route by the Tembëling. It is not unlikely that this invasion by a once-powerful State was in re-assertion of a pre-Thai suzerainty, that it is to Ligor, the Tan-ma-ling of the Chinese and the Tambralinga of the Jaiya inscription, that we must look, at least during one period, for the origin of the pre-Malaccan rulers of Pahang, and that it was the men of Ligor who gave the name of their country Tan-ma-ling to the river Tembëling,¹ a high-way of communication between Pahang and the north, and to Tanjong Tembëling at Kuantan, the only safe anchorage for their fleet on the Pahang coast during the season of the north-east monsoon,² and the port of access to the rich tin mines of Sungai Lembing. To Ligor, a State powerful enough to invade Ceylon twice during the 13th century, the conquest of Pahang must have presented no great difficulty.

With the subjugation of Ligor by Sukhothai about 1280 A.D. the suzerainty over Pahang fell to the Thais in the 14th century. In the same century Pahang suffered an invasion from Majapahit which thereafter claimed that State as one of its conquests. This raid may have had no lasting effects,³ though it appears that it resulted in inter-marriage between members of the ruling family of Majapahit and the princes of Pahang. The Thai over-lords of Ligor apparently did not interfere with the Ligor dynasty in Pahang but they, too, may have contracted marriage alliances with the Pahang royal family. The new empire which had arisen

¹The "Malay Annals" mention a place on the Tembëling but do not name the river. The first mention, in Malay records, of the Tembëling by that appellation appears in Perak MSS. which relate events that occurred about 1600 (*infra* p. 29).

²It was not uncommon to name places in Pahang in commemoration of the advent of foreigners. Thus, near Kuala Pahang Tua, we get Tanjong Selangor "the Promontory of the Selangor men," in memory of a Sultan of Selangor who visited the country in the 18th century (*infra*, p. 51). On the Pahang river is a Tanjong Brunai, to recall the visit of forces from Borneo in the 16th and 17th centuries; a Bëlukar Aceh "the Over-grown Ground of the Achinese" who invaded Pahang in the 17th century; and a Tanjong Johor "the Promontory of the Johore men" who appeared in the country during the 17th and 19th centuries.

³A reference in the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* to the language spoken by the Pahang people in the latter part of the 15th century indicates the absence, then at least, of Majapahit influence. Ladies of the Pahang court are represented as saying: "...The songs of our country Indërapura are not Malay songs; we are Malays indeed but speak a mongrel tongue, not the true Malay of Malacca"; to which the Laksamana Hang Tuah smilingly replied: "It may well be that we Malaccans speak impure Malay, mixed, as it is, with the Javanese of Majapahit." The Indërapura of the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* was Pahang, not, as some scholars have thought, Siak. Apart from the tradition that Pahang was anciently known by that name and the fact that in the "Malay Annals" the country about the estuary of the Pahang river was called Pura, there is abundant internal evidence in the *Hikayat* to prove beyond doubt the identification of Indërapura with Pahang.

in the north contented itself with exacting tribute from Pahang, and establishing settlements in that country.

The pre-Malaccan people of Pahang lived by mining gold, tin, and iron and planting rice. They left many traces : irrigation works, mine workings, remains of brick buildings, specimens of Sawankalok pottery, and probably the pottery industry at Kuala Tembëling which has survived through the years to the present day. The pre-Malaccans occupied the Tembëling. They can be traced as far south as the Merchong. They extended into the Pahang and the Jelai ; their tracks can be found along lake Chini up to the head-waters of the Rompin ; in the old Selinsing mines scoops of *palas* wood used by them have been discovered. They left numerous relics in gold-workings at Tresang and Sempore. They made their way to the Bëbar. They established settlements at Jeram Kuai (Koi) and Jong Berlaboh on the Tembëling, at Lubok Pëlang, Lubok Paku, at Chini, at Langgar, at Pengkalan Durian in Ulu Bëbar, at Pura, and elsewhere. Their occupation is commemorated by the nomenclature of places such as Chini, Parit Siam, Tambak Siam, Lubang Siam (or Lumbong Siam), Parit Siam, and Sungai Lego (Ligor) a tributary of the Tekam in the vicinity of Kota Gëlanggi.¹

¹*Cf. infra*, pp. 241-247.

CHAPTER III.

THE MALACCA RULERS OF PAHANG TO 1590 A.D.

Sultan Muzaffar of Malacca, who reigned ca. 1445 to 1458 A.D., refused to acknowledge the suzerainty of Siam over his country. The Siamese, in assertion of their claim, sent an invading army, led by Awi Chakri, over-land to Malacca. The invaders, who were no doubt aided by Pahang auxiliaries, followed the old route by the Tembëling, Pahang and Bëra rivers. They were easily defeated and fled back by the same way. Subsequently they attempted an invasion by sea, but were again beaten. Sultan Muzaffar then conceived the idea of checking Siamese pretensions by attacking the Siamese vassal State of Pahang. An expedition was organized by Muzaffar's son, Sultan Mansur Shah, and sailed for Pahang about 1454 A.D.

The *Sejarah Melayu* relates the history of the Malaccan invasion :

" In Pahang was a settlement called Pura.¹ The river of the country was shallow, its strands pleasant ; the waters of the river ran fresh right into the sea. Alluvial gold was to be found there, broad plains, and jungles stocked with elephants, bison, (said to be not very much smaller than elephants), deer and monkeys....In olden days Pahang was a great kingdom ; it was subject to Siam, and was ruled by Maharaja Dewa Sura of the family of Paduka Bubunnya.

" When Sultan Mansur Shah heard of Pahang he longed to capture it, and commanded Bendahara Paduka Raja to attack it. The Bendahara, with two hundred sail, big and small, accordingly proceeded to Pahang with Tun Pikrama, Tun Bijaya Maha-Mantëri, Sëri Bija'diraja...After a voyage of some days they arrived in Pahang and the men of Malacca fought with the men of Pahang. By the will of the Almighty and All-Powerful God the country was easily conquered."

The " Siamese " prince, Maharaja Dewa Sura, fled to the interior, while his daughter Putëri Wanang Sëri was captured. The victors, anxious to gain the good-will of the Bendahara, hastened in pursuit of the fugitive prince ; one, however, Sëri Bija 'diraja loitered on the way, amusing himself by hunting wild buffaloes, spearing bison, trapping jungle fowl, and fishing. When Maharaja Dewa Sura reached certain rapids in the Tembëling, thinking himself secure from pursuit, he shouted to his boat-men : " Koi ! Koi ! " And from that day, the " Malay Annals " tell us, the rapids became known as *Jeram*

¹Pekan and the surrounding locality.

Koi.¹ But the Malacca men followed so quickly that the fugitive prince had to abandon his boat and take to the jungle where he remained for several days without food. The pursuers, in their eagerness, hastened up-stream, and it was the good fortune of the dilatory Sēri Bija 'diraja to capture Maharaja Dewa Sura whose whereabouts were betrayed by an old woman of whom he had begged food. The captive prince and his daughter were carried to Malacca by the victorious Malays.

The prince of Malacca appointed Sēri Bija 'diraja governor of Pahang, and permitted him the privilege, once he was out of Malacca waters, of using six of the eight instruments that made up a kingly band, and of having a pair of fringed umbrellas borne over him; the use of the royal kettle-drums (*négara*) was withheld.

Sēri Bija 'diraja accordingly proceeded to Pahang which country he governed for some years. Once a year he visited Malacca to do obeisance to his sovereign.

In the year that Pahang was conquered, or shortly afterwards, Mansur Shah married Puteri Onang (Wanang) Sēri, the daughter of the captive prince, whose name had been changed, probably on conversion to Islam, to Putēri Lela Wangsa. By her he had two sons Raja Ahmad and Raja Muhammad.

Sultan Muzaffar died about 1458 A.D., and was succeeded by Mansur Shah. The new ruler, as his sons grew up, paid especial favour to Raja Muhammad and designated him as his successor, but when this youth was about fifteen years of age, there happened an event which deprived him of all prospects of ruling over Malacca. One day, while riding past a group of boys who were engaged in a game of foot-ball (*sepak raga*), the young prince's head-dress was displaced by a ball kicked by Tun Besar, the Bendahara's son. The infuriated youth, with an angry imprecation, drew his creese and killed the innocent author of the accident.

The Bendahara's people flew to arms to avenge Tun Besar's death, but were restrained by the Bendahara who warned them against any measures that might be construed as treason against the Sultan. However, the dead boy's father and his people vowed that the guilty prince should never rule over them. Sultan Mansur, after hearing their complaint, agreed that Muhammad should be exiled from Malacca. He recalled Sēri Bija 'diraja from Pahang and commanded him to escort Muhammad to that country and instal him as Sultan there.

Accompanied by Tun Hamzah, son of Bendahara Sēri Amar 'diraja of Malacca, appointed Bendahara for the new kingdom, by Sēri Akar Raja, son of Sēri Bija 'diraja as his chief Captain, by

¹At Jeram Koi have been discovered the moulds of primitive cannon (J. M. B. R. A. S., Vol. VI, Pt. IV, p. 66 sq.).

a treasurer (*Penghulu Bendahari*), and a Temenggong, and by one hundred youths and one hundred maidens of noble family, Raja Muhammad proceeded to Pahang where he was duly installed Sultan about the year 1470 A.D. with the title of Sultan Muhammad Shah. The boundaries of his kingdom extended from Sedili Besar to Trengganu. This first Malaccan ruler of Pahang, appears to have settled at Tanjong Langgar, the old seat of the former Siamese-Pahang princes.

The events of this period are obscure.¹ There is reason to believe that Raja Ahmad, the elder full brother of the newly appointed Sultan of Pahang, who also had been passed over for the succession to the Malacca throne, as a consolation was installed heir to the Pahang Sultanate by his father in Malacca and proceeded to that country between the years 1470-1475.

On 17 September 1475 Sultan Muhammad died and was buried at Langgar² on the Pahang Tua. The inscription on his tomb gives his name, descent and the date of his death.³ His grave, long forgotten, has only recently been discovered.

According to the "Commentaries" of the younger d'Albuquerque, Sultan Mansur of Malacca had, by a daughter of the "King of Pahang," (Puteri Wanang Sēri) a son who was poisoned. Is the reference to a third son not mentioned by the "Annals" or to Sultan Muhammad? The second conjecture is the more likely.

It appears that Muhammad was succeeded by his full brother Raja Ahmad who took the title of Sultan Ahmad Shah, (he, too, has sometimes been called Sultan Muhammad Shah, or Sultan Mahmud Shah). Sultan Ahmad married a daughter of Tun Hamzah, the Bendahara Sēri Amar 'diraja and by her had a son Raja Mansur.

The new ruler was a disgruntled man: he had been passed over for the succession to the Sultanate of Malacca by a younger half-brother Raja Husain who, with the title of Sultan Alauddin, succeeded his father Mansur in 1477. Hearing that Tun Telanai the hereditary chief of Trengganu, without his knowledge, had visited Malacca and paid obeisance to Sultan Alauddin, Ahmad sent the complacent Sēri Akar Raja to kill him. Sēri Akar Raja successfully accomplished his murderous mission, and was given his victim's place as feudal chief. The relatives of Tun Telanai appealed to Malacca for redress. Sultan Alauddin, furious at Tun Telanai's murder, an insult aimed at himself,

¹Appendix I, *infra*, deals with the descent of the early rulers.

²The name *Langgar* in Pahang, as well as in Kelantan and Kedah, was applied to the locality where royalty was buried. In Pahang the origin of the name has been completely lost, and a mistaken tradition derives the appellation from the "clashing" of armies.

³Appendix I, *infra*.

wished to go to war with Pahang but was dissuaded by his ministers who pointed out the folly of a fratricidal struggle. Ultimately the Laksamana was sent to Pahang to exact reprisals. On his arrival he was courteously received by Sultan Ahmad, and the letter which he bore from his master was, in accordance with custom, received with royal honours and read out in the presence of the Court. When the ceremony was over, one of the Laksamana's followers, according to a pre-arranged plan, attacked and killed a cousin of Sēri Akar Raja, the murderer of the Trengganu chief. The Laksamana was asked to try his follower on the spot. The man pleaded guilty but the Laksamana declined to punish him as the killing was by way of reprisals for Tun Telanai's murder. Sultan Ahmad smiled and said :

" We ordered Tun Telanai of Trengganu to be slain because of his evil tongue ; he boasted that Malacca was under his domination. You may settle the matter of the present murder with Sēri Akar Raja for you and he are relatives." The Laksamana, after assisting at the obsequies of the murdered man, returned to Malacca.

In 1488 A.D., Sultan Alauddin of Malacca died at Pagoh on the Muar river, poisoned, it was said, by the rulers of Pahang and Inderagiri. He was known posthumously as *Marhum Berdarah Putih* : "the late Ruler of the Royal White Blood." Nobody could have desired Alauddin's death more eagerly than his elder brother Sultan Ahmad of Pahang who had been passed over for the succession to the Malacca throne by Alauddin. The ruler of Inderagiri implicated in the poisoning must have been Raja Merlang who had married Alauddin's half-sister Raja Bakal and settled in Malacca where he died.

Sultan Alauddin was succeeded by his son Sultan Mahmud (*Marhum Kampar*) with whom his royal uncle of Pahang continued his quarrels. The author of the *Sejarah Malayu* confuses Ahmad with his nephew 'Abdu'l-Jamil, and several of the events which our Malay writer ascribes to 'Abdu'l-Jamil's reign appear to have occurred in Sultan Ahmad's time.

Tun Teja, a daughter of the Bendahara of Pahang, famed for her beauty, was destined to play the part of Helen of Troy, on a small scale, on the Malayan stage. There are two conflicting versions of her elopement. According to the *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, she was betrothed to Mēgat Panji Alam, son of the ruler of Trengganu. After her abduction by the Sultan of Malacca the Trengganu prince brought a large army to Pahang with the intention of invading Malacca overland. The Malacca ruler forestalled the attack by sending a force under Hang Tuah, by boat, to Pēkan where the Malacca Chief fought and killed Mēgat Panji Alam. If the story is true, is the ancient grave at Genting

on the Pahang river opposite Lubok Paku, which is known as *Makam Mëgat Elok*, "the tomb of the handsome Mëgat," the resting place of the Trengganu prince?

The *Sejarah Melayu* tells a different tale. A Malacca envoy to Pahang, on his return to his own country, spread the fame of Tun Teja's beauty. Sultan Mahmud of Malacca, enamoured of the picture of Tun Teja as presented to him by his Chief, promised any reward, however great, to the man who would abduct the Pahang girl and bring her to Malacca.

Hang Nadim, who had given offence to the Sultan, seized the opportunity of expiating his fault and undertook to carry off Tun Teja who was betrothed to the Pahang prince. He went to Pahang and ingratiated himself with an old female retainer of the Bendahara's household whom he bribed with money and presents. The woman whispered praises of the Malacca ruler and disparaging remarks about the Pahang raja into her mistress' ear: "What a pity to see my lady, beautiful as she is, marrying this Raja! Far better to wed a great ruler! The prince of Malacca is greater than the Pahang Sultan, and of a goodly presence If you go to Malacca assuredly the Raja there will marry you for he has not got a royal wife, and you will become the principal consort (*raja perempuan*). If you marry the Pahang prince you will have to share his affections with his chief consort, but if you wed the Sultan of Malacca you will have precedence over the royal consort of Pahang."

Tun Teja was won over, and fled by night from Pekan in a boat with Hang Nadim. On arriving at the barrier which blocked the Pahang river Hang Nadim filled his coat-sleeve with sand which he then cast into the water, the noise made resembling that of a net being cast by a fisherman. The guards at the barrier, deceived by the sound into thinking that the vessel was an ordinary fishing boat, opened the barrier and let the fugitives pass. On their arrival at the estuary of the Pahang the fugitives boarded a Malacca junk which, by arrangement, awaited them there, and set sail for Malacca.

When Tun Teja's flight was discovered, the Sultan himself started in pursuit with a fleet of boats. He came up with the fugitives at Pulau Këban, but the Malacca junk succeeded in beating off the attackers, and escaped. On her arrival at Malacca Tun Teja was duly wedded to Sultan Mahmud.¹

The Pahang potentate, enraged and humiliated at the slight which had been put upon him, prepared to attack Malacca. In the heat of his anger he mounted his elephant *I Kepenyang*

¹If the "Malay Annals" are correct in saying that 'Abdu'l-Jamil was the Pahang prince who figured in the episode, and that it was he who married Raja Fatimah, Sultan Alauddin's daughter, then Tun Teja's elopement occurred before July, 1495, the date of Raja Fatimah's death.

and charged his council-hall, shouting as he did so: "Look you all, this is how I shall treat the palace of the Raja of Malacca!" Sultan Mahmud, hearing of this incident, and of the projected attack, sent his Laksamana Khoja Hassan with a letter to Pahang. The ruler of the eastern State had calmed down in the meantime and, having a wholesome dread of Malacca, received the envoy civilly and denied that he contemplated hostile action. But, the "Malay Annals" tell us, his anger flared up again when Khoja Hassan signalized his departure by stealing the elephant *I Kepenyang*.

The insults put upon the Pahang Raja and his inability to avenge them brought him into disgrace with his people, and made his position untenable. He abdicated in favour of his young son Raja Mansur who assumed the title of Sultan Mansur Shah. The new Sultan was placed under the guardianship of his "uncles."

According to the *Sejarah Melayu*, Sultan Mansur's father retired to the interior:

"His Highness went up-stream for so long as the royal drums (*nobat*) could be heard; when he came to Lubok Pëlang there he resided, and the sound of the drums was no longer heard. He went into religious seclusion; he it is whom people call *Marhum Shaikh*."

These events took place about 1494 A.D. The *Sejarah Melayu* records that 'Adu'l-Jamil was the Pahang ruler concerned, but it may be that the "Annals" are mistaken, that some of the happenings occurred during the reign of his uncle the second ruler of Pahang, Sultan Ahmad, and that Ahmad was the Raja who abdicated in favour of his son Mansur, retired to Lubok Pëlang, and was known as *Marhum Shaikh*.¹

Between the years 1488 and 1493 Raja Fatimah, a royal daughter of Alauddin of Malacca and a full sister of Sultan Mahmud (*Marhum Kampar*), had married a Pahang prince. The "Annals" state that her husband was 'Abdu'l-Jamil (Raja Jamil); according to the *Bustan-al-Salatin* he was Mansur. She died, childless, on 7 July, 1495 and was buried at Pëkan Lama in the grave-yard which was known as *Ziarat Raja Raden*. After Ahmad's abdication it appears that Raja Jamil, the eldest son of the first ruler (who had died in 1475), under the style of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamil, reigned jointly with Ahmad's son, Sultan Mansur. This prince was the younger, and Jamil and his brothers seem to have exercised some measure of guardianship over him in the early years of his reign.

In 1500, the ruler of Ligor,² on the instructions of the King of Ayuthia (Siam), with a large army invaded Pahang through

¹Appendix I, *infra*.

²This State had been conquered by Siam before 1292 A.D. (Coedès: "Inscriptions de Sukhodaya," 1924, pp. 37-48).

Kelantan and the Tembeling. The common danger made the Pahang people forget their squabbles with Malacca. Sultan Mahmud sent a Malacca force, under the Bendahara Seri Maharaja, to help Pahang. Among the leaders of the expedition were Laksamana Khoja Hasssan, and the warriors Sang Sëtia, Sang Naya, Sang Guna, Sang Jaya Pikrama, and Tun Biajid. The forts at Pekan were strengthened, the people mobilized, and arms got ready. There was delay in completing the main fortification called the "Fort of Pahang," (perhaps the fort also known as *Kota Biram* which stood on the site of the modern Residency). The people composed a song, the first line of which ran: "The fort of Pahang, the flames devour." The Malacca men under Laksamana Khoja Hassan, who worked "hand, foot and mouth," repaired the fort in three days. The invaders made only a half-hearted attempt on Pahang, and were soon put to flight with severe losses. They returned by the route by which they had come. This was the last Siamese invasion of Pahang.

In 1511, when Malacca fell to the Portuguese, Sultan Mahmud fled to Pahang by the Bëra route. There he was welcomed by 'Abdu'l-Jamil. The dispossessed ruler stayed a year in the country during which time he married one of his daughters (whose mother was a Kelantan princess) to Sultan Mansur. The name of this daughter is unknown. It was not Fatimah, as has sometimes been thought: Marhum Kampar's daughter of that name ("Putëri Mah") married a son of Raja Abdullah of Siak.¹

In 1511-1512 A.D. while Mahmud was in Pahang, 'Abdu'l-Jamil died and was buried at Pekan Lama in the grave-yard *Ziarat Raja Raden*. He was posthumously known as *Marhum Ziarat*. In the inscription on his tomb his name is given as 'Abdu'l-Jalil and the date of his death as 917 A.H. (1511-1512 A.D.). It is recorded in d'Albuquerque's "Commentaries" that Sultan Mahmud died of grief in Pahang after his expulsion from Malacca. We know that Sultan Mahmud was in that country in 1511-1512, that he did not die there, and that his death did not occur till 1528 A.D. The Portuguese must have mistaken 'Abdu'l-Jamil (who died exactly at that date) for Sultan Mahmud.²

Until recently 'Abdu'l-Jamil's grave was erroneously thought of the Pahang people to be that of the Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil of Johore (*Marhum Kuala Pahang*) who was killed at Kuala Pahang in 1720 A.D.

After 'Abdu'l-Jamil's death Sultan Mansur I was the sole ruler. It seems that he was slain between the years 1512 and 1519 for adultery with one of the wives of his father ex-Sultan Ahmad.³ It is probable that he was the ruler of that name who

¹*Bustan-al-Salatin*, J. S. B. R. A. S., No. 81, p. 43; and *Sejarah Melayu*, a Variant Version, J. M. B. R. A. S., Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 28.

²*Infra*, Appendix I.

³*Sejarah Melayu*, a Variant Version, *loc. cit.*, p. 21.

was said to have been slain by "all his warriors."¹ Mansur's widow then married another cousin Raja Nara Singa (Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil of Inderagiri) whose maternal grand-father was Sultan Mansur of Malacca.² The ex-Sultan Ahmad, the father of Mansur, must have died shortly after these events. It may have been he who was buried at Lubok Peling, and became known to posterity as *Marhum Shaikh*.

Mansur I was succeeded by his first cousin, Raja Mahmud (a son of Muhammad the first Sultan), who may be the prince who is described as "the son of the original ruler of Pahang (*anak Raja Pahang raja yang asal*)".³ The new Sultan's first royal wife was his first cousin Raja Olah (or Wati, or Awi). After his accession to the throne he married (about 1519) a second wife, Raja Hatijah, one of the daughters of his cousin *Marhum Kampar*. This marriage which took place at Bentan was designed to strengthen *Marhum Kampar's* position in his fight against the Portuguese. Mahmud was installed Sultan by his new father-in-law who "drummed" him (had the royal drum of installation beaten) only once.⁴

Duarte Coelho was sent to Ayuthia as an ambassador, in 1518, by Aleixo de Menezes, Captain of Malacca. He remained there till November 1519:

"He took a circuitous route, in returning, to avoid the ships of the King of Bintan, the ex-King of Malacca. In attempting to cross from the coast of Camboja to the point of Singapore, he was driven ashore on the coast of Pam and fell into the hands of the son-in-law of that monarch who fortunately was on bad terms with his father-in-law, and sent Duarte Coelho safely to Malacca where he arrived in February, 1520."⁵

According to *Os Portugueses em Africa, America e Oceania*,⁶ in the year 1518 Duarte Coelho, after concluding a treaty with the King of Siam at the Court of Ayuthia, "then went to the Kingdom of Pam whose King made himself a tributary of Portugal as he was formerly of the King of Malacca." The Portuguese records state that the King of Pahang agreed to pay a cup of gold as an annual tribute to Portugal, but "this was done more from hatred to the King of Bintang than from love to the Portuguese."

Faria Y Sousa relates⁷ that until 1522 the king of Pahang had sided with the Portuguese; but seeing that the tide of fortune

¹ *Bustan-al-Salatin*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 44-46.

² *Sejarah Melayu* Shellabear, p. 103; and a Variant Version, *loc. cit.*

³ *Sejarah Melayu*, a Variant Version, *loc. cit.*, p. 39.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 34.

⁵ The Book of Duarte Barbosa—"Hakluyt Society"—p. 169.

⁶ Vol. I, p. 86,—Anon.

⁷ "Portuguese History of Malacca," J. S. B. R. A. S., No. 17, p. 128.

had turned against them, he, too, became their enemy. Ignorant of this change, Albuquerque sent three ships to the port of Pahang for provisions, where two of his captains and thirty men were killed. The third made his escape, but was slain with all his men at Java. Simon Abreu and his crew were slain on another occasion.

Valentyn¹ records that in 1522 several Portuguese who had landed at Pahang, in ignorance that the king there was son-in-law to the king of Johore, were murdered; many others were compelled by the king of Johore to embrace the Muhammadan faith, while those who refused to do so were tied to the mouth of a cannon and blown to pieces.

The Portuguese, who apparently up to that time had made no attack on Pahang, exacted a stern reckoning in 1523. In that year, the Sultan of Johore again invested Malacca with the ruler of Pahang as his ally, and gained a victory over the Portuguese in the river Muar. The Laksamana attacked the shipping in the roads of Malacca, burnt one vessel and captured two others. At this crisis Alfonso de Souza arrived with succours, relieved the city, and pursued the Laksamana into the Muar. Thence he proceeded to Pahang, destroyed all the vessels in the river, and slew over five thousand, (six hundred according to Castanheda), of the people of Pahang in retaliation for the assistance given by their ruler to the Sultan of Johore in his attack on Malacca. Numbers were carried into slavery. A detailed account of Portuguese operations in Pahang during the years 1522-1523 is given by Castanheda.²

In 1525, Mascarenhas attacked Bintang. Pahang sent a fleet with two thousand men to help the defenders. The force arrived at the mouth of the river on the very day on which the bridge was destroyed. Mascarenhas despatched a vessel with Francisco Vasconcellos and others to attack the Pahang force which was speedily put to flight.

Sultan Mahmud Shah appears to have ruled in Pahang all through these events. His name-sake of Malacca-Bintang (*Marhum Kampar*) died in 1528, and was succeeded by a son Sultan Alauddin II, a youth fifteen years of age. The young prince visited Pahang about 1529 and married a relative of the Pahang ruler.³

While Alauddin was in Pahang, according to the *Sejarah Melayu*,⁴ the time came for Sultan Mahmud to send the customary tribute of gold and silver "flowers" to Siam. In his draft letter which was to accompany the gift, Mahmud used the term 'loyal

¹"Description of Malacca," J. S. B. R. A. S., No. 15, p. 124.

²Translation by Mr. T. D. Hughes, Appendix VII, *infra*.

³*Sejarah Melayu*, a Variant Version, *loc. cit.*, p. 42.

⁴*Op. cit.*, pp. 42-43.

salutations' (*sembah*). The Bendahara Paduka Raja of Johore, who happened to be in Pahang with his master, demurred at the use of this term saying that even he, if he were sending a letter to the king of Siam, used merely the words ' affectionate salutations ' (*kaseh*). Mahmud changed the words accordingly from *sembah* to *kaseh*, and his epistle, with offerings, was sent together with a letter from the Bendahara. When the despatches reached Ayuthia, Phra Khlung received the Bendahara's epistle, though in it was used the word *kaseh*, but declined to accept the Pahang ruler's letter until *kaseh* was altered to *sembah*. The story is an attempt by the Bendahara—author of the "Annals" to glorify his ancestors at the expense of Pahang royalty. But, untrue though the tale may be, we glean from it the information that in the early half of the sixteenth century Pahang was still paying tribute to Siam.

Sultan Mahmud of Pahang died, it appeared, about 1530, and was posthumously named *Marhum di-hilir*: " the late Sultan who was buried down-stream." According to the *Bustan-al-Salatin*, Mahmud left two sons Muzaffar and Zainal, the former of whom succeeded him.¹

Not long after the new ruler had come to the throne, one Pateh Ludang (or Luding) of " Sang Pura " (? Singapore) gave offence to a Johore Chief Sang Sétia and fled with his tribe to Pahang where Muzaffar gave him sanctuary. When Muzaffar went to Johore for his installation by Alauddin II, he took with him the fugitive aboriginal headman. But the protection of the Pahang prince did not avail Pateh Ludang on his arrival, and he was slain by his enemy. In face of Muzaffar's threats to return forthwith to Pahang, Sultan Alauddin ordered his Laksamana to arrest the murderer Sang Sétia. When the Laksamana, in pursuance of his instructions, arrived at Sang Sétia's house, the offender resisted arrest declaring that if he were to be killed by the Laksamana he would offer no resistance, but that he declined to allow this Chief to arrest him as " it was not the practice for warrior to arrest warrior," and they were both great warriors! Alauddin then sent his Bendahara to whom, as his over-lord, Sang Sétia submitted—another effort by the author of the *Sejarah Melayu*² to exalt his ancestors.

Muzaffar made a poor showing against the Bendahara when Sang Sétia was produced before him, and agreed that the culprit should be released. The Bendahara then admonished the murderer: " Do not act thus again, for His Highness of Pahang and His Highness of Perak are the same to us as our own Sultan—that

¹The *Sejarah Melayu*, (a Variant Version, *loc. cit.*, p. 50) says that the deceased ruler was succeeded by a relative—*saudara*—named Raja Jainad (Raja Zainal) who was entitled Sultan Muzaffar Shah.

²*Op. cit.*, pp. 50-52.

is, when times are auspicious. When times are not auspicious, then our Ruler is our only master."

Muzaffar had to be content with the people of the murdered man's tribe whom Alauddin handed over to him as compensation.

It was, it appears, during the reign of Sultan Muzaffar, that Fernand Mendez Pinto journeyed to Pahang. He gives the following interesting account of his voyage and experiences in that country in 1540: "After I had been cured of the illness for which my captivity in Siaca was responsible, Pedro de Faria, desirous of an opportunity to advance me and to put me in the way of some profit, sent me in a *lanchar* to the Kingdom of Pam with ten thousand ducats of his own property to put them in the hands of a factor of his, named Tome Lobo, who lived there, and to assist me to proceed to Patane which is about one hundred leagues from there. For this purpose he gave me a letter and a present for the King, and a wide commission to deal with him for the liberty of five Portuguese who, in the Kingdom of Siam, were the slaves of his brother-in-law Monteo de Bancha.

"I accordingly set out from Malacca with this object. On the 7th day of our voyage, when we were opposite the island of Pullo Timano¹ which is about ninety leagues from Malacca, and ten or twelve leagues from the estuary of Pam, just before day-break, we heard twice loud cries of distress on the sea, but could not then, because of the darkness, find out what was the matter. Different opinions were voiced, but having no real idea of what was happening, in order to get at the root of the matter, I had the sails set, and with oars, proceeded in the direction from which we had heard the cries, all of us watching with heads down to the level of the water in order to see and hear more easily what was giving us such anxiety. After we had proceeded thus for some time we saw afar off a black object which floated on the water, and not being able at first to discover what it was, we took counsel afresh as to what we had better do. Although we numbered only four Portuguese in our boat, opinions differed widely. It was put forward that I should go straight to the place to which Pedro de Faria was sending me, and that, by wasting even an hour, I was endangering the journey, and hazarding the merchandize, and that, if I failed in my duty, I should be rendering him a very bad account of my commission. I replied to this that, whatever might happen, I should leave no stone unturned to find out what the matter was, and that, if I failed as they would have me believe, the vessel belonged only to Pedro de Faria, and that it was for me and not for them, who were concerned only with the preservation of their skins, and who were in no more danger than I was, to account to him for his goods.

"During this dispute it pleased God that day-light appeared by favour of which we saw people lost on the sea, floating pell-

¹Pulau Tioman.

mell, and supporting themselves on planks, and other pieces of wood. Then, without fear, we turned our prow towards them and with sail and oars went to pick them up. We heard them cry six or seven times only these words 'Lord, God, Mercy!' At this strange and pitiable spectacle we were so astounded that we were almost bereft of our senses. We lost no time in sending a party of sailors from the *lanchar* to rescue them and bring them aboard, twenty-three persons in all, fourteen Portuguese, and nine slaves, all of whom were so disfigured that they frightened us, and so feeble that they could neither speak nor stand. After we had welcomed them, and treated them as best we could, we asked them the cause of their misfortune. One of the party replied with tears: 'Gentlemen, my name is Fernand Gil Porcalho; the eye that you see is missing was destroyed by the Achinese at the trench of Malacca, when, for the second time, they came to surprise Dom Etienne da Gama. The latter desiring to help me, seeing my poor condition, gave me leave to go to the Moluccas where, thanks to God! I have never had a more successful voyage. But since I set out from the port of Talagama, which is the roadstead of our fortress of Ternate, after we had journeyed twenty-three days with a favourable wind, and that in a junk which carried one thousand bahara of cloves worth more than one hundred thousand ducats, misfortune willed it that at the point of Surabaya in the island of Ioa there arose a northern wind so strong as to make the sea choppy, with the result that our junk was damaged. Thus we passed that night, drifting without showing an inch of sail because the sea was too violent and the waves overwhelming. The following morning we realized that our junk was sinking so that only the twenty-seven people you see could be saved out of the crew of one hundred and forty-seven. We have been fourteen days on these planks without eating a single thing except one of my slaves, a native Pagan who died on us, and on whom we have subsisted for eight days. Last night there died two Portuguese whom we could not eat, though we were hard put to it, because it seemed to us each day that we would not survive for another dawn.'"

Pinto and his companions rendered what assistance they could to the ship-wrecked sailors. His account proceeds:

"We then went towards the port of Pan which we reached about mid-night, and anchored in the roads opposite a small village called Campalaran.¹ Next morning at day-break we rowed up to the town which was about a league distant. There we met Tome Lobo who, as I have already said, lived there as Factor of the Captain of Malacca. I handed over to him the merchandise which I had brought.

¹(?) Kampong Larang. No village of that name is known at Kuala Pahang. Pinto may have derived the name from the reply of the inhabitants when he sought to land or to bury the dead sailors there: "*Ini kampong larang.*" "This is a forbidden village."

On the same day three of the fourteen Portuguese that we had picked up died, one of them being Fernand Gil Porcalho, captain of the wrecked junk, who had given us an account of their disaster. Five young Christians died also. We threw their bodies into the sea with stones tied to head and feet so that they would sink. We were not allowed to bury them in the town, though Tome Lobo was willing to pay forty ducats for the privilege, the reason given being that if burial were allowed, the country would be accursed and incapable of producing crops as the deceased had not been purged of the great quantities of pork which they had eaten—the most detestable and heinous crime imaginable. As for the shipwrecked people who survived, Tome Lobo welcomed them generously, and honourably provided them with necessities until they were cured and returned to Malacca.

"Some days afterwards, when I proposed to resume my voyage to my destination, which was Patani, Tome Lobo would not allow me to depart, begging me earnestly to remain: he said that he did not feel at all secure in this town because he had been informed that one Tuan Nerrafa (Tuao Xerrafao) had sworn to burn him in his house with all his merchandise, saying that at Malacca the Captain's factor had taken from him, to the value of five thousand ducats, benioin, silk, and wood of aloes at much less than the goods were worth, and had paid him as he liked, and that, not content with that, he had given him in payment damaged goods on which he could make no profit; added to this, the capital of five thousand ducats that he had used was worth more than ten thousand ducats, in Malacca, not taking into consideration profit on the exchange of valuable merchandise (which he could easily bring away) which should amount to ten thousand ducats; that the whole capital was reduced to seven hundred ducats; that to avenge himself for this wrong the Malay had picked a quarrel to induce Tome Lobo to come out, in order that he might have him killed; and that should anything of that sort happen it would be convenient if I were there to prevent the loss of the merchandise...."

Pinto gave Lobo fifteen days in which to convert his merchandise into gold or precious stones "of which there was an abundance in the town." Lobo exchanged his goods for "Menangkabau" gold and for diamonds which had come "in the *Iurupangos* from the country of Lano, and from Tancampura, and also for pearls of Borneo and Solor."

Everything was ready for their departure, but misfortune overtook them. Pinto proceeds:

"On the following night there happened a terrible event: one Goia Geinal¹, ambassador of the King of Borneo, who had resided at the court of the King of Pan for three or four

¹Khoja Zainal.

years, a tremendously wealthy man, killed the king for adultery with his wife. This caused such an uproar in the Town that it seemed as if hell were let loose. Some worthless rascals who asked for nothing better than such opportunities to do what they would not hitherto have dared to attempt because of the fear they had of the king, formed themselves into a band of five or six hundred, divided into three groups, and went straight to Lobo's house. They attacked it at five or six different points, and entered it in spite of the resistance put up by us. The defenders numbered eleven, including three of the Portuguese whom I had brought from Malacca. During the attack Tome Lobo was hard put to it to escape with six great sword-thrusts, one of which cut open his right cheek down to the neck; he thought he would die of this stroke. Both of us were then compelled to abandon the house, together with the merchandise in it, and to retire to the *lanchar* whither we betook ourselves with five boys and eight sailors, without saving any of our goods, which amounted to fifty thousand ducats in gold and precious stones alone. In the *lanchar* we passed the night, a prey to great anxiety, and all the time on watch to see the end of this mutiny which was sown amongst the people...."

"Then, seeing that matters went from bad to worse, and that there was no hope of saving any of our property, we thought it better to proceed to Patane than to run the risk of meeting the same fate as the four thousand persons and over who were killed. With this resolve we set out, and in six days arrived at Patane. There we were warmly welcomed by the Portuguese in the country, to whom we related all that had passed in Pan, and the pitiable condition in which we had left that ill-starred Town."

Pinto's Portuguese friends made representations to the King of Patani, and he gave them instant permission to take reprisals by attacking Pahang boats in the Kelantan river, and to recover goods to the value of what had been lost.¹ "It is reasonable," he said, "that you should do as you are done by, and that you should rob those who have robbed you!" The Portuguese took the King at his word, fitted out an expedition, and proceeded to the Kelantan river where they attacked and captured three Chinese junks owned by wealthy Pahang merchants, killing seventy-four of the enemy, with a loss of only three of their men. They hastened to return with their booty to Patani as the whole country of Kelantan "was already in disorder."²

¹This is an indication that, in the middle of the 16th century, Kelantan was a province of Patani.

²Doubt has been cast on Pinto's veracity as a historian, (A. Brou S. J., "St. Francois Xavier," MCMXXII, Vol. I, Note I, p. 422; and Saint-René Taillandier de Palmat Cayet: "Henri IV avant la Messe," La Revue Universelle, Tome LVI, No. 23, March, 1934). His narrative has been said to consist of equal parts of history and romance.

The Sultan who, according to Pinto, was killed in 1540 appears to have been Muzaffar.¹ This prince was posthumously known as *Marhum di-Tengah*, "the late Sultan who was buried in the centre." One of his female relatives had married Sultan Alauddin of Johore; their children were Raja Mahmud and Putëri Fatimah. Muzaffar was succeeded by his young brother Raja Zainal. The new ruler assumed the title Sultan Zainal-Abidin Shah.

Pahang formed part of the force of three hundred sail and eight thousand men which assembled in the Johore river for an attack on Patani, but negotiations settled the dispute. In 1550, Pahang sent a fleet to help Johore and Perak in the siege of Malacca but the Portuguese war-ships so harried the harbours of Pahang that the attackers had to retreat to defend their own homes.²

Sultan Zainal-Abidin, by his royal wife Putëri Dewi, one of the daughters of Sultan Mahmud of Malacca (*Marhum Kampar*), had four children, two sons, Raja Mansur, and Raja Jamal, and two daughters, Putëri Khalijah and Putëri Bongsu. By his non-royal wife, Tun Gemala (or Kamal), daughter of his Bendahara Sëri Buana (? Teribuana) he had a son Raja Kadir. In addition he had eighteen children by his concubines. Putëri Khalijah married her first cousin Raja Mahmud, son of Sultan Alauddin. This prince settled in Pahang and died there.

Sultan Zainal-Abidin died about (?) 1555 A.D., and became known to posterity as *Marhum di-Bukit*, "the late Sultan buried on the hill." It may be that he was buried in Makam Nibong in Pekan Lama, the ancient name for which was Makam Tembuni, "the Grave-yard of the Cauls."

The deceased Sultan was succeeded by his eldest royal son Sultan Mansur II who, about the time of his accession, married his first cousin Putëri Fatimah, a daughter of Sulan Alauddin of Johore (who died at Acheh in 1564). By her he had a daughter Putëri Puteh (popularly known as Putëri Kechil Besar), and a son Raja Suboh (or ? Subang). We hear no more of the son, but the daughter became an ancestress of the ruling families of Acheh and Perak.

Sultan Mansur married a second royal wife, (apparently on the death of the first), Putëri Bakal, daughter of the ruler of

¹It is tempting to identify the ruler killed in 1540 with Mansur II who, the *Bustan-al-Salatin* tells us, was killed fighting against "pagan Javanese"—the term "Javanese" here being equivalent to (?) "southerners"—but there are objections to the acceptance of this identification. Mansur married a daughter of Sultan Alauddin II and by her had a son and two daughters. Alauddin was born in 1513 and could hardly have had a daughter mature enough to have produced three children by 1540. The chronology of the Sultans of this period is obscure.

²Danvers: "The Portuguese in India," Vol. I, p. 534.

Trengganu, and by her had four children, Raja Jalal, Raja Jalil, Putëri Tengah and Putëri Dewi of whom no further record remains. According to the *Bustan-al-Salatin*, the author of which was particularly interested in the stock from which his patron Sultan Iskandar Thani of Aceh sprang, Sultan Mansur bestowed especial favour upon his young half-brother Raja Kadir whom he adopted as a son. Mansur was killed about (?) 1560 in a war against *Jawa Kafir*, (?) "pagan southerners."

Sultan Mansur who, after his death, became known as Marhum Shahid, "the late Sultan killed in war," was succeeded by his full brother Jamal who took the title of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamal Shah. The new ruler, by a concubine, had two daughters, one of whom was called Putëri Siti. During his reign Raja Biajid, and Raja Kasab (also known as "Isap" or "Asip"), sons of Sultan Khoja Ahmad of Siak, came to Pahang. Raja Kasab married Putëri Puteh a daughter of Sultan Mansur II. From this union was descended, on the male side, Sultan Muzaffar Shah II of Perak, and on the female side, Sultan Iskandar Thani of Aceh. Raja Kasab's children by the Pahang princess were Raja Mahmud (or Ahmad), and five daughters of whom the youngest was Putëri Bongsu Chendëra Dewi. Raja Mahmud was the father of Raja Sulong who ultimately became Sultan Muzaffar Shah II of Perak.

Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamal was murdered: the not uncommon fate of Pahang rulers. Against his half-brother Raja Kadir, the grand-son of a Bendahara and the favourite of his predecessor, he stood little chance.

Raja Kadir then came to the throne with the title of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Kadir Alauddin Shah. He had three sons, 'Abdu'l-Ghafur Mohaidin born in 1567, "Yamir"¹ and Ahmad.

In 1586, Sultan 'Abdu'l-Kadir sent a block of gold-bearing quartz as a present to the Portuguese Governor of Malacca, d'Eredia² relates that:

"the lands which are within the territory and jurisdiction of the Crown of Pan are auriferous: since in the rocky cliffs and the hardly-accessible quarries there has been found a great quantity of gold, which is nowadays taken to the port of Malacca for sale. So much so that the King of Pan sent from Adea³ a beautiful piece of gold-stone two and a half yards in length as a present for the Captain and Governor of Malacca, Joao da Silva: who, out of curiosity to see gold in this form, ordered the piece of gold-stone to be broken at

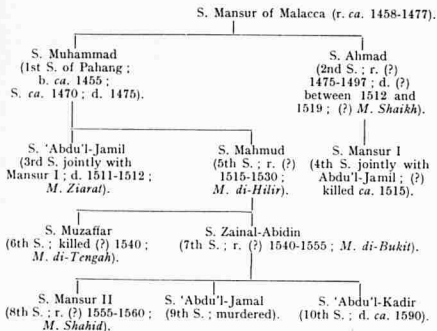
¹(?) *Yang Kembar*: "The Twin."

²Report on the Golden Chersonese, etc., J. M. B. R. A. S., Vol. VIII, pt. I, p. 234.

³ (?) Endau.

once in his presence ; enclosed in the inside there was found a vein of gold a yard wide : this happened in the year 1586, and was well known to the people of that day."

The genealogy of Pahang rulers down to the reign of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Kadir follows :¹



¹Abbreviations: S., Sultan; r., reigned; M., Marhum; b., born; d., died; ca., about.

CHAPTER IV.

SULTAN 'ABDU'L-GHAFUR. ACHINESE DOMINATION.

AMALGAMATION OF THE SULTANATES OF PAHANG AND JOHORE. (PERIOD 1590-1699.)

Ahmad was a boy when his father Sultan 'Abdu'l-Kadir died about the last years of the sixteenth century. According to the *Bustan-al-Salatin* he reigned for a year and was then replaced by his eldest brother, 'Abdu'l-Ghafur, as he was too young to govern the country. 'Abdu'l-Ghafur who took the title of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Ghafur Mohaidin Shah had married in 1584 a sister of the Queen of Patani. He also formed marriage connections with the pirate kings of Borneo. By his commoner wives he had twelve children.

An account of this Sultan and of the conditions in Pahang during his reign is available from several sources. He was known in Perak annals as *Marhum Pahang*.¹ They relate that he betrothed his eldest son *Marhum Muda Pahang* to a grand-daughter of the Sultan of Perak. About the year 1600 the Pahang prince proceeded to the interior and met his bride at Kuala Tembeling. As a wedding gift, his father granted him jurisdiction over that part of Pahang which extended from Kuala Tembeling to the head-waters of the river Sat (or Sak) on the Kelantan boundary.²

There is a hill at Kuala Tembeling the name of which, *Bukit Raja Muda*, almost certainly commemorates this prince. The Perak account adds that *Marhum Pahang* abdicated in favour of his son *Marhum Muda*.

In 1607 the Portuguese in Malacca sent envoys to the Pahang ruler to effect the release of eighty of their compatriots who had been wrecked on the coast of Pahang and made prisoners. Their mission was successful, and the envoys brought back to Malacca the ship-wrecked men.

In the same year, Holland put the merchant Abraham van den Broeck in Pahang. On 7 November, 1607, a Dutch war-ship with Admiral Matelief on board dropped anchor at Kuala Pahang. Sēri Maharaja Lela came aboard a few days later, and escorted the Admiral ashore. They were accompanied by eighteen musketeers, four trumpeters and others :

¹ "History of Perak from Native Sources," W. E. Maxwell (J. S. B. R. A. S., No. 9, p. 100 ff.).

² *Hingga Kuala Tembeling ka-hula Sak Raja Muda Pahang di-rajakan ayahanda baginda* (Maxwell MS. in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, 105, fol. 29 a). According to another Maxwell MS. : "The ruler of Pahang granted him the territory which extends from Tembeling to the borders of the country (*hingga Tembeling ka-ulu negeri di-anugrahhkan Raja Pahang*)."

" They arrived towards noon at the town which is about a league from the sea-coast. It is inhabited only by the nobility, the common folk living in the suburbs. The town which is of mediocre size is surrounded by a palisade of squared posts about four fathoms high, set closely together. There is a bastion at each corner of the town. The streets are broad ; the enclosures are of reeds ; the enclosed spaces are so thickly covered by cocoanuts and other trees that they appear more like a suburb than a town. The houses are of reed and straw except the King's palace which is made of wood."

Matelief, who had come to solicit the assistance of Pahang against the Portuguese, had an audience with the Sultan " whose son had been married to the daughter of the King of Queda." The ruler emphasized the importance of an alliance between Johore and the neighbouring States, and enquired how many men they could dispose of, and how many could remain in the field throughout the campaign against the Portuguese. He added that he would try to provide two thousand men in order to bring the war to a successful conclusion. At the Sultan's request, Matelief sent him a gunner to test a piece of cannon that was being cast for Raja Sebrang (Raja Bongsu) of Johore. The Pahang people also manufactured cannon for firing stone projectiles which were better than those of Java but inferior to those of the Portuguese.

Matelief requested the Sultan to send as soon as possible two vessels to the Straits of " Sabon " to join the Johore and Pahang boats which were already there, and to despatch two more boats to Penang waters to strengthen the Kedah and Achinese fleets and to cut off the Portuguese food supplies. This proposal strongly appealed to the Malays. One of the Chiefs (*Orang Kaya*) remarked that Malacca was too well fortified to be attacked, and that it was better to inconvenience the inhabitants in their shipping, and to starve them. The Admiral retorted that if he had enough men he would undertake to gain a decisive victory without more ado. Some said that Don Antonio de Meneses, Captain of Malacca, and the Viceroy of the Indies had died, and that rice was very dear at Malacca. The Dutch chronicler adds that the Sultan of Pahang owned gold mines of little importance.

Matelief sailed from Pahang on 16 November 1607. Before the Dutch Admiral departed, Van den Broeck went to fetch a letter which the Sultan was sending to the States and to Prince Maurice : " The King asked him to say his prayers before him in the manner of the Hollanders. Van den Broeck replied that one did not thus make a mockery of God, and that when he wished to say his prayers he did it in private. The King then begged him to chant because he had heard say that in the acts of devotion which the Hollanders performed on their vessels they sang chants.

Van den Broeck retorted that when it was a question of divine service chanting and praying were the same thing. All the members of Council spoke to him and said that he should not refuse to give this pleasure to the King which he desired ardently. Van den Broeck replied that this pleasure which the King desired would anger a much greater King, God, Lord of Heaven and Earth. After this they ceased to importune him...."

Floris records that in September 1612 the king of Johore (Alauddin Riayat Shah II) "overran the suburbs of Pahang burning all before him and likewise Campon Sina¹ which caused great dearth in Pahang." He adds that the king of Joor "as is said maketh great preparation to go in his own person for Pahang and the King of Borneo prepareth on the other side to their succour."

Nieuhoff,² who gives a somewhat similar picture to that presented in Matielief's account, records :

"The Kingdom of Pan or Pahan is by the Portuguese call'd Paon, and by others, after the Arabians Phaân; it being a custom amongst the Mahometan Arabians to pronounce phe instead of p. To the north it borders upon the Kingdom of Patane and adjoins to that of Johor, as well as to the Streights of Malacca...."

The writer included Kelantan in the kingdom of Patani, and would extend the jurisdiction of Pahang of the seventeenth century over part of Selangor and the modern Negri Sembilan.³

Nieuhoff proceeds :

"The river of Pahan is very broad but not navigable by galleys except at high water : the country round about is very low and produces about three hundred bahars of pepper likewise Palo de Aquila, or eagle-wood, Kalamback wood and camphire, but not so good as that of Borneo, gold (but very coarse), nutmegs, mase, sapan-wood, diamonds, Pedro de Porco or hogs stones, which are accounted a greater antidote than the bezoar stone.⁴ Deeper into the country are abundance of elephants. The inhabitants are the greatest imposters in the world. The King is tributary to the King of Siam, but after Albuquerque had conquered Malacca, he sent his deputies to Pahan, to oblige that king to promise fealty to him....The inhabitants are partly Mahometans

¹Kampong China (Pékan Baharu).

²Quoted in "A collection of Voyages and Travels," 3rd Edition, London, 1745.

³The traditional "holding" of the Orang Kaya Indéra Ségara of Temerloh reached Selangor and Rembau (Appendix III, *infra*).

⁴Pahang was famous for its bezoar stones.

partly pagans. Their king who reigned in 1612 had married the youngest daughter of the Queen of Patane....The King of Pahang who reigned in 1607 was then about forty years of age and his son had married the daughter of the King of Queda."

The son here described was the *Marhum Muda Pahang* of the Perak account which says that he married a grand-daughter of a Sultan of Perak. "Queda" may have been written loosely for Perak, or we may reconcile the two versions by assuming a Kedah connection for the Perak princess.

According to Floris, the Dutch voyager (quoted by Purchas), in 1612, the Queen of Patani, who had not seen her sister, the wife of the Sultan of Pahang for twenty-eight years, collected a fleet of seventy sail, and sent it to Pahang to bring the sister by force or friendship to Patani: "so that Pahang shall have much to do by reason of the great dearth, the burning of his house, rice, and barnes, as also the warres of Joor."

Floris adds that, in July, 1613, there arrived in Patani: "the King of Pahang with his wife, the Queen's sister, and two sonnes, much against his will, leaving his countrie in great povertie: famine, fire and warre having joyned conspiracie. He brought news that the Acheners had taken Joor...¹

"None of the Grandes went to entertain this king of Pahang, only all the dogs were killed for his sake, because he can endure none. He took our shooting as he passed by us in his honour very kindly, desiring us to visit him and to trade in his countrey."

The Dutch chronicler records that on 31 July, 1613, the King of Pahang came to his house in great state. On 1 August the Queen "sent for us to the court, where there was made a great feast in honour of the King of Pahang. On 9 August the King of Pahang departed having been made a mocking stocke to the Patanees; but the Queenes sister would not leave him but returned back with him; in lieu of getting great presents, having spent almost all she had."

We now come to a Chinese account of Pahang at this epoch:² "In the period Wan-li (1573—1619) the son of the viceroy of Johore was to marry the daughter of the king of Pahang. When the marriage was about to take place, the viceroy brought his son to Pahang, and the king of this country gave a feast, where all his relatives were present. The son of the king of Polo (Bruni)³

¹Johore was conquered on 6 June, 1613.

²History of the Ming Dynasty, quoted in "Notes on the Malay Archipelago" by W. P. Groeneveldt: Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China, Second Series, Vol. I, London, 1887, pp. 255-7.

³The reference may be to a son of Sultan Hassan of Brunai (*Marhum di-Tanjong*) who died in 1617. Sultan Hassan was a great pirate and in Brunai annals has been compared to Iskandar Muda of Aceh.

was the son-in-law of the king of Pahang ; he offered a cup of wine to the viceroy, who then saw that he had on his finger a large pearl of great beauty, and wanting to have it, he offered a very high price. The prince would not part with it on which the viceroy became angry, went home, and came back with soldiers to attack the country. The people of Pahang were taken unprepared ; they dispersed without fighting, and the King fled to the gold-mountains, along with the prince of Bruni.¹ The king of Puni (western coast of Borneo) was the elder brother of the king's wife ; when he heard all this, he came with his people to assist those of Pahang, and then the viceroy of Johore was compelled to retire, after having burnt and plundered very much.

" At that time the spirits in the country wailed for three days, and half of the people had been killed ; the king of Puni took his sister home with him, and the king of Pahang followed him also, ordering his eldest son to govern the country.

" Some time afterwards the king resumed the government, but his second son, who was of a bad disposition, poisoned his father, killed his brother, and ascended the throne himself."

Netscher states that in 1614, (after Aceh had subdued Johore), the Sultan of Johore sent three Achinese galleys, and a fleet of twenty vessels to Pahang to carry off the daughter of the deceased prince of that State who was betrothed to the son of the Johore ruler but whom the Pahang Chiefs refused to let go. Sultan 'Abdu'l-Ghafur was alive in August, 1613 ; he was murdered before the end of the following year.

Another reference to Sultan 'Abdu'l-Ghafur is contained in a family tree of the Orang Kaya Indĕra Maharaja Pĕrba of Jelai written between 1884 and 1887, and based on an older manuscript. According to it, the ruler who granted the Jelai to the Maharaja Pĕrba's family was Sultan 'Abdu'l-Ghafur. A tradition handed down in the family of the *Mantĕri* of the Lipis valley, (minor head-men of the Orang Kaya Sĕtia Wangsa of Lipis), records that the progenitor of Maharaja Pĕrba first came to the Jelai about 1000 A.H. (1591 A.D.), that is to say, during the reign of 'Abdu'l-Ghafur.

The inscription on Marhum Muda's tomb-stone, brought from Aceh in 1638 by the orders of his first-cousin Sultan Iskandar Thani, and erected in the royal cemetery at Makam Chondong, Pĕkan Lama, reveals that his name was 'Abdu'llah.²

Before 1607 Raja Muda 'Abdu'llah had married the Perak princess by whom he had two daughters. His uncle, Ahmad, who

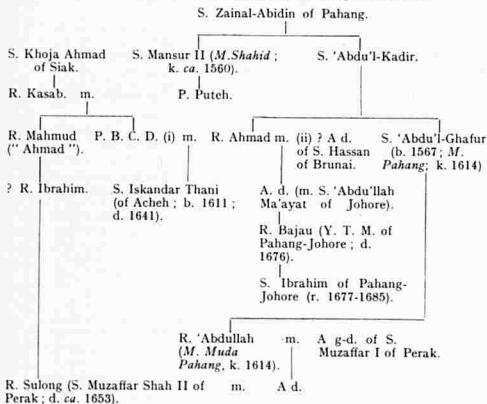
¹The sack of Pahang, as we have seen, took place in September, 1612. The "gold-mountains" were the Jelai in which locality 'Abdu'l-Ghafur owned gold mines.

²J. M. B. R. A. S., Vol. XII, Pt. II, 1934, pp. 171-2.

had reigned for a year before being replaced by his eldest brother, married Puteri Bongsu Chendera Dewi a daughter of the Siak prince Raja Kasab and grand-daughter of Sultan Mansur II. They had a son Iskandar Thani born in 1611 who was to be the future Sultan of Aceh. By another wife, probably a child of Sultan Hasan of Brunei, Ahmad had a daughter, born before 1600, who married Sultan 'Abdu'llah Ma'ayat Shah of Johore and became the mother of Raja Bajau, the Yang di-Pertuan Muda of Pahang-Johore.

When Raja Muda 'Abdu'llah was murdered in 1614, his widow and children were sent to Perak. There, she and her daughters were captured by Iskandar Muda and taken to Aceh, where, in time, one of the daughters was married to another royal captive Raja Sulong who became Sultan Muzaffar Shah II of Perak.

The Pahang side of the genealogy of this prince follows:¹



¹Abbreviations: S., Sultan; m., married; R., Raja; ca., about; M., Marhum; Y. T. M., Yam Tuan Muda; d., died; k., killed; P., Puteri; P. B. C. D., Puteri Bongsu Chendera Dewi; A d., A daughter; A g-d., A grand-daughter; b., born; r., reigned.

Pahang thus contributed, on two sides, to the building up of the royal family of Perak.

Sultan 'Abdu'l-Ghafur was succeeded in 1614 by his parricidal and piratical younger son whose name history does not disclose. An interesting account of the new ruler is given in the *Tung Hsi Yang K'au*:¹

"This king, who killed his father and his brother, is reigning still.² He is in the habit of buying from Mau-su³ pirates the men they have caught, and all the countries thereabout suffer severely from this. These Mau-su pirates are natives belonging to Bruni (Polo); they roam over the sea for the purpose of stealing men, whom they bring to Pahang and sell as slaves there. When one of them does not obey his master, he is killed and used for the sacrifices. The price of a slave is about three pieces of gold.

"When a ship arrives there, it has to send fixed presents to the king. The latter has erected a number of shops, and the merchants can occupy in these as much as they want, paying accordingly. The people of the country come there to trade with them and the merchants live there also. These shops are not far from the ships; when the watchmen on board cry out at night it can be heard by those who sleep on shore."

In confirmation on their treaty with Johore at Malacca in August 1615, the Portuguese escorted "the son of the king of Johore" to Pahang to take possession of that State.

The Portuguese-Johore treaty angered Iskandar Muda, ruler of Aceh, who having sacked Batu Sawar about September 1615, and put Sultan 'Abdu'llah to flight, wasted Pahang, in 1617, "where a son of the brother of Sultan 'Abdu'llah Mammad of Johore ruled."⁴

These statements seem at variance with the Chinese accounts which say that the parricide prince, son of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Ghafur, who usurped the throne in 1614 was still ruling in 1618, but Pahang had become a piratical State in which revolts and disorder were rife; there were two competing princes, the scion of indigenous Pahang stock, son of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Ghafur, and Raja Bujang, (later Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil III), the nominee of Johore.

When Iskandar Muda sacked Pahang in 1617 he carried off Sultan 'Abdu'l-Ghafur's younger brother Ahmad, the latter's son Iskandar Thani, and large numbers of the population. Peter van den Broeck relates that in Aceh he saw:

¹Groeneveldt, *loc. cit.*

²In 1618.

³Bajau.

⁴Bij. T. L. en V. Ser. 5, Vol. II, p. 246.

" the king of Pahang¹ running in the train of the king of Acheh like a common person ; he (the ruler of Acheh) had conquered Pahang and carried off more than ten thousand of its inhabitants."

Captain Best who visited Acheh in the early part of the seventeenth century, declared :

" The whole territory of Acheh was almost depopulated by wars, execution, and oppression. The king endeavoured to repeople the country by his conquests. Having ravaged the kingdoms of Johor, Pahang, Kedah, Perak, and Deli, he transported the inhabitants from those place to Acheh to the number of twenty-two thousand persons. But this barbarous policy did not produce the effect he hoped ; for the unhappy people being brought naked to his dominions, and not allowed any kind of maintenance on their arrival, died of hunger in the streets."

In 1629 the Portuguese were hard pressed by the Achinese, but a fleet from Pahang helped Malacca. The Achinese were defeated and their commander the Laksamana was captured by the king of Pahang and handed over to the Portuguese.

Barretto de Resende gives an account of Pahang about this period :

" The shortest voyages taken from Malacca are those to Pam, a port eighty leagues from Malacca. It belongs to the aforesaid king, who is very friendly to the Portuguese and is lord also of Jor and the maritime islands. Any ships may come to this port from Malacca without hindrance. They bring stuffs and opium in exchange for gold dust of the country and gold coin, bezoar stones, porcupine quills, a quantity of rice, agallochium from the coast, and also some wares which have been brought here by the southern natives who will not go to Malacca. In the same land there are two rivers belonging to the same king, where the Portuguese go to trade in the same merchandise. Facing this place to the sea lies the small mountainous island of Pulo Timo thickly populated by Malays. Pigeons are plentiful, and there is a certain kind of animal called palandos which resembles a deer and is very good and fat. There are very fine fresh water fish, rivers of excellent water and an abundance of figs and tar"²

According to the Dagh-Register, on 10 December 1632 the Achinese suggested a sea-attack by the Dutch and themselves,

¹Ahmad.

²" Barretto de Resende's Account of Malacca," W. G. Maxwell, J. S. B. R. A. S., No. 60, pp. 8-9. " Pulo Timo " is Pulau Tioman.

Palandos are mouse-deer (*pelandok*). " Figs " are plantains, the ' fig of paradise.' " Tar " (*damar*) is resin.

with the king of Pahang as commander of the land force. But by 1634 Pahang and Johore were again siding with the friends of Portugal against the Dutch.

On 9 November, 1634, the Dagh-Register records that fifty great galleons and five thousand men from Johore and Pahang had sailed to assist the rebel king of Patani in his war with Siam. The Dutch had espoused the cause of Siam against any force sent from Malacca, Johore, Pahang and other places. In November 1634 a Dutch fleet was instructed to sack Pahang where the Portuguese ships were harboured on their way to Malacca.

In 1635 Iskandar Muda of Aceh again attacked Pahang in revenge for that country's assistance to Patani, and claimed the throne. On 25 November, 1635, Commander Coper of the yacht *Cleijin Nassouw* met an Achinese fleet coming from Pahang, and other places which it had ruined, taking many prisoners. Beau-lieu tells of a plot against the life of the Achinese Sultan which led to the execution of a son of the king of Pahang and a son of the ruler of Johore. In 1636 Iskandar Muda died, and was succeeded by Iskandar Thani, son of Ahmad of Pahang who had been led captive after the raid of 1617 and married to Iskandar Muda's daughter.

The succession of a Pahang prince to the Achinese throne induced Pahang to make peace with Aceh at Bulang early in 1637, and in March of that year the "Sultan and Laksamana of Pahang" informed the Dutch that they desired an alliance against the Portuguese. The Sultan promised that he would make a strong fort in Johore to defend the country against the Portuguese, and on 16 March, 1637 the treaty was signed in Pahang. The Dagh-Register here suggests that this Sultan was ruler of Pahang and Johore.

In 1638-9, Sultan Iskandar Thani of Aceh sent gravestones to Pahang to commemorate his deceased relatives. The *Bustan-al-Salatin* describes the event:

"Now His Highness...said to the Orang Kaya-Kaya Maharaja and the Orang Kaya Laksamana and Sēri Pērdana Mantēri and Orang Kaya Raja Lela Wangsa and all his warriors: 'Let us go to Pahang and place stones on the tombs of our illustrious relatives who are deceased.' They replied: 'God-willing, we shall carry out Your Highness' command.' They proceeded to fit out an expedition to proceed to Pahang. . . . Then the Orang Kaya Maharaja Sēri Maharaja, and the warriors went into the presence of His Highness. Thereupon the Sultan...proceeded to Kuala Nur Selawat escorting the tomb-stones for His Highness' deceased relatives. The stones were carried in procession accompanied by musical instruments, hundreds of umbrellas, standards, banners and pennons.

" When Nur Selawat was reached, the stones were being put on board a large vessel when a boat unexpectedly arrived from Johore. Its captain, Tun Muhammad, went into His Highness' presence and said: ' Your Highness, the ruler of Johore is at present attacking Pahang because he has heard of the expedition which is being despatched by Your Highness with the object, he thinks, of spoiling him. The Orang Kaya Besar Penglima of Pahang¹ has fled into the interior; his son named Paduka Sèri Maharaja and many warriors with him have been slain by the Raja of Johore and the ruler has gone to Patani.' When His Highness heard the news he kept silence for a moment and then said: ' What spell has been cast on Johore? However anxious we are to improve the country it will not be improved! We thought that the ruler of Johore would receive the royal tomb-stones.

" His Highness forthwith commanded the Orang Kaya Maharaja Sèri Maharaja, the Orang Kaya Laksamana, Sèri Perdana Mantèri, and Orang Kaya Raja Lela Wangsa and all the warriors to proceed to Pahang: ' Even if the Johore ruler will not receive the royal tomb-stones let us duly carry out the ceremony, but while we are on our way let us not ravage the bays and reaches of Johore.' All the afore-said (Chiefs and warriors) then made obeisance to His Highness, embarked and set sail.

" After some months they arrived at Pahang and the royal tomb-stones were taken ashore. The Orang Kaya-Kaya Sèri Maharaja meticulously carried out the ceremony in accordance with ancient custom; they kept vigil for forty days and forty nights, and many carriages and royal hearses (*raja 'diraja'*)² were constructed, and the stones were taken in procession with all kinds of musical instruments, as was the custom when stones were placed on the tombs of great kings, and funeral feasts were given in honour of the illustrious deceased in exactly the same way as dead kings of yore were honoured...."

The tomb-stones thus brought to Pahang were of the " Chinese-lantern " type of which specimens exist at Kota Raja, Acheh. The name of the grave-yard in which they were placed is the " Graves of the Leaning Tree," (*Makam Chondong*), or the " Sepulchre of the Seven Brothers," (*Makam Tujoh Bêradek*).

¹We hear of a descendant of his in Pahang in 1740 when Sultan Sulaiman visited that country to repair the tomb of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil. He is described as " Tun Dagang great grand-son of the Orang Kaya Besar." The rank was originally a military one and not hereditary. A holder of the title in the nineteenth century was Wan Ismail, a son of Bendahara Ali, and grand-father of the present Orang Kaya of Chènor.

²In ancient Malay States the Chief known as Raja 'diraja was entrusted with the supervision of royal burials, hence his name came to be applied to the royal funeral bier (*cf.* the origin of the English words " boycott " and " macadam.") The Malay term is now obsolete.

Which of Iskandar Thani's relatives do the tomb-stones commemorate? The weather, and the ravages of elephants, have played havoc with the stones and their inscriptions. One tomb can definitely be identified: that of Marhum Muda 'Abdu'l-lah, son of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Ghafur of Pahang and first cousin of the Achinese ruler, who was murdered in 1614. Another, a female grave, may be that of Putëri Bongsu Chendëra Dewi, mother of Sultan Iskandar Thani, and grand-daughter of Sultan Mansur II.

The ruler of Pahang at the time of the Johore attack in 1638 appears to have been the parricide son of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Ghafur. The Sultan of Johore from 1623 onwards was 'Abdu'l-Jalil Shah III. He it was, apparently, who attempted to establish his rule in Pahang in 1615-1617, and his ambition to dominate the country, coupled with his jealousy of the Pahang-Achinese connection, led to his attack on that State in 1638. In 1617 Pahang was wasted by the Achinese for harbouring a Johore prince; in 1638 she suffered at the hands of that same prince for her alliance with the Achinese.

The raid by Johore in 1638 caused Iskandar Thani of Aceh, who regarded himself as the suzerain of Pahang, to break off negotiations with the Dutch for a joint attack on Malacca. The Achinese ruler made a formal complaint to the Dutch and refused to assist them while they remained friends of Johore. Malacca fell to the Dutch on 14 January, 1641, and Iskandar Thani died on 15 February. He was succeeded by a woman, Aceh's claim to Pahang was abandoned, and Johore was given a free hand.

In European records, from 1623 onwards, we hear sometimes (particularly from the Portuguese) of a king of Pahang, again of a king of Pahang-Johore, and again of a king of Johore—the reference, in all cases, whatever was the actual position in Pahang, seems to have been to Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil III. The region of the Pahang river, depopulated by raids, massacres, and transportations had become a haunt of pirates ruled over by a descendant of the ill-fated 'Abdu'l-Ghafur.

Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil did not make his rule effective in the country till the death of Iskandar Thani in 1641. From that date to 1673 Pahang was governed by the Yam Tuan Muda Raja Bajau, the son of Sultan 'Abdu'llah Ma'ayat Shah by a Pahang princess who was the half-sister of Iskandar Thani. According to Schouten, this prince of "Sea-rovers," (a name probably derived from his Brunai connections), as early as 1641, had been designated heir to the Pahang-Johore Sultanate.

The relics left by the Achinese in Pahang were few: tombs of the type known as "Achinese Stones" found here and there, the elaborate lantern tomb-stones at Makam Tujoh Bëradek, Pekan Lama, brought to Pahang in 1638, the name of a locality Bëlukar Aceh, the name of a rapids in the Telom, Jeram Musoh

Karam, which is said to commemorate the wreck of invading Achinese boats. Achinese gold coins known as *dinar Aceh* have been found in Pĕkan Lama. Malays of the present day use them as *azimat* or talismans. The practice, prevalent in Pahang up to comparatively recent years, of sending students of religion to Aceh for instruction, probably originated in the period of Achinese domination.

The history of Pahang during the period of Achinese suzerainty provides melancholy reading. Invaded and ravaged by the Achinese, by Johore, by the Portuguese, and the Dutch, all within the space of half a century, large numbers of her population slain, or carried into captivity to die of starvation in the streets of the Achinese capital, distracted by revolts, Pahang, once a State of importance, had degenerated into a haunt of pirates.

There was, however, in addition, an economic factor operating towards her decay. The unsettled conditions resulting from the struggle between the Dutch and the Portuguese, and the wars of Aceh, had induced traders from the east to land their goods in Pahang for safety, and to send them by the old trade route up the Bĕra and the Serting, then by portage into the head-waters of the Muar and so to Malacca, instead of venturing the journey by sea around the Peninsula beset by rival fleets and infested by pirates. This land trade was naturally of benefit to Pahang. The defeat of the Portuguese in 1641 had the effect of freeing the sea-way for those traders whose destination was Malacca, and there was no longer any occasion to utilize the Pahang route.

From about 1550 Menangkabau settlers had been pouring into Pahang through Ulu Muar, and had partly opened up the interior, mined gold in the Jelai and its tributaries, (a well-known gold-producing district in d'Eredia's day), dealt in jungle produce, elephant ivory and the like. Their trade was almost entirely with Malacca, and the bulk of it passed by the land-route to that city. The circumstances of their trade made the Menangkabaus side with the Portuguese rather than with the Dutch (though they helped Johore to blockade Malacca in 1586). The victory of the Dutch severely damaged the growing overland trade of the Pahang Menangkabaus. In October 1644 the Dagh-Register records that, fearing treachery from the king of Johore (now the ally of their enemies the Dutch), "the Menangkabaus very bravely removed their property from Pahang."

The reference was to a temporary and partial exodus.

Let us try and picture a Pahang Malay of the period with which we have been dealing (the early part of the seventeenth century), by stock, a mixture of the Malacca Muslim Malay and of the pre-Malaccan inhabitants of the country; in his religion he tended towards animism tempered by Buddhism and Hinduism

with a gradually increasing proclivity towards Islam. He had not yet abandoned the practice of making human sacrifices to Kali the Hindu goddess of death.

Islam was introduced as the State religion about the middle of the fifteenth century. There may have been followers of Islam in Pahang, as there certainly were in Trengganu, before this period, but an important factor in the conversion to the new religion of the Pahang peasant living in the interior appears to have been the immigration of the Menangkabaus which began in the second half of the sixteenth century. The shrines of Saiyids, scattered here and there throughout the country, probably mark the resting-places of the original apostles of Islam. Islamic influence was naturally more marked at the capital but it had not filtered far into the interior until the advent of the Menangkabaus.

The Pëkan Malay, influencing his pagan predecessors, was himself influenced by the people whom he had conquered. His language, praised by Abdullah in the nineteenth century for its purity, was in the 15th and 16th centuries full of strange provincialisms some of which must have been derived from the northern element in his stock; in the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* the Pëkan women modestly excuse themselves for the "jargon" which they spoke. The Malay of the seventeenth century, in his ways, was probably not far distant from his pre-Malaccan predecessors of whom Chinese chroniclers have left a description. The principles of his new religion had not yet been sufficiently inculcated into him to make him averse from toddy and arrack in the manufacture of which he was an expert.

On 3 April 1641 the Dagh-Register set forth the dominions of the Johore kingdom: no part of Pahang was included but Rembau, the traditional boundary, on that side, of the old State of Pahang was mentioned.

On 20 October, 1642, the Dutch made a treaty with Palembang whereby the people of Palembang were allowed to voyage with the Company's passes to Pahang and other places carrying merchandise not prejudicial to the Company's interest but no pepper. On 6 July, 1643, the Dutch made a treaty with Jambi according to the terms of which all Jambi ships faring to Pahang and elsewhere were to be treated as enemies unless they had passes from the Dutch Resident at Jambi.

In May 1644 the Sultan of Johore sent a letter to the Governor-General of Batavia by Sëri Maharaja Lela and Raja Lela Wangsa in which he explained that certain malfactors of Rembau and Tampin who had murdered some Dutchmen were not subjects of his, but Menangkabaus, tenants of the Bendahara.

On 27 July 1647 an Englishman named Wyldé visited Johore in the *Supply*. He records that "the chief commodities are tin, pepper, aggula and elephant's teeth. . . ." These goods came from

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"Phaung (Pahang), Comper (Kampar), Boolaung (Bulang), and Keelaun (Klang)," the first-named being "the greatest place of importance." On 19 March 1648 envoys arrived at Batavia with a letter from the "King of Johore and Pahang."

The Yam Tuan Muda, Raja Bajau, the heir designate and first-cousin (wrongly described in the Dagh Register as "brother") of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil III became betrothed to a Jambi princess in 1663. The Sultan opposed the marriage and in the following year the engagement was broken off. The Yam Tuan Muda joined the Laksamana in the numerous Johore attacks on Jambi.¹ In 1673 Johore was sacked by the Jambis, and the aged Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil III, with his subjects, fled to Pahang where he resided till his death in November, 1677.

Bort records that :

"Songujongh and Calangh produce yearly about four hundred Chaers of tin whereof Malacca gets a very small share, since most of it is taken to Aatchin and Bencalis also to Pahangh and Riouw. The last is now beginning to come to an end, the people there being Manicabers who, since the conquest of Johor by the Jambinese and the flight of the king thence to Pahang, have not rendered their due obeisance to that Kingdom and do still less now, being suspected of siding with the rebellious people of Nanning and Rombouw."

Bort mentions the visit to Malacca of vessels "from Pahang where the king of Johor now holds his court." He refers to Bengkalis as a trading mart for boats from Pahang and elsewhere.

In the year 1674 the Dagh-Register records that Sēri Nara 'diraja of Johore had waylaid two notorious Jambi pirates, Langpassir and Pampouassa, captured the former and taken him to Pahang to the king of Johore who had his hands and feet cut off, his back-bone cut open, and the wounds smeared with salt and pepper. In the same year the Laksamana and Yam Tuan Muda raided the Jambi river.

In January 1678, Malay envoys reported at Malacca the death of their childless ninety-year old king. Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil III came to the throne in 1623; he died in Pahang on 22 November, 1677, and was known posthumously as *Marhum Mangkat di-Pahang*, "the late Sultan who died in Pahang."

'Abdu'l-Jalil was succeeded by Sultan Ibrahim the son of the Yam Tuan Muda of Pahang (Raja Bajau) who had died in 1676. The *Tuhfat-al-Nafis* relates that in 1678 Sultan Ibrahim removed to Riau, the home of the Laksamana and a good base for operations against Jambi.

¹In the "History of Johore," (J. M. B. R. A. S., Vol. X, Pt. III, 1932, pp. 43-46), this Yam Tuan Muda is confused with Marhum Muda 'Abdu'llah who was killed in 1614.

In June 1679 the Johore-Pahang ruler had three hundred well-armed vessels ready to surprise Jambi and had found a Bugis ally, Daeng Mengika, whose race was destined to play an important part in Peninsular history. After the defeat of Jambi, Daeng Mengika abandoned Johore for Palembang, and in January 1681 the Paduka Raja of Johore and his son the young Laksamana helped Jambi to defeat Palembang and the Bugis.

The old Laksamana or Paduka Raja had by this time become the most important personage in the land next to his royal son-in-law and, ingratiating himself with the nobles, had grown so bold that he no longer paid proper respect to the Sultan who had become jealous of his powerful and ambitious Chief. This, no doubt, was the Laksamana who had killed a Temenggong at Tanjong Batu in 1677.

Two letters from Sultan Ibrahim and his father-in-law the Laksamana Paduka Raja arrived at Batavia on 2 April 1682, from their new capital. The Paduka Raja described his master as the first ruler of Johore-Pahang. The Sultan and his Chiefs were about to remove their head-quarters to Johor Lama. They sent the Governor-General, among other presents, Tioman mats.

On 16 February 1685 Sultan Ibrahim died; poisoned, rumour said, by some of his wives. His son Sultan Mahmud was a minor. His mother was appointed regent and her father, the Paduka Raja, became the power behind the throne.

Soon afterwards the Paduka Raja's enemies gained the upper hand, and he was forced to flee to Trengganu where he died in 1688. He was succeeded by Bendahara Sēri Maharaja, Tun Habib 'Abdu'l-Majid, who may have been the signatory to the Dutch treaty of 1685 described as "Dato' Bendahara Maharaja, son of Dato' Sēri Maharaja." He at once took Sultan Mahmud to Kota Tinggi. This Bendahara, who died in 1697, is claimed as an ancestor by the present royal families of Pahang and Johore.

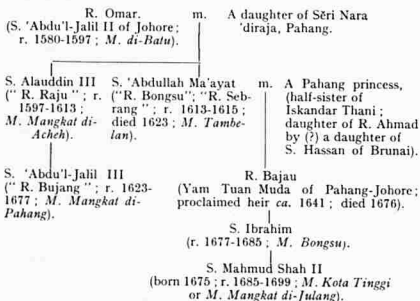
Sultan Mahmud, ruler of Johore-Pahang, the last and the most crazy of his line, was a degenerate pervert. His life has been described by Malay chroniclers, and by Hamilton a contemporary English visitor to Johore. According to the Malays, ever lenient to the sins of their princes, Sultan Mahmud was under the influence of the moon—a lunatic—and, being married to a fairy (*berbini peri*), could look with favour on no mortal woman. His Bendahara was 'Abdu'l-Jalil a son of Bendahara Habib 'Abdu'l-Majid. These officers of State, always powerful, had further extended their influence in the seventeenth century, and in addition to their court dignities, had become territorial magnates. 'Abdu'l-Jalil profited by the Sultan's weakness to undermine his master's authority.

In 1699 Mahmud wantonly murdered the wife of one of his captains. The victim's husband, Megat Sēri Rama, with the
1936] *Royal Asiatic Society.*

connivance of the Bendahara, plotted revenge. When the conspirators' plans were ready, Mahmud's guards were attacked and killed; the Sultan himself, as he was being carried on the back of one of his attendants to bathe, was stabbed to death with a long creese. According to Malay tradition the dying ruler hurled a spear at his murderer which wounded him in the foot, and from that day onwards, grass grew in the wound because the murderer dared to shed the white blood of royalty!

The *Tuhfat-al-Nafis*, records that the Temenggong, and Raja Indëra Bongsu, as well as the Bendahara, were implicated in the murder.

The descent of Sultan Mahmud, the last ruler of Johore-Pahang of Malacca royal stock, from Raja Omar the reputed grandson, on the distaff side, of Sultan Mansur I of Pahang, follows:¹



¹Abbreviations: S., Sultan; R., Raja; M., Marhum; m., married; r., reigned.

CHAPTER V.

PAHANG THE PROVINCE OF THE BENDAHARAS (PERIOD 1699-1806).

On Mahmud's death, Bendahara 'Abdu'l-Jalil became Sultan, his supporters invoking the constitutional theory that if there were no heirs to a ruler, the Bendahara should succeed to the throne. If one Malay version is to be believed,¹ 'Abdu'l-Jalil secured his position by killing all the wives of Mahmud who were pregnant, but one of them, Che Mi, escaped to Menangkabau, and had a son later styled Raja Kechil—the Menangkabau pretender to the throne. The title of 'Abdu'l-Jalil's children was raised from *Tun* to *Tengku*. Raja Indera Bongsu Tun Mahmud, a younger brother of 'Abdu'l-Jalil who, before the death of Sultan Mahmud, had demanded his price as a conspirator in the assassination-plot, was made Yam Tuan Muda (or Raja Muda). According to the *Salasilah Melayu dan Bugis*,² when 'Abdu'l-Jalil was made Sultan, one of his brothers Temenggong Abdullah was appointed Bendahara to replace Tun Mas Anom who had died.

We get a glimpse of conditions at Kuala Endau, Pahang³ in 1703 from an English chronicler Vaughan who, with his companions, was cast ashore at that place early in the year.⁴ The head-man gave the ship-wrecked mariners boiled yams, salt and fresh water, and demanded fifty dollars to take them to Johore. The inhabitants numbered only fifteen men, and the place was infested by tiger and wild pig. "Captain Dequallo" (Captain di-Kuala—the head-man) owned land "on the banks of a small river⁵ that runs from the Northward into the great one about half way from his house to the river's mouth. It had three houses in trees more than three yards above the ground, more than thirty people having been killed by tigers and elephants in the year, the remainder being not above forty men, women, and children in both places."⁶ Soon afterwards "another grandee who said he was Captain of the men in the woods⁶ came down the river, and bought canes for the merchants at Johore. He spoke Portuguese and sold arse-clouts, taking canes for them, which he sold at three dollars a hundred." On 17 March the ship-wrecked Englishmen were taken to Johore.

¹*Hikayat Johor serta Pahang* (MS.).

²Translation by H. Overbeck, J. M. B. R. A. S., Vol. IV, No. III, 1926, p. 349.

³"The adventures of Five Englishmen from Pulo Kondoro, A Factory of the New Company in the East-Indies who were ship-wreckt upon the little Kingdom of Johore" etc., by Mr. Vaughan, London, 1714.

⁴The Sungai Anak Endau.

⁵i.e. at Kuala Endau and Kuala Anak Endau.

⁶Head-man (*Jenang*) of the Jakun aboriginal tribes (*Suku Biduanda*). About one hundred and fifty years later, Bendahara Ali appointed one Talib as *Jenang* of the *Suku Biduanda* of Endau.

'Abdu'l-Jalil was unfitted to control his turbulent subjects; his people said of him that he was too religious to be a good king. He was a "more merciful man and of a milder temper" than his predecessor.¹ He did tolerably well for the first eight years of his reign, but then let the power slip into the hands of his domineering brother the Yam Tuan Muda who, according to one account, oppressed the people. In 1708 the Sultan and the Raja Muda retired to Riau. Four years later a rebellion fostered by Menangkabaus broke out in the Riau-Johore State. 'Abdu'l-Jalil invoked the help of the Bugis Chief Upu Daing Parani. Tengku Mandak, one of 'Abdu'l-Jalil's daughters, slighted by Raja Kechil, cast her ear-rings into Upu's lap, and offered to marry him if he would help to defeat the Menangkabaus.² 'Abdu'l-Jalil and the Yam Tuan Muda retreated to Johor Lama. The Sultan's brother was "a clever and intelligent man" who acquired great riches and surrounded himself by a powerful force. He was said to have had 1,000 pieces of cannon mostly of bronze, 2,000 guns, and two large store-houses filled with arms and ammunitions, 5,000 men-at-arms, and large quantities of gold.³

Fighting continued intermittently till 1718. In a sea-battle, owing to the treachery of some of his Chiefs, the majority of the king's fleet went over to Raja Kechil. Early in 1718 Raja Muda encountering his Menangkabau enemies led by the pretender Raja Kechil, who was supported by the Laksamana faction, and by Bugis mercenaries, fled. In his new place of refuge the Yam Tuan Muda was engaged in a game of chess when a follower rushed into his house, shouting "The enemy Your Highness!" Tun Mahmud, absorbed in his game, thought the reference was to his opponent's moves on the chess-board, and said testily: "What is all this talk about the enemy: the enemy move here and there!" When at last he realized his peril he ran amuck, killed his wives and children, and was himself slain. This Raja Muda whose death occurred in 1718 was known posthumously as *Yam Tuan Muda mangkat di-Kayu Anak*, "the Yam Tuan Muda who died at Kayu Anak."⁴

The victorious Raja Kechil allowed Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil to retire to Trengganu. According to Hamilton, the defeated ruler "called at *Pulau Aure, Tingi, Pissang*, and *Timoon* and the inhabitants of these Islands received him with Demonstrations of Love, and promised to continue in their Duty as his subjects.

¹Vaughan, *loc. cit.*

²*Hikayat Johor serta Pahang.*

³"Jornada de Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho," (J. M. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIII, Pt. II, pp. 120-121).

⁴In the Johore river is an islet named *Pulau Kayu Anak*, the scene, perhaps, of the Yam Tuan Muda's death.

He put his eldest son, a Youth about 20 years of age, ashore at Pahang to keep that country from revolting and went himself to Trangano."

The son to whom Hamilton refers may have been Tun Abbas one of the sons of 'Abdu'l-Jalil who was born while their father was still Bendahara.

Civil strife had broken out in Pahang in 1716 between two brothers of the Sultan, Bendahara Tun 'Abdu'llah and Temenggong Tun Mutahir who apparently supported 'Abdu'l-Jalil's cause. The two brothers fought and killed one another. This fact is not recorded in our histories, but other evidence bears it out. In a paper on "An Eighteenth Century Tomb at Pekan Lama"¹ are described graves which, according to tradition, are those of "an Achinese Tengku Mutahir who killed his brother Tengku 'Abdullah in a fight and was himself slain. They were buried side by side." The inscription on Mutahir's tomb gives the date of his death as the 23rd Shaaban 1128 A.H. (12th September 1716 A.D.), but not his name. 'Abdu'llah's tomb-stone, which has disappeared, is said to have had inscribed thereon his name, and a similar date. It was natural for the sons of a Bendahara with Achinese connections (Tun Habib 'Abdu'l-Majid) to have been described by the Pahang people, who had bitter cause to remember that nation, as Achinese. It appeared that another brother of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil, Tun 'Abdu'l-Jamal, succeeded 'Abdu'llah as Bendahara.

After visiting Trengganu, where he left his son Tun Husain² in charge, 'Abdu'l-Jalil proceeded to Pahang, and opened a settlement at Kuala Pahang. There he was joined by Raja Indera Bongsu who had taken refuge in Malacca. In 1720 Raja Kechil sent his Laksamana, Nakhoda Che Sekam, to Kuala Pahang to bring the Sultan willy-nilly to Riau. 'Abdu'l-Jalil declined the invitation, so Che Sekam's forces attacked Kuala Pahang and captured it. Raja Kechil's emissary then renewed the invitation, offering the Sultan two vessels in which to make the journey with his family and retinue. The Sultan had to agree.

At this stage Che Sekam received a letter from Raja Kechil, cancelling former orders, and instructing him to kill the fugitive ruler. Che Sekam did not relish the task but had to obey. He sent four of his captains, clad in coats of mail, with their men to carry out his master's instructions. The Menangkabaus quietly boarded 'Abdu'l-Jalil's boat, and while he was on a praying mat, performing his devotions, they hacked at him with their swords. The Sultan jumped up, seized one of his enemies' weapons and he and his followers killed eight Menangkabaus before he succumbed. Tengku Tengah, one of his daughters, hearing of her father's death rushed on deck and attacked the murderers. As they were

¹J. M. B. R. A. S., Vol. IV, No. III, p. 333.

² He became known as *Bendahara di-Trengganu*: Appendix II, *infra*.

about to retaliate, Che Sekam shouted: "Let her be; if you kill the princess Raja Kechil will slay you and your families!" The Menangkabaus then dropped overboard, and Tengku Tengah was taken to her cabin. Che Sekam came on board and, "with tears in his eyes," prepared the Sultan's body for burial, and had it interred at Teluk Kandang¹ which, from that occurrence, became known as *Kampung Marhum*. The Orang Kaya Nara Wangsa, Tun Hamid, described in the Batavian *Hikayat Negeri Johor* as a son of 'Abdu'l-Jalil, was killed with him.

The dead Sultan was known to posterity by the name *Marhum Kuala Pahang*. The *Hikayat Johor serta Pahang* (MS.), wrongly says that he was buried above the Sungai Pèkan, mistakenly identifying his tomb with that of "'Abdu'l-Jalil" who died in 1511. Now that the Sultan was dead, the Bendahara (? Tun 'Abdu'l-Jamal) claimed the throne, but Raja Kechil refused to recognise his claim.²

Raja Sulaiman, who had been captured by the Menangkabaus when his father was killed at Kuala Pahang, escaped from his captors and proceeded to Ulu Pahang where he solicited the help of "the Deformed Bendahara," (*Bendahara Pekok*), in the operations against the Menangkabau pretender. According to the *Tuhfat al-Nafis*, this Bendahara was an uncle of Sulaiman. If so, he may have been Tun 'Abdu'l-Jamal. On the other hand a Pahang tradition makes mention of an Abbas (? one of the elder brothers of Sultan Sulaiman) who resided at Semantan in Pahang. The fact that Tun Abbas was passed over for the succession to the Sultanate gives colour to the view that he was the 'Deformed Bendahara,' though the reason given by Malay chroniclers was that he, and another brother Tun Hussain, were not considered as they had been born before their father Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil came to the throne.

On 4 October 1722 the Bugis, who by this time had recovered from Raja Kechil the Johore-Pahang state regalia, installed Raja Sulaiman as Sultan with the title of Sultan Sulaiman Badru'l-Alam Shah. The new ruler made a formal agreement with his protectors whereby the respective powers of the Malays and Bugis were defined. About the same time Tun Abbas was appointed Bendahara Sèri Maharaja.

There was a wholesale marrying, and giving in marriage between the Bugis Chiefs and ladies of the Malay noble families. One of these Chiefs, who afterwards became known as *To' Tuan*, founded a settlement at Kampong Mengkasar near Pèkan Lama. He was said to have improved the art of silk weaving in Pekan (the village which he founded is still the centre of the weaving industry). This Chief was an ancestor, on the female side, of

¹The *Pasir Kandang* of the "Malay Annals."

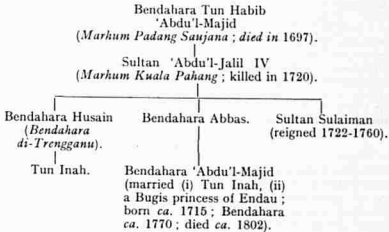
²*Sejarah Raja-Raja Riouw*.

the Shahbandar family of Pahang. He was buried at Pekan Lama, and his grave is revered as a shrine to the present day.

The eldest of the Bugis Chiefs, Upu Daing Marewah (son of Daing Parani), also known as Upu Kélana Jaya Putëra, was appointed Yang di-pertuan Muda. An old Bugis Chief Daing Manompo took the title of Raja Tua, and married Tun Tipah an aunt of Sultan Sulaiman.

It is uncertain whether Temenggong Tun Mutahir or Tun Abbas was the father of Tun 'Abdu'l-Majid (Bendahara of Pahang ca. 1770-1802) from whom the Pahang Sultans are descended. One writer, the author of the *Hikayat Negeri Pahang* (MS.), takes an easy way out of the difficulty by commencing with 'Abdu'l-Majid and ignoring all mention of this Chief's ancestors. There are genealogical trees in abundance: the Kampong Gëlam, Johore and Pahang lists of descent, but family trees often erred in details, they were sometimes altered to suit political or family considerations, and compilers have been known to make mistakes even in the names of personages contemporary with them.

The question of 'Abdu'l-Majid's descent is dealt with elsewhere in this history.¹ Suffice to say here that, on the evidence at present available, it is likely that this Chief's father was Tun 'Abbas, and that his ancestry was as follows:



Between the year 1722 and the middle of the century there was intermittent fighting between the pretender Raja Kechil and the Bugis, backed by Sultan Sulaiman, but the Sultan and his Malays, after all danger from Raja Kechil had disappeared—the Menangkabau pretender went mad, and died in 1746—got tired

¹Appendix II, *infra*.

of their domineering allies, and in 1745, Sulaiman with Sultan Mansur of Trengganu, and the Raja Indëra Bongsu Tun Hasan invoked Dutch assistance against the Bugis.

In 1740 Sultan Sulaiman sailed to Pahang and built a wall around his father's tomb. Among the royal retinue were Dato' Bendahara Tun Husain (the *Bendahara di-Trengganu*) brother of His Highness, Tun 'Abdu'l-Rahman son of Dato' Temenggong Tun Mutahir, Tun 'Abdu'l-Majid, Raja Muhammad son of Raja Muda *Mangkat di-Kayu Anak*, Tun Sulong Muda son of Dato' Paduka Maharaja, Tun Pasang son of Dato' Sewa' Raja, Tun Bayan, Tun Hasan son of Orang Kaya Sëri Nara 'diraja grand-son of the Laksamana, and Tun Dagang great grand-son of Orang Kaya Besar. The Sultan summoned Indëra Pahlawan from the interior and took him to Riau. Included in the prince's following were the *Bendahara Tua* of Pahang, and a son of Bendahara Tun Husain who, after bidding farewell to the Sultan, returned to Trengganu.

The Orang Kaya Besar, whose great grand-son was Tun Dagang, we have met before. He was the Orang Kaya Besar Penglima of Pahang who fled to the interior when that State was sacked by Johore in 1638. Indëra Pahlawan was the Orang Kaya Indëra Pahlawan of Chenor, one of the four Major Chiefs, and this is the first mention in our Malay chronicles of the title in Pahang.

In 1738 Sultan Sulaiman visited Kuala Endau. The headmen of the nine proto-Malay tribes (*Suku Biduanda*) came before him and he gave them titles. A memento of this royal visit was the *mas manah* or *ambur-ambur* (largesse) distributed by the Sultan among the people: octagonal, base gold coins which occasionally are still met with among the descendants of the tribes of Endau. The coin bears the legends, on the obverse, *Sultan Sulaiman Shah*, and on the reverse, *Khalifat al-Muminin* "Lord of the Faithful."

Raja Kechil ruled Siak which was nominally a part of the Riau-Johore-Pahang kingdom. When he became afflicted by a mental disease in 1736, both his sons claimed the Siak throne, one of them Raja Muhammad (*Buang*) a nephew of Sultan Sulaiman. As early as 1745, the Bugis Chiefs of Selangor had elected Daing Kemboja (*Marhum Janggut*) to succeed Daing Chelak as Yam Tuan Muda, but it was not till 1748 that he went to Riau to be installed by Sultan Sulaiman. According to the *Sejarah Raja-Raja Riouw*, in 1748 the oath between Bugis and Malays was renewed, the Yam Tuan Besar, Yam Tuan Muda and Raja Indëra Bongsu Tun Hasan taking part. About the same time Tun Hassan was created Bendahara Sëri Maharaja.

On 6 January 1756 Sultan Sulaiman arrived at Malacca accompanied by his heir 'Abdu'l-Jalil (*Raja di-Baroh*), Sultan

Mansur of Trengganu, and the Bendahara Sèri Maharaja (Tun Hasan) and signed a treaty with the Dutch.

In May 1757 Daing Kemboja was driven to Linggi but he was attacked by a strong combined fleet which captured the place in December. Sultan Sulaiman now tried to get the better of his insubordinate Bugis subjects by giving up Rembau and Linggi to the Dutch. This cession was signed on 12 December by Sultan Sulaiman, Sultan Mansur of Trengganu and Temenggong 'Abdu'l-Majid (later, Bendahara of Pahang). Sultan Sulaiman died in 1760, having before his death made friends with the Bugis.

In January 1761 Sulaiman's successor Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil Muadzam Shah (*Raja di-Baroh*) died in Selangor, poisoned according to the Malays. In February Daing Kemboja brought the body to Riau and proclaimed himself guardian of Sultan Ahmad Riayat Shah, the young son of the deceased. This boy soon died, perhaps also from poison, and though the Malays pressed for a brother of Sultan Sulaiman as his successor, the Bugis forces overawed the Bendahara and Temenggong and carried the election of Mahmud, an infant son of *Raja di-Baroh*, born in 1760. Hearing of the death of Daing Kemboja in 1777 his nephew the Yam Tuan Muda of Riau, Raja Haji, proceeded to Pahang.

According to the *Tuhfat al-Nafis*, when Daing Kemboja fought the sea-fight at Singapore in 1764 Tun Hasan was Bendahara. By 1770 Temenggong 'Abdu'l-Majid had become Bendahara and in 1777 created Raja Haji, Yam Tuan Muda. Sultan Mahmud, accompanied by Raja 'Abdu'l-Samat of Selangor, a son of Marhum Janggut (Daing Kemboja), sailed to Pahang to welcome Raja Haji to whom a son named *Raja Pahang* had been born. Raja Haji was killed in an unsuccessful attack on Malacca in 1784, and his ally Sultan Ibrahim of Selangor fled to Bernam and thence to Pahang. There, according to tradition, he married Tun Selamah, a daughter of the Bendahara of Pahang, and it was after him that Tanjong Selangor near Pahang Tua was named. Aided by Pahang, the Sultan returned to Ulu Selangor.

In October 1784 the Dutch attacked and captured Riau, driving out the Bugis. In November 1784 a formal treaty was made between the Dutch and the Malays whereby the Sultan and his Chiefs acknowledged that Riau had become by right of war the property of the Dutch, which the Malays would hold as a fief under certain conditions. The Sultan, because of his youth, would decide nothing except in consultation with the Raja Tua (the Dutch had driven out the Bugis Yam Tuan Muda), Raja Bendahara ('Abdu'l-Majid), Raja Temenggong, and Raja Bongsu. All Bugis not born in Riau were to be expelled. All vessels from Johore, Pahang and other states that passed Malacca were compelled to take out a Dutch pass there.

In February 1785 Raja Ali addressed a letter to Bengal asking for English assistance against the Dutch. In June 1785

his brother-in-law Sultan Ibrahim of Selangor, with Bendahara 'Abdu'l-Majid of Pahang assisted Sultan Mahmud in driving the Dutch out of Riau. After their victory the Malay Chiefs, fearing a counter-attack, fled, the Bendahara returning to Pahang with one hundred and fifty sail. Sultan Mahmud now asked Capt. Light for authority to hoist a British flag on his fort. In the same year Raja 'Ali had requested a passage through Rembau in order to attack Malacca from Pahang, but the Rembau Chiefs refused it.

On 7 February, 1786 a treaty was signed between the Sultan and the Dutch whereby, among other matters, he was freed of the guardianship of the Raja Tua, Raja Bendahara, Raja Temenggong and Raja Indëra Bongsu, and would consult them only on high matters of state. Among other provisions, Pahang was to admit no Chinese or other junks to its ports but to direct them to Riau for payment of customs dues!

In December 1786 Sultan Mahmud, accompanied by the Bendahara Tun 'Abdu'l-Majid, the Temenggong and the Raja Indëra Bongsu visited Malacca. At the same time, it was said, he sent one Talib (probably the eldest son of Bendahara 'Abdu'l-Majid) to entreat the ruler of Tempasok and his Ilanun pirates to rid him of the Dutch.

In 1788 Sultan Mahmud fled to Pahang where four soldiers captured at Riau heard that he had sent Raja Indëra Bongsu to Solok to ask the Ilanuns to attack Malacca over-land from Pahang. On 20 May 1790 the Sultan of Trengganu, with whom the Riau-Johore ruler had taken refuge, wrote to the Dutch at Malacca enquiring whether they would prefer Sultan Mahmud to live at Riau under their eyes or in Pahang. In 1795 the Dutch made peace with Mahmud, and restored Lingga (Riau) to him.

Except for some scraps of information collected here and there we know little about Pahang in the eighteenth century. It formed part of the Riau-Johore State and followed the politics of that kingdom. The Pahang Chiefs supported the Sultan in his wars against the pretender Raja Kechil. The Bugis made their appearance on the Malayan stage; they allied themselves with the Sultan, became the dominant partner in the coalition and made and-unmade rulers. In the latter half of the century, the Pahang Bendahara grew tired of his over-powering friends and petitioned both Dutch and English for help to drive them out of Riau.¹

In the same century Pahang became the special province of the Bendaharas. The first Bendahara of Pahang of whom we have authentic information was Tun 'Abdu'l-Majid who was elevated to that dignity about 1770. The allegiance of the Bendaharas to the Riau-Johore ruler continued, though it weakened in time. These potentates, as the senior Chiefs, had the privilege

¹*Sejarah Raja-Raja Riouw.*

of installing Sultans, and were themselves installed by Sultans. They were the fully accredited representatives (*wakil mutallak*) of the sovereign in Pahang, and in fact assumed to themselves all their Sultan's prerogatives. They exercised the power of capital punishment, and occasionally even delegated that power to their head-men. In theory only the Sultan could shed blood, so when a criminal was being executed by the order of the Bendahara, the creese of execution (*kéris penyalang*) was driven into his heart through a pad of cotton wool in order that no blood should drop on the ground, and due regard was thus paid to the constitutional theory!

After the Dutch had expelled the Bugis from Riau in 1784, that island has been occupied by Engku Muda who styled himself "Sultan of Riau." When the English removed the ban on the Bugis, Raja Ali captured the place. Engku Muda retorted by blockading Riau in May 1801. 'Abdul'l-Majid who was summoned from Pahang to effect a settlement could, at first, do nothing. In February 1802, he persuaded the warring Chiefs to go to Lingga where Sultan Mahmud made peace between the Malays and Bugis. In December 1804 Mahmud settled Raja Ali at Penyengat as Yam Tuan Muda.

Bendahara 'Abdu'l-Majid had four sons, Tun 'Abdu'l Mutalib who resided at Pèkan Sebrang, Tun Muhammad ("Engku Sentul") who lived at Chènou, Tun Koris who resided with his Bugis mother at Endau, and Deh (Da) whose home was at Pedah. On one occasion when the Bendahara's eldest son was on a visit to Riau the Sultan showed especial favour to 'Abdul'-Mutalib by inviting him to be his guest at table. The custom was that the son of the Bendahara to whom the Sultan paid that honour was tacitly recognized as Bendahara designate (*Bendahara Muda*). In the same way, a Temenggong's son so honoured was recognized as successor to his father. 'Abdu'l-Mutalib's uncle, Temenggong 'Abdu'l-Jamal, whose two sons were present but had received no such invitation, became jealous of his nephew and brooded over the slight.

Some time afterwards, while the Sultan, accompanied by the Temenggong, was on a visit to Pahang 'Abdu'l-Jamal, one night, stole to the Bendahara's house, concealed himself behind a door, and as his nephew was passing, stabbed him to death. As 'Abdu'l-Mutalib lay dying, he gasped: "Uncle, what wrong have I done you!" The murderer fled to Padang Buloh (Pèkan Lama). A search party went in pursuit, captured him, and handed him over to 'Abdu'l-Majid. The murdered boy's father ordered his men to extract thorns from the captive's feet. Tun Koris arrived and attempted to kill 'Abdu'l-Jamal but was restrained by his father: "He is your uncle, and he is mad!" The Sultan ordered the murderer to be sent back to Riau.

'Abdu'l-Jamal was accordingly put on board a boat which set sail for Riau. As he passed the mouth of the Blackwater (Kuala

Ayer Hitam) he cast the fatal spear with which he had killed his nephew into the Pahang river. When the boat arrived near Kuala Rompin, Bernas, one of 'Abdu'l-Jamal's concubines, was put ashore as her confinement was near, and the place where she gave birth to a child was called *Pantai Bernas*. Near Penyusok the demented 'Abdu'l-Jamal pirated a boat (*sekochi*) at anchor there killing many of its crew. He towed the captured vessel behind his junk (*jongkong*) to Riau. A topical rhymer celebrated the incident in verse:

"Great's the worm in bole of tree,
The Dutch boy plays *sekopong*,¹
Great's the king's Prosperity,
The barque is towed by *jongkong*."²

At Riau the crazy Temenggong solved the difficulties of his position by taking a lighted torch into the hold where the gunpowder was stored. He and his two sons were killed in the explosion which followed.

In the meantime, when the news of his brother's murder reached him, Tun Muhammad of Chenor hurried to Pëkan with forty spearmen. In his anxiety to get there quickly he cast overboard his cooking stove at Kuala Lepar in order to lighten the boat. At Pëkan he found that 'Abdu'l-Jamal had left for Riau. In spite of his father's attempt to restrain him he followed his uncle. On his arrival at Riau he found that the demented 'Abdu'l-Jamal was dead.

Tun Muhammad settled at Riau, and when his father 'Abdu'l-Majid died in 1802, the Sultan installed him as Bendahara. The new Chief then set sail for Pahang. While he was crossing from Pulau Tioman to Endau his boat was wrecked in a storm, and he, and one of his wives, trapped in a cabin, perished. He was known posthumously as *Marhum Mangkat di-Laut*: "the late Chief who died at sea." Tun Muhammad's ship-mates, to the number of forty, escaped with their lives from the ship-wreck—only to meet a worse fate. When they arrived at Pekan all but two of them were slaughtered by Tun Koris who, on his brother's death, became Bendahara Paduka Raja, because they had not died with their prince. They were stabbed to death with a long creese. Koris' treatment of the ship-wrecked survivors earned him a well-merited reputation for cruelty.

The new Bendahara had been reared at Endau by his Bugis mother. He made Tuan Jambul his chief *Mantëri* or executive officer. His rule was short: he died about 1806 leaving two

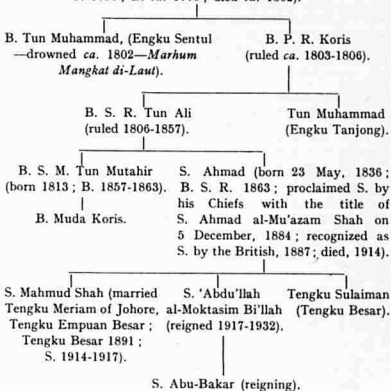
¹A card-game.

²*Besar ulat di-buku kayu,
Anah Belanda main sekopong,
Besar daulat Raja Melayu,
Sekochi di-tunda jongkong.*

sons, his successor Tun Ali, and Tun Muhammad, styled "Engku Tanjong"—the *Tengku Tanjong* of Abdullah's *Pelayaran*.

The descent of the Bendaharas and Sultans of Pahang from Tun 'Abdu'l-Majid to the present day follows :

B. S. M. Tun 'Abdu'l-Majid (born *ca.* 1715 ;
married (a), *ca.* 1736, Tun Inah daughter of
B. Husain ; (b) a Bugis princess of Endau ;
T. 1756 ; B. *ca.* 1770 ; died *ca.* 1802).



Abbreviations : B. S. M., Bendahara Sèri Maharaja ; B. P. R., Bendahara Paduka Raja ; B. S. R., Bendahara Sewa Raja (Sèri Wa Raja) ; B., Bendahara ; T., Temenggong ; *ca.*, about ; S. Sultan. For a fuller list of descendants *vide infra*, Appendix II.

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CHAPTER VI.

THE RULE OF BENDAHARA ALI (1806-1857).

Tun Ali was installed Bendahara of Pahang in 1806 by Sultan Mahmud of Riau-Johore-Pahang, with the title of Bendahara Sewa Raja. He was about twenty-five years of age at the time of his accession. The Malay kingdom was now approaching its dismemberment. In January 1812 Sultan Mahmud died leaving two sons Tengku Husain and Tengku 'Abdu'l-Rahman. The deceased ruler had married a daughter of Bendahara 'Abdu'l-Majid by Tun Besar, (the "Tuanku Besar" of Begbie), but the union was barren. This childless wife was buried in the royal cemetery at Kuala Pahang. The Bugis Yam Tuan Muda of Riau (Jaafar) supported the claim of 'Abdu'l-Rahman to the Sultanate, and succeeded in having him proclaimed ruler at Mahmud's grave-side. According to one account, Husain acquiesced in his brother's elevation to the throne; but Begbie states that he betook himself to Pahang where he enlisted the support of Bendahara Ali who, with Husain's step-mother Tengku Putëri Hamidah of Pulau Penyengat (in whose custody was the regalia of the Riau-Johore kingdom), assembled forces to attack 'Abdu'l-Rahman. The Yam Tuan Muda, alarmed at the war-like preparations, made a complaint to the Resident of Malacca, and Adrian Koeck was sent to warn the Bendahara that intervention in Lingga would give offence to Great Britain, so Tun Ali took his forces, which had been mobilized at Bulang, back to Pahang.

The British, after the restoration of Malacca to the Dutch in 1818, sought a station to off-set their European rivals in the Peninsula. In 1819 Raffles induced Husain to conclude a treaty (to which the Johore Temenggong was also a signatory) ceding Singapore to the English. In return, Raffles installed Husain as Sultan of Johore. According to the *Hikayat Johor serta Pahang*, Raffles desired to make Temenggong 'Abdu'l-Rahman, Sultan, but this potentate demurred: "I cannot be made ruler because I am only third; first comes my elder 'brother' in Pahang, second is the Yam Tuan Muda at Riau, and their sovereign is at Daik."

On the Temenggong's suggestion, Tengku Husain was summoned to Singapore and installed Sultan. The Temenggong then wrote to the Bendahara explaining what had happened. Tun Ali replied that he did not propose to take any part in the proceedings, that his allegiance lay to Daik, (Riau), and that, as far as Pahang affairs were concerned, he would ignore Singapore and refer to Daik. Bendahara Ali further wrote a letter to Timmerman Thysen, Governor of Malacca, expressing amazement that the inscrutable creator had parted brother from brother, father from son, and friend from friend, and declaring the cryptic intention of being a friend to the friends of the Raja of Johore. The seal used by the diplomatic Ali described him as the representative

of Sultan Mahmud, now deceased, a description that would offend nobody. In the same year (1819), the Bendahara refused to allow the British to hoist the Union Jack in his country, and assured Sultan 'Abdu'l-Rahman of his allegiance, but he was soon to acknowledge Husain. In 1821, 'Abdu'l-Rahman, with his son Tengku Besar Muhammad, visited Pahang whence Bendahara Ali escorted his sovereign to Trengganu.

Timmerman Thyssen, the Dutch Governor of Malacca, took the regalia of the old Riau-Johore-Pahang kingdom by force from Tengku Puteri Hamidah at Pulau Penyengat in October 1822. Sultan 'Abdu'l-Rahman, after his return from Pahang and Trengganu about the same time was invested with the regalia at Lingga. Raja Indera Bongsu had died in Pahang and this office was vacant. The Bendahara appointed the Yam Tuan Muda to represent him at the Sultan's investiture.

On 17 March 1824 the Dutch and the British concluded a treaty whereby it was agreed that Singapore and the Peninsula should be the British sphere of influence, while the Dutch confined themselves to the islands south of Singapore.

In 1827, an Englishman, Gray, visited Pahang to trade opium for gold-dust. He may have been the first European—he was almost certainly the first Englishman—to penetrate the interior. He chose for his visit the season of the north-east monsoon when the rivers were in flood. He left Malacca on 2 January 1827 for Pahang by the over-land route. Newbold published the diary of Gray's journey :

" 9 January : Left Jompol with nine men well-armed for Pahang... After going down-river Jompol for nearly one hour, I was obliged to cross overland with my boat and goods for nearly three hundred yards, to fall in with the river Sirting, which leads to the lake of Brah (Bēra) and the river Brah... Remained during the night at a small settlement called Bahru near the banks of the river Sirting... From Bahru to the river Brah there are no inhabitants but what the natives term Orang Hutan, who frequent the river Sirting for the purpose of fishing. Elephants are in great plenty...

" 13 January : Left the banks of the Sirting and arrived at the lake of Brah at two o'clock p.m.... I was five days going down to the end of the river Brah and having eight men pulling a small boat with the current in our favour. On my journey down to Pahang, I suppose the depth of water to be above forty feet in most parts, not being able to touch the bottom with a forty foot pole. In some parts of the river Sirting and river Brah a brig might go up, and in other parts nothing but a small boat, on account of the water being above the fallen trees, so that the boat must be lifted over before it can proceed. We remained during the night on the

banks of the river Brah, near where there is a large village called Kampong Brah, containing a number of inhabitants under the control of the Rajah of Pahang.

" 14th. Left the banks of the river Brah and arrived at the river Pahang at 10 o'clock.

" 15th : At half past four o'clock—paddled all day and night and arrived at the village of Pahang at six o'clock next morning.

In the river Pahang there are eight or nine most beautiful Islands covered with coconut and betel-nut trees ; but in December and January, these islands are overflowed on account of the numerous falls of water from the interior.

" 16th ; Met the Rajah of Pahang, by whom I was well received. I requested permission to proceed to the gold mines, to dispose of my goods, which he refused to grant, for the following reasons ;

It being very troublesome and not to be performed in less than forty days, hard pulling ;

Being a stranger and a European, some unforeseen accidents might occur and my disposing of my goods to the natives in the interior might cause trouble.

The king desired I should be well cared for and put me immediately under the care of the merchants Sahid Alwee and Sahid Abdollah, two respectable merchants, well known at Singapore.

" 18th : No business done. I waited to see the king, who promised to assemble the merchants next day to purchase my goods, he himself not being in any trading way.

" 19th : Could not come to any terms agreeable to me.

" 20th : This day sold five chests of opium at eight-hundred dollars per chest, in barter for gold dust at twenty-two dollars per buncal Pahang ; gold dust to be forwarded to Singapore and Malacca agreeable to my letter of advice ; the king binding himself security for the said amount.

From the knowledge of the price of opium falling daily at Singapore and Malacca I made as quick a sale as possible.

" 21st : Sold one chest raw silk for three hundred and five dollars ; it being damaged by the heavy rain from Malacca to Jompol. Delivered five chests of opium to the merchants, and sold ten balls of damaged opium for one hundred and eighty dollars to barter for gold dust at twenty-two dollars per buncal. This evening purchased two cattles of gold dust. I am informed by the merchants that they have

discovered a tin mine,¹ near the river Leppa (Lepar) at the distance of two days' pulling from the settlement of Pahang, it is expected to turn out favourably and to be opened in the dry season, by about eight hundred Malays beside a number of Chinese.

" 22nd : This morning left the settlement of Pahang for Malacca at five o'clock. Much rain with strong winds from the north—made a small kajang sail, paddled and sailed up the river Pahang ; the current very strong against us....

" 26th : Left the island at half past five o'clock and arrived at Chuno (Chenor) which is a large village on the banks of the river Pahang.

" 27th : Left Chuno at five o'clock and arrived at the mouth of the river Brah at two o'clock ; much rain all day....

Before I could reach the mouth of the river Brah, I had nearly six days hard paddling with a temporary kajang sail.

The information which I received concerning the gold mines, is that from the mouth of the river Brah to the village Jelleh (Jelai) is nearly twelve days hard paddling, from thence to the mines, one month's pulling. Jelleh is the village where the trade in gold is carried on."

Gray returned to Malacca on 6 February, and died of fever ten days afterwards.

Sultan 'Abdu'l-Rahman died in 1832 and was succeeded by his son, the Tengku Besar, who was entitled Sultan Muhammad Shah (*Marhum Kadaton*). The new ruler visited Pahang, and took Bendahara Ali to Lingga for the circumcision and installation of his son Yam Tuan Besar Mahmud. The *Hikayat Pahang* (MS.) describes the Pahang magnate's visit. He brought a great following, prominent among whom were his two chief warriors Dato' Parit, a Chief of Bukit Sagumpal, and Dato' Tanggok Bingkal Tembaga. On his arrival he went into the Sultan's presence and uttered the sayings prescribed by custom and the law of Islam on such occasions ; and the ruler commanded that Lingga should be temporarily under the Bendahara in accordance with custom. With Tun Ali were present the Yam Tuan Muda, the Temenggong, and other Chiefs. For four months there was feasting, rejoicing and gambling, until finally the Pahang guests dissipated their property and became penniless. To' Tanggok Bingkal Tembaga, and Dato' Parit went into the presence of their master, and craved permission to recoup their losses by piracy. At first the Bendahara refused, but on the second asking, he gave no reply, and taking his silence as consent, the Chiefs sallied forth on their buccaneering venture. They sailed for seven days and

¹At Gambang.

seven nights. One day, as their vessel rocked in the swell, they were attacked by seven pirate boats, and the Pahang Chiefs and their barque were captured. Dato' Tangkok, and Dato' Parit were brought on board one of the enemy boats, and chained. A storm arose, the captive Chiefs broke their chains, and overcame their captors. They regained their vessel, loaded it with spoil from their enemy, and went back in triumph to Daik! That, at least, was the story which they related on their return.

The installation of Tengku Besar Mahmud was duly accomplished. Tun Mutahir, eldest son of Bendahara Ali, was made Engku Muda, and married Tengku Chik the Sultan's daughter. The Pahang potentate and his people then returned to their country.

Tun Ali's son-in-law and chief Minister was Saiyid Omar, styled "Engku Saiyid," whose wife was given the title of Inche Puan Engku Saiyid. Inche Long, popularly known as Inche Lingga, a wife of Bendahara Ali, on 23 May 1836 gave birth to a son Tun Ahmad, (later, Bendahara and Sultan), for whom an Arab, Habib 'Abdu'llah ibni Omar Al-Attas, foretold a great future. Engku Muda went to reside at Pulau Ganchong which place was presented to him by To' Ganchong (a pious Javanese head-man). At that time, in Pahang, were a Mufti and a Chief Kathi, Tuan Haji 'Abdu'l-Shukor, and Tuan Senggang, and many religious teachers of minor degree. Daily they interviewed the raja and expounded to him the precepts of his religion.

Peace and prosperity reigned in the country. Twenty gantangs of rice cost only one dollar, and other food-stuffs were equally cheap. Many people became rich, and, the Malay chronicler proceeds, there was a great trade in gold. Pahang, with the exception of the rich tin-producing region of the river Kuantan which was kept as a private reserve by the Bendahara, was free from import or export duties.

Ali's son, Tun Buang (Wan Ismail), was made Engku Penglima Besar, (this title, in Pahang, dated at least as far back as the early part of the 17th century). Tun Long (Wan Koris), eldest son of Tun Mutahir, was made Penglima Përang; Tun Aman (Wan 'Abdu'l-Rahman, second son of Mutahir) of Kampong Masjid, and Inche Wan Sulaiman, husband of Inche Engku Teh (a daughter of Tun Muhammad the brother of Bendahara Ali), were ranked as *Manteri*. Sulaiman is mentioned in the *Pelayaran Abdullah* where he is wrongly described as a son of Bendahara Ali. By Inche Puan, Engku Saiyid had two sons Tuan Embong, and Tuan Ngah. Tun Ahmad was his father's most dearly beloved son, and a favourite with the people.

An interesting description of the country in the early part of the eighteenth century is given by 'Abdu'llah in his *Pelayaran*. In 1838 Abdullah, on his way to Kelantan, landed at Kuala Pahang

for provisions. He sailed up the Pahang river to Kampong China (Pĕkan Baharu). There he found hundreds of Malays and Chinese, armed to the teeth, awaiting him on the bank. After parley with the Chiefs, he was allowed to land. The Bendahara, with the Chinese head-man, was away at the gold mines of Jelai. 'Abdu'llah was informed that the banks of the Pahang river as far as Jelai were inhabited. The country appeared very fertile, but he deplored the lack of shops, markets and roads and expressed amazement at the idleness, ignorance and poverty of the people. The men went armed with numerous weapons which they never laid aside. The houses were made of attap, built without method. Underneath the houses was filth undecidable. Plagues of mosquitoes were kept away by smoke. Many of the inhabitants were addicted to opium. Coconut and areca-nut trees were plentiful. Provisions were dear: eight coconuts cost a dollar. The country produced vegetables, yams, and tubers which came from the interior. The people lived by keeping buffaloes, cattle, goats and fowl. The most important articles of export were gold and tin. Silk weaving existed on a small scale. A certain amount of sandal wood, damar, and rattans was exported. Imports included opium, silk, salt, and there was a small demand for European cloth. Thousands of people were at work in the gold mines at Jelai which place had, in consequence, become an important trading centre.

'Abdu'llah heard of a considerable number of Jakun aborigines in Ulu Pahang. They dealt in jungle produce, agila wood, resin and rattans. Some Jakun worked in the gold mines with the Malays. Many of them kept orchards, and brought fruits from the jungle which they exchanged for tobacco or salt.

The Chinese in Kampong China were of the Kheh race, and intermarried with Malays or Balinese slaves. Their children spoke Chinese rather than Malay. There was a populous Arab settlement in Pahang. The Arabs lived at Kampong Maulana opposite Kampong China, on the left bank of the Pahang river. The Malays stood in awe of them, and addressed them in the same respectful terms that they used towards their rajas. The Arabs were traders and many of them were in affluent circumstances.

Abdullah remarked that the language of the people had all the elegance and purity of the Johore tongue.

He commented on the pernicious system of slavery. Any criminal could escape the consequences of his crime if the protection of a prince were extended to him. As the price of that protection he lost his liberty and became the bondsman of the prince. Nobody would then dare to harm him: he was a *hamba raja*. The penalty for killing one of this class was the death of the aggressor and of six of his relatives. *Hamba raja*, unfettered by any restraint on their conduct, could commit crimes with impunity. Like the *delatores* of Tiberius, it was not uncommon for them to

invent false charges against the people in order that they might share in the division of their victims' property.¹

Tampang, tin ingot-money of ancient Malaya, survived as currency in Pahang till 1893. In their original form *tampang* were solid slabs of tin, valued at their tin content, and were used as media of exchange in pre-Portuguese Malacca. D'Albuquerque suppressed all Malay currency when he conquered Malacca in 1511, but this form of coinage persisted in some of the out-lying Malay States, particularly Pahang and Selangor. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the solid tin slabs began to be replaced by hollowed, inscribed pieces, still approximating in appearance to the original *tampang*, though their intrinsic value bore little relation to their nominal worth. 'Abdu'llah, on his visit in 1838, objected to this form of coinage as the unit of value was too high: "The system of currency in Pahang is, to my mind, inconvenient. Sixteen *tampang* are equivalent to one dollar. A *tampang* cannot be divided, for instance, into three-quarters, or a half, or a quarter. If it is desired to buy anything, however trifling, a *tampang* must be paid for it. I asked Tengku Sulaiman, the son of the Bendahara, whether the system of currency could not be altered. He laughed and said 'I often wished to change it but man-eating tigers made their appearance and fierce crocodiles were seen in the rivers, and for that reason no change was made: from its very beginnings Pahang has had the same system of currency.' I smiled and said nothing, but attached no belief to the alleged portents."

By 1847, ingot-money of the nominal value of one cent was being produced. Bendahara Ahmad, after his conquest of Pahang in 1863, called in some of the one-cent *tampang*, and had them re-minted and issued in the form of smaller, more debased and more imperfectly made pieces. In 1889, the Pahang Government proclaimed that ingot-money issued by the Sultan before 1 July 1889 should be accepted as legal tender, but intimated that no further issues would be made. The coins ceased to be legal tender in 1893 by which time the Pahang Treasury held *tampang* of the nominal value of \$1,125/-. The Treasurer in his report mentioned that they were of three sizes, the nominal value of the largest being four cents, and of the two smaller sizes one cent. An assay made about the same time by the Assayer of the Pahang Corporation revealed that the coins contained 86.75% of tin with a trace of zinc and iron, and 13.25% of scale (oxide of tin).²

The monopoly of minting ingot-money was granted to Chinese who were permitted to mint only four times a year, and up to a

¹Tavares, the Portuguese chronicler, wrote in 1718: "There is in Gior a certain type of Malay called Bugis who being Royal captives"—hamba raja—"are insolent and oppress the people, robbing, wounding, and killing, and as they are surrounded by the shadow of the king no one dares to incur harm by resisting them."

²"Notes on Tampang" (J. M. B. R. A. S., Vol. IX, Pt. I, 1931, pp. 181-133).

certain value. There were mints at Kuantan, Lepar, Semantan and Pēkan Lama. During Ahmad's rule, the Imam Pērang Indēra Mahkota, and the Orang Kaya Bakti (an Indian) had the custody of moulds for *tampang* struck directly on behalf of the Bendahara. Che Dollah supervised the minting at Lepar. Che Lambak of Benta, and Hassan, Penglima Perang Johan Perkasa, were in charge of the issues at Kuantan.

Some details, additional to those given by Abdullah, are afforded by tradition regarding the execution of criminals in the time of the Bendaharas. Capital offences included treason, murder, *amok* (amuck), arson, and adultery on the part of a woman. The criminal was arrested by the Bendahara's police (*juak-juak*, *budak raja*, or *hamba raja*) who usually went armed with a short creese and a spear (*keris pendek dan tombak sa-balang*). He was then brought before the Bendahara, and, if convicted, lodged in a primitive gaol pending his execution. The old Malay prison was situated behind the present Estana Pantai at Pēkan Lama. It measured about twenty-four by forty feet, and was provided with small barred windows. Prisoners had one foot enclosed in wooden stocks (*pasong*) which were designed to hold five people at a time. There was little attempt at sanitation though the Chinese gaoler cleaned the prison once a day. The head-man of the Chinese (*Capitan China*) was paid by the Raja to provide food. Every morning the prisoners were given small knives, and if they were adept, made bamboo flutes, and musical instruments shaped like a bird, which they sold to passers-by for a few cents. A prisoner sentenced to death was chained.

There were different methods of execution. The most common way was death by the creese. For three days prior to the carrying out of the sentence the executioner (*pertanda*) paraded the town, beating a drum and proclaiming the prisoner's fate. On the day of execution the condemned man was taken to Pulau Limin, a small island in the Pahang river opposite Pēkan Baharu, (which has now disappeared). A chain called by the grimly humorous name "the sun-shower chain," (*rantai hujan panas*), was placed around his neck, his hands were bound, and he was stabbed with the long execution creese provided by the Bendahara—the famous *keris penyalang* of Koris (now a part of the Pahang State regalia). The executioner then made a tour of the town and received three *tampang* from each shop for the expense of burying the corpse.

Death by the creese was one of the most humane forms of execution. An *amok* (a person who ran amuck) was treated as a wild beast; he could lawfully be killed by anybody. His fate was *di-tikam tandang*: to be stabbed by the hurling of javelins. A woman convicted of adultery was strangled (*di-kujut*). One of the wives of Bendahara Ali met this fate (she was buried at Kuala Ayer Itam). A person convicted of a crime involving a heinous

betrayal of trust was crucified (*di-palong*), and the body thrown into the sea. Another form of execution was to despatch an offender by weighting his body with a stone, and consigning him to the river (*benum*). A variation of this method was to enclose the nape of the criminal's neck in the cleft of a forked branch and tow him in the wake of a boat till he was drowned (*chabang*). Another form of torture was to impale the victim on a bamboo stick (*sula*). The murderer of a member of the royal family was extirpated root and branch; he and all his near relatives were sought out and killed.

Bendahara Sewa Raja Ali, in appearance a short, dark thick-set man, (whom his grand-son Sultan Mahmud was said to have closely resembled), was of a kindly disposition, and popular with his subjects. He enjoyed the advantage, inestimable in old Malay States, of having no surviving uncles, and only one brother, Muhammad (with whom he lived on friendly terms), and so had no intrigues to counter. He maintained amicable relations with the Straits Government, and availed himself of the trade facilities with Singapore. He exterminated a Bugis piratical settlement, founded by Wok Temusai, which had become established at Kĕratong in the river Rompin. He was the senior potentate of the old Pahang-Riau-Johore kingdom. He had taken a major part in the installation of the Sultan, but there were no longer any practical calls upon the ancient loyalty as the Anglo-Dutch treaty, and the creation of separate Sultans of Singapore and of Riau had, in effect, dismembered the Malay kingdom. Unendangered by potential rivals, he was in a position effectively to control his Chiefs over whom he ruled in the name of the Sultan, and as the sovereign's fully-accredited representative (*wakil mutallak*).

Ali's major Chiefs were the Orang Kaya Indĕra Maharaja Perba of Jelai, the Orang Kaya Indĕra Sĕgara of Temerloh, the Orang Kaya Indĕra Pahlawan of Chĕnor, and the Orang Kaya Indĕra Shahbandar. An account of these magnates and of the lesser Chiefs is given elsewhere in this history.¹ The Shahbandar, living near Pĕkan, tended to become one of the Bendahara's ministers. Ali's chief executive officer was his son-in-law Saiyid Omar (Engku Saiyid), later (in 1861) to be described by Governor Cavenagh as "a very astute old gentleman."

On 13 September 1841 the Governor wrote to the Bendahara that "Tengku Ali eldest son of the late Sultan of Johore arrived at Singapore yesterday desirous of being installed by my friend. I beg that my friend will do what is proper on this occasion."²

In 1844 Bendahara Ali appointed one Talib as head-man (*Jenang*) of the aboriginal tribes (*Suku Biduanda*) in the region of the river Anak Endau. The holder of this office in 1703 was

¹Appendix III, *infra*.

²Straits Settlements Records, G. 5.

described by Vaughan as the Portuguese-speaking " Captain of the men in the woods." It will be remembered that about 1741 Sultan Sulaiman had given titles to the leaders of the Endau tribes. Ali's warrant to Talib reads¹ :

" The Representative of Sultan
Mahmud Shah, Dato Bendahara
Sewa Raja, son of the Bendahara
Paduka Raja.
Date 1221.

" In the year one thousand two hundred and sixty of the era of the Prophet (to whom God grant blessings and peace !), on the thirteenth day of the month of Shawal, on a Friday, at 4 p.m., His Lordship the Dato Bendahara grants a sealed token to Talib, and invests him with the title Jenang to rule over all the aborigines in the Anak Endua. Now the aforesaid aborigines are required to obey the commands of this Jenang. Whosoever refuses to obey the commands of this Jenang is guilty of treason towards His Highness the Sultan, and of an offence against us ; and he shall be punished by confiscation of his property, and if he resists, with death."

Warrants of this sort were known as " deaf seals," (*chap pekak*), because of the wide powers conferred therein.

Ali, whose death occurred in 1857, left many children, Wan Sulong, Wan Mutahir, Wan Ismail, Wan Teh, Wan Ahmad, Wan Timah, Wan Sunit, Wan Esah, Wan Andak, Wan Hasan and Wan Mansur. Ismail (Engku Penglima Besar) ultimately took up his residence at Ch enor. Ahmad resided at Pekan Sebrang, Mansur at Kampong Marhum, and Hasan at B ruas.

¹J. M. B. R. A. S., Vol. IV, Pt. II, pp. 186-187.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CIVIL WAR (1857-1863).

Bendahara Sewa Raja Ali of Pahang died in 1857. Long before his death he had retired from active participation in the government of the country, and removed his residence to Lami on the river Pahang Tua where he spent his declining years in a vain endeavour to effect a reconciliation between his turbulent sons. On his retirement he had handed over the government to his eldest son Wan Mutahir. The heir took up his residence at Ganchong, hence the origin of the name *Bendahara Ganchong* by which he came to be known.

On 25 May 1856 the old Bendahara had made a will whereby he left the revenues of the Kuantan and Endau Districts to his favourite son Tun Ahmad. Mutahir subsequently professed ignorance of this clause in the will, and failed to give effect to it. Ahmad claimed that his father had given him Kuantan and Endau to rule, so dividing the government of Pahang between himself and his brother.

Mutahir failed to appear at his father's death-bed to receive the last solemn injunctions which, according to custom, a dying ruler laid upon his heir. The old Bendahara's wishes, in the absence of Mutahir, were communicated to Ahmad who was thus provided with a pretext for attacking the validity of his brother's succession, and claiming that he was the rightful successor to his father. At the funeral the two brothers appeared with bands of followers fully armed, but owing to the influence of the older Chiefs the obsequies were carried out without blood-shed. The dead ruler was buried in the royal cemetery at Kuala Pahang. No sooner was their father in his grave than Ahmad proceeded to Singapore to make preparations for an attack upon Mutahir who had assumed the title of Bendahara Sèri Maharaja. In July 1857 Temenggong Ibrahim of Johore asked the Governor to prevent Ahmad from fitting armed vessels at Pulau Tekong for an attack on Pahang.

To understand the political alignments during the civil war, it is necessary to gain an idea of the Malayan politics of the day. By the Anglo-Dutch treaty of 1824 the Dutch and British spheres of influence were defined, the Dutch agreeing not to interfere in the Malay Peninsula, or in Singapore, while Great Britain undertook to refrain from intervention in the Kerimun Islands, Batam, Bintang (Riau), Lingga or other islands lying south of Singapore. This division, in effect, dismembered the old Pahang-Riau-Johore kingdom, and parted politically the representatives of the royal family: Sultan Husain of Singapore, and Sultan 'Abdu'l-Rahman of Lingga, sons of Sultan Mahmud Shah. The Bendaharas of Pahang, up to 1853, ruled nominally as vice-regents of the Sultans. In that year, it appeared, Bendahara Ali had declared



His Highness Sultan Ahmad al-Mu'azam Shah ibni Bendahara Ali.



himself an independent ruler, but the fiction of the suzerainty of the old royal family continued in Pahang until 1864.

In 1857, Sultan Mahmud Muzaffar Shah of Lingga, deposed by the Dutch, began intriguing to get himself recognised as Sultan of Pahang. He sounded the Bendahara, but meeting with no encouragement in that quarter, attached himself to Ahmad's side in furtherance of his own ends. The possession of Pahang by the ex-Sultan of Lingga, the head of the old Johore royal family, would have spelt danger to the Temenggong's rule in Johore: hence one of the reasons for Ibrahim's opposition to Ahmad. The other factors determining the Temenggong's attitude were that Mutahir had the best claim to the Bendaharaship, and that he himself had visions of creating a Johore-Pahang State: Mutahir was no longer young, and his opium-smoking sons were of little account; it would not be difficult to dominate them.

To add to the political complications, Siam aspired to revive its ancient suzerainty over Pahang, and covertly supported the pretensions of the ex-Sultan of Lingga. Trengganu, too, was brought in as a pawn in the game; at one time it was suspected that there was a move instigated by Siam to make the deposed ruler of Lingga, Sultan of Trengganu, but it is hard to understand the existing Sultan's attitude if that were so; it was unlikely that he would support his own political extinction. Yet he harboured the ex-ruler of Lingga in face of the British Government's threats of attack, and supported Ahmad with men and arms. The position, then, briefly was that Siam quietly encouraged the ex-Sultan of Lingga who, with the Sultan of Trengganu, supported Ahmad. Bendahara Mutahir was helped by the Temenggong of Johore. The British Government opposed the Siamese pretensions, and, for fear of offending the Dutch, countered the intrigues of the ex-Sultan of Lingga; it tried to prevent the interruption of the growing British trade with Pahang. Until the year 1862, when the Governor-General in Council approved of the Johore-Pahang treaty, it "kept the ring" between Mutahir and his brother, to the Temenggong's disgust. Ahmad played his cards well, and had all the honours of the game. He utilized the Siamese, the Sultan of Trengganu, and the deposed Sultan of Lingga to defeat his brother, and when he had succeeded, promptly made his peace with the British.

When Ahmad was in Singapore, in July 1857, preparing for an invasion of Pahang, conflicts between his followers and those of the Temenggong were narrowly averted, and both parties went around with arms concealed on their person. After completing his preparations in Singapore, Ahmad then proceeded to Kema man in Trengganu where he recruited men for his venture. The Sultan of Trengganu gave Ahmad his full support even to the extent of issuing orders to the Kemaman Chiefs, under threat of punishment, to give every assistance to the Bendahara's enemy

In October 1857 the Bendahara received a letter purporting to come from Trengganu in which the ruler of that State denounced Ahmad's hostile intent against Pahang. The authenticity of this letter was doubtful, but it had the effect of putting the Bendahara and his supporters off their guard; they had heard no news of the recent events at Kemaman. Confident of the security of the country, Mutahir sent his eldest son Engku Muda Koris (Wan Long) to Singapore for his marriage to Inche Engku Besar, daughter of Temenggong Ibrahim. The marriage took place in November 1857. Koris was accompanied by two of his brothers, Wan 'Abdu'l-Rahman (Wan Aman) and Wan Da, and their followers. Pahang was thus unprepared for the attack which Ahmad launched by sea from Kemaman in November.

The invasion was known to Pahang tradition as the "War of the Kemaman Men." The Chiefs in charge of Ahmad's forces were Inche Koming Imam Perang Raja, Inche Endut Penglina Raja, Inche Talib Penglina Laut, Hitam Pengasoh Penglina Dalam, Penglina Kakap Bahman (afterwards the Orang Kaya Pahlawan of Semantan), Penglina Tunggal, Penglina Hitam and Penglina Muda. The Kemaman contingent accompanying the expedition were led by Saiyid Idrus, Raja Muda, Wan Dagang and others.

The north-east monsoon had set in, but the invading boats arrived safely at Kuala Pahang. The invaders proceeded up-river to Kampong Marhum where they were joined by the local head-men. They then captured Pulau Jawa where they threw up a stockade and mounted guns. Engku Saiyid, brother-in-law of Bendahara Mutahir, and his son Tuan Embong (or Embok) who were in charge of the District between Pekan and the sea hastily threw up earth-works above Pulau Jawa to defend Pekan, and sent an urgent message for help to the Bendahara at Ganchong. Mutahir began to fortify the latter place and, the *Hikayat Pahang* records, produced boatfuls of warriors' clothes for his men to don preparatory to their meeting the enemy. The clothes did not appear to inspire them with much courage for the only Chief to come even within sight of cannon-smoke was Dato' Mata-mata. Engku Penglina Besar, (Ismail, a brother of Mutahir), Maharaja Perba Wan Idris, Tengku Ismail, and Tengku Uda ensconced themselves in a stockade above Pulau Keladi, and make no effort to help Engku Saiyid. The invading force crossed the river to Ketapang and burnt that village. After fighting which lasted five days Ahmad took Kampong China (Pekan Baharu). Engku Saiyid with his son and seven followers abandoned their stockade, and fled to Sungai Miang from which place they made their way over-land to Singapore.

The Kemaman followers of Ahmad spent seven precious days in looting Pekan, and loaded themselves with spoil. Ahmad

then proceeded up-river to attack Ganchong, the Bendahara's head-quarters. Mutahir fled incontinently at his brother's approach, and Ganchong was taken without resistance. Engku Penglima Besar and the Chiefs with him had in the meantime abandoned their fort above Pulau Kēladi, and made their way through the jungle to the Bendahara who, after three days, poling night and day, reached Chēnor with his following. Mutahir was anxious to enter the Bēra and place a still greater distance between himself and his pursuers, but he was induced to make a stand at Chēnor.

So much spoil was obtained at Ganchong by the Kemaman men that they could not carry off any more. Ahmad now returned to Pekan to strengthen the defences there; while Wan Dagang of Kemaman, Che Lambak of Benta, and Saiyid Idrus with four hundred men proceeded to Kuala Luit where they halted to deliberate with Che Wan Chik bin Muhammad¹. Haji Hassan and other legitimist Chiefs soon arrived, suggested negotiations for peace, and begged the invaders not to press the pursuit too hard "as the royal women in our party are very frightened!" The contending leaders were brothers, and every effort should be made to put an end to this fratricidal strife. "An excellent idea!" (*ini kira-kira yang sa-habis baik dunia akhirat*) replied Che Lambak and his comrades. Haji Hassan then undertook that the Bendahara's forces would not take the offensive, and on his suggestion Che Lambak proceeded down the river to carry peace proposals to Ahmad. But neither side believed the other. No sooner had Haji Hassan left Kuala Luit than he conscripted all the inhabitants of the villages from that place to Ulu Pahang, and threw up stockades on the river-banks as far as Batu Gajah.

At this stage Wan Embong and Wan Muhammad, the sons of Wan Idris, Maharaja Perba of Jelai, arrived with their men to assist the Bendahara. Wan Embong, also known as Wan Bong or Che Aki, was a typical Malay swash-buckler of the old days. A picture of him is given in Sir Hugh Clifford's "Vaulting Ambition":² "The eldest, the most arrogant, the most warlike, the most ambitious and the most evil of these"—the Maharaja Perba's sons—was Wan Bong. . . . He was a man of about thirty-five years of age, of a handsome presence and an aristocratic bearing. He wore his fine black hair long, so that it hung about his waist, and he dressed with the profusion of coloured silks, and went armed with the priceless weapons, that are only to be seen in perfection on the person of a Malay prince." The *Hikayat Pahang* describes his arrival at Chenor: "After six days Wan Embong and Wan Muhammad, with their forces, arrived from the

¹Muhammad, the 'Engku Tanjong' of Abdullah's *Pelayaran*, was the brother of Bendahara Ali.

²"In Court and Kampong," by Sir Hugh Clifford.

Jelai with drums beating. They went straight down-river and halted at Machang Gelap on the down-stream side of the Raja. They then disembarked to pay homage. The Jelai contingent consisted of the two brothers, with forty spearmen all of the same age. Wan Embong was armed with five weapons, a long creese, a short creese, a broad-sword, a *lawi ayam*,¹ as it was called, stuck in his head-dress, and a dirk. He forthwith presented himself to the Raja. The Bendahara's retinue included Engku Penglina Besar, Maharaja Perba of Jelai the father of Wan Embong, Haji Hassan, and To'Tunggal of Bukit Sa-gumpal. Now Engku Penglina Besar and Wan Embong were enemies, and were always at logger-heads. Wan Embong and Wan Muhammad made obeisance. After greetings, the Raja said 'I have been defeated and compelled to retire to Chēnor.' Wan Embong exclaimed: 'It couldn't be helped because I was not here. Your Highness' followers are all women! Shame that the Raja should be dethroned, without even one of his warriors losing his life! If I had been there red blood would have flowed and Ganchong would not have been taken! I will go down-stream at once and attack Pekan. My father will remain here with Your Highness; I can abide no longer for I have smelt blood!' The Raja replied: 'Not so, Wan Embong; I ask you to have patience till my sons return from the Straits; they will not be long now.' Wan Embong retorted 'I will obey Your Highness' command—but only for seven days. If they have not returned by then I will go down-stream.' On hearing these words, Engku Penglina Besar's face grew grim. Haji Hassan, To'Raja and To'Tunggal kept silence. Wan Embong took his leave of the Raja, and proceeded to an open plain where he danced a war-dance in the Bugis fashion to give vent to his feelings."

On the night of Wan Embong's advent, Engku Muda Koris, Wan Aman and Wan Da arrived from Sngapore by the overland route through the Bēra, and their father handed over to the three brothers the entire conduct of the war. Titles were conferred on many of the Chiefs: Wan Embong was styled Penglina Pērang Kiri; Wan Muhammad, Dato' Sētia Muda of Jelai; Tengku Acheh, Imam Pērang; Che Buman (son of To'Tunggal), Penglina Pērang Kanan; Che Buman's brother, Penglina Bebas. One Bajin, "a great braggart," and other Chiefs were not forgotten in this wholesale distribution of honours; Haji Hassan was created Imam Pērang Hulubalang. Tuit, the Orang Kaya Pahlawan of Chēnor, the Orang Kaya Indēra Sēgara of Temerloh, Hasan, the Orang Kaya Sētia Lela of Lipis, the Penglina Raja of the Tembēling, the Orang Kaya Dewa Pahlawan of Bangau, the Penghulu of Bentong, and To'Yahya of Rambai Sabunga, too, were

¹Known in Kelantan as *huku rimau*: a small, curved dagger shaped like a tiger's claw; also *beladau*.

assembled at Chėnor with their men to help the Bendahara. At this period Mutahir had on his side almost all the powerful Chiefs of Pahang.

Ahmad in the meantime was not idle. He collected ammunition, strengthened his forts, and prepared a plan of campaign with his Chiefs Saiyid Idrus and others. Several of his captains displayed little enthusiasm for this war against their own people. When preparations were completed, Ahmad proceeded up the river Pahang, and met the Bendahara's forces at Pulau Manis. After an engagement which lasted a day, he was defeated, and forced to retire on Gancong, and then on Tanjong Langgar. There he constructed stockades on both banks of the river. Fighting continued in this locality for about four months. A surprise attack by a detachment of Bendahara's men under Sutan Garang on a fort garrisoned by Ahmad's Kemaman followers, its capture, and the slaughter of its garrison made Ahmad's position untenable, so he took boat and with the survivors of his force returned to Kemaman. Much spoil was brought back, but a goodly number of Kemaman men had been killed. Ahmad was not over-pleased at the achievements of his Trengganu following: if they had not been so intent on looting they would have beaten the enemy; but he was not discouraged by the failure of his first attempt, and began making preparations for a fresh invasion of Pahang.

According to the *Hikayat Pahang*, Engku Muda Koris and his Chiefs were so exultant at their victory, so over-bearing, and arrogant that they "forgot their God." No sooner had the enemy been expelled than quarrels broke out among his captains. The turbulent Wan Embong (Penglima Pėrang Kiri) took the credit of the victory to himself; the Orang Kaya of Temerloh disputed his pretensions. Blood-shed was averted only by the intervention of Koris.

In February 1858 Temenggong Ibrahim had written to the Governor complaining of the "unfriendly sentiments" which the Governor had shown towards him: the Temenggong was prevented from sending help to the Bendahara, while Ahmad was allowed to use Singapore as a base for his attack on Pahang. Ibrahim declared his intention to assist the Bendahara with a force from Johore, but the Governor forbade interference. The Temenggong retorted that the Bendahara represented a country at peace with Great Britain, and that Ahmad was attacking that country: the paramount power should maintain order in the Peninsula.

Abu-Bakar, the Temenggong's son, married Che Engku Chik, a sister of Koris. The Bendahara's eldest son had in 1857 married Abu-Bakar's sister. These marriages, which had a political significance, strengthened the Bendahara's position, while he, in return for a promise of assistance, ceded to Johore

the land which lay between Endau and Sedili Besar, territory which, from the middle of the fifteenth century, had belonged to Pahang.

On 2 May 1858 the Governor refused the Bendahara's request for arms, and later in the month visited Pahang and Trengganu. On 17 May, during his stay at Kuala Trengganu, His Excellency extracted a promise from the Sultan that Ahmad should be removed from Kemaman. In pursuance of his promise the Trengganu ruler ordered Ahmad to leave Kemaman and reside at Kuala Trengganu. Ahmad complied, but no sooner had the Governor left for Singapore, than he returned and renewed his warlike preparations.

In June 1858 the Temenggong sent his son Abu-Bakar to Pahang to watch events there, but by a blunder of the Resident Councillor of Singapore, Abu-Bakar was arrested at Kuala Sedili as a pirate for taking spears out of a Pahang boat. He ultimately succeeded in reaching Pahang. There he found Mahmud Muzaffar Shah, ex-Sultan of Lingga, with his family and retainers. Abu-Bakar wedded the Bendahara's daughter, and used his influence to counter the deposed Sultan's efforts to gain recognition as lord of Pahang. The Lingga prince, unsuccessful, proceeded to Ulu Pahang where he was entertained by Maharaja Perba. Presently rumours reached Pekan that the Jelai Chief was about to proclaim Mahmud Muzaffar Shah Sultan of Pahang. On 1 September the Governor, replying to the Bendahara's letter of 6 August which contained an appeal for help against the threatened invasion by Ahmad, warned him that no assistance could be expected as the Bendahara had not removed the ex-Sultan from Pahang. When Mahmud Muzaffar Shah returned to Pekan from Jelai, meeting with a frigid reception from the Bendahara, he took boat for Trengganu, accompanied by Maharaja Perba Wan Idris and the Jelai Chief's second son, Dato' Sëtia Muda Wan Muhammad.

In the meantime, Ahmad had sent two of his head-men, Wan Buang and Che Lambak from Trengganu into the Tembëling to create a diversion there. The invaders pressed the Tembëling people into their service, and made their way down-stream as far as the village of the Penghulu Raja where they threw up stockades on both banks. The Penghulu Raja was absent but the Bendahara's forces, led by Maharaja Perba's eldest son Penglima Përang Kiri Wan Embong, Che Yahya, Che Embok, Che Uda and Che Mat Merah lost no time in attacking the invaders. After fighting which lasted three days, the raiders fled back to Trengganu. The Tembëling Chiefs were fined for deserting their station. The Penghulu Raja was dismissed, and removed to Pekan.

After Maharaja Perba's departure for Trengganu in October 1858, happened an event which had a decisive bearing upon Ahmad's fortunes: the revolt and death of Wan Embong, Maharaja

Perba's eldest son and heir. According to the *Hikayat Pahang*, a quarrel arose between Penglima Raja Ma'Ali of Ter and Wan Embong, due to the Penglima Raja's interference with the people of Jelai who were bound to acknowledge only the jurisdiction of the Jelai magnate. Maharaja Perba was their territorial Chief, they addressed him by the semi-royal title of *Engku*, and he alone had the right to requisition their services in war or peace. The Penglima Raja's usurpation of this prerogative led to a fight between him and Wan Embong in which he was worsted. He forthwith betook himself to Pekan, and complained that Wan Embong had revolted against the Bendahara and was about to attack the capital. This charge was false according to the *Hikayat Pahang*: Wan Embong's quarrel with Penglima Raja was personal, and he had no intention of rising against the Bendahara. Mutahir, however, believed the allegation because, the Malay chronicler adds: "It was fated that the country should be despoiled, and the ruler dethroned."

The Bendahara lost no time in attacking Wan Embong who made little or no resistance, though, if he had really intended a rebellion: "he could not have been defeated in a year, for he had ample food and arms, but because it was the Raja, he retreated." The Jelai leader's forces were dispersed and he had to take refuge in the jungle near Kampong Pertang whither he was pursued by the Bendahara's men. His craving for opium led to his undoing. His messenger whom he had despatched to the village for a supply of the drug was captured by his enemies, and, under torture, forced to reveal the fugitive's whereabouts. Mutahir's levies went to the place indicated and killed Wan Embong in ambush. The fatal shot was fired by one Mat Soh, but the leader of the party, Penglima Dalam Yusoh, bribed his men and was credited with the exploit. Wan Embong's head was cut off, smeared with turmeric, hung by the hair on the fore-mast of a boat, and taken to Pekan for the edification of the Bendahara.

The fate of his eldest son finally determined To'Raja's adherence to the cause of Wan Ahmad who, but for that support, would never have been able to conquer Pahang. Of Wan Muhammad son and successor of Maharaja Perba Wan Idris, Ahmad wrote later: "His family braved wind and wave and fought stoutly on our side to take Pahang and make us ruler."¹

After Wan Embong's defeat Wan 'Abdu'l-Rahman, the Bendahara's second son, fined the people of Ulu Jelai, Lipis, Tembeling and Semantan. Those who were unable to pay the fine were carried off as debt-slaves to Pekan. "The inhabitants of Pahang despaired of justice, and experienced to the full the tyranny of princes; Engku Muda Koris at Pekan allowed Wan 'Abdul-Rahman to do as he pleased, and all the vicious and

¹*Ia dengan kita mandi ombak mandi angin, ubat peluru mengerjakan mengambil Pahang merajakan kita*—Papers of Maharaja Perba (MS.).

turbulent elements in Pahang enrolled themselves in Wan 'Abu'l-Rahman's body-guard. There was no redress for the people...." (*Hikayat Pahang*).

In 1861 a treaty was concluded between the Temenggong and the Bendahara whereby the one agreed to help the other in case of attack. On 14 February 1861 the Temenggong informed the Governor that Ahmad, a Bugis free-lance Suliwatang, and Chiefs from Rembau and Sungai Ujong had assembled at Muar under Sultan Ali (of the Singapore branch of the Riau family) to attack Johore. This apprehended attack did not materialize.

In March 1861 Ahmad, in Trengganu, was preparing for another onslaught on Pahang. On his side were Maharaja Perba Wan Idris, Dato' Sëtia Muda Wan Muhammad, Tuan Mandak, Imam Përang Raja, Penglima Raja, Penglima Kakap Bahman and others. As in his former attempts, he had full support from the Sultan of Trengganu. The invaders proceeded by boat to Kuala Pahang, burning Kuantan on the way, and landed at Sungai Miang some distance to the south of the estuary of the Pahang. The attack miscarried and the invaders took to their boats again, and made for Kuala Endau which port they reached about April 1861. Here they were joined by the Endau head-men. The place was undefended. In anticipation of an attack by the Bendahara, Ahmad fortified Kuala Endau and sent two vessels under the charge of Haji 'Abdu'l-Rahman of Kechau to Singapore for arms and ammunition. In a short time an attacking force arrived from Pëkan led by Penglima Mansu Kota, Penglima Kiri Burok, Che Embok, Inche Nit, Che Uda, the Orang Kaya Shahbandar and Che Lambak. They came by sea in forty boats and were helped by a detachment which had made its way over-land. Fighting was protracted. In due course Haji 'Abdu'l-Rahman returned from Singapore with supplies of arms and ammunition, but his boats and their freight were captured by the enemy. After hostilities had continued for three months Ahmad fell short of food and ammunition. He was in a parlous position as he would have to fight his way to safety through the enemy who were blockading the estuary of the river and had thrown up stockades between him and the sea. He was hampered by the presence of his women-folk; and his boats were only seven in number to the Bendahara's forty. Led by Wan Muhammad Dato' Sëtia Muda of Jelai, Che Koming, Imam Përang, Che Endut Penglima Raja, Penglima Kakap Bahman, Che Talib Penglima Laut, Penglima Tunggal, Penglima Dalam, Penglima Muda and Penglima Hitam, Ahmad's men made a determined attack by land and water on the enemy boats and stockades. Mutahir's forces fled and Ahmad was left in possession of Endau with large stores of arms, ammunition and food-supplies. This episode was known to Malays as the "Endau war."

The invaders evacuated Endau in May 1861 and betook themselves to Kuantan where they carried on hostilities

intermittently for about three months. The people of Kuantan welcomed Ahmad: one of the points in his favour, the *Hikayat* significantly remarks, was that he was only one Raja, and had not many sons!

Ahmad, attacked here by the Bendahara's captain Penglima Mansu, was forced to retreat, and returned to Trengganu in August 1861. His welcome by the Sultan was less cordial this time: "His Highness had changed somewhat." The insurgent prince determined to try his fortune elsewhere, and hied off to Kelantan. There he met Sultan Mulut Merah and the Raja Muda, and joined the Kelantan princes in their favourite amusements, gambling, and cock-fighting. In Ahmad's absence from Kemaman, Wan Abu-Bakar sent a boat from Singapore to abduct his enemy's women-folk who had been left behind there, but they were faithfully guarded by Penglima Kakap Bahman, Penglima Raja and a Bugis Chief Daing Muhammad. The would-be abductors lost heart and returned to Singapore.

In May 1861 Bendahara Mutahir had informed Singapore that he had handed over the government of Pahang to his son Koris (Wan Long). On 26 June His Excellency wrote to the Sultan of Trengganu expressing his pleasure at the news that the Trengganu ruler was not interfering in Pahang, and hoping that the Sultan would persuade Ahmad to return to Trengganu. On 27 June the Governor sent a letter to the Bendahara at Teluk Blanga informing him that it had just been brought to his notice that the late Bendahara Ali had left a will dated 25 May, 1856, according to the terms of which Kuantan and Endau were bequeathed to Ahmad, and another will dated 15 October 1856.

In a letter written in July to Mutahir, who at the time happened to be in Singapore, Governor Cavenagh expressed his regret at the Bendahara's disappointment that the British had not helped to expel Ahmad from Kuantan, but he pointed out that outside assistance might only embitter and prolong the struggle. Cavenagh's view was that the position had changed since May, when Ahmad, holding Endau, was in a position to interfere with sea-traffic between Pahang and Singapore, and to harry Pahang. In May, too, there was the risk of an invasion from Trengganu. His Excellency came to the erroneous conclusion that a recent visit by him to the eastern States had radically altered the situation, and that the failure hitherto attending Ahmad's attempts on Pahang, and the warnings administered to him had disheartened that indomitable prince. Mutahir had promised to grant Ahmad an allowance as compensation for the revenues of Kuantan and Endau to which, according to the terms of his father's will, his brother was entitled, but the promise had not been implemented by a written agreement, and the Governor was unable to prosecute his endeavours to effect a settlement.

Governor Cavenagh himself has left a record of the events of this period¹:

"As disturbances affecting our trade had again broken out in Pahang, after the Queen's birthday ball I embarked on board the steamer HOOGLY, and accompanied by Her Majesty's ship CHARYBDIS, proceeded to the Pahang coast in the hope of being able to settle the differences between the Ruler and his younger brother who had rebelled against him, on the plea that he had been unjustly deprived of the revenues of the districts of Quantan and Endow which had been bequeathed to him by his father the late Bundaharah. On my arrival off the mouth of the Pahang River, I was received by Tuanku Syed, the Prime Minister, a very astute old gentleman, who came off to escort me to the Bundaharah's place of residence. As there was seven feet of water over the bar, the small steamer I had with me was able to proceed up the river, which was a fine stream with high banks on each side and occasionally islands in the middle. The entrance was defended by stockades, but of a very flimsy construction, such as would have been easily destroyed by a six-pounder gun. After nearly two hours steaming we reached the village of Pahang, where we were saluted by the firing of several guns from a war boat as well as from the shore. *En route* I had entered into conversation with Tuanku Syed on the subject of Wan Ahmad's claims. He asserted that the seal to the deed of gift was attached by one of his father's wives, with whom he had criminal connection, and not by the Bundaharah himself, and that there were three things which, according to Malay law, a Ruler could not divide; first, territory; second, subjects; third, the regalia; and that younger sons could only be provided for by being appointed to the charge of districts. He further stated that before his death the old chief had become aware of the guilt of Wan Ahmed, and had requested him to desire his eldest son, on assuming the sovereignty, to drive him out of the country. On my inquiring why he did not himself cause him to be expelled, he replied that he was at the time very sick, and that moreover Malays were always apt to procrastinate. I then asked how it was that if Wan Ahmed had been guilty of the crime alleged, he found such support from the neighbouring chiefs, and was such a favourite with the people. To this he answered, that he was liked by the people because he was kind to them. Shortly after the steamer anchored the Bundaharah came on board. After he was seated I expressed my regret at the disturbed state of his country, and mentioned that it was my wish to restore peace, but to enable me to do so it was necessary that he should abide by my decision with respect to his brother's claim to Endow, and consent to give him any compensation that, after due consideration, I might award. He referred me to Tuanku Syed, who at once said that it was out of the question that

¹"Reminiscences of an Indian Official," by General Sir Orfeur Cavenagh (London, W. H. Allen & Co., 1884).

any sum should be paid to one who had committed so heinous an offence as that of which Wan Ahmed had been guilty. I observed that to administer justice it was necessary to listen to both parties, and that up to that time the statements made regarding Wan Ahmed being all advanced by his enemies, I could not recognize his guilt as proved; moreover that, under any circumstances, it was right that he should be allowed a maintenance, and not wander about a perfect beggar, possibly to seek a living by piracy. As he still appeared unwilling to agree to my terms, I distinctly informed him that unless he did so I would render him no assistance but allow the contest to continue, and he must be answerable for the consequences. At the same time I pointed out that several of the neighbouring chiefs were only waiting my decision to take part against him. Upon this he promised to abide by my decision, but begged that I would not come to any determination until he had been allowed an opportunity of adducing evidence in support of his charge against his brother. To this I of course assented, stating that I should be prepared to consider all evidence, either oral or documentary, which either party might wish to submit; but it was essential that I should be furnished with a distinct declaration on his part that my decision would be accepted as final. To this he demurred. I accordingly took out my watch, and having remarked that it was eleven o'clock, stated that when I made up my mind I never altered, and that if within one hour the declaration was not forthcoming, I should return and leave Pahang to its fate. This settled the matter, he at once rose to go on shore to prepare the required document, which was produced before the expiration of the time appointed. I immediately started for Endow where the steamer arrived early the next morning. On despatching my aide-de-camp, however, with a message to Wan Ahmed that I was prepared to receive him on board the CHARYBDIS, it was found that he had taken advantage of the absence of the blockading force to evacuate his stockades and leave the country, returning to his old position in Tringanu. Thus the contest was for the time at an end, and for several months the peace of the Peninsula remained undisturbed. Subsequently, owing to intrigues on the part of the Court of Siam, which, at that time, in opposition to the terms of the treaty with Great Britain, was striving to bring under its influence the Native States in the Malay Peninsula, disturbances again broke out. Notwithstanding their repeated promises no steps were taken by the authorities at Bangkok to effect the removal of the instigator of these disturbances, who had been sent down in one of their steamers and was evidently acting under their instructions. He had completely overawed the Sultan of Tringanu and made his territory the base of his operations for organizing an attack upon the neighbouring State, with which he held perfectly friendly relations. As it was for political reasons expedient to prevent the annexation by Siam of the east of the Peninsula, it became necessary to check these proceedings before the setting in of the northerly monsoon,

when the heavy surf might prohibit any landing on the coast. I therefore despatched the resident councillor of Singapore to Tringanu with His Majesty's ships SCOUT and COQUETTE to request the Sultan to dismiss his intriguing guest, to whom a passage back to Bangkok, whence, as above stated, he had arrived in a Siamese man-of-war, was offered in the COQUETTE. The request not having been complied with, due care having been taken to preclude the possibility of any harm happening to the inhabitants, the boats which had been prepared for the expedition were destroyed, and the Sultan's fort partly dismantled thus effectively for the time crippling his resources. This had the result of inducing the Siamese Government to withdraw their agent as soon as the change in the monsoon admitted of their doing so, and the attempt to unduly extend their power was defeated, never, I believe, to be renewed....

" On 27 June, the Bendaharah of Pahang waited on me for the purpose of ascertaining my decision with respect to the settlement of his brother's claim. As Wan Ahmed had failed to make his appearance, he was evidently of opinion that the decision would be in his own favour, and was somewhat disconcerted when I informed him that, although I was most anxious to put a stop to the continued disturbances and to preserve the peace of his country, my judgment must be deferred until the receipt of his reply to a communication I was about to address to him, enclosing documents with the existence of which he declared himself unacquainted, and which somewhat disproved statements he had made, doubtless in happy ignorance of the system of filing records for future reference adopted in our English offices. It was clear that, owing to the intrigues of the adherents of the Sultan of Johore, the whole Peninsula was in a ferment, and that the slightest spark might lead to a general conflagration ; for shortly after I received a letter signed by all the chiefs in the interior, protesting against the treaty that, as has already been related, had been concluded several years before, under which the Tumonggong had been recognized by the Sultan as ruler of Johore. I directed the messenger to inform the chiefs that the matter upon which they had addressed me was one with which they had no concern, inasmuch as their predecessors had renounced all allegiance to the Sultan about one hundred years previously, and had subsequently, through their own elected Head, made treaties as independent powers both with the Dutch and the English, showing that they were no longer feudatories of Johore ; hence as their connection with that State had entirely ceased, after the lapse of so long a period, I certainly could not recognize their right to offer any opinion on the subject of a treaty by which they were not in the slightest degree affected."

On 9 July 1861 His Excellency refused the Bendahara's request that a warship be sent to Kuantan to help in operations against Ahmad, but softened his refusal by a vague promise of the services of the steamer *Hoogly*. On 19 July the Governor

wrote to the Sultan of Trengganu requesting him to persuade Ahmad to leave Kemaman and cease creating disturbances. Cavenagh addressed a communication to Ahmad on 31 July warning him that interference with the trade between Pahang and Singapore would result in armed intervention by the British.

On 6 August the Governor, acknowledging a letter from the Bendahara in which he was informed that all was now quiet in Pahang, declined to assist in an offensive against Ahmad though he hoped that the Pahang prince would keep in touch with him. He expressed the opinion that Ahmad would not be able to continue the struggle at Kuantan, and that he could expect no further help from Trengganu. On 19 August His Excellency again recorded his belief that Trengganu would refuse to assist the insurgents.

A few days later news of a fresh revolt reached Singapore. The Rawa men of Raub district, and the people of Jelai led by Wan Daud and Khatib Rasu (later known as To'Gajah) rose in arms against the Bendahara. Wan Daud was a first cousin of Wan Embong who had been killed by the Bendahara's forces in 1858. He took up arms to avenge his cousin's death, and in requital for Wan 'Abdul'-Rahman's cruelties and exactions in Ulu Pahang. The movement was not designed initially in favour of Ahmad though full advantage of the insurrection was taken by him.

Four hundred Rawas joined the ranks of the insurgents. At Lipis they captured To'Busu Dollah, son of the Orang Kaya of Temerloh, and held him as a hostage. They then proceeded to Kuala Tembeling which place they captured. Here the title of Imam Përang was conferred on Khatib Rasu. At Ter, further down-river, they met and, after a short engagement, defeated Penglima Raja Ma'Ali, Haji Mat Tahir and Mat Soh who retired on Pedah which was in charge of a local Chief named Wan Muhammad. After two days' fighting at Pedah the Rawas were again successful, and the Bendahara's forces fled. Kangsa and Kelola were taken in turn. The Temerloh Chief, fearing for his son's safety, went to treat with the rebels; him, too, they held. After the capture of Tebing Tinggi, he managed to send word to his people ordering them to strengthen their stockades.

At Kuala Tekai the insurgents encountered a detachment of Wan Aman's forces under Che Burok Berati of Pulau Tawar and Imam Përang Che Dualid. Penglima Mansu, who was in supreme command of the legitimists, had not yet arrived. Kuala Tekai fell to the rebels, and they continued their victorious progress to Tanjong Batu, Kerbau, where a stand was made by Penglima Muda, son of Penglima Mansu. In the ensuing engagement Penglima Muda was hard pressed, had an ear shot off, and sent to his father at Pulau Pasir Purun for help. Penglima Mansu responded, and came up-river in a *përahu lanchang* accompanied

by his four wives. He was counselled to abandon his boat and proceed by land, but he ignored the advice. On their arrival at Tanjong Batu he and his men, on landing, were met by a volley from the Rawas posted behind rocks in wait for him. Penglima Mansu was badly wounded but his men courageously carried him back to the boat and succeeded in escaping. The wounded Chief was surrounded by four anxious wives, two on each side of him. When he regained consciousness he looked at them and said: "If I die, don't you marry again," to which the wives dutifully replied "very well Dato'!" He died before reaching Kuala Jempul.

Wan Aman was encamped at Chénor with the main body of the Bendahara's forces. He sent his Chiefs Penglima Dalam, Penglima Bebas, Penglima Perang Kanan, Penglima Kiri Burok and others to protect Temerloh. With forty spearmen they occupied the Orang Kaya's house at that village and successfully resisted an attack by Wan Daud. In the confusion, the Orang Kaya and his son escaped from their captors. The Rawas retreated to Kuala Semantan. Inche Yahya now appeared at Pasir Bangau with a force from the Tembëling, and tried to cut off Wan Daud. On the same night Imam Perang Rasu, Wan Daud and their Rawas retreated overland to Lipis.

On 5 September 1861 the Governor, in a letter to the Bendahara, expressed his pleasure at the news that the Rawas had been punished, and announced that he had requested the Raja of Kelantan to prevent Ahmad from using that State as a base for an attack on Pahang.

The Jelai people now joined the revolt, but the Orang Kaya of Lipis, no lover of the Rawa men, still remained loyal to the Bendahara. Wan Aman sent a strong force to the Jelai to quell the rising. Wan Daud was attacked at Tanjong Betong on the Jelai, while the Orang Kaya of Lipis, helped by Che Yahya's Tembëling men and Khatib Bahrin, fought the Rawas in the Lipis at Tanjong Lechok, Tanjong Kabong, and Budu.

Wan Daud, in the absence of his relative Maharaja Perba, was in command of the Jelai men; his chief captain (*hulubalang besar*) was Imam Përang Rasu. Opposed to them were the sons of Haji Hassan of Chenor, Penglima Kiri Tahir, Penglima Dalam, Penglima Kanan, and Penglima Kakap. Che Wan Aman sent an abundance of food supplies and war material to his forces, but the war dragged on for several months without a decisive advantage to either side.

Ultimately, Wan Daud sent a messenger to Kelantan asking Maharaja Perba (To'Raja) to return. Ahmad permitted the Jelai Chief to go after he had sworn an oath of loyalty. With To'Raja went Penglima Kakap Bahman, Imam Përang Raja, Penglima Tapak, Penglima Përang Penghulu Wan Kechil, and

To'Raja's own son Sĕtia Muda Wan Muhammad now styled Penglima Pĕrang Kiri. On 13 February 1862 the Governor, hearing of Maharaja Perba's invasion, wrote to the Raja of Kelantan threatening him with attack if he aided the enemies of Pahang. The Raja denied that he had given assistance to Ahmad or his Chiefs.

To'Raja and his party entered Pahang by the Tanum at the end of January 1862. The arrival of their territorial Chief heartened the Jelai men. They launched a determined attack on the enemy stockade at Kuala Tui, and captured it, killing the defending leader To'Husain, head-man of the Bĕra. The survivors were captured and deprived of their arms. Some of them joined the Jelai forces; the others, Penglima Perang released with a promise that they would not be molested. Che Nyak and Che Draman, sons of Haji Hassan (whom the Bendahara had placed temporarily in charge of the Jelai after Wan Embong's death), were allowed to retain a part of their arms. As the defeated party proceeded down stream, they were ambushed by Penglima Kakap Bahman at Batu Sawar where logs had been placed across the river to impede the passage of boats. All of them were killed or wounded except Haji Hassan's wife who escaped injury by crouching at the bottom of the boat. A few of the boats, nevertheless, succeeded in getting past the obstacles in the river, and reached Kuala Tembĕling where Wan Aman was stationed with his men. On the arrival of the boats there with their cargoes of dead and wounded Wan Aman promptly packed up, and retreated to Chĕnor.

The Rawa men soon appeared at Kuala Tembĕling and occupied the abandoned fort. Che Yahya, the Tembĕling Chief, instead of accompanying the retreating Wan Aman, returned to his native village which was situated a short distance from the mouth of the Tembĕling. Him, the Rawas treacherously killed after they had partaken of his hospitality. His wife and children were carried off to become inmates of Penglima Pĕrang's harem.

The Pahang Chiefs who were still loyal to the Bendahara realized that defeat was inevitable if the conduct of the war remained in the hands of Engku Muda Koris, and his brothers Wan 'Abdu'l-Rahman and Wan Da. Koris was a brainless opium-addict who neglected his friends, his counsellors and his country. Wan Aman's cruelties were notorious even among men to whom cruelty was of little account. Haji Hassan, the Orang Kaya of Temerloh, and the Orang Kaya Shahbandar went to the Bendahara Sĕri Maharaja Mutahir at Pekan, and prayed that the control of operations be entrusted to them: "Your country has been devastated from the trickling waters to the breaking waves; every place has been burnt; if your sons are allowed to continue, there will never be peace; it is likely that your brother will win the country for the sufferings of the people are unbearable; if you

desire peace and prosperity hand over the country to us; you will sleep sound; it will be strange if we three, with all the resources at our disposal, are unable to defeat To'Raja who is only one, and your brother."¹ The Bendahara, perforce, agreed to this suggestion, and signed a document giving effect to it, but the tide was beginning to run fast against him.

The war was now reaching a critical stage. Temenggong Ibrahim had died at the beginning of 1862, and was succeeded by his son Abu-Bakar who redoubled the previous efforts made against Ahmad. On 27 January 1862, he had been informed by His Excellency that the Governor-General in Council had approved the treaty between the Temenggong and the Bendahara. According to one of the clauses in this treaty, Tioman and all islands to the south of it fell to Johore, and the Pahang-Johore boundary was fixed on the Endau. The welcome news of the British endorsement of the treaty stimulated the Temenggong to still greater exertions on behalf of Mutahir.

When Haji Hassan, the Orang Kaya of Temerloh, and Orang Kaya Shahbandar had received their warrant from the Bendahara, they proceeded to Kangsa where they constructed a fort. To'Raja, whose forces were at Kuala Tembeling, entered into negotiations with them, and their loyalty to the Bendahara seems to have been badly shaken. The *Hikayat Pahang* records that these Chiefs secretly sent messengers to Ahmad inviting him to Pahang, and informing him that they were ready to join him on his arrival. It is not unlikely that, realizing the precarious position of the Bendahara and visualizing the probability of Ahmad's success, they made preparations, if the opportunity offered, to go over to the winning side. History does not record the reply to their invitation.

To'Raja, on his return from Kelantan, had won over the Orang Kaya of Lipis. The Lipis Chief and Penglima Kakap Bahman were now despatched to Ahmad with an invitation from To'Raja to return to Pahang. When the envoys arrived, Ahmad immediately hastened his preparations for an invasion, but found himself embarrassed by lack of funds. In the intervals between the more serious business of preparing for war he amused himself, as Malay rajahs were wont to do, by indulging in the mild sport of cock-fighting with Raja Muda and Engku Putera of Kelantan. His birds *Tiga Keneri*, *Lima Keneri*, *Lipan*, and *Hijau* were the victors in seven mains (*rentang*), and he won a thousand dollars from his Kelantan opponents—a wind-fall sent by providence, the *Hikayat* piously remarks, to swell his lean purse.

When all preparations were made, Ahmad proceeded to Kuala Trengganu where the Sultan gave him money and arms. One

¹*Hikayat Pahang* (MS.).

day, while he was drinking coffee, there occurred to him the plan of campaign which resulted in making him ruler of Pahang. In commemoration of this occasion, after his victory over his enemies, he took the coffee-leaf as the personal emblem of his family. Sped by the Sultan's good wishes, Ahmad entered Kemaman and there collected his remaining followers and retinue. He then proceeded to Dungun and went on to Pahang. He crossed the border at Bukit Busut in August 1862. When he arrived at Janing, Ulu Tembeling, he found his Pahang adherents awaiting him in thousands. Descending the rapids the invaders lost arms and ammunition owing to the upsetting of some of their rafts. At Pasir Tambang, Kuala Tembeling, where the Rawa, Jelai and Lipis men under To'Raja, Wan Daud, Penglima Perang Wan Muhammad, Imam Perang Rasu, the Orang Kaya of Lipis, Imam Perang Raja and Penglima Raja awaited him, he received a tumultuous reception. Presently news came that the enemy post at Kangsa had been abandoned, and that the garrison had fallen back on Chenor.

On 28 July 1862 the Governor had written to the Sultan of Trengganu expressing surprise that the deposed ruler of Lingga was again in Trengganu, and that Ahmad had visited Kuala Trengganu for two days, if the Sultan harboured Ahmad, he should take the consequences; His Excellency proposed to visit Trengganu in a war-ship. The Governor communicated the contents of this letter to the Temenggong and the Bendahara. On 20 August he again expressed his regret to Mutahir that Ahmad had invaded Ulu Pahang; the Bendahara's loyal subjects and the Temenggong's Johore men would defeat him. On 2 September His Excellency informed the Bendahara that Siam had ordered the Sultan of Trengganu to expel the Lingga prince because he was implicated in the Pahang disturbances. On the same date the Governor wrote to the Sultan of Trengganu charging him with harbouring Ahmad and Mahmud of Lingga. It was rumoured that Trengganu had supplied Ahmad with ninety guns and forty barrels of gunpowder. On 3 November the Governor sent the Sultan an ultimatum, threatening that, unless, within twenty-four hours, the Lingga prince was sent to Bangkok, and the Sultan recalled all his men who were aiding Ahmad, Kuala Trengganu would be shelled, all boats seized, and the coast blockaded. The Sultan's refusal of these demands resulted in the shelling of the Trengganu capital.

Temenggong Abu-Bakar left no stone unturned to help the Bendahara and defeat Ahmad. He provided the sinews of war for Mutahir, and issued proclamations direct to the Pahang Chiefs. He begged the Sultan of Trengganu to prevent Ahmad, who was the enemy both of Mutahir and of Johore, from invading Pahang from Dungun. He requested Sultan Ja'far of Perak not to sell arms to Wan Ahmad's Rawa and Pahang followers. In a proclamation dated 23 August 1862, he claimed that Pahang had been entrusted to his charge (*sudah terserah negeri Pahang itu kepada seri paduka anakanda jahat baik-nya*). He despatched

Engku 'Ali with the gun-boat *Muar*, and Raja Kechil with a schooner to Kuala Pahang. He provided the Bendahara's men with munitions and medicine. He entreated the opium-addict Bendahara Muda Koris, not to keep his Johore helpers waiting for an audience, and to take a more active interest in the defence of his country. Abu-Bakar, though he was unable himself to take an active part in the field, arranged to pay \$2,000 to two Perak warriors, Haji Abu-Bakar, and Haji Muhammad Taib a Menangkabau settler in Larut, to cross over to Ulu Pahang, and stop the Rawas from enlisting with Wan Ahmad. He issued a proclamation to the Chiefs of Ulu Pahang to listen to those two warriors as to himself.

In a letter to Tun Koris and other Chiefs written in August or September 1862, the Temenggong offered a reward of five hundred dollars for the head of Ahmad, and threatened that Johore would declare war on Trengganu if it persisted in helping the insurgent prince. He announced that he was sending five hundred men to Pahang; they should fortify themselves at Temerloh under the command of his cousin Raja Kechil, and there await the enemy. It was proposed that the Resident Councillor of Singapore should go to Trengganu to induce Sultan Omar to surrender Ahmad, but Abu-Bakar exhorted the legitimist Chiefs to despatch the rebel before the Resident's arrival.

After taking the omens, and deciding upon an auspicious day for the commencement of his undertaking, Ahmad and his forces proceeded down the river Pahang in August 1862. Kangsa they found deserted. At Lubok Peling they halted to make their vows at the hallowed shrine of Sultan *Marhum Shaikh*. They then moved on to Temerloh. In the meantime the Bendahara's sons collected their men at Chénor. Thanks to the Temenggong they had an abundance of arms and ammunition, and a strong contingent of Bugis fighting-men. Here Bendahara Muda Koris gave the Pahang Chiefs great offence. The Bugis leader, on whom the Temenggong had conferred the Bugis title of Suliwatang, boasted of his prowess, and with hair unbound and drawn creese, capered about, dancing war-dances, and shouting that he would die in the service of his prince, and preferred death to disgrace. Koris, who was very pleased at this performance, turned to Haji Hassan and said: "You Pahang people are all women! If the Teluk Blanga men had not come to your assistance, your wives would have been carried off by the Rawas. The Chiefs are liars and cannot be trusted. Collect men and go to Pekan for rice to feed the Bugis warriors."¹ Haji Hassan had no option but to obey. The result of the Temenggong's interference was that, before the end, the Chiefs who were still on Mutahir's side declined to attack Ahmad on the ground that the Temenggong, who had really no status in Pahang, virtually directed operations, and claimed to own the country.

¹*Hikayat Pahang* (MS.).

The Bendahara's forces now moved up-river from Chėnor. The Bugis occupied Pulau Lėbak, while a Pahang detachment was posted on the right bank of the Pahang river, and a mixed Pahang-Johore force took up its position on the left bank. Koris returned to Pekan leaving Wan Aman and Saiyid Omar al-Attas in charge at Chėnor which was the base of operations for the legitimists.

Ahmad proceeded to attack Pulau Lėbak from Temerloh. On the right bank his men were led by Imam Pėrang Raja, Penglima Raja, and Penglima Dalam, on the left bank, by Wan Daud, the Orang Kaya of Lipis, and Imam Pėrang Rasu. On approaching Lėbak they came under the fire of cannon mounted on boats in the centre of the river and manned by Che Embok's men, but the guns did little damage. The Bendahara's forces on both banks wavered under Ahmad's attack. Imam Pėrang Rasu distinguished himself by retrieving, under enemy fire, the bodies of two of To'Raja's relatives. The Bugis on the islet, becoming impatient, leapt out of their stockade, and attempted to ford the river to get to close quarters with their enemy. They presented an easy target to Ahmad's men who shot them down in scores; the survivors hastily retreated to their stockade. The legitimist forces, unable to sustain the attack, retreated in confusion to Chėnor. The Bugis that fell into Ahmad's hands were tortured. On the same night Ahmad advanced as far as Batu Bohor and Pulau Kėning. Here Che Husain and the other sons of To'Tunggal of Bukit Sa-gumpal (one of the Bendahara's Chiefs) presented themselves secretly to Ahmad, and expressed their willingness to help him in his attack on Chėnor. Ahmad accepted their offer but preferred to have his doubtful friends in the enemy camp, and asked them to rejoin the Bendahara's forces and give their assistance covertly. Haji Hassan sent a similar message to Ahmad who gave the same reply: he could help best by remaining with the enemy for the present.

On the following day a detachment under Khatib Bahrin, Che Embok, Che Mat Akil, and Pa'Hitam Latif made a surprise attack on Ahmad at "Tuan Sentang's Shrine." Neither side gained an advantage. Khatib Bahrin threw up a stockade at Kampung Nyak, and Che Embok at Tanjong. Mat Akil was recalled to Chėnor to assist in repelling the onslaught of the Bukit Sa-Gumpal men who, true to their promise to Ahmad, had ultimately turned on the legitimist forces and attacked the stockade of Penglima Harun which was situated opposite Chėnor on the left bank of the Pahang. A few stray bullets reached Wan Aman's raft causing him and his followers considerable perturbation. Mat Akil on his arrival succeeded in repelling the attackers, but the Bendahara's men had lost heart, and when darkness came they retreated down-stream. As they passed Batu Gajah, the Bukit Sa-Gumpal men hurled insults at Wan Aman, and shouted, as they fired at the retreating boats: "Wicked tyrant! Take this

hansel (*bekas tangan*) from the men of Bukit Sa-Gumpal !” Wan Aman fled post-haste to Pekan, and Ahmad occupied Chênor where Haji Hassan and his sons joined him. Here a quarrel arose between the Rawas who had been annoying the women of the village and the Pahang men, in the course of which a Rawa was stabbed. Both sides had weapons drawn when Ahmad appeared on the scene and himself chastised the offending Rawas. His influence was successful in restoring peace.

Daily the invading prince received additions to his strength : Pahang had tired of the Bendahara's sons. One notable exception was the Orang Kaya of Chênor who, on Ahmad's capture of his village, had retreated up the Béra. The invading forces proceeded down-river to Sungai Duri where they were joined by To'Yahya and Saiyid Husain of Tanjong Chempaka.

The Bendahara sent a fresh contingent of Pahang and Johore men to check Ahmad at Pulau Pèlak. It was led by Imam Pèrang Che Gendut, Che Wan Ahmad of Teluk Blanga, and Che Hamid of Batu Pahat. The left river-bank was occupied by Che Mat Akil, and Khatib Bahrin, the right by the Shahbandar supported by the Bugis. Here they were attacked by Ahmad. When night fell the attackers out-flanked the legitimists, and with the help of a floating platform (*balai gambang*) captured one of the enemy stockades. The defenders fled and took up a fresh position at Pulau Kepayang where they held out for three months. On being again outflanked they retreated on Pulau Manis. At this village the Bendahara's men were supported by big boats on which cannon were mounted. Ahmad himself insisted on going into the fight in spite of To'Raja's entreaties : “ The sun sets not in the morning but in the evening; a lucky bird is not carried off by hawks ! ” He visited the stockades, encouraged his men, and consoled the wounded. He sent to the rear for treatment the valiant Penglima Garang Ali, suffering from a head-wound, who protested that he could still fight.

The legitimists fell back on Temai where a protracted conflict took place. Ahmad's forces had an abundance of rice but were running short of ammunition, and they were unable to progress. In addition they were attacked by an epidemic of “ the good people's disease ” (small-pox). Here one of Ahmad's head-men, Haji Hassan of Budu, was killed in the fighting.

In the meantime, Temenggong Abu-Bakar did everything possible to try and stem the tide rising in favour of Ahmad. He promised his cousin Raja Kechil four hundred more Bugis fighters, and implored him to persuade the Pahang people to go upstream and fight, or at least to build forts and defend Pèkan. He exhorted his Malay and Bugis captains to make a stand against the enemy, and build forts at Pulau Manis. He advised Raja Kechil not to leave the women in boats at the Pahang estuary, or the Governor would think that the enemy had carried the day;

the women should be accommodated in a fort at Pèkan. The Temenggong requested the Yamtuan at Sri Menanti to allow Haji Abu-Bakar of Perak to proceed to Pahang through Ulu Serting. He instructed Wan Idris and Wan Muhammad Ali at Muar to persuade the Dato of Johol to send help to the Bendahara, and to enlist Muar men for the expedition. Haji Muhammad Taib, another Perak mercenary, had been ordered to attack Pahang from Ulu Muar. Eighty more Bugis were hurried to Pahang with letters to the Bendahara and Raja Kechil in which they were informed that Colonel MacPherson, the Resident Councillor, was sailing to Trengganu with the sloop *Coquette*, the corvette *H.M.S. Scout*, of twenty-one guns, and *H.M.S. Tortoise*, to remove the Lingga prince to Siam, and to order the Sultan of Trengganu to recall Wan Ahmad or take the consequences. The Temenggong forwarded more supplies, guns, salt, rice, Javanese tobacco and biscuits. He advised that Raja Kechil should send Tengku Maimunah and other ladies by schooner to Tanjong Surat for safety, but urged that the old Bendahara should remain in Pahang to discourage desertions and hearten his followers.

The Temenggong's expedition consisting of six hundred men led by the redoubtable Shaik Muhammad Taib, Haji Abu-Bakar, Penglima Garang Ishak, and Penglima Raja Ma'Ali entered Pahang by Muar, Ulu Serting, and the Bèra. Ahmad had now two separate forces to fight: the mixed Bugis-Pahang-Johore contingent at Temai, and the new arrivals at Kuala Bèra. This place was defended by Haji Hassan's sons Che Nyak, Che Draman, and Dato Muda Ahmad, and the sons of To'Tunggal. Soon they called for further assistance, and Ahmad himself with To'Raja, Tuan Hitam al-Habshi, Saiyid Yasin, and Haji 'Abdu'l-Rahman of Kechau, poling night and day, reached the Bèra, while Tuan Mandak, Tuan Embong, Imam Pèrang Raja, Penglima Raja, Penglima Dalam, Tengku Jenal, Imam Pèrang Rasu, Wan Daud, the Orang Kaya of Lipis, To'Teh, The Rawa Imam Pèrang Jambang, Tuan Chik of Jenderak, and To'Bangau were left in charge at Temai.

On his arrival at the Bèra, Ahmad found that his forces were ample, but they lacked ammunition. He accordingly sent to Rembau and succeeded in obtaining twenty-five barrels of gun-powder. When the enemy were near, Che Husain advised Ahmad to return to Temai, after satisfying himself that his men were able to bear the brunt of the attack. His brother Che Draman interposed, slapping his thigh: "Not so, brother! When Chènor and Bukit Sa-Gumpal are one, and Shaikh Muhammad Taib and Haji Abu-Bakar have tasted the bitterness of the water of this Pahang river, then let His Highness depart!"

The loyalty of the Orang Kaya Indèra Sègara of Temerloh, lately on the Bendahara's side, and now an adherent of Ahmad,

being suspect, he was despatched to Temai to which place Ahmad himself proceeded after the completion of the defences at Kuala Bera.

The Johore forces, on their arrival at the mouth of the Bera, threw up stockades on the river-bank on the up-stream side of Ahmad's men. The ensuing engagement was short and decisive. Ahmad's Chiefs made a furious attack on the forts which they captured with ease. The Johore men fled, and took refuge in the swamps of the Bera whence the survivors made their way back to their own country. In the course of the fight Penglima Përang Mamat, one of the Temerloh Chief's head-men, went over to the enemy. He was promptly attacked by his recent allies and slain.

In the meantime the war dragged on at Temai. Khatib Bahrin, one of the legitimist Chiefs, succeeded in mining and blowing up one of Ahmad's forts; the surviving defenders took refuge in an adjoining stockade. Hearing of this reverse, Ahmad himself entered the other forts and heartened his followers.

The defeat of the Johore men at Kuala Bera left a large contingent of the victors available to help in the Temai operations. Ahmad now determined upon a surprise attack on Pëkan. He sent three detachments, each consisting of six hundred men, led by Imam Përang Raja, Imam Përang Rasu, Penglima Raja, Penglima Kakap Bahman and Tuan Embong through the Temai swamps. One detachment was detailed to attack the fort at Tanjong Parit, another, under Imam Përang Rasu, the fort at Kampong Masjid, while the third contingent consisting of Jëlai men had the fort in Kampong Baharu as their objective. Imam Përang Rasu with his men reached Kampong Masjid just before dawn, and fell upon the Bugis garrison as they came out to pray. A sharp engagement ensued in which sixty Bugis were killed, the rest fled, and the fort was left in the hands of Rasu. The forts at Tanjong Parit and Kampong Baharu were taken with little fighting, and the town of Pëkan fell into the hands of the attackers. There was no looting, and no massacres.

The Temai conflict had lasted five months. The capture of Pëkan made the Bendahara's position at Temai untenable and he fell back on the Shahbandar's village at Jambu on the left bank of the river, but the taking of the capital virtually finished the war. The Bendahara's men, after making a half-hearted attempt to hold Jambu and Pëkan Sebrang, retreated to Tanjong Teja at the estuary of the Pahang. Here, in spite of the Temenggong's frantic attempts, backed by men, money and arms to rally the legitimist forces, the Bendahara's followers took boat in May 1863, and fled from Pahang.

Before their departure, Mutahir and Koris fell seriously ill, and Che Engku Abdu'l-Rahman (Wan Aman) was nominated

Journal Malayan Branch [Vol. XIV, Part II,

Bendahara designate by the Shahbandar, but Wan Aman was a ruler without a country—Ahmad had won the day. Mutahir and Koris died at Kuala Sedili in May 1863; no real disputant of Ahmad's claim was left. The victor was formally installed ruler by his Chiefs with the title of Bendahara Sewa Raja.

Thus ended the fratricidal struggle between Mutahir and Ahmad. Judged in terms of loss of human life, little damage had been done in the war, but the misery caused to the inarticulate Pahang peasants was incalculable. Harried by both sides, impressed, forced to provide food for the conflicting forces, deprived of what little property they possessed, subjected to great cruelties particularly by Mutahir's sons, their villages overrun by foreign fighting men, their lot was most unenviable. Many of those who could do so fled to adjoining States.¹ The modicum of prosperity which the country had enjoyed in the hey-day of Bendahara Ali's rule quickly disappeared in the conflict of the warring factions. At the least, Ahmad's victory meant for the peasants that thenceforth they had only one set of masters to serve.

¹ "In former days Pahang was far more thickly populated than in modern times, but the long succession of civil wars which racked the land after the death of Bendahara Ali caused thousands of Pahang Malays to fly from the country. To-day the valley of the Lebir river in Kelantan and the upper portions of several rivers near the Perak and Selangor boundaries are inhabited by Pahang Malays, the descendants of these fugitives."—Sir Hugh Clifford in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 13th Edition, under "Malay States."

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SELANGOR WAR.

Ahmad signaled his victory by proclaiming an amnesty to all the Chiefs and people who had sided with his enemies. Advantage was taken of the indemnity by the Shahbandar, Che Lambak and their followers; they returned to Pahang, and were received in a friendly fashion by the new ruler. Ahmad summoned a council of Chiefs, framed laws, and prescribed punishments for crimes such as robbery. He conferred titles on Wan Daud,¹ Wan Muhammad, the eldest surviving son of the Jelai Chief, and others who had distinguished themselves in the late war. He sent the territorial magnates back to reside in their own districts. He forgave his kinsmen Engku Ngah, and Engku Chik and married their sister Tun Besar (Che Puan Bongsu) by whom he had a daughter, Tun Long (born on 13 October 1864). He remitted for three years all imposts on produce entering or leaving Pahang; this remission did not apply to Kuantan, Ahmad's private reserve. There was a famine in rice caused by drought and a plague of rats in Ulu Pahang for two years after the war; Ahmad issued free stocks of rice to the starving peasantry.

In October 1863 the Pahang prince informed the Governor that he had been invited to Pahang by the four major Chiefs, and had conquered that State on Tuesday, the 22nd of the month Zu'l-Hijjah (10 June). Before the end of the year Governor Cavanagh had reported to the homegovernment that the people of Pahang were becoming reconciled to their present ruler, and that the country was rapidly becoming tranquilized and trade was reviving. In consequence of this report the British Government decided to recognize Ahmad as the *de facto* ruler.

The armed conflict between Ahmad and Temenggong Abu-Bakar ceased with the expulsion of Mutahir from Pahang, but their quarrels continued. One of their outstanding differences was the question of the islands. In return for the Temenggong's assistance, Mutahir had ceded to Johore Tioman and other islands to the south, which from time immemorial, had belonged to Pahang. Ahmad refused to recognize the validity of this cession. In October 1863 he summoned the Chiefs of Pulau Tinggi, Tioman and other islands to meet him, and obtained their allegiance. He adhered to his claims in spite of the Governor's intervention.

On 2 July 1866, the Bendahara acknowledged a letter in which Governor Cavanagh had declared that he was unable to recognize the validity of Ahmad's authority over the Pahang Islands on the ground that they were subject to the rule of the Temenggong. He respectfully pointed out that Tioman, Pulau Tinggi, Pulau Aur and other islands had always been subject to Pahang. On 23

¹Appendix IV, Document No. V.

September 1866 the Pahang ruler addressed a communication to Col. Macpherson, Resident Councillor, Singapore, in which he informed him that his officer Tengku Zainal, when engaged in a search for pirates at Pulau Tinggi, Pulau Tioman, and Pulau Aur had heard that the Temenggong's gun-boat, with a Johore force, had created disturbances, and seized Pahang subjects on the islands. Ahmad added that the allegation of piracy made against him was false, and originated from his enemies who were determined to harm him; if credence were given to the slander, the trade between Pahang and Singapore would be adversely affected.

On 20 November 1866 the Bendahara complained to Cavanagh that the Temenggong's men had seized five Pahang subjects and confiscated their property because they were found on Pulau Tioman, and that the crew of the Temenggong's gun-boat had seized Pahang property at Pulau Kaban and arrested fishermen.

Sultan Omar of Trengganu, in a letter to Governor Ord dated 27 October 1867, expressed his readiness to assist in the settlement of the Pahang-Johore boundary dispute, especially as both of the disputants were related to him, though he professed ignorance of the facts. In another letter, dated 11 March 1868, the Trengganu ruler informed the Governor that if transport were provided, he would visit Pahang, and discuss the matter of the boundary with the Bendahara. On 4 April Ahmad intimated his willingness to comply with the Governor's wishes, but regretted that the Governor had been wrongly advised regarding the position of the islands; the real state of affairs would be apparent to His Excellency if he only ascertained the views of the oldest inhabitants. Sultan Omar informed Singapore on 29 May that Bendahara Ahmad was willing to accept the Governor's arbitration in the boundary dispute. On 28 June, the Pahang prince requested the Governor's permission to attack a small fleet which had invaded Pulau Aur, an island which, he claimed, belonged to Pahang. On 29 July the Bendahara sent Che Lambak, a relative of the Shahbandar, and Imam Perang Makhota to relate to His Excellency the history of the islands off Pahang. The envoys brought a sword as a gift: "a humble present, but it may be of use to our friend."

In 1867 Abu-Bakar had offered to cede to his enemy the islands Tioman, Sēri Buat, Kaban and others to the north of latitude 2° 40', and in 1868 Governor Sir Harry Ord awarded them to Pahang. The boundary dispute was not, however, finally settled till 1897 when Ord's decision was confirmed, the left bank of the Endau going to Pahang, the right to Johore. The islands north of a line drawn east from the Endau remained with Pahang; those to the south were awarded to Johore.

In 1864, Mahmud Muzaffar Shah, the deposed Sultan of Lingga, who had escaped from Siak, took refuge in Pahang. He tried to induce Ahmad to take up arms against the Dutch and

attack Lingga, but the Pahang prince had no intention of involving himself in outside quarrels. The ex-Sultan's death at Pekan in the same year removed all political complications from that quarter. The deceased representative of the Lingga royal house was buried in the Bendahara's grave-yard at Kuala Pahang.

Bendahara Mutahir's surviving sons Wan Aman ('Abdu'l-Rahman), Wan Da, and Wan 'Abdu'llah made an attempt to regain their father's country about the year 1866. They sent an invading force under the command of Imam Përang Mat Akil into Pahang through Rembau and the Triang. Ahmad despatched Haji Mat Tahir of Ter, at his own request, to oppose them, and the Pahang Chief threw up a fort at Jerang in Ulu Triang. The stockade was easily taken by the invading force, the arms of the defenders were captured, and Haji Mat Tahir fled. The Orang Kaya of Temerloh, and the Chënor Chief To'Tuit, with their men, stemmed the invasion; the Temerloh magnate who had been on Tahir's side in the late war was anxious to prove his loyalty to the new ruler. Tuan Mandak was sent from Pekan to see how matters progressed. After a month's fighting the Pahang men forced the invaders to flee. The Orang Kaya of Temerloh received Ahmad's thanks for his new-born loyalty, and his son was designated as successor to the Temerloh Chieftaincy.

About this time (1867), according to the *Hikayat Pahang*, there was peace and prosperity in the country; food was cheap, rice was sold at a dollar for five gantangs, and padi at two dollars for a hundred gantangs; the crops matured without mishap; these blessings were due to the wise rule of Bendahara Sewa Raja Ahmad. His wife, Che Puan Bongsu, later styled Tengku Empuan Tua, gave birth to a son Tun Muda Besar. She was a wise and sagacious lady, the Malay chronicler tells us, well versed in the customs of Malay kings; she urged her people to read history, and the code of laws known as the *Kanun*.

In the following year Wan Da, a son of Bendahara Mutahir, supported by Saiyid Deraman, Imam Perang Mat Aris, and Tuan Kechut launched an attack on Pahang at Raub. The invaders were helped by the turbulent Rawas. Haji Muhammad Nor bin Haji 'Abdu'l-Hamid, one of the Sultan's favourites from Pekan, the Orang Kaya of Lipis, and Imam Përang Rasu, with To'Kli at Sega, and To'Mamat at Budu opposed the invaders. Fighting took place at Sega. To'Kli was helped by Haji Muhammad Nor with two hundred men. After a conflict lasting seven days To'Raja's son, Penglina Përang Wan Muhammad, with a force from the Jelai marched through Ulu Telang to the relief of Sega. In the meantime Imam Përang Rasu at Budu tried to restrain To'Lubok Sëtia Raja who had become disaffected. Wan Da, after fighting at Sega for five days, was defeated and retreated to Selangor. The Rawas submitted, acknowledged their guilt,

Journal Malayan Branch [Vol. XIV, Part II,

and were pardoned. To'Lubok was also forgiven, but three of his head-men were executed. Ahmad attributed Wan Da's attack to the machinations of his enemy Temenggong Abu-Bakar.

According to the *Hikayat Pahang*, the Johore ruler had bought a steamer from Europe for use in a projected attack on Pahang, but the boat blew up with the loss of several lives. Many of his Chiefs urged him to forgive and forget old enmities (*sudah-lah yang telah sudah*), and to become reconciled to Ahmad. He accordingly sent an envoy with a friendly message to the Bendahara who, however, would have no dealings with his enemy. In this attitude the Pahang prince was supported by the Sultan of Trengganu who, laying the responsibility for the British bombardment of his State at the Temenggong's door, strongly advised him to have nothing to do with Abu-Bakar.

Wan Aman and Wan Da now transferred their activities to Klang where they joined Raja Dollah. They soon quarrelled with him, and went over to Raja Mahdi's side, in return for a promise that he would help them to conquer Pahang. Raja Mahdi, when he had won the Klang war, asked them for a year's grace to allow him to collect funds for the anticipated struggle in the eastern State. By this time the Temenggong had definitely disassociated himself from any further armed intervention in Pahang. In 1868 the Governor, Sir Harry Ord, accompanied by the Johore prince, visited Pekan and announced his award in the boundary dispute.

On 29 November 1869 Sultan Ali of Singapore, in a letter to the Governor, styled himself "Sultan Ali Iskandar Shah of Johore and Pahang." This scion of the Pahang-Lingga-Johore family had visited Pahang in 1863, after Ahmad's victory, and asked the new ruler to instal him as Sultan, but without success.

Early in 1870 Che Engku Aman, and Che Engku Da, the old Bendahara's sons, helped by Raja Mahdi's forces invaded Pahang through Raub. The leaders of the expedition were Saiyid Deraman, Imam Përang Mat Aris, Inche Embok, Tuan Kechut, and Penglima Tujoh Lapis. They were joined by a thousand Rawas. The Orang Kaya Sëtia Lela of Lipis To'Teh, his son To'Muda Sentul, and Imam Përang Rasu prepared for the enemy by collecting men and arms, and throwing up forts at various places on the Lipis river. In answer to their appeal Ahmad sent them arms and ammunition. Fighting took place at Kuala Pa near Temu, and in three days the invaders captured eight stockades. The Orang Kaya of Lipis, in the absence of Rasu, had to bear the brunt of the fighting; he had quarrelled with Penglima Përang of Jelai who disregarded his appeal for assistance. Rasu soon arrived, and an urgent message was sent to Pekan for reinforcements. Ahmad despatched his favourite Haji Muhammad Nor with arms and ammunition. This assistance was appreciated by the hard-pressed Pahang forces. Imam

Pěrang Rasu had by this time acquired great fame as a warrior, and his mere presence had a steady effect on the defenders.

Imam Pěrang Usoh, his lieutenant Penglima Sultan, Tengku 'Abdu'l-Samat, and To'Muda Uteh of Gali distinguished themselves in this war. Most of the fighting took place at Gali in Raub district. Imam Pěrang Gendut arrived with a force from Pekan, with instructions from Ahmad to see how the various leaders acquitted themselves. Haji Muhammad Nor lost many of his men in an ambush. There were contingents of Rawas fighting on both sides. The war had dragged on for seven months when the Pahang forces determined to attack Raub, the head-quarters of the insurgents. The attacking force consisting of two hundred men was entirely successful: the shops were burnt, and the fort at Sempalit captured. The Orang Kaya of Semantan (whom we have hitherto known as Penglima Kakap Bahman) had closed all the tracks to Selangor, and lay in wait for the retreating invaders, but Wan Aman extricated himself from an awkward situation by coming to terms with his enemies, and he and his men were allowed to depart from Pahang, unmolested, after a conflict which had lasted for nine months.

On 19 July 1870 the Bendahara expressed his regret that, when the Governor visited Pahang recently, he was unable to meet him. He explained that, at the time, he was absent in the interior "not for change of air or for diversion," but because of the outbreak of disturbances which had been fomented by Wan Aman.

Pahang was once more at peace, and Bendahara Ahmad, (one of whose wives, Che Pah, had just given birth to a son Tun Mahmud, a future Sultan), made a tour of the country. At Chėnor he was welcomed by Husain, the Orang Kaya Indėra Pahlawan of Chėnor, who had succeeded his uncle, Tuit. At Senggang, Teh Muhammad the head-man staged buffalo fights in the ruler's honour. At Kuala Tekam, in the vicinity of Kota Gėlanggi, intrigued by legends of a beautiful aboriginal princess gifted with immortality, one of the maids-in-waiting at the court of an ancient king¹, and of a giant jungle-dweller living at Ulu Tekam whose foot-prints measured three spans in length, Ahmad sent men into the jungle with instructions to capture all the aborigines whom they met. Four members of the expedition were taken by tigers, and the "bag" was eight miserable Sakai! On Ahmad's return to Pekan he inaugurated celebrations lasting ten months for the ear-boring ceremony of his daughter Tun Long (afterwards wife of the Sultan of Trengganu).

On his return to Selangor, after his unsuccessful invasion of Pahang in 1870, Wan Aman (also known as Wan 'Abdu'l-Rahman or Che Engku 'Abdu'l-Rahman) quarrelled with his quondam ally Raja Mahdi, and went over to the side of Tengku Dziau'd-din by

¹Appendix VI, p. 241 sq.

whom he was put in charge of Ulu Selangor. In November 1871 Wan Aman was captured by Saiyid Mansur, one of Raja Mahdi's supporters. His brother Wan Da proceeded to Pahang, made his peace with his relative and enemy Bendahara Ahmad, and produced a letter from Tengku Dziau'd-din in which that prince appealed for Pahang assistance in the Selangor war. Ahmad agreed to help provided that the British Government consented to his intervention. Wan Da returned to Klang accompanied by Haji Muhammad Nor who was the bearer of letters from Ahmad to the Governor and to Tengku Dziau d-din. At Klang, Haji Muhammad Nor met Raja Asal (the Mendeling ally of Raja Mahdi) who, unaware of the position, asked for the Pahang raja's help, and in return offered an immediate payment of thirty thousand and, in the event of victory, a perpetual allowance of one thousand dollars a month. Haji Muhammad Nor went to Singapore where he met Tengku Dziau'd-din and informed him of Raja Asal's offer. The Pahang envoy and the Selangor viceroy then interviewed the Governor. Haji Muhammad Nor delivered Ahmad's letter, and explained the Pahang ruler's position. Ahmad had been affronted at the treatment accorded to his relative Wan Aman in Ulu Selangor. The Rawas and Mendelings who revolted in Pahang, and had been driven into Selangor, were using that State as a base for lightning raids into Pahang. Ahmad was convinced that there would be no peace in his country until these freebooters were crushed, and requested Singapore's permission to attack them in Selangor. Tengku Dziau'd-din had asked Pahang for help, failing which he was bound to be defeated. Within a few days of the receipt of the Bendahara's letter the Governor visited Pekan and informed Ahmad that he agreed to the proposed expedition to Selangor. The Bendahara expressed his confidence in his ability, single-handed, to win the war.

Urged by Tengku Dziau'd-din, Ahmad hastened preparations for the expedition, and issued proclamations to the Chiefs ordering them to collect their men with food, arms, and ammunition, and to concentrate at Bentong. In the meantime news came that the Rawas and Mendelings had attacked Tengku Dziau'd-din's forces who were surrounded at Bukit Nanas, Kuala Lumpur. Tengku Dziau'd-din himself came to Pekan and urged haste. He promised Ahmad the revenues of the Klang District. As the viceroy was short of funds the Bendahara promised to supply arms and ammunition for the Pahang levies. One contingent of Pahang forces, mobilized at Bentong, one thousand strong, was led by Imam Perang Rasu, the Orang Kaya Shahbandar, the Orang Kaya of Chenor and Haji Muhammad Nor. The reserves, ultimately numbering three or four thousand men, remained behind at Bentong under the command of the Jelai and Lipis Chiefs.

In August 1872 Tengku Dziau'd-din's allies crossed the Bentong passes into Selangor, and pressed on to Batu Tabor, Ulu
1936] *Royal Asiatic Society.*

Klang, where they camped. Here Rasu, without consulting the other Chiefs, turned and attacked a fort "Permulas" held by Raja Asal's Mendelings. The fort was taken, part of the garrison killed, and the survivors fled to Raja Asal. The Pahang forces now split-up, one contingent commanded by the Orang Kaya of Chenor and Haji Muhammad Nor proceeding towards Kuala Lumpur where Dziau'd-din's forces, under a European officer, Hagen, were besieged, while the other detachment under Rasu attacked Raja Asal in Ulu Klang. In the meantime Ahmad himself, with large forces well furnished with arms and ammunition procured in Singapore, proceeded to Bentong where he remained in reserve.

Rasu's advance in Ulu Klang had been so hasty that he got separated from his commissariat. The enemy successfully intercepted supplies, and the Pahang men in the stockades at Batu Tabor were without rice for fifteen days, and reduced to eating banana-stalks and salt. While on a scouting expedition with forty men Rasu was ambushed in a swamp and suffered heavy losses, but eventually beat off his attackers. Rasu's forces, owing to lack of food, were forced to retreat towards Pahang, and he threw up stockades in the jungle near Bentong.

By this time the Chenor Chiefs had reached Kepong. Here they successfully repulsed an onslaught by a force of two hundred men under Raja Asal. On being again attacked, they made a sortie in the course of which Che Man bin Dato' Mata-mata, and Che Sulaiman of Pulau Keladi distinguished themselves; the enemy were again driven back. Rasu, who had at last got adequate food-supplies, accompanied by the Shahbandar and To'Muda Andak, arrived at Kepong, attacked the enemy and drove them back towards Klang.

Raja Mahdi, however, took Kuala Lumpur, and the two European officers in charge of the garrison were captured and barbarously killed. Hagen, one of the victims, had been advised to endeavour to effect a junction with the Pahang forces; his failure to do so had fatal results for himself and his men. Ahmad, who had been taken seriously ill at Bentong, in spite of his protests, was carried back by his men to Pekan where he recovered.

A change was now made in the disposition of the Pahang levies, the men of the interior remaining at Bentong, while the Pekan forces returned to the capital and were transported by sea to Selangor.

Tengku Dziau'd-din and his chief captain, Imam Perang Mat Akil, on receiving word of the date fixed for the arrival of their Pahang allies, attacked and took Petaling in November 1872. They then attacked Kuala Lumpur, after capturing Batu Arang. While fighting was in progress, the Pahang men arrived by sea and land. Tengku Dziau'd-din and his allies made a ring of

stockades around Raja Asal's forts in Ulu Klang. The Mendelings launched an unsuccessful attack on the Pahang forces in the course of which Imam Përang Raja, Penglima Garang Ishak and Che Dollah of Bëra were wounded. On 23 March 1873 the enemy forts fell, and Raja Mahdi's men fled to Ulu Selangor. In the same month Kuala Lumpur was captured by the allies.

Imam Perang Rasu returned in triumph to Pahang, while the Orang Kaya Pahlawan of Semantan remained in charge of Ulu Klang. Rasu, in recognition of his exploits, received from Ahmad the title of Orang Kaya Imam Përang Indëra Gajah of Pahang, and was further rewarded with the gift of Pulau Tawar. Gendut, Imam Përang Raja, was promoted to the rank of Imam Përang Indëra Makhota.

On 16 April 1873 the Bendahara informed the Governor that, in accordance with His Excellency's desire that Pahang should assist Tengku Dziau'd-din against the Selangor rebels, he had attacked and defeated the Mendeling insurgents at Ulu Klang on 23 March, and driven them to Ulu Selangor. He added that Pahang was still able to put in the field some thousands of fighting men, and enquired whether Singapore desired him to proceed with operations. If the Governor consented, Ahmad asked that the Pahang expedition should be afforded a safe passage by sea to Klang. The reply to the Bendahara's letter was favourable, and Ahmad again sent his forces to help the Selangor Viceroy.

The enemy were ensconced in forts at Kanching, while Tengku Dziau'd-din and his allies concentrated at Pengkalan Batu, Klang. Imam Përang Indëra Makhota, having Che Abdullah of Bëra as his second-in-command, led the Pëkan men, while the Ulu Pahang levies were commanded by the Orang Kaya Indëra Gajah of Pahang (whom we shall henceforth call *To'Gajah*), assisted by Haji Muhammad Nor. Dziau'd-din's forces were under Imam Përang Mat Akil. The allied fighters occupied forts at Kuala Batu. The enemy were in possession of five stockades on Bukit (?) Genting Kilang. *To'Gajah* attacked the forts, and took them after three hours' fighting in the course of which over thirty of the enemy were killed, while the Pahang men had only eight casualties. Raja Mahdi's forces retreated to their reserve fort at the foot of the hill where they made a stand. *To'Gajah*, assisted by Tun Mahmud bin Buang, the Orang Kaya Pahlawad of Semantan, Imam Përang Haji Husain, Raja Yakob, and Imam Përang Husain of Bukit Sa-Gumpal took the fort after an engagement which lasted five days. The Chënor and Tembëling men, posted in ambush, took a heavy toll of the fleeing enemy survivors.

Imam Përang Indera Makhota, helped by the men of Imam Përang Mat Akil and Khatib Bahrin, attacked the enemy from Kuala Selangor. A quarrel arose between the Pahang Chiefs,

themselves not lacking in arrogance, and Imam Përang Mat Akil, "renowned for his valour in war, but proud, inclined to vaunt his prowess, and in disposition like a sparrow-hawk—few dared to confront him." Tengku Dziau'd-din composed their differences. The joint force, one thousand strong, landed at Tanjong Karang, and took the road to Ujong Permatang capturing the enemy stockades on their march. At Pasir Gayam they built a fort. The Pekan Chief, Penglima Perang Johan Perkasa, whose attack on the enemy post at Kubu Masjid had been repulsed, called for assistance. The gallant Imam Përang Mat Akil responded, but was shot dead by the defenders. Some of the Pahang Chiefs fell ill and went to Malacca. Khatib Bahrin, "an old man, well-liked," was left in charge of the allies.

In the meantime To'Gajah and Haji Muhammad Nor, in their operations against Kanching, fought their enemy on the Genting Serampang track. As they were preparing stockades they were attacked by a mixed force of Mendelings, Chinese and Selangor men. To'Gajah was hard pressed but managed to stem the attack, while Haji Muhammad Nor assisted by the Orang Kaya of Chënor, Teh Muhammad of Senggang, Penglima Bebas Zabidi, Penglima Kanan of Chënor, Imam Përang Kadam, and To'Umbi created a diversion by attacking and capturing three enemy stockades. From Captain Ah Lui, Haji Muhammad Nor procured seventy Chinese who were experts in shooting fire-darts. With their aid the shops in Kanching were set on fire, the Pahang forces entered the village, and after some hours' fighting captured it in November 1873, killing three hundred of the enemy. Our Malay chronicler probably exaggerates the number slain.

After this victory the Orang Kaya of Temerloh and the Orang Kaya Pahlawan of Semantan proceeded to Khatib Bahrin's assistance at Kuala Selangor. To'Gajah and Haji Muhammad Nor went to Ulu Selangor. At Ulu Yam they met and defeated Raja Asal and Raja Bintang after a short engagement. They then marched on Kuala Kubu which was taken without resistance. An epidemic of small-pox broke out among the Pahang men. The fearless To'Gajah had a mortal dread of the disease, and returned to Pahang leaving the command to the major Chief of Chënor and Haji Muhammad Nor. On his arrival he did not present himself to the Bendahara for fear of spreading the infection.

At Kuala Kubu the Mendilings, Rawas, and Chinese made an unsuccessful attack on Haji Muhammad Nor. At Kuala Selangor Saiyid Mashhur was defeated in November 1873, and retired by Batang Berjuntai. He forwarded twenty *koyan* of rice, arms, and ammunition to Ulu Bernam with the idea of collecting fresh forces and making a stand there. Haji Muhammad Nor, hearing of the convoy, marched to Kampong Haji Mustapha, Ulu Bernam, to intercept it. Here he encountered Saiyid Mashhur and Raja Chik of Siak. In the ensuing fight Mahdi's Chiefs were defeated

and retreated to Slim where the Pahang men again attacked and routed them, capturing large quantities of stores and munitions. Saiyid Mashur fled north into Perak.

The Rawas under Sutan Bangka Ulu, five hundred in number, now helping one side, now the other, came in and submitted to Haji Muhammad Nor who promised to spare their lives. The Orang Kaya of Chenor remained in charge of Ulu Bernam, while Haji Muhammad Nor joined Tengku Dziau'd-din at Klang. At this stage Wan Muhammad, Dato' Sëtia Muda of Jelai, son of Maharaja Perba, appeared on the scene armed with full authority from the Bendahara to regulate the position of the Pahang Chiefs in Selangor.

Tengku Dziau'd-din now called a conference of his allies Wan Da, Shaikh Muhammad Taib, the Chief of Jelai, Haji Muhammad Nor, and Che Embok, at which it was proposed that the Rawa, Sutan Bangka Ulu, and his men should be slaughtered, as they were Pahang rebels and a menace to the peace of Selangor. Haji Muhammad Nor demurred, according to the *Hikayat Pahang*, to this act of treachery, but, overborne by the other Chiefs, agreed under protest to the massacre. Preparations were made accordingly. The Jelai Chief joined forces in Ulu Selangor with the Orang Kaya of Chenor, Haji Muhammad Nor, and To'Muda Sentul, son of the Orang Kaya of Lipis, who had just arrived from Pahang. Sutan Bangka Ulu and his people had encamped in an open plain near Kuala Kubu. The Jelai Chief invited the Rawa leader to Kuala Kubu to join him in a cock fighting main. Sutan Bangka Ulu, with thirty of his men, set out for the village. About half a mile from Kuala Kubu, Haji Muhammad Nor and To'Embok with their forces fell upon the Rawas of whom only two escaped with their lives. In the meantime To'Muda Sentul raided and pillaged the Rawa camp, killing the men, and carrying off the women and children. The Rawas suffered the fate which they had meted out eleven years earlier to the Tembëling headman Che Yahya.

The Jelai Chief, on his entry into Selangor, had found the war almost over. He took advantage of his position to impose fines on all localities, as far as Pasang, in which enemy stockades had been constructed; where the fines were not paid he enslaved the people. In this way he collected about fifteen thousand dollars, and carried off large numbers of women. After the massacre of the Rawas he continued the imposition of fines in Ulu Selangor, but was restrained by the Orang Kaya of Chenor and Haji Muhammad Nor. A quarrel arose, and bloodshed was narrowly averted. The Jelai leader referred the dispute to Tengku Dziau'd-din who declined to support him, so, laden with spoils, and with a well-stocked harem he trekked back to Pahang. At this period the Pahang Chiefs temporarily in charge of parts of Selangor were Haji Muhammad Nor in Ulu Selangor, and the Orang Kaya Pahlawan of

Semantan in Ulu Klang. The Orang Kaya Indëra Sëgara of Temerloh had died in Selangor shortly before the termination of the war.

In November 1873 the Pahang men who had fought in Selangor for twelve months, and brought the war to a successful conclusion, evacuated the country.

Tengku Dziau-d-din had arranged with Ahmad that Haji Muhammad Nor should collect the revenues of Ulu Selangor, and hand them over to the Bendahara, in repayment of Pahang's assistance in men and money in the war, but little of the revenue filtered through to Ahmad.

In 1875 the Bendahara asked for twenty thousand dollars from the Selangor magnate, and a share in the State revenue of Selangor, explaining that the failure of his tin mines had left him temporarily short of funds. With additional capital he would be able to reopen the mines and build a new mosque. Tengku Dziau'd-din, after consulting Singapore, sent Ahmad a cargo of tin valued at three thousand dollars, and undertook to hand over monthly six *bahara* (2,400 lbs.) of tin until the debt was liquidated. He requested that the Pahang Chief should be withdrawn from Selangor. It needed the influence of Frank Swettenham, Assistant Resident of Selangor, who visited Pekan for the purpose, to persuade Ahmad to agree to these terms.

CHAPTER IX.

ENGKU MUDA MANSUR. THE MISSIONS OF SWETTENHAM AND CLIFFORD. (1874—1887.)

In 1874, after the signing of the treaty of Pangkor, Ismail of Perak was said to have addressed communications to the Bendahara and to Johore proposing a Malay coalition against the British. History does not record the response to the deposed Sultan's proposal. It was clear that Ahmad, a shrewd diplomat, who had his own difficulties to encounter, and aspired to recognition as Sultan of Pahang, would not be inclined to involve himself blindly in the troubles of other States.

In August 1874 Maharaja Abu-Bakar complained to Governor Sir Andrew Clarke that one of his head-men had been murdered by Pahang people on the Endau. Information reached the Governor in September that Pahang forces had been mobilized on both banks of the Endau and had erected three stockades. Clarke in the *Pluto*, escorted by *H.M.S. Charybdis*, *Hart* and *Avon*, at once proceeded to Pahang to interview the Bendahara from whom he had received several friendly letters. The Governor hoped to effect a settlement of the differences outstanding between Pahang and Johore, and to revive the trade between Singapore and the eastern State. The Bendahara declined to admit the validity of the agreement made by his brother Mutahir with Johore in 1862, but readily agreed to the appointment of a commission of enquiry into the incidents at Endau, of which he professed ignorance. Three Pahang Chiefs and H. Read, a well known resident of Singapore, were appointed commissioners. They proceeded to the Endau, destroyed a stockade, and arrested three of the Pahang elders, including Penglima Kechil who was said to have killed the Johore head-man. The commissioners took their prisoners, with witnesses, to the Bendahara who was requested to make further investigations. Ahmad, favourably impressed by the Governor's friendly attitude, addressed a conciliatory letter to Abu-Bakar on 27 September, 1874, in which he informed him that the Governor who had visited Pahang recently had found no proof that the Pahang ruler was responsible for the murder on the Endau.

In a letter to the Governor, dated 28 September, Ahmad expressed his pleasure at His Excellency's visit to Pahang. He declared that he had sent back to the Endau the head-men Jenang Login, Jenang Sudin, and Penglima Kechil who had been wrongly arrested on a charge of murder, and ordered them to look for the real culprits. The Governor had requested Ahmad to collect rare specimens for the museum. In response the Bendahara sent to Singapore "a wild fowl of a kind that attaches itself to domestic fowls, and a myna that can talk Malay."

In July 1875 Governor Sir William Jervois, escorted by *H.M.S. Thistle*, and accompanied by Frank Swettenham and Lieutenant McCallum R.E., visited Pahang. He was cordially greeted by the Bendahara who, with his Chiefs and some three hundred followers, had assembled at the Balai (council hall) to welcome him. A spectator of the proceedings gave an interesting account of Ahmad, in his later years a confirmed opium-smoker, who did not die till 1914 at the ripe age of seventy-eight years: "The Bendahara who is 41 years of age, looked very ill; he is very thin and, from his description of the symptoms, seems to be suffering from diseased lungs."¹

The Pahang ruler declared that he was satisfied with the arrangements made for the settlement of his claims against Tengku Dziau'd-din for whom he expressed a warm admiration. He promised to assist the government surveyor who had recently ascended the Muar with the intention of entering Pahang. It appeared that at this time there were about a thousand Chinese in the country. Baron Maclay, the Russian traveller, had left Pahang two days before the Governor's arrival.

Jervois had a private interview with Ahmad in the course of which he expressed his desire for the development of the natural resources of Pahang. Such a development would have the effect of increasing the prosperity of the people, and improving trade. He offered to assist the Bendahara with advice in the matter. Ahmad replied evasively that he was unable to reach a decision until he had consulted the Chiefs of the interior—a polite method of rejecting the offer—and the Governor was unable to proceed further with his effort to establish closer relations between Singapore and Pahang.

The failure of the Jelai Chief to share the spoils obtained by him in the Selangor war had made him unpopular with the Bendahara. He had not long returned from Selangor when a conflict broke out between him and Wan Lingga, a son of Orang Kaya Maharaja Sétia Raja, Haji Wan Daud, who was supported by To'Gajah. The Jelai men gained the upper-hand. The Bendahara intervened in their squabbles, summoned To'Raja's heir and Wan Lingga to Pekan, fined them, and forbade them to leave the capital. Wan Lingga was soon released on the ground that his mind had become unhinged. No sooner had he returned to Ulu Pahang than he attacked the Orang Kaya of Lipis whose fort he burnt. The Bendahara penalized the protagonists in this quarrel by fining them and removing them to Pekan.

Tengku Samat, a foreign Chief who had settled in Raub district, subsequently furnished Sir Hugh Clifford with an account

¹ "Straits Times," 31 July, 1875. Ahmad was born on 5 Muharram 1262 A.H. (23 May, 1836). He came of a long-lived stock, his father Bendahara Ali, and great grand-father Bendahara 'Abdu'l-Majid having lived to the age of about eighty years.

of the feuds in Ulu Pahang at this period. According to the Raub version, Wan Muhammad, the eldest surviving son and heir of Maharaja Perba of Jelai, lately returned from the Selangor war, visited Pekan where he offended the Bendahara by his insolent and arrogant behaviour. Shortly after the Jelai Chief's return to his district, Ahmad summoned Wan Lingga, who was still at Pekan, and To'Muda Sentul, son of To'Teh the Orang Kaya Sëtia Lela of Lipis, and ordered them to kill To'Raja's heir. Wan Lingga declared his willingness to act provided that To'Sentul helped him. To'Sentul made a pretence of obeying the ruler's command. They then proceeded to Penjom where To'Muda divulged the plot to his father. The old Chief forbade his son to take any part in the projected attack on the ground that the men of Lipis and of Jelai were one clan (*puak*). He also sent messengers to Bukit Betong to warn the Jelai Chief. Wan Lingga then returned to Pekan and told Ahmad of the turn that affairs had taken, whereupon the Bendahara ordered Wan Lingga and To'Gajah to Pulau Tawar to co-operate in war-like operations against To'Raja and the Lipis Chief. The Jelai and Lipis men successfully withstood the attacks made upon them, and the Bendahara, accepting the position, ordered a cessation of hostilities.

Shortly afterwards, however, Wan Lingga was again summoned by Ahmad and ordered to kill the old Orang Kaya of Lipis who had refused to obey his ruler's command to proceed to Pekan. Wan Lingga accordingly attacked and burnt the Orang Kaya's house at Penjom. The aged Chief, screened by his women-folk, swam across the Lipis amid a shower of bullets, and made good his escape to To'Mail's village at Tanjong Besar. He then submitted to the Bendahara and, accompanied by his son To'Sentul, proceeded to Pekan where he was detained for two years, during which time the administration of his district was conducted by the Raja's favourite, Tuan Shaikh Kechil, who received all the revenues of Lipis. After a detention which lasted for several years, the Lipis Chief and his son, hearing that Engku Muda Mansur proposed to attack Pahang in the autumn, escaped from Pekan in the summer of 1884, and returned to Lipis. Wan Lingga in the meantime had been disgraced and deprived of his allowances because he had failed to carry out the Bendahara's instructions.

In support of Tengku Samat's account of events in Ulu Pahang, Wan Lingga showed to Hugh Clifford letters which purported to emanate from Ahmad, in which he was ordered to kill certain Chiefs and head-men who were obnoxious to the Raja. The authenticity of these letters is doubtful. Some of Ahmad's favourites who had access to his seal were deadly enemies of the Ulu Pahang Chiefs, and it is possible that the letters were written without the ruler's express sanction.

After the defeat of Raja Mahdi, Haji Muhammad Nor remained in charge of Ulu Selangor for some years. On the

outbreak of the Perak war he accompanied Davidson to Perak, but was recalled to Pahang about 1886. Abu-Bakar, now Maharaja of Johore, paid a friendly visit to Ahmad and the two rulers became reconciled.

In 1882 Ahmad made a tour of the country, in the course of which he visited the wonderful caves of Kota Gèlanggi. He held court at Pulau Tawar where he pardoned the Dato' Sètia Muda of Jelai, Wan Muhammad, and conferred on him the title of Maharaja Perba. The old Maharaja Perba, Wan Idris, who had lived in retirement for some years, had died. The Orang Kaya of Lipis was likewise pardoned and sent back to his native Lipis.

Bendahara Ahmad next paid a long visit, lasting for thirteen months, to Singapore and Johore, where he was welcomed by the Governor and the Johore ruler. During Ahmad's sojourn in Johore Abu-Bakar suggested that the ruler of the eastern State should assume the title of Sultan of Pahang, "as the old allegiance to Lingga no longer existed, that country having been captured by the Dutch."

On 6 August 1882 Ahmad assumed the title of Sultan. In the same year the Jelai Chief struck a seal bearing the legend "Maharaja Perba, Representative of Sultan Ahmad Mu'azzam Shah." He may have been allowed to use this title in return for his support of Ahmad's claim to the Sultanate. On 12 December 1884 Ahmad was formally proclaimed Sultan by his Chiefs with the style of Sultan Ahmad al-Mu'azzam Shah (though his title was not formally recognized by the British Government till 1887). His principal wife, Inche Puan Bongsu, was proclaimed Tengku Empuan. His children had their titles raised from *Tun* to *Tengku*. His relatives 'Abdu'l-Rahman ('Engku Ngah') and Mahmud were promoted to the rank of Bendahara and Temenggong respectively. The Sultan of Trengganu went to Pekan, and married Tengku Long, a royal daughter of the Pahang ruler. The festivities were interrupted by an epidemic of small-pox. Tengku Long caught the infection but recovered. The Sultan of Trengganu returned to his country leaving his bride in Pekan.

Ahmad's favourite brother was Tun Mansur whom, after the Selangor war, he had raised to the title of Engku Muda. He gave him the revenue derived from certain imports and exports. But, by 1882, the brothers had become estranged for reasons connected with the succession, and the inadequacy of Mansur's allowances. Engku Muda went off in dudgeon to Johore where he resided in Engku Lah's house, and ignored an invitation to return to Pahang.

Ahmad's enemies in Singapore and Johore urged Mansur to attack Pahang; he was to be helped by Raja Impèh and Raja Ismail in Raub, Wan Lingga in Budu, and Nong Chik and Tuan Lebar, relatives of Tuan Mandak. Ahmad sent Tuan

Mandak, Che 'Abdu'llah, Haji Muhammad Nor, and Tuan Hitam to give Engku Muda good counsel, and to offer him the revenues of Endau or Rompin. Mansur disregarded the advice and the offer, and continued his war-like preparations. He proceeded to Ulu Selangor in August 1884, and began to levy men for an attack on Pahang. Wan Lingga, in the meantime, threw up stockades at Budu, and Tengku Samat in Raub district, disgusted at Ahmad's treatment of the Orang Kaya of Lipis, (part of whose lands had been given away to To'Gajah), held himself in readiness to assist Engku Muda's faction. Haji Muhammad Nor interviewed the Governor, Cecil Clementi Smith, and informed him of the projected invasion. His Excellency at once instructed the Resident of Selangor to prevent Mansur from entering Pahang, and on 18 September, 1884, informed Ahmad of his action.¹ The threatened invasion was thus rendered abortive, and Engku Muda returned to Singapore. The conspirators in Raub and Budu, Wan Lingga, Wan Selat, and Raja Impeh were summarily ejected by To'Gajah without a fight.

About 1883, two Jelebu Chiefs, Ahat and Raja Balang Long, after quarrelling with their fellow head-men, had initiated intrigues with Pahang regarding the Pahang-Jelebu boundary. Pahang sent an envoy who maintained that Jelebu had always been a part of Pahang, as any one might know who observed the work of God, for was not the river Triang tributary to Pahang?² According to Jelebu tradition the boundary was fixed, at various times, in various places including Kuala Poh (where To'Kaya Hassan of Temerloh had planted a clump of bamboos to mark the border).

On 11 November 1884 Governor Sir Cecil Clementi Smith suggested to Ahmad that in order to preserve peace it was necessary to define the boundary. He added that he had discussed the matter with Haji Muhammad Nor, Ahmad's envoy, and with him arranged a provisional boundary, on the grounds of expediency for the present rather than on those of ancient custom, the latter being involved in doubt; as the people from Kuala Glami down to Jeram appeared to favour the claims of Jelebu, while those from Gantong Labu to Meranti Sembilan seemed inclined to submit to Pahang rule, the Governor had agreed that the provisional boundary should be a straight line drawn east and west to the point of junction of the Sungai Dua with Jeram, mid-way between Gantong Labu and Jeram. The Sultan, in a reply dated 25 February 1885, informed His Excellency that Haji Muhammad Nor was not authorized to settle the matter of the boundary; he understood that in the time of his ancestors Jelebu and Pahang were one, and he hoped that the Governor would agree to the delimitation of the boundary at Kenaboi.

¹Appendix IV, Document No. 9.

²Sir Andrew Caldecott's "Jelebu."

In the dispute between the Bendahara and his brother Mansur the Governor acted as mediator and, on his suggestion, Ahmad granted Engku Muda an allowance of two hundred dollars a month. In April 1885 Ahmad's representatives in Singapore and Engku Muda signed an agreement whereby it was stipulated that Mansur should be recognized as Raja Muda of Pahang, that is, as Singapore construed it, the heir of the Pahang ruler. This agreement, executed under very inauspicious circumstances as far as Ahmad was concerned, ultimately became ineffective.

It will not be out of place here to give some account of the title *Raja Muda* and its significance. Originally the term *Sultan Muda* or *Raja Muda* was employed in Malay states whose origin was derived from Malacca to designate the heir apparent to the throne—the term *Sultan Muda* is used in the "Annals," and also in a fragmentary inscription on a tomb-stone of the 17th century in Pekan Lama. We leave out of account the special local significance which the title *Sultan Muda* acquired in Perak. *Raja Muda* or *Sultan Muda* was the equivalent of *Yang di-pertuan Muda* or *Yam Tuan Muda*: thus the *Yang di-pertuan Muda* of Pahang, the son of Sultan 'Abdu'llah Ma'ayat Shah of Johore, as early as 1642 was designated heir to Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil III. In the Pahang-Riau-Johore kingdom, in the eighteenth century, the Bugis monopolized the title, and towards the end of the century, the Sultan resorted to the style of *Tengku Besar* as the official designation of his heir. Thus the title of Muhammad, while his father Sultan 'Abdu'l-Rahman was alive, was *Tengku Besar*; and when Muhammad became ruler, he in turn installed his son Mahmud (afterwards Sultan) *Tengku Besar*. In 1885, Singapore, unaware of this change in the title of the heir apparent to a Sultanate sprung from Riau-Johore, induced Ahmad's representatives to sign an agreement recognizing his brother Mansur as *Raja Muda*.

In April 1885 Frank Swettenham, acting British Resident of Perak, was sent by Governor Cecil Clementi Smith to Pahang to persuade Ahmad to enter into a treaty with Her Majesty's Government, to effect a reconciliation between the Pahang ruler and Engku Muda Mansur, and to settle the Pahang-Jelebu boundary dispute. Swettenham proceeded by Ulu Lipis and was the first European official to penetrate Pahang. At Permatang Linggi he met the head-man To'Bakar who confessed that he had never presented himself to the Raja at Pekan. To'Bakar was styled owner of Tresang, a noted gold-producing locality, but it was rumoured that Ahmad had given the place to To'Gajah. The people were forced to pay taxes called *serah* and *banchi*. When the district Chief visited Pekan annually to pay homage to the Raja, a poll-tax of one dollar a head was demanded from the people to defray the expenses of his journey to the capital. Gold could be sold only to the Raja, and there was said to be no fixed

standard of weight ; most imports and exports were taxed, debt-slavery prevailed in parts, and the people were liable to be requisitioned for forced labour. The only white man whom To' Bakar had seen was Cameron (the discoverer of Cameron's Highlands). The country was unsettled owing to the recent attempted invasion of Engku Muda Mansur. The main market for the Lipis folk was at Penjom. The import duties on nearly every necessity and luxury seemed to have been farmed to Chinese at Pekan. Swettenham gave a list of the prices of various commodities at Penjom : kerosene oil \$1/- a tin, tobacco \$1/- a kati, salt \$1/- for six gantangs, 1 ball of opium \$1/-, the best rice \$1/- for twelve gantangs. The gambling farm at Penjom paid fifty dollars a month to the Orang Kaya of Lipis who also collected a tax of one-tenth on imported cloth. A large quantity of rice was imported from Kelantan, also silk sarongs, but many sarongs were manufactured at Pekan.

At Kuala Sega Swettenham was cordially greeted by the headman To' Kli, a good-tempered, intelligent old man. Below the rapids of Jeram Besu he met Che Wan Da, a son of Orang Kaya Haji Wan Daud, and an argument ensued as to the liability of the owners of buffaloes, a man having been recently killed by one of these animals.

At Pulau Tawar Swettenham received a friendly reception from To'Gajah who had settled in that locality after the Selangor war. He writes :

" To'Gajah who is a man of about forty, very thick-set and dark, but full of laughter, informed me that he had four wives, twenty-five children, and nine grand-children. To' Gajah's father was a Sumatran Malay, his mother a Pahang woman ; he is reputed to be a great warrior, is the Field-marshal of Pahang and ranks with the Orang Besar Empat or Chiefs of the first-class. He is a man of much energy, greatly feared by the discontented faction in the upper country, and greatly trusted by the Yam Tuan.... At noon, reached Tanjong Blanja the limits of To'Gajah's jurisdiction, and here we stayed for one and a half hours break-fasting, and then parted with the Dato' and continued our journey down-river. The To'Gajah has done everything possible for us. I gave him my Perak *golok* (chopping-knife) and we parted excellent friends. I saw him in the river up to his waist saying good-bye to the Subadar."

On 5 May Swettenham reached Pēkan where he was courteously welcomed by the ruler, given a ceremonial raft (*balai gambang*) as a residence, and put in the charge of Haji Muhammad Nor. Here he was joined by the Dato Mantēri of Johore. He disclosed the object of his mission to Ahmad who asked for time to consult his Chiefs and promised a reply by letter to the Governor. Ahmad agreed to the proposals regarding the Pahang-Jelebu

boundary put forward in the Governor's letter of 11 November, 1884, and there was a formal reconciliation between him and Mansur. Swettenham had to be content with this, and after warning Ahmad of the evils of granting concessions of land, and informing him of the disasters which would probably have overtaken the country had Engku Muda Mansur invaded Pahang in 1884, he returned to Singapore. The promised letter was not written. Shortly after Swettenham's departure Engku Muda Mansur, finding the political atmosphere at Pekan rather unhealthy, went back to the Straits.

On 8 June Swettenham recommended to the Governor the appointment of an Agent of the Straits Government to Pahang with a knowledge of Malays, to live at Pekan, watch the interests of British subjects, and make himself acceptable and useful to the people.

The year 1886 was marked by an epidemic of small-pox in the country.

In June 1886 the Governor himself visited Pahang, and tried in vain to establish closer relations. Asked to conclude a treaty with the British Government, Ahmad requested time to consult his Chiefs, and the Governor departed with the promise of a reply by letter. Again the letter was not written. The Governor then commissioned Hugh Clifford to make yet another effort to come to an agreement with Pahang. On 15 January 1887 Clifford, accompanied by Engku Muda Mansur who had been invited by his brother to return, and To'Muda Long, son of To'Sentul the Orang Kaya of Lipis, left Singapore, and travelling by Ulu Slim and Ulu Lipis, descended the Lipis, Jelai, and Pahang rivers to Pekan. Discontent was rife amongst the feudal Chiefs and head-men of Lipis. Part of the Orang Kaya's land had been given away to To'Gajah who was regarded as an upstart, but feared as a warrior and a favourite of the Raja. The Orang Kaya's part of the revenue of Lipis was now said to be only five hundred dollars a year, the major part of the Lipis revenues going to the Sultan who had been giving out tracts of land to Europeans and others without regard to the territorial Chiefs or the peasant occupiers. Fraser was established in a concession owned by the Sultan of Johore at Ulu Tras (Bukit Fraser). At Raub, Engku Muda Mansur was warmly welcomed by his former adherents.

The people were subject to various taxes including *banchi*, a poll-tax, *serah* a monopoly granted by the Raja for the right of the sale of certain articles, *hasil banchi Orang Kaya*, a tax of one dollar a head levied off all circumcised adults by the Orang Kaya of Lipis whenever he was called to Pekan, and another tax collected on his return to liquidate debts contracted by him in the capital. Tobacco, gambier, even common necessities such as onions and curry-stuffs were heavily taxed, for example, the price of a pound of Javanese tobacco which cost forty cents in

Perak was a dollar in Ulu Pahang. The taxation was due to the creation of monopolies, and the farming out of import duties at Pëkan. Import and export were allowed only at Kuala Pahang.¹ The value of gold was fixed at twenty-two dollars an ounce; in Kuala Lumpur the price ranged between thirty and forty dollars an ounce. On buffaloes exported from Jelai, owners had to pay an export tax of one dollar a head to the feudal Chief, and an additional tax of three dollars a head to To'Gajah's agent at Kuala Lipis. At the time of Clifford's visit to To'Bakar of Ulu Sungai, To'Këli of Sega (an old man of eighty years, garrulous but prudent), and To'Mail of Tanjong Besar managed Lipis district under To'Sentul the Orang Kaya.

At Penjom Clifford found a European company operating the mines. On 27 April 1885 Ahmad had granted to Haji Arshad, Muhammad Tahir, and George Scaife a concession :

" in Penjom where the Chinese are now working, the first measurement to commence from there to the right five miles, to the left five miles, in front five miles, and behind five miles."

The concessionaires had put the most liberal interpretation on this definition of boundaries, and taken ten miles square of land. Chinese miners had worked at Jalis (the old name for Penjom), and had been paying tribute to To'Raja and the lesser Chiefs for generations.² They did not take this disturbance kindly. Included too in the land claimed by the new-comers were the Malay gold workings at Gubar (near Ulu Cheneras) and elsewhere which had always been in the hands of the family of the Orang Kaya Haji Wan Daud, a first-cousin of To'Raja.

The new company started operations at Jalis, expelled the Chinese miners to whom they allowed compensation of only seven hundred dollars. This arbitrary and unjust procedure aroused intense resentment among the Chinese, To'Raja, and his headmen. The company were supported by To'Gajah, the Sultan's favourite. This support increased the indignation of the territorial Chiefs who regarded To'Gajah as an interloper. When Clifford arrived at Penjom he found the place seething with excitement. He was informed that the Kapitan China of Lipis and lesser Chinese capitalists had spent thirty thousand dollars in developing the area, and that, with the advent of the company, this outlay was now lost and hundreds of miners thrown out of employment. The Malays too suffered severely, as Malay gold workings had been taken over by the company without compensation. When the Orang Kaya of Lipis protested, a European assistant of the company drew a pistol and threatened to shoot him.

¹Appendix IV, Document No. 12.

²The gold workings at Selinsing were pre-historic. d'Eredia (ca. 1599) mentioned Jelai as a gold-producing district (J. M. B. R. A. S., Vol. VIII, part 1, p. 52). Abdullah Munshi made reference to the Jelai mines on the occasion of his visit to Pahang in 1838.

Whole villages were included in the concession, and the villagers were liable to be expropriated at the whim of the company. Before Clifford's arrival the dispossessed Chinese miners, to the number of several hundreds, had contemplated an attack on the company's buildings at Penjom, but the Lipis Chief restrained them.

Stuart, the manager of Jalis, presented the company's case. It was admitted that the land had been in the possession of Chinese and Malay miners, but he contended that they had made only a precarious living out of it; if the Sultan chose to ignore their claims it was no concern of the company which was willing to allow the old occupiers to work, provided that they paid a royalty of ten per cent. Stuart added that he was prepared to employ dispossessed Chinese miners at a good wage. Clifford suggested an arrangement whereby the Chinese should be allowed to continue in occupation of their workings on payment to the company of the tribute of ten per cent which formerly they had paid to the Sultan's agents. The manager agreed to this suggestion and the Chinese agitation ceased.

Shaikh Kechil, one of Ahmad's favourites, was encountered in Ulu Pahang. He had been instructed by his master to obtain a copy of the warrant whereby To'Raja was authorised to hold land, and to issue a proclamation in which the Sultan warned his subjects that those who claimed land in the interior should make good their claim without delay as in another six months European miners in large numbers would arrive in Pahang, and unclaimed land would be handed over to them. This proclamation alarmed the people as they knew of no way by which they could establish their claim to the lands of which they were in possession.

While Clifford was at Penjom, Maharaja Perba arrived with one hundred men armed to the teeth with gun, creese and spear, but on peaceable intent. The advent of European miners was a source of great anxiety to the Jelai Chief; he foresaw trouble which he was powerless to avert as the Europeans cared nothing for his authority, and the Raja was too far off, effectively to influence them. Maharaja Perba had just received a letter from his ruler in which was defined the attitude that he should adopt towards Engku Muda Mansur; the Sultan's brother should be advised not to delay in presenting himself to the Raja; if he omitted to pay his respects, Ahmad would regard the omission as a sign of disaffection; To'Raja should not countenance any action which savoured of disloyalty to his ruler.¹

At Pulau Tawar Hugh Clifford met To'Gajah whose services to the Penjom Company had earned the eulogies of the manager. According to Tengku Samat's followers, the enemies of the Pulau

¹Appendix IV, Document No. X.

Tawar Chief, To'Gajah oppressed his people, forbade them to contract a marriage unless they slaughtered a buffalo and gave him the head; if they disobeyed he fined them heavily; if the fine was not paid he raided their houses and property and carried off their wives and daughters; if they resisted, he killed them; there was no redress as the ruler would entertain no complaint against his favourite. To'Gajah was a powerful Chief though of lowly origin, feared by his people, and the ruler's "spear-head" in Ulu Pahang. He received the Governor's delegate in a cordial manner, and expressed his pleasure at the anticipated advent of Europeans to the country.

As the Singapore mission neared Pekan, Mansur, fearing death by poison, became nervous. The real reason for Ahmad's dislike of his brother was that, in spite of the fact that he had already agreed to recognize him as his successor, he wished his son Mahmud to be his heir.

On 18 March 1887 Clifford presented the Governor's letter to the Raja, and when a favourable opportunity occurred, suggested that Ahmad should conclude a treaty with the British Government similar to that made by Johore at the Colonial Office on 11 December 1885. The reasons adduced for the making of an agreement were the probable influx in the near future of large numbers of Europeans into the country, the necessity for the establishment of legal machinery to deal with disputes and misunderstandings which were bound to arise between the people of the country and the new-comers, the disturbed condition of Pahang, and the difficulty which would be experienced by the Straits Government, in the absence of a treaty, of helping Pahang in the event of foreign invasion. Ahmad asked for time to consult his Chiefs. Clifford was informed that this consultation was a mere formality as the Raja would be bound to follow the advice of his three most powerful favourites, To'Gajah, Tuan Hitam, and Orang Kaya Bakti to whom a closer relationship between the Straits Government and Pahang would mean a loss of power and perquisites. Negotiations were almost at a standstill and Clifford's mission was likely to have proved a failure when the arrival in Pekan of the Dato' Mantèri of Johore changed the position. Whatever were the motives which inspired the Johore Sultan, his influence was used in favour of the British, and on 10 April 1887 Clifford left for Singapore with a letter from Ahmad addressed to the Governor in which the Pahang ruler asked for a treaty.

CHAPTER X.

THE BRITISH AGENCY (1857-1888).

At the end of April 1887 Hugh Clifford, appointed by the Governor to conclude the negotiations for a treaty, returned to Pahang in the *S.S. Sea-Belle*, accompanied by the Mantëri of Johore, Raja Haji Mahmud of Selangor, and Raja Uteh a foreign Malay who had made his home in Perak.

He persuaded Ahmad to agree to the creation of a Council to advise the Sultan on matters of State, including the definition of the boundaries of the Chiefs' districts, their jurisdiction, and their status.

Hearing that the British were about to establish a protectorate over Pahang, Singapore business men had lost no time in obtaining a footing in the country, wisely forwarding their interests by associating with themselves Malays or Arabs. By the expenditure of a few thousand dollars scattered among Ahmad's favourites they had little difficulty in securing huge tracts of land. In one day (April 6th 1887), in the same month in which Hugh Clifford arrived in Pahang, Saiyid Muhammad bin Ahmad al-Sakaf to whom, it was rumoured, the Sultan was heavily indebted, was granted concessions to exploit the district of Cheka (in which venture he was joined by Engku 'Abdu'l-Majid of Johore), Raub and Yong. Within the next few days he succeeded in obtaining rights over the regions of Tanum and Kechau. In the same month F. G. Davidson was granted a concession over the watershed of the Telom. Siah Song Siah, in the preceding March, had been given a licence to prospect the Tras. Many of these undertakings were financed by European and Chinese firms in Singapore.

At the end of 1887 the greater part of Ulu Pahang was covered by concessions for the privilege of which it was stipulated that the holders should pay to the Sultan a royalty of ten per cent on the value of minerals and produce exported from the land "in accordance with the custom of the country." The territorial Chiefs watched with impotent rage this wholesale bartering away of their fiefs.

The Sultan cordially greeted Mr. Clifford and introduced him to his royal consort Tengku Empuan and their daughter Tengku Long, the wife of the Sultan of Trengganu. In reply to a question by Ahmad, Clifford explained that the British Government did not propose to intervene in Trengganu because that country was under the suzerainty of Siam.

On May the 21st the Sultan provided an entertainment in honour of the Governor's delegate, and his guests from Johore: the Mantëri, Dato' Sëri Amar 'diraja, Dato' Jahya, Engku Haji Muhammad, and Engku 'Abdu'llah. The feast lasted till 1 a.m.,



*His Highness Tengku Mahmud ibni Sultan Ahmad, Tengku Besar and Regent
(later Sultan).*

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Ahmad called at Clifford's home at 5.30 a.m., bade farewell to his Johore guests at 6.30 a.m., and returned to Clifford's residence which he did not leave till 8.30 a.m.

In June 1887, in spite of Clifford's protests, the Sultan approved the application of Tan Hay Seng of Singapore for a concession in the "rivers and creeks" of Tresang. In these bargainings the Sultan was invariably represented by one or more of his favourites who took good care that their services did not go unrewarded. Tan Hay Seng paid ten thousand dollars for Tresang. The Sultan gave a small fraction of this sum to the Bendahara, Engku Muda and Temenggong in order that the responsibility for the sale of the lands might not be fastened on him alone by the objecting Lipis Chief.

At a meeting of the State Council held on June 10th it was decided to recall the warrants under which the territorial Chiefs held their land, and to promulgate a penal code based on Islamic law modified by the Pahang version of laws known as the *Kanun*.

Abu-Bakar had sent to Pahang a translation of his treaty with Britain. Clifford suspected that the Sultan of Johore had advised his neighbour to reject the clause in the proposed treaty whereby it was stipulated that land should not be alienated without the Governor's concurrence, and to oppose the granting of authority to the British Agent to entertain complaints from Pahang subjects. Ahmad, supported by the members of Council, claimed that he should have a say in the appointment and removal of his Agent. He suggested an amendment to the draft treaty to provide for the succession of his descendants to the throne. Engku Muda Mansur, whom Singapore had forced Ahmad to acknowledge as his heir, stood aloof. The Sultan, ever eager to humiliate his brother, and fearing that he would gain adherents, forbade him to redeem debt-slaves.

Ahmad despatched To'Gajah, Imam Pĕrang Indera Makhota, the Chief of Chĕnor and Haji Muhammad Nor to Singapore in August. It was rumoured that the Pahang emissaries engaged the services of a lawyer to advise the Sultan on the best method of blocking the negotiations for a treaty. To' Gajah, the chief opponent of the agreement, with his companions then visited the Johore ruler from whom, report had it, he bore a message to his master to the effect that Abu-Bakar had addressed a remonstrance to the Secretary of State complaining of the Governor's pressure on Pahang.

On November 16th 1885, the Sultan had granted to Knaggs, Gower, and Cameron the Selinsing concession: "exclusive mining rights over the land in the upper reaches of the Kermoi and other rivers as far as the mouth of Telom on the left hand-side of the river Jelai going up stream," the southern boundary being the Penjom concession. As it was worded, the lease included

the Jelai Kechil, Maharaja Perba's especial preserve. To'Raja, who had not realized that his river was affected until the lessees commenced prospecting operations there in 1887, wrote a furious protest to the Sultan. On July 19th 1887 the Sultan replied in a conciliatory but misleading letter in which he stated that Knaggs and his partners had been given the Selinsing only, and authority merely to prospect other lands. He requested To'Raja, without fail, to come at once to Pekan where the Governor was expected to arrive presently, and invited him to attend a meeting of Council at which critical affairs of State would be discussed :

"When the Chiefs assemble we shall be able to take counsel, to arrange the organization of the government of the country, and to define the respective territories of the Chiefs However grave the misunderstandings which have arisen between us you should come down-stream and meet us in order that our differences may be amicably composed. We have no divergent interests"¹

To'Raja obeyed the Sultan's command and proceeded to the capital where he informed Hugh Clifford that he intended to make a strong protest against the leasing of his land. On August the 19th Maharaja Perba interviewed the Sultan who issued a sealed warrant to the Jelai magnate confirming his title to the Jelai Benar (Jelai Kechil).

On August 20th three of To'Gajah's sons were detected in intrigues with women of the palace, but the Sultan was afraid to inflict the usual penalty for such misdemeanours, death. To'Gajah was in disfavour because, the tobacco farm having been abolished on his recommendation, he bought fifty to eighty pikuls of tobacco to do a little trading on his own account. The Sultan confiscated the tobacco and revived the farm.

Knaggs promised To'Raja two thousand dollars for a mining concession at Kuala Selinsing, and five thousand dollars for every engine installed by his company, capable of crushing three hundred pikuls of quartz in twenty-four hours. Tuan Hitam and Haji Mat Nur asked Knaggs to pay the Sultan and to ignore To'Raja. They then handed Knaggs a lease, written in Malay, according to the terms of which he was required to pay ten thousand dollars for every engine. Knaggs, angry at the deception, declared the deal off whereupon the Sultan's favourites, having been promised fifty dollars each if they got the concession signed, induced the Sultan to put his seal to a lease on the original terms.

Wan Koteh, a younger brother of To'Raja, informed Clifford on August 29th that the Sultan had forbidden his Chiefs, under pain of incurring his displeasure, to pay unauthorised visits to the Governor's Agent. He added that he proposed to lodge a

¹Papers of Maharaja Perba (MS.).

protest with the Sultan against the alienation to Saiyid Muhammad of the Tanum district which, Wan Koteh claimed, belonged to him.

Earlier in the month the Governor, Sir Frederick Weld, had called at Pekan with a draft treaty for Ahmad's signature. The Sultan could not, however, be induced to agree to the terms, and Sir Frederick Weld returned to Singapore. Hugh Clifford who had been left behind to carry on negotiations found progress well-nigh impossible. Ahmad declared his willingness to sign a treaty, but expressed his inability to act because of the opposition of the Chiefs. The latter, when consulted by Clifford, pointed out that their ruler had absolute authority and that the decision lay with him. And thus the game went on. The Chiefs were divided. To'Gajah while welcoming the advent of European mining companies, a material source of revenue to him, did not relish the prospect of curtailment of his power by British officers. The Jelai and Lipis magnates, dissatisfied at the alienation, without their consent, of large areas of land comprised in their fiefs, and jealous of To'Gajah, were inclined to support an agreement with Singapore.

Clifford negotiated direct with both Ahmad and the Chiefs. A letter from him to To'Raja, dated September 18th, is extant. He informed the Jelai Chief of the Sultan's declaration that the conclusion of a treaty was a matter for decision by the Chiefs; he had been instructed by the Governor to obtain a reply without further delay, and he pointed out the resentment that would undoubtedly be felt by his Government if the promise made by Ahmad in April were not implemented by a treaty.¹

The State Council now made up its mind to accept the draft agreement, and on October the 8th a treaty was concluded in the following terms:

" AGREEMENT on certain points touching the relations of Her Majesty's Government of the Straits Settlements with the Government of the Independent State of Pahang, made between His Excellency Sir Frederick Aloysius Weld, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Governor of the Straits Settlements, and His Highness Raja Ahmad Yang-dipertuan of Pahang.

ARTICLE I.

" The two Governments will at all times cordially co-operate in the settlement of a peaceful population in their respective neighbouring territories, and in the joint defence of those territories from external hostile attack and in the mutual surrender of persons accused or convicted of any crime or offence under such conditions as may be arranged between the two Governments.

¹*Op. cit.*

ARTICLE II.

"His Highness the Raja of Pahang undertakes if requested by the Government of the Straits Settlements to co-operate in making arrangements for facilitating trade and transit communication overland through the State of Pahang with the State of Johor and other neighbouring States.

ARTICLE III.

" If the Government of the Straits Settlements shall at any time desire to appoint a British Officer as Agent to live within the State of Pahang having functions similar to those of a Consular Officer, His Highness the Raja will be prepared to provide free of cost a suitable site within his territory whereon a residence may be erected for occupation by such Officer.

ARTICLE IV.

" Any coinage in the currency of the Straits Settlements which may be required for the use of the Government of Pahang shall be supplied to it by the Government of the Straits Settlements at rates not higher than those at which similar coinage is supplied to Governments of the Malay Protected States and under the same limitations as to amount.

His Highness the Raja on his part undertakes that the applications of his Government for subsidiary coinage shall be strictly limited by the legitimate requirements of the inhabitants of the State of Pahang and that the coinage so issued shall be subject to the same limitations as regards legal tender as are in force in the Straits Settlements.

ARTICLE V.

" The Governor of the Straits Settlements will at all times to the utmost of his power take whatever steps may be necessary to protect the Government and territory of Pahang from any external hostile attacks, and for these or for similar purposes Her Majesty's Officers shall at all times have free access to the waters of the State of Pahang ; and it is agreed that those waters extend to three miles from the shore of the State.

ARTICLE VI.

" The Raja of Pahang undertakes on his part that he will not without the knowledge and consent of Her Majesty's Government negotiate any treaty or enter into any engagement with any foreign State, or interfere in the politics or administration of any native State, or make any grant or

concession to other than British subjects or British Companies or persons of the Chinese, Malay or other Oriental Race, or enter into any political correspondence with any foreign State.

It is further agreed that if occasion should arise for political correspondence between His Highness the Raja and any foreign State, such correspondence shall be conducted through Her Majesty's Government, to whom His Highness makes over the guidance and control of his foreign relations.

ARTICLE VII.

"Whereas His Highness the Raja of Pahang has made known to the Governor of the Straits Settlements that it is the desire of his Chiefs and people that he should assume the title of Sultan, it is further agreed that, in consideration of the loyal friendship and constant affection His Highness has shown to the Government of Her Majesty the Queen and Empress and of the stipulations contained in this Memorandum, he and his heirs and successors lawfully succeeding according to Malay custom shall in future be acknowledged as His Highness the Sultan of Pahang and shall be so addressed.

In witness whereof the said Sir Frederick Aloysius Weld, and his said Highness the Raja of Pahang have signed this Agreement the eighth day of October the year of Christ one thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven, answering to the twentieth day of Muharrum the year of the Hedjira one thousand three hundred and five...."

The appointment of British Agent, for which Article III of the treaty made provision, was filled by Hugh Clifford. His influence in the country was only gradually felt, but from the beginning he adopted an uncompromising attitude towards acts of cruelty and injustice to which the mediaeval-minded government was sometimes prone. While he was absent in Singapore, just before the conclusion of the treaty, two women were tortured, and two Sakai boys who had stolen a minute fragment of gold off a creese were ducked and flogged; one died and the other was not expected to recover.

On October 9th 1887 signed documents of the treaty were sent to Singapore. All business was suspended for a month in celebration of the marriage between the Sultan's daughter and the Bendahara's son Che Engku Ali.

Clifford, in November, commenced the erection of a new house on the down-stream side of the Sultan's palace: on the site of the

¹"Treaties and Engagements Affecting the Malay States and Borneo" by W. G. Maxwell and W. S. Gibson (pp. 66-68).

ancient fort called Kota Biram.¹ Ahmad had objected to a site chosen up-stream.

On December 3rd Shannon, the new manager of Penjom mines, accidentally shot and killed himself in pulling a Winchester rifle out of the rack by the barrel. He was buried at Ketapang.

One of Clifford's men, Dollah, was assaulted by one of the Sultan's followers on December 10th and fought a crowd of assailants. Weapons were drawn but the arrival on the scene of Clifford and the Sultan put an end to the quarrel. Ahmad made it known that his follower would be severely punished, but insisted that Clifford's man should be fined twenty dollars for fighting in the precincts of the palace. Mr. Clifford admitted the infringement of the Malay law and paid the fine (for which, on the Governor's authority, he was subsequently recouped from the public funds).

On December 17th The Sultan commanded To'Gajah and Imam Përang Indëra Mahkota to discuss with Mr. Clifford the matter of reforms. The Agent suggested (i) the introduction of a code of laws based on the English or Johore model modified to suit local conditions, (ii) the creation of a high Court to sit at Pekan, and (iii) the conferring of power in varying degrees upon the Chiefs and village head-men to enforce the code in their districts and villages respectively. The Sultan expressed his pleasure at the proposal and asked Clifford to prepare a code. The Agent completed the draft code on December 22nd. It was considered premature to remedy debt-slavery, but the code put slaves on the same footing as free-men in respect of injuries done to them.

On December 28th a dispute arose regarding the Kuantan concession which had been granted to Paterson by the late Bendahara. The Sultan's men drove out Paterson's employees, and Shelford, on behalf of the lessee, claimed reparation.

In Ulu Pahang alone, by the end of 1887, huge concessions of land had been granted at Penjom, Cheka, Selinsing, Liang, Raub, Sempam, Serau, Tanum, Telom, Tras, Tresang, Ulu Lipis and Yong. Early in 1889, in Singapore, there were extensive gambling transactions in these undertakings. It may be said here that the Raub concession was the only one in Ulu Pahang which justified itself, though serious efforts were made to develop, and a large amount of capital was invested in the Penjom and Selinsing lands. The Raub grant still continues as the Raub Australian Gold Mines. The Penjom and Selinsing companies ceased operations early owing to poor management, depletion of capital, and to difficulties

¹Probably the stockade known to the author of the "Malay Annals" as Kota Pahang (*Sejarah Melayu*, Shellabear, 2nd edition, re-printed, 1915, p. 197).

encountered during the Pahang rebellion. The other concessions in Ulu Pahang (on which little serious work was done) were cancelled early in the nineties.

On January 12th 1888 the Sultan approved the draft code of laws but added provisions regarding the harbouring of runaway slaves. Clifford opposed Saiyid Hasan's effort to obtain a monopoly to introduce miners and sell land for the Sultan. The Arab was unsuccessful, though he was prepared to pay ready money for the privilege. Raja Mahmud of Selangor, the captain of Clifford's body-guard, obtained leave of two months to attend the funeral ceremonies of his father Tengku Penglina Raja.

On January 21st Clifford accompanied the Sultan to a bull-fight and, as they walked back, took the opportunity to urge Ahmad to give the necessary powers to the Chiefs before the distribution of the printed code of laws. He was anxious to gain the prince's confidence by making it clear that no action would be taken without the royal sanction. Mr. Clifford again met Ahmad at a bull-fight on January 23rd and warned him that the alienation of huge tracts of land would imperil the development of the country and dwarf the public revenue. The Sultan and many of his Chiefs, regardless of justice to the peasants, were responsible for this reckless bartering away of lands.

On the death of Su Kim, the holder of the salt monopoly, on January 26th the Orang Kaya Bakti (a Tamil) seized his property, which was valued at ten thousand dollars, to secure a debt of one thousand five hundred dollars to the Sultan, and of one thousand dollars to himself. The relatives of the deceased were ready to pay his debts, and the Orang Kaya promised to restore to them the net assets of the estate. The Sultan's favourite did not carry out his promise and in the following month the Agent protested to Ahmad against the seizure. The Sultan replied that a will had been discovered in which he himself, an old friend of the deceased, had been named sole beneficiary, but it was unlikely that he would gain anything out of the estate as the debts exceeded the assets.

The Chiefs of the interior had been detained at Pekan for six months. As cholera raged in Trengganu, the British Agent requested the Sultan to impose quarantine regulations.

By January 30th, it appeared to Clifford that the Sultan of Pahang was amply fulfilling his engagements; if he continued to allow necessary reforms to be effected, it was anticipated that Pahang would soon be governed at least as well and as justly as the neighbouring State of Johore. But striking results could not be expected while the Government was administered by the present Chiefs.

In the following month Fraser, the manager of mines at Ulu Tras (Bukit Fraser), obtained further concessions for his company at Kuantan, Triang, Rompin, and the coast rivers—a total area of

1936] *Royal Asiatic Society.*

about two thousand square miles. In 1887 his rights in Kuantan had been extended for a period of two years on promise of payment of a sum of twenty thousand dollars, but, as the money was not forthcoming, the concession was cancelled.

Clifford proposed that legal powers be given to the various Chiefs as follows :

- (1) to the Major Chiefs (Orang Besar Berempat)—power to inflict imprisonment up to a maximum period of six months, to impose fines up to one hundred dollars, and to hear civil suits up to an amount of five hundred dollars ;
- (2) to the Secondary Chiefs (Orang Besar Berlapan)—power to inflict imprisonment up to three months, to impose fines up to fifty dollars, and to hear civil suits up to an amount of two hundred and fifty dollars ;
- (3) to the Minor Chiefs known as To'Muda—power to inflict imprisonment up to one month, to impose fines up to ten dollars, and to hear civil suits up to an amount of fifty dollars ;
- (4) to village head-men (Ketua Kampong)—power to impose fines up to five dollars, and to hear civil suits up to an amount of twenty-five dollars.

In February 1888 Go Hui, a Chinese British subject who carried on the business of a shop-keeper in Pekan, was stabbed in the mouth, near the palace, at night. Clifford requested the Sultan to offer a reward for the capture of the aggressor, pointing out that, if the Chinese were intimidated from settling in Pahang, the country would never be developed. The Bendahara, the chief judge, attributed the deed to devils! Clifford retorted that no one had seen devils, but many had seen the creese-stab. Rumour had it that Tuan Muda, commander of the royal body-guard, had stabbed Go Hui on the orders of his master, who coveted the wounded man's wife. No one, without the Sultan's instructions, would have dared to attempt a murderous assault in the vicinity of the palace, or to lay hands on a Pëkan Chinese, a member of a community that had always enjoyed the special protection of the Raja. It appeared that the weapon employed was a *kiris melela* which, in Pahang, was used only by Pëkan Malays.

The response to the Agent's request was the issue of an unsigned and unsealed proclamation offering a reward of one hundred dollars to any person who revealed the identity of the author of Go Hui's "accident," whether it was caused by "man, spirits, or Satan!" Go Hui handed all his possessions to Clifford for safe keeping, including one thousand three hundred dollars in cash, as he was afraid to keep them in his house. The Sultan sent word to Go Hui's wife that of course he would not detain her

(a British subject) if she desired to go to Singapore, but he felt disgraced that she had given her valuables to Mr. Clifford. He added that he would rather allow Pahang to become jungle than to be governed by the English. As he had not been accorded an interview since 11th February Clifford sent a letter to Ahmad in which he announced his intention to send Go Hui to Singapore, and enquired whether the Sultan meant to bring into force the draft code of laws. Early in March the Sultan replied that he would not prevent Mr. Clifford from sending Go Hui out of the country, but that it was only just that his wife, Ah Chu, should first settle her debt of three thousand two hundred dollars on which a monthly interest of five per cent was chargeable. Regarding the draft code, Ahmad declared that he would govern Pahang as long as life lasted.

It was proposed to tell the Sultan that if Ah Chu owed him money it was open to him to sue her in Singapore. Clifford saw Engku Muda, and the Bendahara who warned him that the removal of Go Hui might "end in loss of life." He then interviewed the Sultan who asked for "mercy and consideration," and stated that the debt was incurred by Ah Chu's mother. Clifford refused to let the woman stay in Pekan, and declared that he would remove these British subjects to Singapore on the morrow. On the same night Go Hui died. The Agent then visited the *Capitan China* whom he found gambling with the Bendahara and Engku Muda, and informed him of Go Hui's death. The Sultan agreed to leave the widowed Ah Chu at her house till the arrival of her relatives from Singapore.

The first court of justice was opened, on March 5th, by the Bendahara, the Temenggong, Che Engku Ali, Imam Pěrang Indera Mahkota, To'Raja and others. The Judges were Haji Andak, and Haji 'Abdu'r-Rahman.

On March 10th Ah Chu complained to Clifford that the Sultan was about to have her removed to the house of the *Capitan China* where there were no women.

On March 15th it came to the Agent's notice that the Bendahara and the Temenggong were interfering with the decisions of the new Judges. Some accused persons were not allowed to call witnesses. People were fined without trial. Occasionally the court thought fit to penalize both complainants and accused. One Zainal had bought a buffalo, thirty years before, which produced five calves now increased to twenty-two: the heirs of the original owner claimed the twenty-two animals. The Bendahara, who tried the case heard no witnesses, confiscated all the buffaloes, and fined Zainal one hundred and two dollars for perjury. In addition he confiscated Zainal's house, land, and the balance of his movable property on the ground that he had wounded and seduced a woman.

The fact that the offence had occurred twenty years earlier, and that the aggrieved woman had subsequently married Zainal did not weigh with the court.

Tengku Mahmud, the Sultan's eldest son, at this period gave considerable assistance to Clifford who noted a striking improvement in his conduct.

At an interview on April the 1st at 2 a.m., Ahmad, who greeted Clifford with his usual cordiality, promised to do his best to remedy the mal-administration of justice, but the Agent doubted whether the Sultan really desired any change in the government of the country. In Clifford's opinion, physical or mental exertion no longer appealed to the Raja who cared only for power and mundane pleasures. His cousin, the Bendahara, was interested only in his share of the fines.

The Agent advised the Sultan to grant to the Pahang Mining Company one thousand acres of the area which they were working at Kuantan, but feared that he would restore to the company the whole concession for cash or sell it to others.

Clifford made a tour of the interior in April. At Pulau Ganchong he found that the Sultan had just appointed one of his favourites as head-man, and had ignored the claims of the family of the hereditary chief. Wan Husain of Chini showed the Agent a sealed document given to him by Bendahara Ali whereby all men were forbidden to interfere with him except "the Bendahara and the Sultan of Lingga." Clifford reached Temerloh on April 15th. The Orang Kaya Indera Ségara of Temerloh had died in Klang during the Selangor war, and the vacancy thus created had not been filled as none of the dead Chief's relatives could afford to pay the customary nomination fee of one thousand dollars demanded by the Raja. The Council of four consisted, therefore, only of the Shahbandar, the Orang Kaya Indera Pahlawan of Chenor, and the Maharaja Perba of Jelai.

To'Muda Ueh (Ismail), head-man of Kerbau, complained that one of the Sultan's men had been promoted over him. Many of the elders in the interior informed the Agent that they were awaiting the help of the Governor against rampant injustice and oppression *saperti bumi menantikan hujan*, "like the earth awaiting the rain."

McFadyen was encountered on his journey to Jelai, to prospect the Yong concession. Sayid Muhammad al-Sakaf held the rights over the Gunong Raja concession on the Selangor frontier, Cheka, Tanum, and all Raub. McFadyen informed Clifford that he was unable to prospect his area within the period of five years allowed by the lease, and that no European company could pay, on a gold-mine's gross output, the royalty of ten per cent which was imposed. The timber on the Jelai grant was more valuable than the minerals.

A Mr. Watson had been given a lease of land comprising an area of two miles square in the Bentong district (one of the smallest of the concessions). He was required to commence mining within three years. At the time of the Agent's visit, Watson was chiefly engaged in purchasing tin from the local Malays at twenty dollars a *pikul*, but he hoped soon to procure Chinese coolies to work his mines. Not long afterwards he obtained a lease for a period of fifty years over two thousand acres of land at Gambang (Ulu Lepar). The lease was liable to cancellation after two years if mining operations were not seriously undertaken.

At Pulau Tawar the Agent met two of the sons of To'Gajah, Mat Kilau (of whom we shall hear later) and Awang Long, and established friendly relations with them. He records that, while their father was at Pekan, he had far less difficulty in getting business done than he had after To'Gajah's departure from the capital, as the Pulau Tawar Chief had access to the Sultan at all times, and did not hesitate to voice his opinions.

Clifford found that Lipis and Jelai were without their Chiefs as the Orang Kaya of Lipis and To'Raja were still being detained at Pekan, under various pretences, by Ahmad who, after Engku Muda Mansur's venture in 1884, was inclined to distrust the activities of the territorial magnates of Ulu Pahang. To'Gajah, backed by the Sultan's authority, was extending his influence in Raub and Lipis, but was meeting with sturdy opposition from the people of Dong who protested that they could understand the Sultan's written command only when it was interpreted to them by their hereditary Chief, the Orang Kaya Sétia Wangsa of Lipis.

The rural population was sparse owing to the prolonged internal feuds which had the effect of driving the peasants into other States. Rice and sugar were grown; there were many buffaloes. The people were poverty-stricken owing to the failure of the rice crops; padi was sold at five dollars a hundred *gantang* (double the usual price at that season); the peasants sold many fowls and buffaloes at Klang. The Chinese did not yet dare to settle in Pahang in any numbers. The Agent had often impressed upon the Sultan the importance of obtaining a large Chinese population to develop the country.

On May 8th, a week after Clifford had left Pekan for the interior, a fight occurred between the Sultan's men and the followers of his son Tengku Mahmud, in the course of which one on each side was killed.

To'Muda Long, the second son of Sentul, the Orang Kaya Sétia Wangsa of Lipis, distinguished himself by eloping with one of the palace serving girls. Two hundred men turned out to kill him, but owing to the representations of Clifford's followers he was allowed to go unmolested. The women in the palace were not the

Sultan's concubines and owed no money, but were shut up by him, forbidden to marry, and severely punished if they misbehaved.

In Clifford's absence, the Sultan had headed a party that removed Ah Chu, screaming, to the house of the *Kapitan China* where she was forcibly detained. On the Agent's return to Pekan, the Bendahara requested him to permit her detention till the arrival of the Sultan who happened to be absent from the capital. Clifford insisted on her release, but undertook not to send her to Singapore till Ahmad's return.

On June 13th the Sultan commissioned his son, Tengku Mahmud, to sit in the Criminal Court, and instructed him to consult the Bendahara only in very grave cases. This new arrangement greatly facilitated the administration of justice.

Go Hui died early in March 1888. According to the *Hikayat Pahang*, he was not a British subject and there was no indication that his death was not accidental. He certainly met with foul play, and Clifford was not likely to have been deceived as to his nationality. The Agent's attempts to procure redress for the murder were unavailing, and on June 23rd the Governor himself, in spite of Ahmad's request for a postponement of the visit, arrived at Pekan. His Excellency demanded that the Sultan should accept the advice of a resident British officer. "The more vehement was the Governor in his demands the more obstinate was the Raja in refusing them." Tengku Mahmud helped in the cause of peace. The Governor left Pahang on June the 29th without having effected a settlement. The Chiefs held meetings daily. It was rumoured that the Sultan intended to ask His Excellency to allow him more time for consideration. He hoped for help from the Sultan of Johore. The Chiefs of the interior were summoned to Pekan. The people became panic-stricken, packed their valuables, and prepared for flight on the first sign of disturbances.

The Pahang account states that, on his return to Singapore, the Governor accepted an offer of assistance from the Johore ruler, Abu-Bakar, who, with his Chiefs, Dato' Mantëri and Dato' Amar, proceeded to Pekan. There, Abu-Bakar swore a solemn oath that his efforts were entirely directed towards the best interests of Pahang, and advised the Sultan to submit to the Governor's demands. Ahmad summoned his Chiefs of Jelai, Chënor, Semantan, To'Gajah and others to a council. A few were in favour of fighting, others recommended the payment of blood-money (*diat*) and, if it were refused, passive resistance: "If we are shelled by a war-ship let us retreat without fighting." Other Chiefs agreed to let the decision rest entirely with the Sultan. Ahmad at once vetoed the proposal to offer armed resistance. He did not disdain to seek the advice of a Mr. Hole, a European merchant who resided at Pekan (after whom Hole Island on the Pahang river is named). Finally, the influence of the Johore

ruler, Tengku Mahmud, and the more moderate Chiefs carried the day, and on August 24th 1888 the Sultan wrote a letter to Governor Sir Cecil Clementi Smith of which the following is a translation :

" We make known to our friend, with reference to the correspondence between ourself and our friend, that we have reconsidered our friend's words, and all that our friend has written. We have also had time to consult with our relation His Highness the Sultan of Johor. Our friend will remember that we have already acknowledged our responsibility for the murder of JO HUI (Go HUI), a British subject. We hope that no more will be said about this matter, and that Her Majesty the Queen will be satisfied with our expression of regret for what has occurred, and with our giving a guarantee for the future, that is to say, that Her Majesty the Queen should send us a British Officer in order that he may assist us in matters relating to the Government of our country, on a similar system to that existing in the Malay States under English protection. We now ask for such an Officer. In asking this we trust that the British Government will assure to us and our successors all our proper privileges and powers according to our system of government, and will undertake that they will not interfere with the old customs of our country which have good and proper reasons, and also with all matters relating to our religion. There is nothing more but our best respects to our friend.

Written on the 16th of Zal Hejah 1304. (24th August, 1888)."¹

On September 8th the Governor replied, accepting the settlement proposed by Ahmad :

" I inform my friend that the Sultan of Johore duly delivered to me my friend's letter of 24th August. The contents of this letter I forwarded by telegraph to England to be laid before the Great Queen, and I prayed that Her Majesty would accept the expression of my friend's deep regret at what had taken place in regard to the murder of British subjects, and would approve of the proposed request of my friend that a British Resident should be placed in Pahang, who would assist my friend in the administration of the Government of the country, which would be taken as a guarantee against all future similar and other troubles.

" To-day I have received the commands of the Great Queen authorising me to carry out the arrangement which my friend has set out in his letter of the 24th instant, and I will therefore soon send a British Resident to my friend—an

¹ "Treaties and Engagements Affecting the Malay States and Borneo" by W. G. Maxwell and W. S. Gibson (pp. 68-69).

Officer of experience, who knows Malay manners and customs, and who is well-intentioned towards my friend personally and desirous of promoting the best interests of my friend's country. I rely on my friend treating the British Resident with entire frankness, taking him into full confidence as regards all public matters. and loyally carrying out the arrangement which has now been finally made.

"In conclusion, I send my best wishes for my friend's health, and for the prosperity of my friend's country. Singapore, 8th September, 1888."¹

¹*Op. cit.*, (p. 69).

CHAPTER XI.

EARLY YEARS OF THE PROTECTORATE (1888-1891).

John Pickersgill Rodger was appointed the first Resident of Pahang in October, 1888, but full administration was not assumed until the 1st of July, 1889, on which date Collectorates, under European Officers, were established in the Districts of Pekan, Kuala Pahang, Kuantan, Rompin, Temerloh, and Ulu Pahang. These officers, then styled "Collector and Magistrate," like the District Officers of the present day, had magisterial as well as executive powers. In addition, they had charge of the local police. The European personnel of the new administration were: F. Belfield at Pekan, W. C. Michell in Ulu Pahang, A. H. Wall at Kuantan, E. A. Wise at Temerloh, and W. W. Michell at Kuala Pahang.

Courts were established, and a police force organized by Captain Syers who had been temporarily seconded from the Selangor Police. The Supreme Court consisted of Tengku Mahmud, the Sultan's eldest son, the Bendahara, the Temenggong, and the Resident. A State Council was formed, comprising the Sultan, the Resident, Tengku Mahmud, Engku Muda Mansur, Engku Andak, Maharaja Perba of Jelai, To'Gajah, the Orang Kaya of Chenor, the Orang Kaya Shahbandar, the Bendahara, and the Imam Pĕrang Indera Mahkota.

The Sultan's revenue for 1888 was estimated to have been \$3,000 *per mensem*, and the population was reckoned at 35,000 souls.

On the 22nd July 1889 the Sultan appointed Tengku Mahmud Regent, with full powers:

" We Sultan Ahmad Muatham Shah, son of the deceased Ali, to whom belongs the throne of the Kingdom of Pahang with all its dependencies hereby declare and proclaim that we have granted a *Titah* of authority to our eldest son Tengku Mahmud, and whereas we feel the burden of increasing age and infirmities and wish to retire from the cares of Government we with judgment and (after) full deliberation have established and confirmed our said son as our representative, in consultation with the British Resident to enact laws and issue regulations with reference to all matters concerning the administration of Government, and we acknowledge all his acts in settling State affairs as if they were our own.

" And further we have granted a *Titah* to our said son, conferring on him full and complete authority, so that all our

Chiefs and Headmen must absolutely obey whatever commands are issued by him, since they are in every respect the same as our own."¹

Tengku Mahmud's appointment greatly facilitated the transaction of public business, and later the Resident brought to the Governor's notice "the invaluable services rendered by this young Raja of whose character and ability I have a very high opinion."

Fifty years had elapsed between the date of the visit to Pahang of Abdullah Munshi and the establishment of the British Protectorate but conditions had changed little within that period. The common people lived under the severest disabilities. They were crushed by taxation and imposts levied on them by ruler and Chiefs alike. There were import or export duties on almost all commodities. Throughout many of the States in the Malay Peninsula the system of forced labour (*kerah* or *corvée*), whether in civil or war-like employment, was common and none suffered from this burden more than the Pahang peasants. During the internal struggles which preceded Ahmad's accession to power they were engaged, now with one set of contestants, now with the other. Their position corresponded with that of the serfs in the Middle Ages in Europe: they were inarticulate and had few, if any rights.

The commoners were divided into two classes, free-men (*merdheka*), and slaves. Three kinds of slavery were known in Pahang: *abdi*—non-Muhammadan slaves acquired by purchase or captured in war; *hamba berhutang* or *anak mas*—debt-slaves; and *orang hulur*—"outcastes" for debt.² The system of debt-slavery bore heavily on the people. If they got into debt and were unable to meet their liabilities they were declared slaves, and the persons of themselves and of their families were seized by the creditors. Once they became debt-slaves it was almost impossible for them to regain the status of free-men. Their children shared their fate; the offspring of slave-parents were born slaves. In other Malay States female slaves were often compelled to lead a life of prostitution to bring in money for their masters, but there is no record of the existence of this practice in Pahang. The *Kanun*, one of the few written codes of law known to the Malays, dealt mainly with slavery, but only from the viewpoint of the owner: the slave, apart from his value as a chattel, was ignored. On the establishment of the Protectorate no considerable part of the population was found to be in a state of bondage for debt, and the problem thereby created was one of the first which had to be solved.

¹*Op. cit.*, p. 70.

²"Reinstatement of an Orang Hulur," (J. M. B. R. A. S., Vol. IV, Part II, 1926).

The Sultan exercised the ruler's immemorial prerogative of *droit du seigneur*, the right to compel all girls to pass through his harem. In 1888 there were three or four hundred girls and women attached to the royal house-hold, but only few of them were royal concubines.

The Sultan's orders were carried out by a band of men known as *budak raja*, *hamba raja*, or *juak-juak*, a lawless and turbulent rabble who terrorized the peasants, and were constantly engaged in intrigues with the women of the palace. Many of them were notorious criminals who had fled from the anger of their district Chief and taken refuge with the Sultan. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries they were the scourge of the common people in Pahang.¹ The internal feuds of the nineteenth century, and the burden under which the people lived, had the effect of depopulating those parts of the country which had before been populous, and by 1888 the population had dwindled to about thirty-five thousand souls.

The most pressing problems which Rodger had to face were : the suppression of slavery, the regulation of the *corvée* or *kerah* system, the fixing of allowances for the Sultan and Chiefs and the withdrawal of the Chiefs' customary privileges of taxation, and the framing of regulations to govern land-tenure. The first two matters were dealt with by the enacting of the Slavery Regulations and Forced Labour Regulations. Slaves thenceforth had to be registered, their redemption fee was fixed, and no new slaves could be created. The peasants could not be compelled to work for more than two months in one year, they were allowed to provide substitutes, or they could compound their liability for a small payment. While engaged in forced labour they were entitled to food or, in lieu thereof, to payment. The Resident's object was, without at once effecting a change so radical as to be unworkable, to whittle away the Chiefs' powers of *corvée* until they had disappeared. It was the irony of fate that the *corvée* regulations, introduced by him to afford some measure of protection to the people, was one of the instruments used to influence the head-men and people against the new system.

The matter of political allowances was fraught with great difficulties, and in the event, was one of the main causes of the Pahang rebellion. Tengku Mahmud, the Regent, worked in close co-operation with the Resident, and it was his advice that Rodger sought when the Civil List was being prepared. According to the *Hikayat Pahang*, Che Abu-Bakar, the Penghulu of the Balai, was entrusted with the drafting of the List ; he was an untrustworthy person who inserted the names of his friends and suppressed the names of his enemies ; the List was submitted to the Resident who sent it to the Regent for confirmation ; Tengku Mahmud, though he perceived that the names of many deserving

¹*Supra*, pp. 61-62.

persons were omitted, raised no objection as he mistakenly thought that the document had received the Resident's approval; the List was then submitted to the Sultan at Pulau Tawar; Ahmad declared his intention to have it revised but forgot about the matter with the result that the original List was taken as confirmed, and allowances were allocated accordingly. This version of the *Hikayat Pahang* is mentioned as it bears upon the discontent which subsequently flared up owing to the omission to grant allowances, and to the inadequacy of the allowances which were granted.

The basis of the Land Regulations was a recognition of the old Malay law that, in the absence of written records, effective occupation constituted the occupier the owner of the land occupied. The new Regulations required owners to record their ownership in the Land Offices, and prescribed small annual rents to be paid to the State.

The establishment of a district head-quarters at Kuala Lipis brought the Government into conflict with the Orang Kaya Maharaja Sétia Raja, Haji Wan Daud. This Chief, an old man in 1889, was a grand-son of Maharaja Perba Wan Muhammad I of Jelai, and a cousin of the ruling chief To'Raja Wan Muhammad II. He was one of the most powerful personages in Ulu Pahang in his younger days. He was mentioned in Tengku Embong's warrant,¹ and Ahmad's letter to the foreign head-men in Ulu Pahang.² He organized the rebellion in Ulu Pahang on Ahmad's behalf during the conflict with Bendahara Mutahir. On the 30th December 1863, Ahmad had conferred upon him the title of Maharaja Sétia Raja, with jurisdiction over the valley of the Lipis.³

By the year 1887 the Orang Kaya Haji, as he was called, had developed a homicidal mania. He was described by Sir Hugh Clifford as an "old and cross-grained mad-man." He murdered two of his wives, and the favourite amusement of his declining years was said to have been to sit on the promontory at the junction of the Jelai and Lipis rivers, and shoot indiscriminately at the occupants of boats passing up and down stream. The land at Kuala Lipis belonged to him. It was necessary, from a strategic point of view, that the Government should occupy it, as it commanded two main waterways. Clifford, who had been appointed Superintendent of Ulu Pahang, was on leave in 1889, and his place was taken by W. C. Michell. This officer entered into negotiations with the Orang Kaya Haji's sons for the purchase of the land, and they agreed to accept two hundred dollars as compensation. The sum was duly paid, but the old man refused all inducements to give up the land. Matters came to a head when

¹Appendix IV, Document No. III.

²Appendix IV, Document No. IV.

³Appendix IV, Document No. V.

Michell tried to take possession, and was fired upon by the Orang Kaya Haji or one of his followers.¹ The Regent then issued instructions for the arrest of the Orang Kaya. The Chiefs To'Raja, To'Gajah and the Orang Kaya of Lipis acted in concert. They proceeded to Kuala Lipis and called upon the old man to surrender. His reply was to rush upon them from his house armed with a spear. He was met by a volley from To'Raja's men and killed outright. The town of Kuala Lipis was built upon the land thus acquired. The Sultan was deeply distressed at the death of a Chief who had been one of his most staunch adherents in the past, and, in after-years, when it was suggested that the capital of Pahang should be changed to a more suitable site, Ahmad declared that he would never agree to the abandonment of Kuala Lipis as the ground had been hallowed by blood-shed.

The European officers in charge of the various Districts had instructions to seek the co-operation of the local Chiefs in the administration of their respective areas. The response was not encouraging. Engku Muda Mansur (who still entertained a vain hope that Singapore would continue its support of his claim to the succession) and, to a lesser extent, To'Raja gave valuable assistance to the Superintendent of Ulu Pahang. The Chiefs elsewhere tended to hold aloof.

In December 1889 the Sultan quitted Pekan and established himself at Pulau Tawar. He thenceforth returned to the capital only at rare intervals.

Earlier in the year he had visited the Mukims of Tebing Tinggi and Burau and organized a drive of wild cattle (*seladang*) on a large scale at Tanjong Balik Angin. Over sixty head were killed. Several were captured alive in a corral (called *genyat* or *pendiat* by the Malays). The finest of the living specimens, over 18 hands high, died after a few days. A young bull was sent to the Governor who presented it to the Zoological Gardens, London. It was the first living specimen of the *bos gaurus* ever received in Europe.

At the first meeting of the State Council, held on 31st December 1889, from which only the Bendahara, and To'Bandar were absent, the following bills were read: Land and Mining Regulations, Slavery Regulations, and Kerah Regulations.

The State revenue for the last six months of 1889 was \$30,000. The expenditure for the year was: Public Works, \$32,000; Establishments, \$45,000; Allowances to Chiefs, \$24,790.

The Sultan, Engku Muda Mansur, the Bendahara and the Temenggong were absent from the second meeting which was held on 11th January, 1890. The Resident informed the Council that

¹A head-man acquainted with these occurrences states that the shot was accidentally fired by one of Michell's police.

he had received a letter from To'Bandar, To'Raja, To'Gajah and the Orang Kaya of Temerloh, Chênor, and Lipis in which they asked for :

- (a) increased allowances ;
- (b) State recognition of, and allowances for the head-men appointed with the approval of His Highness ;

(c) written regulations defining their powers and duties. Rodger pointed out that the existing allowances to Chiefs equalled two-thirds of the total revenue of Pahang, that the Government had to meet the expenses of administration, and that a heavy and increasing debt was being incurred. To establish a claim to allowances it should be shown by the head-men that their former revenues were greater than what they now got. If they were unable to demonstrate that they suffered financially under the new system they should wait till the State revenue was increased ; they should endeavour to effect this result by encouraging immigration especially Chinese, and by developing the mining and agricultural resources of the country.

The Chiefs then produced their lists of head-men as follows :

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|---|--|
| Maharaja Perba of Jelai : | { | To'Muda Usop of Telang, Wan Tanjong of Telang, To'Muda Kiri of Kuah, To'Muda Ahmad of Kuah, To'Muda Abas of Jeram Besar, To'Muda Usop of Perlak, To'Mamat of Kechau, Penghulu Teh of Rantau Panjang, To'Muda Rahmat of Cheka ; |
| The Shahbandar : | { | Tuan Haji Andak, Che Mat Bontal, Che Musa of Tanjong Medang, Che Mat Abas of Langgar, Che Mamat of Pulau Keladi, Haji Jenal of Blukar Acheh ; |
| The Orang Kaya of Chenor : | { | Che Junus of Kertau, Penglina Muda Kunyit, To'Muda Awang Chut, Penglina Bebas of Nyak, Penglina Kanan of Sekara, To'Ahmat of Chenor, and To'Muda Ambong of Sentang ; |
| The Orang Kaya of Temerloh : | { | Imam Teh of Senggang, To'Muda Draman, To'Mamat of Tengoh ; |

| | | |
|------------------------------|---|--|
| To'Gajah : | { | Khatib Aris of Budu, Mohd. Kilau of Kedondong, Che Ahmat Burok of Budu, To'Jenang of Kangsa, To'Muda Sajak of Budu, Che Rendah of Kangsa, To'Muda Mat Sah, To'Muda Usop ; |
| The Orang Kaya of Lipis : | { | To'Muda Sëtia of Tanjong Besar, Mentri Dollah of Penjom, To'Këli of Sega, To'Bakar of Batu Talam, Penghulu Dagang of Semantan (Ulu), To'Muda Long. |

The Resident pointed out the impossibility of allowances for so many, and suggested that the two most important head-men be selected in each *pegangan* (Major Chief's district), and given allowances. Tengku Mahmud supported the proposal. The Chiefs of the interior unanimously declared that differentiation would be unjust and invidious. To'Raja proposed an increase in the annual grants to the Major Chiefs who would then be able to provide for their head-men. To'Gajah supported the Jelai Chief. He stated that the Orang Besar Berempat, he himself, and the Orang Berlapan (the Secondary Chiefs) possessed the right to appoint head-men, and added that the Orang Berlapan were now represented only by the Orang Kaya of Lipis, the Orang Kaya of Semantan, and To'Lela ; To'Bangau had recently died, and the other four appointments had not been filled. The Resident agreed to To'Raja's suggestion, and the annual allowances of the Orang Berempat and of To'Gajah were accordingly increased to \$1,200/- each, the allowances of the Orang Kaya of Lipis and Orang Kaya of Semantan to \$840/- each, and of To'Lela to \$600/-. Saiyid Ali of Badoh, captain of the Sultan's body-guard, was allowed \$360/-, and Che Awang Benting of Pasir Penyor, eldest son and representative of one of the Orang Berlapan, \$240/-. Regulations defining the rights and duties of Government head-men were passed.

The Orang Kaya of Temerloh stated that disputes between buffalo-owners and padi-planters, sometimes leading to bloodshed, were of frequent occurrence in his district. The Indëra Përang Makhota remarked that, according to the old law of Pahang, cultivated land should be fenced, and buffaloes should be secured at night in a stall (*kandang*). The following Regulations were unanimously adopted :

- (a) to obtain compensation for damage by buffaloes the land-owner should prove that he had substantially fenced his land ;

- (b) if a buffalo entered cultivated land by night and caused damage, the buffalo-owner was liable, as buffaloes should be properly secured at night ;
- (c) if a buffalo entered by day the owner was not liable as it was the duty of the land-owner to protect his land in the day-time.

The amount of the allowances approved to the Chiefs caused dissatisfaction. They considered that the sums approved were very inadequate compensation for the privileges which they were asked to forego. The increases approved to them by the Council on January 11th 1890 did not satisfy them, and shortly afterwards, To'Raja, To'Gajah, the Chiefs of Chenor and Temerloh, the Shah-bandar, the Orang Kaya of Semantan and Inche 'Abdu'llah of Bera sent an ultimatum to the Resident, in which they declared their intention of refusing to recognize the laws which had been passed by Council, or to put them into force among their people, unless they were given an opportunity to review them. They referred to the Council as "Your Council."¹ Rodger replied, on February 2nd 1890, to the Major Chiefs and To'Gajah, ignoring the Orang Kaya of Semantan and Inche 'Abdu'llah. He pointed out that decisions of the State Council could be altered only with the approval of Council, and that the Chief's allowances could be fixed, not by the Chiefs themselves, but by the Government. He threatened with punishment any person who refused to obey an order of Council, all the more if the offending party were himself a member. The Resident concluded by declaring that he would decline to entertain any further communications unless they were couched in more courteous terms.² The Resident's reply quieted the Chiefs temporarily but did not allay their discontent.

The Collectorate of Kuala Pahang, hitherto a sub-District of Pekan, was constituted a separate District at the beginning of 1890. Hugh Clifford returned to Pahang on March 1st, and relieved W. C. Michell. During the year, C. E. M. Desborough was appointed secretary to the Resident, Penrose, Superintendent of Public Works Ulu Pahang, D. B. Lockhart, Superintendent of Police, T. C. Fleming, Inspector of Police, and E. F. Townly, Surveyor.

In March 1890, W. E. Maxwell, Resident of Selangor, had been commissioned by the Governor to investigate a boundary-dispute which had arisen between Pahang and Negri Sembilan. In June, the Residents of Selangor, Pahang and Negri Sembilan met at Kuala Lui and held an enquiry, as a result of which Maxwell advised the Governor that a boundary line should be delimited between Pahang and Negri Sembilan from Lubok Serampang on the Seriting to Bukit Senorong, and thence to Sungai Dua on the

¹Papers of Maharaja Perba (MS).

²*Op. cit.*

Triang, and that the territory south of that line should be recognized as part of Negri Sembilan. This was, in effect, the boundary claimed by the latter State, and thus Paso and Telang, both mines of some importance, were lost to Pahang.

In July 1890, Maharaja Perba of Jelai complained to Hugh Clifford, the Superintendent of Ulu Pahang, that the mining company who then worked the Selinsing, under the authority of Knaggs' grants from the Sultan, had commenced operations in the stream of Merbau, a tributary of the Jelai Kechil which was owned by the Jelai Chief. Clifford replied that, according to the terms of the Selinsing grants, in his view, the Jelai Kechil was not expressly excluded from the company's area, but he advised To'Raja not to press the matter until he had examined the original documents of concession which were deposited in the Sultan's office in Pekan.¹ When he subsequently got an opportunity of inspecting the originals, Clifford found interpolated the words "The Jelai is excluded," (*di-kechualikan Jelai*), the stream thereby referred to being the smaller Jelai (*Jelai Kechil*). The interpolation had been made after the execution of the original documents apparently on the orders of the Sultan who thus attempted to retrieve the mistake he had made in alienating land which belonged to To'Raja.

Rodger left Pahang on furlough in September. The Malay verdict on him, on his departure, was that "he was a good man but stiff-necked," (*satu tuan yang baik juga tetapi laksana tali ada-lah sering-nya sedikit*). F. Belfield remained in charge of headquarters at Pekan until November 24th when Clifford was appointed acting Resident.

In October a Kelantan robber who styled himself "Tengku Ali," at the head of a gang, raided Pahang. He escaped capture but some of his men were taken.

In November, there died at Kuala Rompin the famous adventurer Marie-Charles David de Mayréna who had settled on the island of Tioman to avoid arrest by the French authorities. While visiting J. F. Owen, the Collector at Kuala Rompin, he was bitten by a poisonous snake, died shortly afterwards, and was buried at Kampong Jawa on the Rompin.²

¹*Op. cit.*

²For an account of this romantic figure, a hero of the Franco-Prussian war during which he was wounded and won the Croix de Guerre, a disgraced banker, a gun-runner according to his own version for the Achinese during their struggle with the Dutch, an *explorateur de theatre*, a "king" of the Sedangs, *vide* Jean Marquet's "Un Aventurier du XIXe Siecle: Marie Ier roi des Sedangs 1888-1890," Hue, 1927, (Extrait du Bulletin des Amis du Vieux Hue); Maurice Souliés "Marie Ier, roi des Sedangs 1888-1890," Paris, Marpon et Cie, 1927 (Collection "Les Aventures Extraordinaires"); Professor Marcel Ner's "Marie Ier Roi des Sedang" (BEFEO., Tome XXVII, 1927); and Sir Hugh Clifford's "Heroes of Exile." Mayrena's grave is marked by a plain block of chengal wood.

The Sultan who had quitted Pëkan in December 1889 and established himself at Pulau Tawar, To'Gajah's district, which was about one hundred and twenty miles distant from Kuala Pahang, did not pay a single visit to the capital in 1890. Affairs of State on which it had been necessary to consult him had been transacted at Pulau Tawar. It appeared that Ahmad did not intend to return to Pëkan in the near future as his residences there had been allowed to fall into disrepair. He was joined at Pulau Tawar by Tengku Empuan and the Bendahara.

The third meeting of the State Council was held on 11th December, 1890, when Hugh Clifford was acting as Resident. The absentees were the Bendahara, the Temenggong, Engku Andak, the Orang Kaya of Chënor and the Orang Kaya of Temerloh. The Resident raised the question of an allowance to Wan Husain of the Tembëling, and explained that in Tembëling were two Chiefs, the Penghulu Raja, and Wan Husain, the former being the head-man of the district, and the latter holding an authority from the Sultan to rule over the *Wan* class and any others who might care to follow him. The Penghulu Raja had an annual grant of \$20/-. It was decided to give Wan Husain a similar amount.

The Resident then introduced a bill which dealt with land held by Malays under customary tenure and prescribed rents. To'Gajah begged that rents be not imposed for another year: the people would be taken by surprise, and ill-feeling might be caused. To'Raja considered that the imposition of rents would not arouse resentment but thought the proposal at present impracticable, and suggested one year's postponement. The Resident pointed out that this matter had already been long postponed: Chiefs clamoured for larger allowances but an increase was impossible unless the revenue was also increased. His Highness agreed with the Resident and it was decided to bring the Land Regulations into force from 1st January 1891.

The question of the registration of slaves was discussed. Many slaves had not yet been registered, and an extension of the period for registration was suggested. To'Gajah thought that many of his people would refuse to register slaves. Four months' further grace was given.

During the year, old gambier plantations were discovered in the upper Tembëling, planted by "former generations of Malays." Later, gambier in a semi-wild state was found to be growing profusely in Ulu Bebar. The existence of these long-abandoned plantations calls to mind the flourishing trade in that product that was once carried on with Malacca by the Peninsular-Menangkabau "betre-sellers" in the 17th century.

The Sultan, accompanied by his Chiefs and bodyguard, paid a friendly visit to Kuala Lipis in the Christmas of 1890, as the guest

of the acting Resident. He then moved on to Bukit Betong where he was entertained by the Jelai Chief.

In his report for the year 1890 the acting Resident wrote :

" The past year has been one of unbroken peace, and although from time to time, rumours of intended risings among the Malays in Pahang have been originated and circulated by the natives of neighbouring States, I am happy to be able to report, possessing as I do a somewhat intimate knowledge of all the important natives in Pahang, and after having had many opportunities of gauging the feeling of all classes of natives, that these reports have been entirely without foundation, and that, so far as can be judged, there is no more danger to be apprehended of such a rising occurring in Pahang, than may be supposed to exist in the old established States of Perak and Selangor. As already mentioned, an increased confidence and good-will between the natives and the European Officers is noticeable throughout the country, and forms a marked contrast to the feeling which existed amongst most influential natives in the years 1887 and 1888."

Subsequent events were to prove that the Resident's report was unduly optimistic.

At the fourth meeting of Council, held on 18th May 1891, no important business was transacted. The fifth meeting of Council, held on 8th October 1891, was attended by all members except To'Raja, the Bendahara, and Tuan Mandak. The boundaries of the *pegangan* (or districts) of the Chiefs were fixed as follows :

- the Orang Kaya Shahbandar : from Sungai Bēbar to Kuala Lepar ;
- the Orang Kaya of Chenor : from Kuala Luit to Buntut Pulau Kening, also Sungai Krau District, *i.e.* from Batu Wan Pak to Batu Redap ;
- the Orang Kaya Sēgara of Temerloh : from Kuala Tekoh to Pasir Puron ;
- To-Gajah : from Batu Redap to Kuala Piul ; from Tanjong Sakti to Kangsa ; from Pedah to Tanjong Lindong ; also Sungai Budu in Lipis ;
- Maharaja Perba of Jelai : from Tanjong Lindong along the *Sungai Jelai*¹ to Perak and Kelantan (excepting Sungai Lipis), and from Kuala Tembēling to Pasir Durian ;
- the Orang Kaya Sētia Wangsa of Lipis : the Lipis and its tributaries excluding Sungai Budu ;
- the Penghulu of Bentong : from Kuala Klau to the source of the Bentong river ;

¹The Resident here followed the map issued in 1887 by the Straits Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, according to which the name *Jelai* was given to the main stream down to Kuala Bēra.

the Penghulu Raja of Tembeling : from Pasir Durian to the source of the Tembeling, excluding the Districts of Wan Husain and Wan Ismail.

Minor head-men were required to observe the boundaries mentioned in the respective warrants which they already held.

The acting Resident, Hugh Clifford, brought forward the matter of the Orang Kaya of Semantan who had refused not only to help Government but to allow his people to obey orders issued by His Highness' officers. The recalcitrant Chief had been repeatedly warned, and hitherto treated with the greatest clemency, but it was clear that any person disobeying His Highness' Government was guilty of treason and merited punishment. The Resident proposed that the disaffected leader be deprived of his office and forbidden to return to Semantan district. He added that if the Orang Kaya had not been an old follower of the Sultan, he would have been arrested like an ordinary criminal. The Regent remarked that a few days earlier the Orang Kaya had been arrested by a single Sikh when attempting to leave the State without a pass, and considered that his re-arrest would not be difficult if that course were thought advisable. The Sultan expressed surprise at the Orang Kaya's attitude, and stated that he and his Chiefs had repeatedly written instructing him to obey orders. The Resident counselled severity as the Orang Kaya's presence would be a constant source of trouble in Semantan. The Sultan then agreed to issue an order under his seal depriving the Orang Kaya of his position.

The sixth meeting of Council was held on 11th October, 1891, while Hugh Clifford still acted as Resident. The Regent, Tuan Mandak and To'Raja were absent. It was decided to confer the title of Tengku Besar on Tengku Mahmud the Regent. A letter from the Governor to His Highness was read : " I should be glad of my friend's concurrence in appointing Tengku Mahmud as 'Tengku Besar' in order that my friend's seed may be perpetuated as Rulers of the State even unto the end of time"

In paragraph 5 of the Resident's report for 1891 it was stated that a special meeting of Council was convened " to secure the succession of the throne of Pahang to the Sultan's eldest son, Tengku Mahmud, as 'Tengku Besar'."

The census of Pahang for 1891 gave a total population of 57,444 souls, including 50,509 Malays, 3,241 Chinese, 2,032 aborigines and 102 Europeans.



His Highness Sultan Mahmud ibni Sultan Ahmad.



Group photo probably taken in 1888 in Pekan.

Seated, L. to R.

J. P. Rodger, British Resident Pahang; H.H. Sultan Ahmad; Tengku Besar Mahmud.

Standing, L. to R.

Orang Kaya Shahbandar Jidin; Orang Kaya Maharaja Perba Jelai, Wan Muhammad bin Wan Idris; Orang Kaya Pahlawan Perkasa Semantan, Bahaman bin Dato' Imam Noh; Imam Perang Indera Gajah Pahang, Imam Rasu bin Shahrom.

Photo by courtesy of Dato' Setia Amar Segara, Haji Sallehuddin bin Mat Lela.

CHAPTER XII.

REVOLT OF THE ORANG KAYA OF SEMANTAN.

The personal name of the Semantan Chief was 'Abdu'l-Rahman, Rahman, or Bahman. He was of humble, partly Jakun origin, and in his youth had been a menial servant attached to the Sultan's household. A born fighter, he distinguished himself in the war between Ahmad and Mutahir in which he fought under the style of Penglima Kakap, and in recognition of his services was raised to the rank of Secondary Chief (*Orang Besar Berlepas*) with the title of Dato' Sētia Perkasa Pahlawan of Semantan. He gained further distinction in the Selangor war at the conclusion of which he was for a time in charge of Ulu Klang. On his return to Pahang he took advantage of the absence of a Major Chief in his district (due to Ahmad's failure to fill the vacancy caused by the death of the Orang Kaya Indēra Sēgara of Temerloh) to extend his influence, and by 1887 or earlier was sometimes called to the Sultan's Councils, and claimed to be ranked on an equality with the Major Chiefs. He had a unique knowledge of jungle craft gained from his scouting expeditions all over Pahang and Selangor, and was intimately acquainted with the language, customs and forest-lore of the aboriginal tribes of his district.

Before the British ever came to Pahang the Semantan Chief, fearless, and turbulent, had once refused to obey an order of the Sultan prohibiting him from collecting taxes, and it was not until a force led by the principal Chiefs had been sent against him that he submitted, and obeyed the order calling him to Pekan. When he was commanded to surrender his letter of authority he threatened suicide, and the Sultan who, in spite of the Orang Kaya's misdeeds, had always retained a certain affection for him because of his past services, ultimately pardoned him, and permitted him to retain his title and post. At the time of the establishment of the Protectorate Bahman had a following of about three hundred men.

In 1889 the Orang Kaya had been accused of levying illegal taxes but the complainants, petty traders, were afraid to proceed against a powerful Chief, and the Government contented itself with warning him that irregular imposts would not be tolerated. In spite of the warning it was rumoured that he still levied taxes in the Semantan. He was known to be disaffected towards the Government because of its refusal to grant him an allowance on the same scale as a Chief of the rank of *Orang Besar Berempat*.

In December 1890 the Semantan Chief addressed an insulting and threatening communication to the magistrate at Temerloh (E. A. Wise), the ostensible reason for which was a dislike which he professed for the site selected at Lubok Trua for the erection of a police station. About the same time he wrote to the Resident of

Selangor (W. E. Maxwell) asking that his district might be attached to that State. In this letter he referred to the other Chiefs in Pahang as traitors to the Sultan, and boasted that he alone had not submitted to the British Government.

The Acting Resident of Pahang (Hugh Clifford) brought these matters to the notice of the Sultan who called the Orang Kaya to Pulau Tawar. The Semantan Chief denied the authorship of the letters, and the Sultan ordered him to Pekan so that his conduct might be investigated. The Orang Kaya disobeyed the command and took refuge in the jungle. It would not have been difficult to arrest him at this period had such a course been deemed advisable, but the Government was loath to take severe measures against an important Chief who held a warrant from the Sultan, except through the Sultan's agency, and in a manner fully approved by him. In pursuance of this policy the matter was placed in Ahmad's hands, and in February 1891 Maharaja Perba of Jelai was despatched to the Semantan in an effort to bring the recalcitrant Chief to Pulau Tawar for detention at the Sultan's pleasure, unless he gave an adequate pledge for his future good conduct. The Jelai Chief's mission proved abortive as Bahman again fled into the jungle. Not long afterwards the disaffected leader, probably the most expert woodsman in the peninsula, made his way to Kelantan through the Tembeling.

On his return to the Semantan Bahman was seen by the Magistrate (J. F. Owen) to whom he declared that he refused to obey the laws, or to permit his people to observe them, unless he were given an annual allowance of six thousand dollars. Nothing less, he stated, would compensate him for the loss of his customary privileges of taxation. In pursuance of his plan Bahman proceeded to defy the orders of the Government in the Semantan. He forbade his people to apply for permits for the extraction of jungle-produce, incited them to resist all State regulations, and prevented the enumeration of his people in the census of 1891.

In accordance with his promise made at the Council meeting held on the 8th of October 1891, the Sultan signed an order whereby Bahman was deprived of his title and position. In the words of the *Hikayat Pahang*, the Orang Kaya "reverted to the name Bahman which he had received when he was brought into the world," (*balik-lah nama kerat pusat-nya Si-Bahman*). This order was circulated in the Semantan district. Shortly afterwards, in view of Bahman's threats, the strength of the police force at the station of Lubok Trua was increased to twenty-five men of whom seventeen were Sikhs. The Sergeant in charge of the post was instructed to arrest Bahman if he again threatened the police, or committed any other unlawful act.

On the 15th of December 1891, C. E. M. Desborough, Collector of Semantan district, with the Inspector of Mines, entered the Semantan river, taking with them fifteen Sikhs and six Malay



*Hugh Clifford, aged 29. Acting British Resident Pahang, in 1889.
Photo Arkib Negara.*

police, with the intention of strengthening the force at Lubok Trua with another thirteen men. On their way they met and arrested three of Bahman's followers on a charge of removing jungle-produce without a permit. Instead of releasing them on bail, or sending them to Temerloh, the head-quarters of the district, they resolved to convey the prisoners to Lubok Trua for trial.

Bahman, believing that the expedition was really designed to capture him, collected his men, and ambushed the Collector's boats on the second day after they had entered the river. The Inspector of Mines, a Malay boatman, and one of the Sikh police were wounded and some of the boats capsized. Desborough, with the remaining boats, then returned to Temerloh (Kuala Semantan) where it was found that four of the Sikh police and the Malay Sergeant were missing, and that the prisoners had effected their escape. Of the missing Sikhs, one afterwards made his way to Temerloh, but the other three were killed by the rebels and their bodies shockingly mutilated. The Malay Sergeant who, with the Sergeant in charge of Lubok Trua, had been taken prisoner, took refuge with one of the Semantan head-men, and afterwards escaped. The rebel leader and his followers then took the Lubok Trua police station, meeting with little resistance, and captured stocks of food-supplies and goods in the store-houses of the Raub and Bentong mining companies. Here Bahman openly proclaimed his intention to resist the Government by force of arms.

The success attending the attack on Desborough's ill-starred expedition on the Semantan had the effect of emboldening the rebels and considerably strengthening their forces. The followers of Bahman did not at first exceed one hundred. After the capture of Lubok Trua that number, swollen by the accession of the men of Bentong and others, rose to six hundred. This force was accompanied by about one hundred aborigines who acted as bearers. The rebels now proceeded to sack Temerloh from which the Collector had retired with his police. Some of the principal shopkeepers were robbed and murdered, and forty old muskets were taken.

Rodger, who had been acting as Resident of Selangor during Maxwell's absence, on hearing of the outbreak on the 21st December, at once returned to Pahang with an escort of twenty-five Sikhs under the command of Captain Syers, Superintendent of the Selangor police. At Raub he was met by Clifford, Wise, and Inspector Fleming (who was in charge of the Ulu police) with twenty-five Sikhs. The police detachments in the out-lying stations were withdrawn, and the garrisons at Kuala Lipis and Kuala Tembeling strengthened. Rodger proceeded to Pulau Tawar to arrange for the Sultan's co-operation in an attack on the rebels from Kuala Semantan. It was evident that the Pahang police who numbered less than three hundred men

(partly Sikhs, partly Malays) would be unable to cope with the outbreak, so Rodger determined to concentrate them in the more important stations surrounding the Semantan, namely Bentong, Tras, Raub, Kuala Lipis and Kuala Tembeling, and to rely upon the Sultan and his forces to suppress the outbreak.

On December 29th Clifford, with sixty Sikhs under Inspector Sumner, and accompanied by the Regent Tengku Mahmud with about two hundred followers, entered the Semantan, and found the first rebel stockade abandoned. On the 1st of January 1892 they met with a repulse at Kelubi (where the rebels had thrown up their second fort) owing to the reluctance of the Malays to act with the Sikhs. The government forces then erected two stockades there—one for the Malays, the other for the Sikhs. Ahmad now issued a proclamation denouncing the Semantan leader as a traitor, exhorting his Chiefs to arrest or slay him, and threatening with punishment any person who consorted with the rebels.¹

Shortly afterwards the Governor accepted the Sultan's offer to suppress the rebellion with his own men and sent to Pahang two hundred rifles, ten thousand rounds of ammunition and a seven-pounder gun with equipment. Heavy floods forced Clifford to abandon operations at Kelubi and he fell back on Temerloh.

On January 14th the Sultan arrived from Pulau Tawar to take command of the expedition in person. On the following day he and Rodger, accompanied by his second son Tengku Ali, many chiefs and about one thousand men, entered the Semantan while Clifford returned to Kuala Lipis, and Tengku Mahmud, who was ill, to Pekan. At the first stockade at Batu Hampar which was held by To'Muda Bidin two of the rebel head-men were killed. Thenceforward little resistance was encountered up to Bentong which place the expedition reached on the 31st of January, having destroyed twelve stockades on the way. The rebels had fled into the jungle. At Bentong Rodger found Syers and Wise from whom he learnt that their camp had not been attacked, but that, in skirmishes, they had sustained casualties of three men killed and five wounded. Their transport communications with Selangor had been harassed, and some shop-keepers in Bentong had been robbed and killed by the rebels.

A force of Selangor and Perak police under the command of Major McCallum had been despatched to Pahang to assist in the operations on the Bentong side, but on the recommendation of the Resident this contingent was shortly afterwards withdrawn. The whole course of the river Semantan was then provisionally garrisoned by Pahang Malays under the command of Che Abdullah of Bëra and Saiyid Ali of Badoh. At the same time the Sultan proclaimed an amnesty to all persons (with the exception of about

¹Papers of Maharaja Perba (MS.).

twenty ring-leaders) who had taken part in the insurrection, provided that they returned to their villages within a month. Advantage was taken of this indemnity by many of the insurgents.

The month of February 1892 was spent in completing arrangements for the administration of the Temerloh district, and Tengku Ali was appointed to assist Wise in his duties as District Officer. Scouts were sent out, but Bahman made no movement. Rumour had it that he was lying concealed among the aboriginal tribes.

On the 9th of March Bahman with about fifty men again attacked and captured Lubok Trua, Che Abdullah, the head-man in charge of the station, having negligently or deliberately allowed most of his own men to return to the Bëra, and replaced them with levies from the villages of Chempaka and Bolo in the vicinity of Lubok Trua, who were in secret sympathy with Bahman. Only eleven out of fifty rifles were saved. Bahman's success had the effect of increasing the number of his followers to two hundred. Clifford, Wise and Tengku Ali, with three hundred men, at once proceeded to Lubok Trua, but the rebels fled before them. Here the Resident who had just returned from an interview with the Governor in Singapore joined them. The villages of Bolo and Chempaka were destroyed. At the request of the Sultan and his Chiefs Rodger reluctantly consented to suspend operations during Ramadhan the fasting month of Islam which began on the 24th of March 1892. The Resident, with Tengku Mahmud and Tengku Ali, returned to Pulau Tawar, Clifford went back to Kuala Lipis, while Wise with the Chiefs and their men, established in strong stockades, remained at Lubok Trua. A proclamation was now issued offering a reward of one thousand dollars for the capture of the rebel leader.

During the insurrection several Europeans in Pahang, notably Watson at Bentong, Fraser at Tras, Bibby at Raub, Hole at Pekan, and Kinsey at Kuala Pahang rendered valuable assistance to the Government.

In a report to the Governor, written at this time, the Resident stated :

" The Sultan of Pahang is admittedly a proficient in Malay warfare, and I was much impressed by the manner in which he arranged his scouting and attacking parties, by the facility of organizing transport and commissariat services for Malays, and by the excellence of his men as guerilla soldiers, when fighting in dense jungle. Such jungle, through which Malays move with ease and rapidity would be almost impervious to Sikhs or European Troops, both of whom would require to be supported by a strong force of Malay auxiliaries, or by Ghoorkas, or other natives accustomed to jungle fighting, before any really successful campaign could be conducted in Pahang.

" Writing with a somewhat intimate knowledge of native affairs in Pahang, and with a full sense of official responsibility, I have no hesitation in asserting that only the Sultan in person could have cleared the Semantan river so rapidly and effectively as was done in January, and that, had the wishes of His Highness been disregarded, when expressing his readiness to take action with his own men, and an attempt made to suppress the outbreak by means of British Troops, or otherwise, the ensuing campaign would probably have been long, certainly expensive, and possibly disastrous. It must never be forgotten that the Sultan is a sovereign to whom his Chiefs and people are devoted, that it would not be difficult to collect five thousand fighting men in Pahang, and that Pahang Malays, above all others, resent the interference of strangers. No stronger exemplification of the Sultan's loyalty to the British Government could have been shown than his readiness to endure the discomfort of an expedition into the jungle, lasting for more than a month, during the whole of which time he was separated from his Household, and the extent of this self-sacrifice can only be fully appreciated by those who are personally acquainted with the Sultan, and with the conditions of his usual life. At the same time, having regard to the renewal and possible extension of the Semantan outbreak, it is obvious that, unless soon finally suppressed, some fresh means must be devised, and no arrangement for the future tranquillity of the State will be satisfactory, unless it provides for the removal of the Sultan's residence at Pulau Tawar, where His Highness is surrounded by intrigues, to Pekan or some place in the immediate neighbourhood.

" As to the original causes of the Semantan outbreak, I can add little to the report of Mr. Clifford, but, from such enquiries as I have been able to make on the subject, I think it probable that the Ex-Orang Kaya had made some preparations to create a disturbance in the Semantan district, sooner or later, and that he relied on receiving active assistance from other Chiefs, and on the quiescence of the Sultan, but I consider that the actual outbreak was precipitated by the manner in which the Acting Collector of Temerloh and the Inspector of Mines commenced their progress up the Semantan river."

Late in 1891, or at the beginning of 1892, there occurred an event of which it appeared that the British authorities had, at the time, no cognizance. The Sultan and all the important Chiefs met at Pulau Tawar, and made a sworn agreement whereby the Chiefs avowed their loyalty to their Ruler, and engaged not to address any communications to the Resident or Governor except through the Sultan, who reserved unfettered discretion to deal with the matter as he thought fit, while Ahmad, on his part, agreed to uphold the ancient rights and privileges of the Chiefs, to allow no interference with them, and, except in certain abnormal cases, not to entertain any complaint against a Chief unless it was presented through the magnate concerned. The agreement was

sealed by the Sultan and signed by the four Major Chiefs, and by To'Gajah, the Orang Kaya Sĕtia Wangsa of Lipis, and Saiyid Ali of Badoh.¹ The Chiefs, holding a copy of the Koran provided by Tengku Empuan on their head, swore to abide by the pact.

The Kĕrah Regulations had been promulgated by W. C. Michell in Ulu Pahang while he was acting as Superintendent of that district. They were regarded by the people as arbitrary rules issued at the whim of European officers. The peasants of Penjom were called upon to provide labour for the construction of a road after the harvest of 1891-1892. On the 24th of January 1892, Mantĕri Dollah, the head-man, wrote a protest to his Chief, the Orang Kaya of Lipis, in which he said: "All the people declare that had the Regulations been issued on the command of His Highness and on your order, they would have obeyed them without question even if there were no wages."² The inhabitants of Penjom were preparing to remove themselves and their belongings to another State; not, as Mantĕri Dollah went on to say in his letter, because of the activities of the police in impounding stray buffaloes, but because of the disturbed condition of the country and the ugly rumours that were afloat regarding the attitude of the Chiefs of Ulu Pahang towards the Government.

A few days after the temporary cessation of operations, Che Embok brought word to Rodger that Maharaja Perba who, it appeared, had recently returned from Kelantan, was about to join the rebels. On the 23rd of February, the Sultan had written to this Chief acknowledging a communication from him dated 20th February, expressing his regret at the news that the Jelai magnate was in poor health, informing him of the result of his expedition on the Semantan, and requiring him to proceed at once to Pulau Tawar to take part in the deliberations of the Chiefs. If To'Raja were too ill to appear he was ordered to appoint a delegate in his place. With the letter, the Sultan despatched Imam Pĕrang Makhota and Penglima Dalam Muda to expedite To'Raja's movements.³ The tone of the letter indicated that the Sultan was working in close co-operation with the Resident.

On the 29th of February, Engku Muda Mansur, who was about to proceed to Pulau Tawar, doubtful of To'Raja's attitude, warned him and his head-men to refrain from any action that might endanger the officers of the Government at Kuala Lipis, instructed the Jelai Chief to comply with their orders, and exhorted him to remain well-affected towards the Government.⁴

¹Papers of Maharaja Perba (MS.).

²*Kata sehalian orang jika sudah dengan titah Ka-bawah Duli Yang Maha Mulia dan hukum Dato' jika tiada dengan belanja sekali pun ia apa hendak gagah-lah juga herjakan.*—(Papers of Maharaja Perba, MS.).

³*Op. cit.*

⁴*Op. cit.*

Early in 1892, the Penjom Mining company had discovered and were working rich "pockets" of gold at Gubar (Ulu Cheneras) near Kuala Lipis, a locality that had always been claimed by Maharaja Perba as his ancestral property—it was really within the boundaries of the land at one time held by his first cousin the mad Maharaja Sētia Raja, Haji Wan Daud, who was killed in 1889. The predecessors in title of the Penjom company, who obtained their grant on the 27th of April 1885, had been among the first in the general scramble for concessions which followed the rumour that Singapore was about to interest itself in Pahang. The find of gold in abundant quantities at Gubar intensified the anxiety of the Jelai Chief to regain land to which he considered himself entitled, and increased his political restlessness. At the beginning of April he wrote to Hugh Clifford at Kuala Lipis maintaining that the boundaries of the Penjom company's grant did not reach Gubar, (which was situated only a short distance from the Jelai river), and concluding: "I hope that you will weigh the claims of the people of the country with the claims of the company who are working gold in the locality and district of Jelai".¹

On April the 8th, Rodger replied to a letter which he had received from To'Raja. He explained that he had refrained from answering before as he had assumed that the Jelai Chief would have obeyed the Sultan's command (dated the 23rd of February) that he should present himself at Pulau Tawar. The Resident proceeded:

"... Regarding your complaint which Mr. Hugh Clifford brought to my notice that your mining land at the mines of Gubar has been included in the concession granted by His Highness the Sultan to the Penjom Company, with the result that you cannot work any longer there, in view of the gravity of the Semantan affair and the fact that it is a most inopportune time for a Chief to bring forward a complaint when the State is involved in difficulties, I cannot see my way to deal with the matter at the present time. But if it is true that the mines of Gubar are your ancestral property, and a place of livelihood for you and your people, and have always been in your possession, and the possession of your people, and that you can no longer work there, when the Semantan affair is satisfactorily concluded with the counsel and assistance of you and of the other Chiefs, I shall be in position to deal with the matter; and if you cannot get back the Gubar mines, as they have been included in the Penjom Company's concession, and have been worked by the Company, I shall help you to get a share or a profit from their working...."²

¹Papers of Maharaja Perba (MS.).

²*Op. cit.*

It is not easy to gauge accurately the Sultan's attitude at this period. He felt keenly the loss of power and privileges which the new regime, and the appointment of Tengku Mahmud as Regent involved, and he had in his inner council a war party led by To'Gajah who pressed him hard to declare against the British. Had he proclaimed a general rising at this stage, he could not have chosen a time at which the outbreak would have had a better prospect of success. The Perak and Selangor forces had been withdrawn; the Malays were tolerably well supplied with arms, ammunition and supplies; the padi crops had just been reaped, rice was more abundant than at any other time of the year, and the peasants were free for war-like employment; large Malay forces were ready mobilized, and the breathing space afforded by the cessation of operations against Bahman during the month of Ramadhan provided an opportunity for the Sultan and Chiefs to meet and draw up plans.

To'Gajah schemed to force the Sultan's hand. Ahmad had repeatedly declared to his Chiefs that he would not offer armed resistance to the British, but, over-borne by the extremists, he appears to have allowed To'Gajah, who was in secret communication with Bahman and the Jelai Chief, to assume direction at this period. It was said that the Sultan's royal wife, Tengku Empuan, exerted her influence in favour of the rebels.

There was reason to believe that To'Gajah had evolved a plan whereby the Government forces in Ulu Pahang should be over-whelmed: the Sultan was to hold Chenor; the Penglina Muda of Jempul was to over-run Pekan District; To'Gajah himself was to mobilize the Tembeling men; and the united levies of his son Mat Kilau in Budu and To'Raja in the Jelai were to attack and annihilate Clifford's small force at Kuala Lipis. The Sultan was aware of this plan. Did he approve it? To'Raja subsequently declared that he had Ahmad's authority for the projected attack on Kuala Lipis in April, but the Jelai Chief, at this period, needed little encouragement to take up arms against the Government.

On the 5th of April 1892 the Penglina Muda of Jempul raided Pekan District, and murdered two Europeans, Harris and Stewart of the Pahang Exploration Company, who were supervising the extraction of timber from the jungle at Sungai Duri near Kuala Chini. The mistress of one of the victims, Siti, a young Kelantan girl, was severely wounded in a heroic attempt to save her lover. The bodies of the murdered men were mutilated. The Penglina Muda was next seen at Tanjong Langgar, on April the 7th, with about thirty men. On the following day he retreated up-river. Belfield who, with Engku Muda Mansur, was in charge at Pekan, instructed the Shahbandar to arrest the Penglina Muda. The Orang Kaya ignored the instructions. The Jempul head-man's declaration that To'Gajah had conveyed to him the Sultan's command to take up arms caused a panic at Pekan.

The handful of Europeans in the capital prepared to defend themselves in the gaol, but their anxiety was soon allayed by the return of the Resident from Pulau Tawar and the arrival at Kuala Pahang of *H.M.S. Hyacinth* (Captain Cragie), *Plover* (Commander Bell), and *Rattler* (Commander Heugh) and a detachment of Sikhs from Singapore. It was not considered necessary to call upon the naval authorities to land their men, but the mere presence of the warships, which cruised off the coast for a month, inspired confidence in the European community, and tended to check a threatened extension of the disturbances. Captain Cragie, the senior naval officer in the Straits, and his officers gave advice and assistance in the strengthening of the defences at Kuala Pahang, Kuantan and Pēkan. Stockades were thrown up from Sungai Ma'Dulang to Tanjong Parit, and all the villagers as far as Kuala Luit were accommodated in Pēkan. Some of Tuan Mandak's people who lived on the banks of the Parit fled to Tanjong Pakra where they hoped to get a boat to take them from Pahang. According to the Malay record, Tuan Mandak was wrongly blamed for this panic.

Early in the month the Resident was with the Sultan and Tengku Mahmud at Pulau Tawar. On 10 April he and the Regent moved down to Kuala Semantan, there to await the Sultan before attacking the rebels in the Semantan. He returned to Pulau Tawar on the following day on the receipt of an urgent message from Ahmad. At Pulau Tawar he learnt of the murder of Harris and Stewart. He immediately left for Pēkan escorted by some of the Sultan's body-guard. At Sungai Duri he recovered the head of Stewart and took it to Pēkan for burial. He arrested one of the murderers. On the 13th of the month he reached Pēkan where he found Tengku Mahmud who had arrived the preceding day. The Regent then left for Kuantan to re-assure the people of that district. In the meantime Tuan Kechut, inspector of police, had entered the Jempul, and arrested twenty-one men who were said to have been concerned in the raid.

At the beginning of April Mat Kilau, a son of To'Gajah, had gone to his father's district of Budu to collect men ostensibly to accompany the Sultan to Semantan, but really to join To'Raja in an attack on Kuala Lipis which was held by Hugh Clifford with thirty Sikhs and a force of Malays. On April the 10th Mat Kilau arrived in Kuala Lipis where his men looted the shops, the Government forces not being strong enough to resist them. In the meantime the Sultan at Pulau Tawar issued instructions to To'Raja cancelling the projected attack. This order Ahmad gave to Haji Muhammad Nor to deliver to the Jelai Chief. The Sultan's envoy with a force of ninety men, twenty of whom were armed with rifles and ammunition, proceeded up-river. According to the *Hikayat Pahang* his instructions were to dissuade Mat Kilau from attacking Kuala Lipis, and if he were unsuccessful, to aid Clifford in repelling the attack. The Sultan was safe in any event !

At Pulau Samas Haji Muhammad Nor met Haji Abdul Latif of Pedah who informed him that the assault on Kuala Lipis was fixed for the next day. On the same evening he arrived at Kuala Lipis where he saw crowds of Mat Kilau's followers looting the shops. The disaffected leader met him and asked him why he had come. Haji Mat Nor replied that he had been sent to help Mat Kilau, that he was bringing a letter from the Sultan to To'Raja, and that His Highness' command was that before any action was taken, To'Raja should first be consulted. The Sultan's envoy then went to interview Clifford in the latter's house to assure him of his help. While they were engaged in conversation Mat Kilau appeared, followed by about one hundred men armed with spears and muskets, and with drawn swords. Clifford invited Mat Kilau and Haji Muhammad Nor to sit down while the Budu leader's followers stood around. The *Hikayat Pahang* gives the following description of the interview :

"Haji Muhammad Nor spoke half-jestingly to Mr. Clifford : ' *Tuan*, have you seen this creese of mine ? ' When Mr. Clifford replied in the negative, Haji Muhammad Nor drew his creese and handed it to him saying : ' This creese is named *Marhum Kadaton* :¹ it is very deadly ; it has forty-seven waves ; there is a taboo that *Marhum Kadaton* cannot be used except in time of war.' Mr. Clifford took the creese. Haji Muhammad Nor's object was to provide him with a weapon of defence. Haji Muhammad Nor himself held a sword in his hand. Mr. Clifford said that he had got a letter from the Penjom Company informing him that Mat Kilau intended to attack him that night or on the morrow ; he had only thirty Sikhs in the fort, but if he died, the British Government would be certain to avenge him. At this, Mat Kilau's face grew grim but he kept silence. Haji Muhammad Nor said : ' I have come here on the Sultan's instructions. His Highness' command to Mat Kilau was to employ the Budu men, who had been collected, in an attack on Bahman, but it seems that an honourable undertaking has become dishonourable, and a dishonourable undertaking honourable, (*pekerjaan yang baik jadi jahat dan yang jahat jadi baik*). ' Mr. Clifford expressed his readiness to face any eventuality. Mat Kilau agreed to Haji Muhammad Nor's suggestion that they should interview To'Raja. He then left the house with his men while Haji Muhammad Nor remained behind to complete arrangements with Mr. Clifford who agreed that Haji Muhammad Nor should proceed up-river to meet To'Raja. Report had it that Mr. Clifford posted

¹The weapon was called after Sultan Muhammad Shah of Riau whose posthumous name was *Marhum Kadaton* ; originally it may have belonged to him.

four detectives to watch the movements of Haji Muhammad Nor and Mat Kilau."¹

On 11 April, Gilbert B. Whyte of the Raub Australian Syndicate wrote to the Resident :

"... There has been any amount of Malay rumours brought here last week, these have been persistently circulated amongst the natives, who are now in a terrible state of funk. Raja Imphey called me out of bed on Friday night at 12 p.m. to tell me that his men had just brought in the news that Toh Raja and Toh Gajah had invited the ex-O.K. to co-operate with them and with their united forces attack Kuala Lipis and Raub also that all the small chiefs had been called to Kuala Lipis for above purpose. These reports were carried by Fraser to Kuala Kubo who expressed his opinion that they were not true...."

Mat Kilau and Haji Muhammad Nor proceeded to Bukit Betong, To'Raja's head-quarters on the Jelai, where they found the Jelai Chief awaiting them. He had collected his followers in readiness for an attack on Kuala Lipis. When To'Raja read the Sultan's letter, he exclaimed in disgust : " I get all sorts of contradictory commands!" (*Ini titah ini pun titah*). Haji Muhammad Nor then suggested that Mat Kilau should go down to Kuala Lipis, but with the strict understanding that he was not to open hostilities until To'Raja had joined him. The Jelai Chief undertook to follow him on the next day. When Mat Kilau had departed, the Sultan's envoy, after a long argument, succeeded in persuading To'Raja not to render active assistance to the rebels. On the following day, the 13th of April, Mat Kilau, on being informed of To'Raja's defection, abandoned his project of attacking Kuala Lipis and retired to Budu.

It is not certain that Mat Kilau adopted such a threatening attitude towards Clifford at the interview as the author of the *Hikayat* would have us believe, for about this time, in a telegram to the Governor sent through Raub, the Superintendent of Ulu Pahang reported that he believed all the Chiefs to be pacifically inclined, but had provisioned the stockade. He sent a letter to Rodger on 13 April, forwarding a copy of his telegram. This letter and Whyte's communication to Rodger appeared never to have reached their destination, but to have been intercepted by To'Raja, among whose papers they were found on his death.

To'Raja sent two letters by the hand of Haji Muhammad Nor to the Sultan and the Resident. On 17 April, To'Raja and To'Kaya

¹Of Clifford, the Malay annalist says : " Men as valiant as *Tuan* Clifford are seldom met with. When he confronted Muhammad Kilau he showed his courage and his complete indifference to the menacing weapons that were brandished in his face...." And, elsewhere : "...*Tuan* Clifford was very kind to the people of Pahang and had their interests at heart...."

Sétia Wangsa of Lipis, with seven hundred men, halted at Kuala Lipis on their way to Pulau Tawar. The crisis was now over.

When they reached Pulau Tawar, the *Hikayat Pahang* goes on to narrate, the Sultan ordered them to proceed with him back to Kuala Lipis: "so that the eyes of all intending traitors might be witness to the sincerity and good faith that characterized His Highness in his dealings with the Government." On 25 April Ahmad arrived at Kuala Lipis where he informed Clifford that the Chiefs no longer obeyed him, and that he had not authorised the projected attack on the town. On the following day the Sultan returned to Pulau Tawar. Two days later To'Raja and the Orang Kaya of Lipis went back to their homes. The Jelai Chief fell ill, and did not appear again till October when he proceeded to Singapore.

After the murders at Sungai Duri and the frustrated attempt on Kuala Lipis, the Sultan was warned that he would be made personally responsible unless he suppressed the disturbances.

At the beginning of May, Ahmad sent friendly letters to the Resident and the Governor and proceeded to Temerloh with a thousand men. Rodger, with thirty Sikhs from Perak, at once left Pekan for Temerloh which place he reached on 5 May. The District Officer reported that the Sultan's men had abandoned Batu Hampar and Lubok Trua, two stockades on the Semantan, which the rebels promptly re-occupied. It was said that the insurgents had cut off supplies by placing a chain across the river, but withdrawal was unjustifiable at least beyond Batu Hampar which had ample stores; the garrison were strong enough to drive back the rebels, but were bored, and afraid of being surrounded. Three men of the Lubok Trua garrison had been wounded in attempting to cut the river-chain.

On 6 May Rodger met the Sultan, Tengku Ali, To'Gajah, the Orang Kaya of Chenor and others, and it was decided to take the offensive against the rebels. The Sultan insisted that Malays lead the attack for fear that Bahman and his men would disappear at the sight of the British or Sikhs. On the following day Tengku Ali and To'Gajah entered the Semantan with three hundred men. They attacked and captured Batu Hampar on 8 May, killing one of Bahman's sons. The rebel leader fled. Here To'Gajah was said to have shown the first signs of disaffection by refusing to join in the pursuit. Tengku Ali and To'Gajah next proceeded to Lubok Trua where they were joined by E.A. Wise, District Officer of Temerloh, with Malay re-inforcements. Haji Muhammad Nor, the Sultan's trusted hench-man, assisted by Imam Përang Teh of Senggang, the Orang Kaya of Temerloh, To'Umbi, Pahlawan Lawi, To'Jenid of Chenor, Wan Ahmad of Tembëling, and Penglima Raja Yakob unsuccessfully pursued the rebels for a month between the Semantan and Lipis districts.

During May the Resident and the Sultan were at Kuala Semantan organizing forces. A station was established at Kuala Jempul; the stockade at Kuala Semantan was strengthened; and Clifford was instructed to join in the pursuit of the rebels from the Lipis side.

On 8 May, at Sungai Baloh, J. F. Owen, District Officer of Kuantan, had surprised a gang of thirty Kelantan robbers who had murdered a Chinese. He captured two of them. The raid was due to the disturbed state of the country, and was considered to be of no political significance.

In the meantime help to quell the rebellion had been arriving in Pahang. On 5 May Lieut-Colonel Walker, commandant of the Perak Sikhs, arrived at Raub from Selangor with 35 Sikhs, the manager of the Raub mines having telegraphed that Mat Kilau threatened to attack the town. On the next day arrived forty more Perak Sikhs under Lieutenant Reid, assistant commandant. They were fired at by the rebels near Raub and had one casualty. Several Chinese were murdered and others robbed by armed Malays between Kuala Lipis and Selangor.

On 9 May, Walker had at Tras four European officers, (Reid and three inspectors), two jemadars, one hundred and seventy-two Perak Sikhs and a few Malay police. Kuala Lipis was garrisoned by one European inspector, forty-five Pahang Sikhs, and thirty-two Malays.

On 18 May, Walker, accompanied by Clifford, who acted as political officer, left Raub for Budu with three European inspectors, two jemadars, and one hundred and five Sikhs (including thirteen gunners with a seven-pounder gun). On the following day this force was joined by the Orang Kaya of Lipis and others. Mat Kilau declined to negotiate, and on 21 May Budu was attacked and burnt, Mat Kilau with sixty men and their women and children escaping into the jungle. Clifford intervened to save from destruction the property of the inhabitants of other villages in the vicinity. Mat Kilau, with half a dozen followers, presented himself to To'Raja but was refused shelter. He then joined forces with Bahman at Ulu Cheka.

In June Duff, acting superintendent of police, with forty-five Pahang Sikhs, and Husain the Orang Kaya of Chenor with Malay levies entered the Jempul in pursuit of Penglima Muda. They killed four men and arrested eleven. At Semantan and elsewhere the conduct of the Chenor Chief had aroused suspicion but he showed no lack of enthusiasm in the present expedition. In the course of the fighting in the Jempul he was fatally wounded by Khatib Omar (a follower of Penglima Muda) who was pursued and killed. On the death of the Orang Kaya, the Temenggong was appointed to take charge of the Chenor district. The Jempul outbreak was not finally quelled till October when the Penglima

Muda was killed in the Jempul by a Malay force despatched by the Regent. Among the rebel chief's effects was a seal cut from the Sultan's warrant appointing his father head-man of Jempul. The Penglima Muda had caused his people to believe that the seal covered a warrant authorizing him to take up arms. The thirty-two men arrested for complicity in the Sungai Duri murders were tried before the Regent and the Resident in August; seventeen were acquitted, five executed, and ten imprisoned in Kuala Lumpur gaol.

At the beginning of June Tengku Ali and To'Gajah returned to Kuala Semantan with four hundred prisoners (including women and children) who were settled at Jenderak in the charge of Tengku Chik the local head-man.

The Resident now proposed that To'Gajah be arrested because of the outbreak of his son Mat Kilau, his suspicious conduct during the Semantan expedition, and his suspected complicity with Penglima Muda. The Sultan strongly objected to the proposal, but promised to bring him to Pekan and send him to Mecca.

In the middle of June Haji Muhammad Nor's party returned. The Resident sent Duff and Wise with Sikhs up the Semantan to re-garrison Lubok Trua, and re-open communications with Raub by way of the Semantan and Bilut rivers. They met with no resistance. Wise returned to Temerloh and Duff joined Clifford in Ulu Pahang.

During June and July the Resident was engaged in arranging for the Sultan's withdrawal from Pulau Tawar. He visited Kuala Lipis and Kuala Tembeling, and took re-inforcements to Inspector Fleming who had been attacked by rebels at Kuala Cheka. On 22 June, the Sultan, accompanied by To'Gajah, proceeded to Pulau Tawar on his way to Pekan.

On 13 July Walker and Clifford, accompanied by Captain Byrne, Inspector McKeon, one Jemadar, and sixty-three Sikhs marched from Lechok near Budu to Batu Balai where the rebels were reported to be encamped. Inspector Fleming and twenty-five Pahang Sikhs guarded Kuala Cheka. At Batu Berapit Walker's scouts were fired upon and one was killed. The rebels were soon dislodged after sustaining losses of one killed and one wounded. They then proceeded to attack Fleming at Kuala Cheka. On 14 July Walker found the Batu Balai camp deserted and, owing to lack of supplies, fell back on Lechok.

Six days later Fleming, Penglima Garang Yusoh, and their Malay levies were attacked for five hours by the rebels who were repulsed after inflicting two casualties. On the same day the rebels captured a small out-post held by four Sikhs and some Malays, and drove the defenders back to Kuala Cheka. The insurgents were trying to cross the Pahang river near this spot in

order to flee to Kelantan. For three days Bahman and Mat Kilau held the right bank of the Pahang. On 23 July Rodger took some of the Sultan's men from Pulau Tawar, and fifteen Sikhs from Kuala Tembeling, and concerted a joint attack with Fleming; the rebels fled without firing a shot.

At the beginning of August Walker had in Pahang thirteen European officers, Capt. Byrne R.M.L.I. from *H.M.S. Hyacinth*, Cuscaden, Superintendent of Police, Malacca, Lieut. St. Clair S.V.A. (in charge of Raub), and Duff with nine inspectors, one subadar, two jemadars, four hundred and twenty Sikh N.C.Os and men, fifty Malay police, and levies under the Orang Kaya of Lipis, Penglima Garang Yusoh and other Chiefs.

On 2 August Ahmad left Pulau Tawar for Pekan. On that night To'Gajah, with his wives and children, deserted the Sultan and fled to the Tembeling on his way to Kelantan. In that river he was joined by his son Mat Kilau. The villagers of the Tembeling, panic-stricken, fled in all directions and, except for the armed forces, the river became deserted. On 22 August, Mat Kilau and Awang Nong attacked Duff and Penglima Garang Yusoh at Kuala Atok. Duff lost two boats and two Perak scouts were killed, but the attack was repulsed. Penglima Garang Yusoh distinguished himself in this engagement. Walker and his Sikhs, accompanied by Wise, now political officer, reached Kuala Atok on the following day but the rebels had disappeared. On 26 August, Clifford joined Walker. On the following day the Government forces reached Pagi, three days' march from Kelantan, only to hear from Wan Ahmad that To'Gajah and Mat Kilau had crossed the border and taken refuge in Ulu Lebir. Walker returned to Kuala Tembeling, and Clifford to Kuala Lipis. On September 6th a Eurasian government officer had his boat looted by a party of rebels under Bahman at Jeram Changkong (between Kuala Tembeling and Kuala Lipis) in which locality they had been lurking for a month. Bahman released his captive after questioning him as to the Sultan's movements.

To'Gajah, who was now in Kelantan, on 28 August despatched a letter to Maharaja Perba, in which he said :

" . . . I have arrived safely in Kelantan. If you intend to fight, inform me without delay, but let there be no holding back once a decision is made. The Sultan told me that if you rose in the Jelai His Highness would take up arms at Chenor. I have waited all this time but you have taken no action. In the meantime the British attacked me. I went to the Sultan and informed him of the attack. What was His Highness' reply? ' You had better retire to the Tembeling first of all; I do not know whether you have friends here. 'I accordingly fled with my children, and three nights elapsed before the Sultan went down-stream. His Highness' command was : ' If To'Raja takes up arms you must help

him. If he remains quiet it would be folly for you to engage in operations, single-handed, for you have no men.¹ My intention was, on reaching the Tembëling, in company with the Tembëling men to wait for you to move, but when I arrived all the people fled with the exception of the Penghulu Raja. What could I do? I had no men. I followed on the heels of the Tembëling folk and suddenly found myself with my children in Kelantan. I hope you will take up arms. If your messenger bringing the news that you will fight arrives in the evening, that very evening will I set out; if he arrives in the morning, that very morning will I start. I am going downstream to interview the Raja of Kelantan. Even if you will not fight I hope that you will reply to this letter for I am anxious to hear news of Pahang."¹

To'Raja did not respond to the Pulau Tawar Chief's advances.

On 7 September, near Jeram Changkong occurred a skirmish between Walker and the rebels who had four casualties. Walker pursued the enemy to Kenong, but mistaking the Kelantan border, abandoned the pursuit and returned to Kuala Tembëling.

On 12 September To'Raja, in a letter to Che Harun of Sungai Galas Kelantan, wrote: "...I am very distressed because I alone am left: To'Kaya of Chenor has been killed in the Jempul, To'Gajah has fled from Pulau Tawar and entered the Tembëling, the Orang Kaya Pahlawan has left the Semantan, and the Sultan has gone down to Pekan.... If you do not pity me I shall die in misery...."²

On 16 September Walker, Clifford, and the Sikhs hurried to Kechau where they were joined by Duff and forty Sikhs from Kuala Tembëling. They pursued the enemy from Kechau to Kuala Temasu on the Tanum which place they reached on 24 September. The rebels escaped into Kelantan and the pursuit was abandoned. Bahman was said to be at Ulu Nenggiri near Pulau, and To'Gajah and Mat Kilau on the Lebir, near the Pahang border. Representations were made to Kelantan to have them removed. By the end of September all the rebels had been driven out of Pahang. A month later Walker, with most of his men, returned to Perak. The danger of a general rising was at an end.

Rodger, in his report to the Governor, eulogized the masterly retreat of Bahman, burdened with women and children, and confronted with superior forces. The Semantan leader had probably not more than sixty followers armed with guns while Mat Kilau and To'Gajah had thirty-five rifles. The government forces lost fifteen men killed and twenty wounded; the rebel losses were twenty-five killed and ten wounded. The casualty list was not reliable as many of the enemy must have died of starvation.

¹Papers of Maharaja Perba (MS.).

²*Op. cit.*

Of the twenty men excluded from the original Semantan amnesty three surrendered and were deported, one was killed, the Penghulu of Bentong and his brother Che Ali awaited trial, the rest had fled to Kelantan. The Orang Kaya Indëra Sëgara of Temerloh who had offered no opposition when Bahman looted Temerloh had been deprived of the greater part of his monthly allowance and removed to Pekan, his district being provisionally entrusted to Tuan Chik of Jenderak. The Semantan was placed under the charge of Saiyid Ali of Badoh. On the flight of To'Gajah, Pulau Tawar was handed over to Penglima Garang Yusoh, while the district of Budu, also controlled by To'Gajah, was restored to its ancient Chief, the Orang Kaya Sëtia Wangsa of Lipis. To'Lela of Kerdau, one of the Secondary Chiefs, who had joined Bahman, was deprived of his rank.

In August the Governor, accompanied by Major McCallum, had visited Pekan to hold a consultation with Ahmad who had come from Pulau Tawar. The Sultan of Johore, with the Mantëri Besar and Dato' Sëri Amar'diraja, also attended the conference. It was decided that a general amnesty should be proclaimed, applicable to all who had taken up arms, except Rasu and Bahman and those who had been guilty of crimes. In the case of the two rebel leaders, a promise was to be made to spare their lives if they surrendered. In September the Sultan of Pahang, on the Governor's invitation, visited Singapore.

While Ahmad was in Singapore, Sir William Maxwell, the Colonial Secretary, (who played no small part in the conciliation of the Sultan and his Chiefs), on 7 September, sent an invitation to Maharaja Perba to visit the Straits; the appearance of the Jelai Chief would be a gesture demonstrating to the public his good-will towards the Government. To'Raja, suspicious, read into the letter his death warrant, and he was induced to accept the invitation only when Saiyid Hasan bin Ahmad-al-Attas, the bearer of the message, pledged himself as a hostage for his safety.

In October, at an interview with the Governor in Singapore, the Jelai Chief, invited to voice his grievances, put forward several requests. He applied for increased allowances for himself and his head-men To'Muda Akir of Gua and Penghulu Teh of Rantau Panjang whose stipend should be made equal to that of To'Muda Yusoh; allowances for his relatives, including his son Wan Tanjong, and for his unpaid head-men, Rahmat of Kuala Cheka, Penghulu Muda of Kenong, To'Mat Penghulu of Kechau, To'Amit of Tanum, To'Imam Abbas of Atas Biau (successor of To'Sembab), Mukim Seman of Kuala Tanum and Yusoh of Perlak (successor of To'Muda Ahmad Tahir). He asked the Governor to confirm the grant to him of the water-shed of the Jelai Besar, and to exclude from the Penjom Company's title the locality of Gubar. He prayed that the proposal to diminish To'Raja's authority by raising Penglima Garang Yusoh of Kuala Tembëling to the rank of a Chief

independent of To'Raja and directly responsible to the Sultan be abandoned; the ancestral jurisdiction of Maharaja Perba covered the territory which extended from Tanjong Lindong to the borders of Perak, Selangor, and Kelantan, and the inhabitants of that area acknowledged him as their Major Chief. To'Raja went on to protest against the Penjom Company's claim to land which had long been in the occupation of his people. He asked that the Major or other Chiefs be not deprived of their rank without grave reasons: he had heard many rumours in Ulu Pahang to the effect that this Dato' and that Dato' would be deposed; where dismissal was warranted the deposed Chief should, in accordance with custom, be replaced by his son or one of his other relatives. The Jelai Chief enquired whether the Governor would entertain a petition from the people praying for the repeal of certain of the laws which had been passed: he referred particularly to the Kérah Regulations which, he maintained, bore heavily on the peasants. To'Raja concluded by asking for the release of six of his men who had been arrested on suspicion of consorting with the rebels.

The Maharaja Perba's representations emphasized some of the factors which had caused unrest in Ulu Pahang; the inadequacy of allowances to the Chiefs, the disturbance by mining companies of the occupation by To'Raja and his people of ancestral lands, the circulation of unsettling rumours, and the Kérah Regulations,

At a conference held in October between the Governor, Ahmad, and the Johore ruler it was decided to proclaim a general amnesty to all, excepting Bahman and To'Gajah, who had taken part in the rebellion provided that they returned to their homes. The amnesty was to apply to rebels in respect of rebellious acts committed during the rising; criminals were excluded. Maharaja Perba and Saiyid Hasan bin Ahmad al-Attas (a member of a well-known Pahang-Arab family) were appointed envoys of the Government to treat with the two rebel leaders who were exhorted to surrender themselves on a promise that their lives would be spared and that they would not be treated as common malfactors. Sultan Abu-Bakar of Johore, on behalf of the Pahang ruler, on 24 October, issued a proclamation to that effect. A few days later Abu-Bakar's Mantéri, at Maxwell's request, wrote to the envoys explaining the exact purport of the proclamation.

By the end of 1892 there was a marked improvement in the relationship between the people and the government. The people showed themselves disposed to obey the laws and the Chiefs more ready to co-operate with European officers.

Most of the rebels took advantage of the amnesty and returned to their homes, but their leaders Rasu (formerly To'Gajah) and Bahman, men who could recall instances in which fugitives, induced to surrender by Malay rulers on a promise of mercy, were summarily put to death, anxious though they were to come to terms, were deeply suspicious of the advances made to them by the

Government. The rebel leaders, whose armed followers now numbered not more than a dozen, had taken refuge in Sungai Ampul, a tributary of the Lebir, in Ulu Kelantan where there were settled a colony of Pahang peasants who had fled from their native State during the civil war of the sixties. They had lost most of their supplies when their boats capsized in the rapids of the river, but the Kelantan people gave them assistance in food and money.

To'Raja lost no time in entering into negotiations with the fugitives. Haji 'Abdu'l-Raof, a younger son of Rasu, who had not been deeply implicated in the rising, and now resided in Pahang, acted as an intermediary for the rebels. On 9 January 1893, Rasu sent a message to To'Raja by Haji 'Abdu'l-Raof informing him that as he was on his way to meet Wan Tanjong (To'Raja's eldest son) he fell ill and had to turn back. He enquired whether his son would be allowed to realize his property in Pahang. His messenger would recount to the Jelai Chief the circumstances attending Rasu's flight from Pulau Tawar. He suggested that the Sultan and the Government be informed of his illness. Rasu concluded by asking for a formal written assurance from To'Raja that the Government did not impute guilt to him.¹

On 17 February, the rebel leader informed the Jelai Chief that only his son Haji 'Abdu'l-Raof had his complete confidence: "His words are my words." He expressed his pleasure at hearing that To'Raja had returned safely from Singapore after having been kindly treated by the Sultans of Pahang and Johore and the Governor. He was delighted, he wrote, that all the charges against him had been dropped. He requested a loan of six hundred dollars wherewith to repay his debts to the Kelantan people, and again asked for a written declaration from To'Raja and from the Resident that he and his sons were exculpated. He ended his message with the words: "If my requests above-mentioned are not acceded to, let me die in the jungle for I am afraid to return. I will attach no credence to mere verbal assurances no matter by whom given."²

On 3 October 1893, Rasu and Bahman wrote to Wan Tanjong enquiring whether his father had returned from Pekan and seeking his advice; they would return at once if he advised such a course, as their condition of living was not that of human beings. They asked what would be their position if they did return.³

The fugitive Chiefs now suggested that To'Raja should meet them in Ulu Tembeling. On 21 November 1893 Clifford, the acting Resident, agreed that Maharaja Perba should interview them and instructed him to explain clearly the terms of their

¹*Op. cit.*

²*Op. cit.*

³*Op. cit.*

surrender, and to advise them to return quickly to Pahang. If they returned, To'Raja was ordered to escort them straight to Pekan.¹

In December, To'Raja reported the result of the negotiations. He had met Rasu, Bahman and Mat Kilau at Chekuas, and carried out his instructions to recall them to Pahang. They declined to agree to surrender on the terms set forth in Sultan Abu-Bakar's proclamation of 24 October 1892. They asked that the Sultans of Pahang and Johore, and the Resident should call them once more and give a pledge that the fugitive leaders would suffer no untoward fate. They asked that their sons and daughters should be placed under To'Raja's charge at Bukit Betong. If their request were granted they expressed themselves ready to proceed, in company with To'Raja, to the Sultan at Pekan, and afterwards to Johore. To'Raja added that the rebels had left for Ulu Tanum there to await a further communication from the Government, and that, after he had received letters from the Sultan and the Resident, he would enter into further parley with them and, if he were successful, escort Rasu and Bahman to Pekan.²

On 27 December Clifford thanked To'Raja for his services in the negotiations, asked him to inform the fugitives that the Sultan and the Government would abide by the promise made by the Governor and the Pahang ruler, and agreed that the rebel leaders' children, with the exception of Mat Kilau, should take up their residence on the Jelai.³

The prospects of the fugitives' return at this stage seemed bright. 'Abdu'l-Raof entered into details with To'Raja regarding the disposal of his brothers and sisters when they returned to Pahang, and enquired where the Jelai Chief proposed to meet them. They all expressed their desire to settle in the Jelai, except Mat Kilau: "whose case is entirely different." Rasu asked that the Jelai Chief should provide him with money "even if it were only one cent, as a sign of friendship."⁴

The Resident, in his report for the year 1893, wrote :

"... It is probable that before long both the ex-Datoh Gajah and the ex-Orang Kaya Pahlawan will surrender themselves to Government. These chiefs have now been deserted by nearly all their followers, the people who left the State in their company having since come in large numbers and given themselves up to Government, and it is probable that they could not at the present time muster more than a dozen fighting men should they desire to create further trouble.

¹*Op. cit.*

²*Op. cit.*

³*Op. cit.*

⁴*Op. cit.*

There is little reason to anticipate that any of the chiefs now in Pahang would be willing to afford active assistance to the rebels, should the latter contemplate a renewal of hostilities, and so long as this continues to be the case, the presence of the rebel chiefs on our frontier cannot be regarded as a subject for any very serious anxiety."

The insurgents who were now back in Ulu Lebir, still suspicious, dreading the degradation from their former rank in Pahang, and morally supported to a large extent by both Kelantan and Trengganu, still refrained from surrender though they continued negotiations.

In February 1894 E. A. Wise, Superintendent of Ulu Pahang, on Clifford's instructions, sent a messenger with letters from the Sultan and the Resident to Awang Nong, one of Rasu's sons who resided at Kuala Tembeling, with orders to deliver them to the rebel leaders. Awang Nong, fearing to leave Pahang, asked Che Mat Idris of Kuala Tembeling to take his place. Che Mat Idris deputed Wan Hamid of Jeram Ampai to report on the condition of the rebels, Wan Hamid accordingly proceeded to Kelantan where he met his relatives. On his journey back he encountered Bahman and Rasu on the Sungai Ampul. Rasu, who was seriously ill, informed him that he was only waiting for the arrival of Awang Nong to return to Pahang. Bahman also expressed his intention to return after his wife's confinement. Wan Hamid visited Mat Kilau at Pasir Durian (Kelantan). With Mat Kilau were Yusoh and Teh Ibrahim. On Rasu's proposed return to Pahang his son Mat Kilau, and Mat Lela son of Bahman, did not intend to accompany him. Wan Hamid did not meet the rebel, Mat Kelubi. It appeared to him that Rasu and Bahman, judged by the wretched conditions under which they lived, did not contemplate any further adventures in Pahang.¹

On 20 April 1894 Rasu and Bahman wrote to To'Raja :

"... We are afraid to return to Pahang as the place is full of rumours brought from Tembeling by way of Kuala Kelantan that the Government has furnished Kelantan people with rifles to kill us. That is the reason why we have not yet returned and are living in the jungle. The interior of Kelantan and Trengganu and all countries are closed to the four of us² for the Government has issued instructions in all States that we are to be shot at sight, and have offered a reward of one thousand dollars for our capture. We cannot go anywhere to seek food because many people are awaiting the opportunity to betray us. We are deeply distressed for you had told us that the Government had dropped proceedings against us and that we were absolved. At the present time we are leading a precarious

¹*Op. cit.*

²The rebel leaders and their sons Mat Kilau and Mat Lela.

existence on hills at the source of unknown rivers, waiting for the confinement of the Orang Kaya's wife, which event will take place this month.

" We do not fear the reports from the Tembeling for we are anxious to return to Pahang this very moment, but are delayed by the expected confinement of the Orang Kaya's wife. We hope to return after her delivery: we solemnly swear it!"¹

This mischievous and baseless rumour, coupled with the influence of Engku Saiyid of Trengganu, destroyed all hopes of a voluntary surrender, though Rasu and Bahman still pretended an anxiety to return, and did not break off negotiations.

About the end of April To'Raja made one more appeal to Bahman to surrender himself. He had often, he said, informed the Government that Bahman had arranged to meet him but the fugitives had failed to appear. He pointed out the folly of continuing the struggle against the Government.²

At this time there lived in Trengganu a fanatical holy man, Engku Saiyid of Paloh. He enjoyed a great reputation for sanctity and was endowed, in the popular mind, with supernatural attributes. Pilgrims came to see him from far and wide. He got into touch in May with the rebel Chiefs who had taken up their residence at Sabĕrang Engku Ngah (a place at Kuala Trengganu opposite the Sultan's enclosure), and preached to them a holy war against the infidel, assuring them that if they fought they would be invulnerable and victorious. Urged by this incitement the rebels prepared to attack Kuala Tembeling. Engku Saiyid gave them several charms, among others, a sword apiece, on the blade of which he had traced a text from the Koran with his own hand. One of these weapons was afterwards captured at Jeram Ampai. The rebel Chiefs had only a dozen effective fighting men among their following, but backed by the influence of Engku Saiyid, they raised a force of about one hundred men in the Besut district of Trengganu, and in Ulu Lebir, Kelantan. A Kelantan man, Saudagar Awang Ngah, succeeded in smuggling arms and ammunition for the rebels from Singapore. The forces were concentrated at Paloh.

In the meantime negotiations with the Pahang Government had not been broken off, and even while preparations were being made for an attack, envoys from Pahang arrived at Ulu Lebir to treat with the rebels. They were To'Muda Akir of Goa, To'Muda Awang Tanggok of Kechau, and Che Wan Husain, the Penghulu Raja of the Tembeling. In response to the envoys' enquiries the

¹*Op. cit.*

²*Op. cit.*

rebel leaders professed themselves ready to return to Pahang to surrender themselves in a few days, but it did not take long to discover that no peaceable design was afoot.

Two days after the arrival of To'Muda Akir and his companions, Mat Kelubi reached Ulu Lebir with the rebel forces from Paloh. On their journey up-stream they were feted as heroes by the people. All pretence was now dropped. On the night following their arrival Rasu, Bahman, Mat Kilau and Mat Kelubi with about a hundred men began their raid. To'Muda Akir and his friends (who were left behind by the rebels and subsequently returned by Pulai) were unable to warn Pahang of the impending foray owing to the speed with which the raiders moved. The rebels crossed the border into Ulu Tembeling on 12 June 1894, and made a rapid descent of the Tembeling, impressing on the way all the adult male inhabitants of that river. Before dawn on 14 June they made a successful surprise attack on the stockade at Kuala Tembeling. This fort, built in 1892 to accommodate two hundred men, and designed to be the head-quarters of the Government forces operating against the rebels, at the time of the attack was occupied by only eleven Sikhs who were inadequate to defend it. The assault was cleverly managed in the darkness of a moon-less night in the hour before dawn. The sentry was struck down and the station-house captured before the Sikhs were aware of the presence of the enemy. Five of the defenders were killed, their bodies being afterwards mutilated; the remainder, one of whom, Ram Singh, received more than thirty wounds, escaped. Ram Singh, grievously wounded though he was, succeeded in making his way to Pulau Tawar where he reported the raid to Penglima Garang Yusoh who had taken the ex-To'Gajah's place as chief of that locality, and to To'Raja who then happened to be in Pulau Tawar. The two Chiefs at once collected their men into a stockade and prepared to resist the rebels.

In the meantime Bahman, Rasu and Mat Kilau, after their successful morning attack, looted the trading boats moored at Kuala Tembeling and, the same day, moved down river towards Pulau Tawar with the object of inducing To'Raja and Penglima Garang Yusoh to join them in the revolt. The rebels halted at Kedondong, a village about two miles above Pulau Tawar, and sent messages to the Chiefs asking them to take up arms against the infidels, and invoking the names of Tengku Long and Engku Saiyid of Trengganu. To'Raja replied that he would give an answer in the morning. The messengers came back asking for a definite answer and stating that the rebel Chiefs threw themselves on To'Raja's mercy. He returned a fatalistic reply: "If we are to live we shall live, if we are to die we shall die," and refused to treat further with them.¹ The insurgent chiefs, finding that their efforts to gain adherents were unsuccessful, retreated at midnight to Kuala Tembeling and thence to Jeram Ampai, about

¹*Op. cit.*

four miles from the mouth of the Tembëling, where they constructed stockades on the right and left banks. To'Raja and Penglîma Garang Yusoh followed them as far as Kuala Tembëling.

Mat Kelubi, one of the rebel leaders who, with fifty men, had been left in charge of the captured post at Kuala Tembëling, went up the Jelai with a dozen scouts to secure that warning should be given against a possible attack from Kuala Lipis. On 15 June To'Raja and Penglîma Garang Yusoh, with their men, fortified themselves on both sides of the river at Kuala Tembëling, gathered together such arms, ammunition and men as they could collect, and sent news of the raid to Kuala Lipis and Temerloh. On 16 June Mat Kelubi and his party returned to Kuala Tembëling where they were attacked by the Ulu Pahang Chiefs who killed him and seven of his men. The *Hikayat Pahang* describes the fight :

" The enemy went up-stream to Kuala Tembëling and looted the Chinese shops. They first thought of making a stand there and using the place as a base for an attack on Kuala Lipis, but their courage failed them, and they retreated up the Tembëling and constructed stockades at Jeram Ampai. Mat Kelubi was ordered to take a party of eleven scouts as far as Kuala Lipis. Their intention was to burn various villages on the Jelai. They went up-stream arrogantly, not like scouts; they made no attempt to conceal themselves and boasted of their prowess in war. In the meantime Penglîma Garang and To'Raja with their forces appeared, took possession of Kuala Tembëling on both banks and constructed stockades. Penglîma Garang knew that Mat Kelubi had gone up the Jelai and ordered his men to be on the alert. In a short time Mat Kelubi was seen coming down-river. Penglîma Garang and To'Raja awaited his arrival below the mouth of the Tembëling. When Mat Kelubi came near he shouted out boastfully and conducted himself like an actor in a play (*bersila panggong*). The forces of Penglîma Garang fired a volley which was replied to by the rebels. Mat Kelubi and his men then leapt into the river. They were followed in a boat by Penglîma Garang who speared them as one would spear fish (*seperti orang menuba ikan*). Only two of the rebels escaped, the rest were killed. Penglîma Garang and To'Raja strengthened the stockades and collected their men."

Walter Egerton, acting Resident of Pahang, on hearing of the attack on Kuala Tembëling, accompanied by R. W. Duff, Superintendent of police, with a small body of Sikhs at once left Pëkan for the interior. He reached Kuala Tembëling on 18 June. There he was joined by E. A. Wise, acting Superintendent of Ulu Pahang, with another detachment of Sikhs. It was considered that the united force was not strong enough to attack the rebel positions at Jeram Ampai. By 28 June detachments of

Colonial, Perak, and Selangor Sikh police under the command of Assistant Superintendent Stewart, Lieut.-Colonel Walker, Captain Talbot, and Captain Lyons had arrived at Kuala Tembeling. On the morning of 29 June an attack was launched on Jeram Ampai, Walker, Lyons and Talbot with the main body of Sikhs and Malays proceeding up the left bank of the Tembeling, while operations on the right bank were entrusted to Duff who was accompanied by Stewart. One mountain-gun was taken with Walker's column, but was sent back as it retarded the progress of the attacking party. No medical officer of any kind accompanied the troops though two dressers were available at Kuala Tembeling. Wise accompanied Walker's column in the capacity of political officer. The Government force on the left bank reached a spot in the jungle from which, unnoticed, they could hear the rebels in their stockades. A somewhat impetuous attack headed by Walker and Wise would then seem to have been made; no steps had been taken first to surround the enemy and cut off his means of retreat. As he was hacking his way through the fence of the stockade Wise was shot in the leg by some of the Sikhs who were in his rear engaged in firing at the stockades from the cover of the surrounding jungle. He died of his wound, and was buried at Kuala Tembeling. The rebels after a short resistance fled with a loss, it was reported, of forty men killed. On the Government side Wise and four Sikhs were killed, and Talbot and four Sikhs wounded. The attack on the right bank miscarried. Duff, misled by his guides, did not reach the scene of action until the fighting was over.

Of Wise, Clifford wrote: "...By the sad and untimely death of this officer the Pahang Government sustained a loss the severity of which it is difficult to exaggerate. Mr. Wise possessed, to a degree by no means common among Europeans, a natural and peculiar aptitude for native work. During the last five years of his life, years that were spent without once quitting Pahang, he had acquired an intimate knowledge of the country, the people, and the dialect of the State, which when coupled with his undoubted ability and his unswerving devotion to duty rendered him an ideal officer for the charge of a difficult Malay district, such as Ulu Pahang. His firmness, his tact, and his great personal charm inspired feelings of respect and attachment in men of all classes and races with whom he came into contact...."

An organized pursuit of the rebels was commenced early in July when Clifford had resumed charge of the State. On 21 July Clifford, with a force of one hundred and thirty Malays, crossed the border into Trengganu territory through unexplored country, and after a slight brush with an isolated band of rebels, reached Kuala Alor in Ulu Pertang on 29 July. There he was joined by Walker, Duff and a column of Sikhs and Malays. On 1 July the combined forces came up with the rebels, and in the ensuing engagement Clifford lost one Sikh, one Dyak and three Malays

killed, and one Malay Chief (Wan Abdullah son of Wan Ismail of Pulau Besar), and one Dyak wounded. The rebels suffered no casualties but had to abandon their belongings. Among their effects were found letters incriminating in the rebellion persons of high rank in Kelantan and Trengganu.

On 7 August, the rebels were completely surrounded, cut off from all supplies, and their capture seemed imminent when they were afforded an avenue of escape owing to the bad faith of Engku Selia Raja of Kemuning and Dato' Penglima Dalam, two Chiefs who had been sent by the Raja of Kelantan under the pretence of aiding the Pahang force. By this time the Governor's orders not to cross the border had come to hand and Clifford reluctantly withdrew his forces. The Perak and Selangor Sikhs were at once returned to their respective States.

A few days after Clifford's departure, the rebels emerged from their hiding places in the jungle, and accompanied by the Kelantan ruler's emissaries, proceeded to the residence of Engku Selia Raja at Kemuning (Machang) in Kelantan. Here they were relieved of their non-combatant followers who were despatched to Siam. Rasu and Bahman spent a few weeks in Engku Selia Raja's compound. After a pretended attempt at arrest by a Malay noble whose Siamese title was Luang Pati Pak Pachakon they proceeded to Besut in Trengganu, where they remained until May 1895.

The raid by Bahman and Rasu and their followers embarrassed Pahang but little damage was done to life and property, and communications on the Pahang river were interrupted for only five days. The development of the State was not seriously retarded by this isolated foray.

The inhabitants of the Bentong and Semantan districts who had fled when Bahman was driven out in 1892 had now returned to their homes. The Sultan continued to reside at Pekan. He visited Singapore twice during the year. His Excellency Sir Charles Bullen Mitchell rode into Pahang from Kuala Kubu in September 1894. He was the first Governor to perform the journey by land.

The immediate punishment of the raiders was rendered impossible by the political considerations which dictated Clifford's recall from Kelantan, a State under Siamese suzerainty, but it was now clear that the safety of Pahang depended upon the complete crushing of the rebels. Failure to avenge the raid would encourage its repetition on a bigger scale, and stultify the newly established Protectorate.

On 7 January 1895 Clifford received approval of his proposals for a punitive expedition to Kelantan and Trengganu against the rebels. It was arranged that Siamese Commissioners should accompany the Government forces. In February news was
1936] *Royal Asiatic Society.*

brought that the rebels had established themselves on the Kambiam river in Besut, and were endeavouring to raise a following for a second raid. By March, the Siamese Commissioners, Luang Visudh Parihar and Luang Senasti Borirom, had arrived in Pahang. Clifford's force which consisted of two Europeans, R. W. Duff, Superintendent of police, and A. B. Jesser Coope, Residency Surgeon, and an effective fighting strength of about one hundred men (fifty-five Malays, thirty-nine Dyaks and eight Sikhs) assembled at Kuala Tembeling. The principal Malay Chiefs who accompanied him were Penglima Garang Yusoh (who after the foray at Kuala Tembeling had been promoted to the rank of Imam Perang Setia Raja), Penglima Kakap Husain, and Che Wan Ahmad of Ulu Tembeling.

The party left Kuala Tembeling on 17 March 1895. Clifford did not contradict the rumour current among the Malays that his proposed route lay along the Sat into Kelantan, but at Kuala Sat he suddenly turned off and followed the Setia into Trengganu. At Kuala Pring ninety-five bearers and personal attendants were sent back to Pahang. All his men, including Europeans, owing to difficulties of transport, were required to live on a diet of rice. An exception was made in favour of the Sikhs who, though they behaved well, seemed totally unsuited for jungle operations. The party reached Malaka on the 1 April, and Kuala Trengganu two days later. At this village, at Kampong Melur, Tapah in Ulu Nerus, and elsewhere stockades had been erected by the orders of the Sultan ostensibly as a protection against the rebels, but really to repel any attack which might be made on Trengganu by the Pahang forces.

In the meantime the Trengganu ruler, who had received a letter from the Siamese Government informing him that an expedition was contemplated against the rebels, sent Raja Ismail (Weng) to Besut to warn them. Mat Kilau thereupon visited Paloh at the end of March, and had returned to Besut only a few days before Clifford's arrival on 10 April. During their stay at Paloh the rebels had been assured by Engku Saiyid that he and the people of Trengganu would protect them.

When Clifford arrived at Kuala Trengganu he was courteously and hospitably received by the Sultan who professed his willingness to give what help he could to the expedition. Clifford was convinced that, friendly though the Sultan seemed, little assistance was to be expected from him. The Raja issued conflicting sets of orders, one designed to please Clifford, the other to be obeyed by his people. In April he issued a public proclamation in which he enjoined his subjects to assist the expedition, and gave certain wide powers of investigation to its leader. In a secret proclamation, circulated among his Chiefs, he forbade the people of Stiu and Besut to disclose the hiding-place of the rebels, and

ordered them to rescue the fugitives if they were captured. The Trengganu Chiefs might well re-echo To'Raja's perplexity under similar circumstances: "*Ini titah ini pun titah!*"

On 12 April Engku Saiyid was interviewed by Clifford. He denied any association with the rebels.

On 25 April a force commanded by Duff departed for Besut to attempt to drive the fugitives from that district into Lebir, where it was arranged that Clifford should await them. Many members of the expedition, including Imam Pĕrang Sĕtia Raja, having fallen seriously ill, were sent back by sea to Pahang.

On 5 May, 1895, Clifford, who had left Trengganu about a week earlier, crossed the border into Kelantan. At Kuala Aring and Kuala Miak he found watch-houses (*pendial*) erected by the orders of Dato' Lela Deraja as a protection against the rebels. Duff returned from Besut on 10 May with the news that the people there were entirely hostile, and that if Clifford and his force entered the district there would be a general rising against him. The Resident considered that his party was strong enough to deal with the Besut men, but the Governor had not authorised hostile action against the people of Trengganu.

On 23 May, near the mouth of the Pertang, the Pahang forces narrowly missed capturing the rebels, who by this time had been reduced to some seven men, including Rasu, Mat Kĕlau, Awang Nong, and Teh Ibrahim. Clifford then concentrated the people and rice supplies in a few villages in order to deprive the rebels of food and harbourage. These methods were successful in driving the fugitives out of Ulu Kelantan into Trengganu. They found life so intolerable that they fled down-stream to the protection of Engku Saiyid at Paloh. Clifford followed on their heels but they reached Kuala Trengganu a few hours before his arrival. The Resident demanded their surrender but the Sultan denied knowledge of their whereabouts. A large force was then despatched on a pretended search for the rebels, but the search party was unsuccessful, as it was meant to be. Clifford thereupon made strong representations to the Ruler but without effect.

No good was to be gained by further operations in Trengganu, and on 17 June, 1895, Clifford, on instructions from Singapore, withdrew his forces to Pahang after having spent three months in the "Benighted Lands." This was the last phase of the Pahang rebellion. The expedition had failed to capture the rebel leaders but it succeeded in its main object, which was, to discourage any further raids by thoroughly cowing Rasu and his comrades, and demonstrating to the neighbouring States of Trengganu and Kelantan the determination of the Government not to allow these countries to be used as a base for attack on Pahang.

The Malays who accompanied Clifford had lent their services willingly and without remuneration. The total cost of the expedition amounted only to seven thousand dollars.

In November, 1895, six of the rebel Chiefs, Bahman, Awang Nong, Yusoh, Teh Ibrahim, Haji Mat Wahit and Mat Lela surrendered to the Siamese authorities, and were taken to Siam. Rasu and Mat Kilau were reported to have died in Trengganu.



His Highness Sultan Abdullah al-Muktasim Bilah ibni Sultan Ahmad.

APPENDIX I.

THE DESCENT OF THE EARLY SULTANS.

For an account of the early Sultans of Pahang, apart from information gleaned from epitaphs on tomb-stones, the writer is dependent upon four original Malay authorities :

- (a) the *Sejarah Melayu*, Shellabear's MS., (the references here are to the third edition, reprinted, published by the Methodist Publishing House, Singapore, 1915, and designated *Sej.*);
- (b) The Batavian recension of the *Sejarah Melayu* (here designated *Sej. Bat.*);
- (c) a variant version of the *Sejarah Melayu* published by Dr. Blagden in J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. III, Part I, 1925, (here termed *Sej, V.V.*); and
- (d) the *Bustan-al-Salatin*, partly published in J.S.B.R.A.S., No. 81, 1920, p. 39 *et. seq.* (here called *Bust.*).

Portuguese writers help us, in a very small way, to unravel the tangle of the Pahang succession.

The author of the *Bust.* had a copy of the *Sejarah Melayu* before him when he wrote his account of the Pahang Sultans (" Source of the Malacca, Johore, and Pahang Genealogies in the *Bustan-al-Salatin*", J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. XI, Part II, 1933, p. 144), and it is likely that the MS. to which he had access was that on which the Shellabear MS. was based.

In considering the various aspects of Pahang history from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries we must bear in mind that the author of the *Sejarah Melayu* was chiefly interested in the history of Pahang in so far as it related to Malacca-Johore, and that the writer of the *Bust.* had the Pahang descent of his Achinese master mainly in view.

The descent of Sultan Muhammad, the first Malacca-Malay ruler of Pahang (who died in 1475 A.D.), as given in the epitaph on his tomb, strikingly corroborates the version of the *Sejarah Melayu*. But after this Sultan's death there is doubt as to the exact identity of some of the rulers: the uncertainty is due, in no small degree, to the confusion which arose in our Malay authorities between names such as Ahmad (احمد), Muhammad (محمد), Mahmud (محمود), and Jamal (جمال) which, particularly in old manuscripts where diacritical points are often omitted, and where a *dal* may often have been misread for a *lam* (and *vice versa*), may have been mistaken one for another, and to the practice (unfortunate for the historian!) of calling princes after their uncles and grand-fathers.

The descent of the early Pahang Sultans has been discussed by Sir Richard Winstedt ("The Early Rulers of Perak, Pahang, and Aceh," J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. X, Part I., pp. 32-44), and by Mr. Wilkinson ("The Early Sultans of Pahang," *loc. cit.*, pp. 45-54).

Below is given a reconstructed descent ("A") of the rulers who are the subject of this appendix. The list attempts to reconcile the information given by our original authorities in so far as it can be reconciled, and to correct it where the evidence seems sufficiently strong to justify correction. The numbers in brackets refer to the persons whose names are marked by corresponding numbers in genealogical tree "A".

According to the *Sejarah Melayu* it was after Sultan Mansur of Malacca (1) had come to the throne (ca. 1458) that he conquered Pahang and married Puteri Wanang Seri (also known as Puteri Lela Wangsa) by whom he had two sons Ahmad (3) and Muhammad (2). The latter became Sultan Muhammad of Pahang and died in 1475. The name 'Ahmad Muhammad' by which he is sometimes designated in *Sej.* and *Bust.* is due to a passage in the former which, the context reveals, is obviously corrupt: *Sej.* p. 85: *Maka tersebut-lah perkataan anak Sultan Mansur Shah yang bernama Raja Ahmad Muhammad itu; maka kedua pun besar-lah:* "Now it is told of the son of Sultan Mansur Shah, Raja Ahmad Muhammad, *how both of them grew up....*"

The author of the *Bust.*, who appears to have had a version of the *Sejarah Melayu* on which *Sej.* was based before him when he wrote, perpetuated the 'Ahmad Muhammad' myth. *Sej. Bat.* does not use the name.

The *Sej.*, *Sej. Bat.*, and *Bust.* agree in saying that Sultan Muhammad (2) had, by a Kelantan princess Mengindera Puteri, three sons Raja Ahmad (7), Raja Jamal (or Jamil) (6), and Raja Mahmud (9), (though in two passages of *Sej.*, pp. 141 and 193, and in the corresponding passages of the *Sej. Bat.* the name Raja Muzaffar is given in place of the last-named prince), and that he was succeeded by one of these sons. Mr. Wilkinson (*loc. cit.*) is of opinion that the first Sultan was succeeded (after a short reign by Mansur, an infant son of the deceased ruler, who was murdered) by Sultan Mahmud (or Ahmad) (3), a full brother of Sultan Muhammad (2), and that the above-named princes were the sons, not of the first ruler but of this brother (3). There is no doubt that Mr. Wilkinson is correct in saying that (3) ruled in Pahang, but the identification of the princes (6), (7) and (9) as the sons of (3) is open to question. Mr. Wilkinson bases his argument (a) as to the succession of (3) to the Pahang throne, and (b) as to the paternity of (6), (7), and (9) on:

- (i) the improbability, in the natural course of events, of Sultan Muhammad (2), whose mother did not marry his father until after the conquest of Pahang (which

event, according to the *Sejarah Melayu*, took place after the accession of Sultan Mansur of Malacca to the throne *ca.* 1458), having before he died in 1475, at the age of not more than fifteen years, begotten several sons by one mother ;

(ii) certain passages in the *Sejarah Melayu*.

According to one of these passages (*Sej.*, p. 148) the Bendahara of Pahang remonstrates with the Sultan for the killing of Tun Telanai of Trengganu : " Your younger brother of Malacca will be angry." The Sultan retorts : " Why should I fear the king of Malacca for I should have ruled in Malacca being the elder : my late father at Malacca (1) proclaimed me the heir!" (The *Sej. Bat.* gives a different version.) Sultan Mansur of Malacca did not die till 1477, two years after the decease of his son Sultan Muhammad (2), and was succeeded by a younger son Sultan Alauddin I (4). The Sultan of Pahang described in this passage, an elder brother of (4), cannot have been the first ruler (2) as the latter predeceased his father (1), and must have been no other than (3). In another part of the Annals (*Sej.*, p. 141) we are told : " Raja Ahmad, the ruler of Pahang, son of Sultan Mansur Shah, married the daughter of Bendahara Seri Amar 'diraja and begot a son Raja Mansur. And he who was styled Sultan Mahmud Shah begat three sons, and a daughter, (the sons were named) Raja Jamal (6), Raja Muzaffar Shah (? Mahmud), and Raja Ahmad. Sultan Alauddin (4) married his daughter Raja Fatimah (12) to the son of Raja Ahmad the ruler of Pahang. Sultan Alauddin (4) reigned in Malacca, and Raja Muhammad (3) went to Pahang to his elder brother (2) ; he married a grand-daughter of Sultan Iskandar and begat a daughter Raja Wati (10)" Here we have some confusion between " Raja Ahmad the ruler of Pahang " whom Mr. Wilkinson puts as (2), but I identify as (3), " Sultan Mahmud Shah " whom Mr. Wilkinson regards as (3), I as (2), and " Raja Muhammad " who is (3). The *Sej. Bat.* gives a different reading.

Bust. (p. 42) records that : " Raja Muhammad Shah (3), who reigned in Pahang, asked permission of his younger brother Sultan Alauddin Shah (4) to go to His Highness of Pahang and Sultan Alauddin ordered his men to escort him to Pahang." If " His Highness of Pahang " refers to (2), who, we know, died in 1475 then Alauddin at this time must have been junior Sultan (*Sultan Muda*) of Malacca as his father (1) did not die till 1477.

Sej. (p. 181) says : " We now proceed to speak of Sultan Mahmud the eldest ruler of Pahang. He died leaving three sons, named Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamil, Raja Muzaffar, and Raja Ahmad." The corresponding passage of *Sej. Bat.* calls him " Sultan Muhammad " and leaves out " eldest." Mr. Wilkinson does not interpret this passage of the *Sej.* as above but would take the words *Raja Pahang yang tua itu* to mean " the old ruler of Pahang " and

identifies him as (3). But a passage in *Sej. V.V.* quoted below indicates that the reference is to (2).

There are two other references which bear on the subject: *Bust.* pp. 144-146: "...Now Raja Muhammad, son of Sultan Mansur Shah of Malacca, had a daughter named Puteri Olah (10), very fair in appearance"—this lady was apparently *Raja Wali* of *Sej.* p. 141.—"The princess married Sultan Mahmud Shah (9), and had two sons, the elder named Raja Muzaffar (16), the younger, Raja Zainal (17)". The "Raja Muhammad" here described appears to have been (3).

The other reference is in *Sej. V.V.* (p. 39) where a prince who must be none other than (9) is described as *anak raja Pahang raja yang asal*: "the son of the original ruler of Pahang," *i.e.* of Sultan Muhammad (2).

On the evidence available it seems irrefutable that Sultan Muhammad (2) was succeeded, not by a son (6) or (7), but by a brother Sultan Ahmad (also called Mahmud or Muhammad) (3), though our Malay authorities do not plainly so inform us, and that this Sultan Ahmad was the ruler of Pahang who, in consort with Inderagiri, according to Portuguese sources, instigated the poisoning of Sultan Alauddin of Malacca (4) in 1488. But a case is not at all made out for accepting Raja Ahmad (7), Raja Jamil (6) and Raja Mahmud (? in places called Muzaffar) (9), as sons of the second Sultan (3). The weight of evidence is in favour of regarding them as the sons of Sultan Muhammad the first ruler (2). Mr. Wilkinson's objection that (2), by the time of his death was not sufficiently old to have begotten three children by one mother, may be met by assuming that Sultan Mansur of Malacca (1) when he conquered Pahang was not Sultan in the full sense of the word but Sultan Muda, *i.e.* that the conquest of Pahang, Mansur's marriage with the captive Siamese princess, and the birth of the first Sultan of Pahang (2), took place some years before Sultan Mansur's accession in 1458 A.D.: it is reasonable, and not out of accordance with precedent, to suppose that Mansur's father, Muzaffar Shah, who according to *Sej.*, p. 82 had reigned for forty-two years, a tired man, some years before his death handed over the reins of government to his son who, even while he acted as regent, would naturally be described as Sultan.

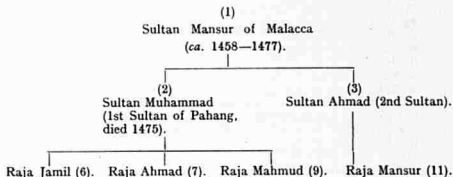
According to the view here accepted Sultan Muhammad of Pahang (2) who died in 1475 A.D. was succeeded by his full brother Sultan Ahmad (3).

Mr. Wilkinson mentions a Raja Mansur an infant son of the first Sultan who, he infers, for a short period succeeded his father, and was murdered by his warriors (*Wilkinson loc. cit.*, p. 48), apparently basing his authority on *Bust.* p. 45. But according to that passage Mansur was a son of Raja Ahmad who was a son of the first Sultan. This Mansur appears to have been the son (11) of the second Sultan (3); he shared the government for a time with

his first cousin Jamil and ended by being killed but not till he had reached maturity : anyhow the term " slain by all his warriors," *di-bunuh oleh segala hulubalang-nya*, seems rather inappropriate when describing the murder of an infant. We shall come again later to the Mansur to whom this passage of the *Bust.* probably refers.

Sultan Muhammad who died in 1475 A.D. (2) was succeeded by his full brother Sultan Ahmad (3) who, we know, was alive and reigning in 1488 A.D. Sultan Alauddin of Malacca (4) died in that year, poisoned, according to d'Albuquerque's " Commentaries," at the instigation of the rulers of Pahang and Inderagiri. Who could have had a greater interest in the death of Alauddin than his elder brother Ahmad, the second Sultan of Pahang, who had been passed over for the Malacca throne in Alauddin's favour ?

We have now reached this stage in the reconstruction :



According to d'Albuquerque's " Commentaries " a ruler of Pahang, son of Sultan Mansur of Malacca, by a daughter of the king of Pahang (*i.e.* Putëri Wanang Sëri), was poisoned. The murdered ruler was either the first or the second Sultan of Pahang, probably the first.

The next problem that confronts us is : which of Sultan Muhammad's sons succeeded the second ruler Sultan Ahmad (3), and who was *Marhum Shaikh* ? Malay authorities, as usual, diverge : *Sej.* (p. 123) names them in the order Ahmad (7), Jamil or Jamal (6), and Mahmud (9). The corresponding passage in *Sej. Bat.* calls Ahmad (7) the eldest. From *Sej.* (p. 141) it may be inferred that Jamal (6) was the senior. Following *Sej.* (p. 181) Jamil (6) was the first of his brothers to be Sultan. According to *Sej.* (p. 193), when Sultan Jamil ('Abdu'l-Jamil) abdicated, his young " son " Mansur was placed under the guardianship of " uncles " including " Raja Ahmad ". From *Sej.* (p. 238) we gather that Raja Ahmad (7) was never Sultan, and predeceased his brother Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamil (6). The *Sej. V.V.* does not

touch on these events, but the *Sej. Bat.* and the *Sej.* agree in saying that Jamil (6) abdicated in favour of a son Mansur, retired to Lubok Pèlang, and was posthumously called *Marhum Shaikh*.

The *Bust.* (pp. 44-46), deliberately rejecting the view of the author of the *Sejarah Melayu* as to the identity of *Marhum Shaikh*, says that Raja Ahmad (7) was the eldest of his brothers, that by a commoner wife he had a son Mansur, that he retired to the interior of Pahang and was known as *Sultan Shaikh*, that he was succeeded by his son Mansur, and that the latter married Raja Fatimah (12) a daughter of Alauddin I of Malacca (4), was murdered by his warriors and was succeeded by his uncle Jamil (6), the "second son" of Sultan Muhammad (2), who took the title of *Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamil Shah*, and after death was known as *Marhum Ziarat*.¹

We know that Raja Fatimah died in 1495 and was buried in the grave-yard situated in Pekan Lama known as *Ziarat Raja Raden*, that, by the side of her grave, is the tomb of an *'Abdu'l-Jalil* who died in 1511, and that there is another grave there with tomb-stones of the same type as those of *'Abdu'l-Jalil*. (We note in passing that the lapidary style of the inscriptions on the latter's tomb is similar to that of the inscriptions on the grave-stones of Sultan Mansur of Malacca—died 1477—which are preserved in Raffles Museum, Singapore—in fact some of the same prayers appear on both tombs.) We also know that at Lubok Pèlang, to which place *Marhum Shaikh* retired and where he was buried, is a grave marked by carved, unincised tomb-stones, and that the spot, to the present day, is revered as a miraculous shrine, the resting place, according to tradition, of an ancient ruler whose consort was abducted.

Portuguese records ("Commentaries" of d'Albuquerque, J.S.B.R.A.S., No. 17, 1886, p. 129) tell us that Sultan Mahmud of Malacca (*Marhum Kampar*) (13), after his expulsion from Malacca, died of grief in Pahang during his sojourn there (in 1511-1512). We know that this fugitive Sultan did not die in Pahang, and that his death did not occur till much later (1528). But we shall be justified in taking the "Commentaries" to be correct to the extent of inferring that a personage, important enough to be taken for the deposed ruler of Malacca, did die in Pahang while *Marhum Kampar* was in that country in 1511-1512. This potentate can have been none other than *'Abdu'l-Jamil* (6), described by *Bust.* as *Marhum Ziarat*, and he must have been the *'Abdu'l-Jalil* buried in *Ziarat Raja Raden*, whose death, the inscription on his tomb tells us, occurred in 917 A.H. (1511-1512 A.D.).

Our Malay records, in places, confuse Jamil (6) with his uncle Sultan Ahmad (3), and this Sultan Ahmad with his nephew

¹In old Malay MSS., in the absence of diacritical points, it is easy to misread 'di-Baroh' (دباره) for 'Ziarat' (ذياره).

of the same name (7), e.g., stories of the elephant *kepenyang* are told in connection with both Sultan Ahmad (3) and Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamil (6), *Sej.* pp. 148, and 190-2. The events connected with the abduction of Tun Teja, according to the *Sejarah Melayu*, occurred in 'Abdu'l-Jamil's reign; the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* seems to indicate that the events took place in the reign of Sultan Ahmad (3)—the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* is a collection of historical fables but its evidence must not be ignored. Ahmad (7) is regarded as the eldest of the brothers and is said by *Bust.* to have succeeded (2). The *Sejarah Melayu* says that the Sultan who abdicated and retired to Lubok Pélang and was buried there and was called *Marhum Shaikh* was Jamil (6). According to the *Bust.* it was Ahmad (7) the brother of Jamil to whom those events referred and who was known as *Marhum Shaikh*, not Jamil who was called *Marhum Ziarat*. But Jamil (6), according to other passages of the *Sej.* was alive and reigning in 1500 (sharing the government with his "son" Mansur) when the Siamese invaded Pahang (p. 196 sq.), and lived to greet the fugitive ruler of Malacca in Pahang in 1511 (p. 225). The *Bust.* account in this respect seems the more correct and *Marhum Shaikh* was probably Ahmad: the author had the *Sejarah Melayu* before him when he wrote, and must have deliberately rejected the view in that record that *Marhum Shaikh* was Jamil (6).

It is tolerably well established, from what has been written above that (6) was *Marhum Ziarat* not *Marhum Shaikh*.

But, though *Marhum Shaikh* was Ahmad, it seems that this Ahmad was not the brother of Jamil of the same name (7) but his uncle the second Sultan (3) who was variously designated *Ahmad*, *Muhammad* or *Mahmud*.

The *Bust.* records that the first Mansur of Pahang was the son of Ahmad whom we have taken here to be the second Sultan (3). This version of the *Bust.*, modified to the extent of identifying Ahmad as the second Sultan (3), seems correct.

A help in unravelling the Pahang dynastic problem is the bearing in mind of the fact that there were two families struggling for supremacy: the descendants respectively of Muhammad the first Sultan (2) and of his successor and brother Ahmad (3).

Mansur (11), the second Sultan's son, shared the government of Pahang with his first cousin Jamil (6). In 1511 he strengthened his position by an alliance with a daughter (18) of *Marhum Kampar* (13), and shortly afterwards—in the same year in fact—his elder cousin Jamil (6) died. Jamil's status as co-ruler with Mansur may have been impaired by *Marhum Kampar's* arrival in Pahang, and by the alliance between Mansur and the fugitive Sultan's daughter. Matters solved themselves, (whether in the course of nature, or not, we do not know), by the death of Jamil (6). The title and descent of the latter (the 'Abdu'l-Jalil of *Ziarat Raja Raden*) are not given in the epitaph on the tomb erected,

apparently, on the orders of his royal cousin the ex-Sultan of Malacca. Did *Marhum Kampar* refuse to recognize Jamil's title as ruler, or are we to ascribe the omission to the lack of space on the tomb-stones which may have been turned out, complete with prayers, for such funereal occasions? It is not unlikely that the latter conjecture is correct.

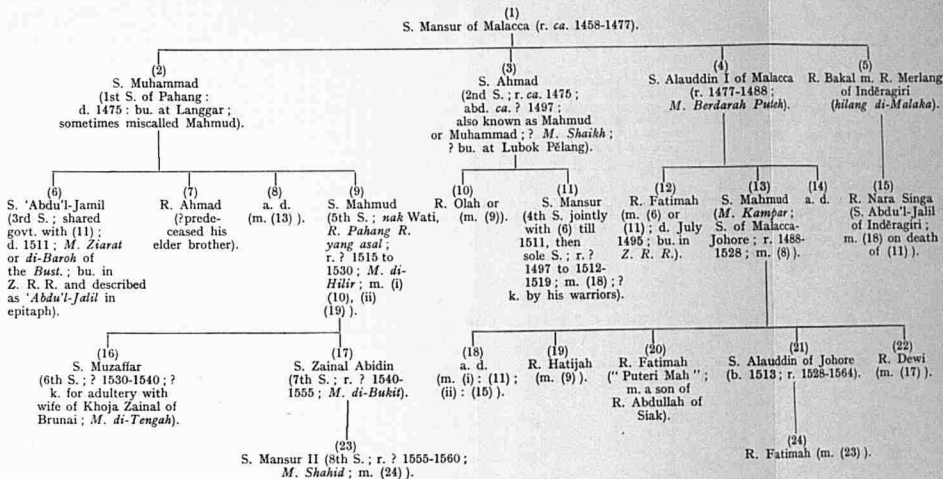
Why is 'Abdu'l-Jamil's name given on his tomb as '*Abdu'l-Jalil*? We must put it down to a natural mistake on the part of the sculptor: the words Jamil (جميل) and Jalil (جليل) are very similar, and actually in the same line of the inscription in which the proper name appears, are written, of the deceased, the attributes *al-jamil* (الجميل) and *al-jalil* (الجليل)—Appendix V, p. 229—so, in engraving the proper name, the sculptor made the natural mistake of writing the one for the other.

We sum up the conclusions reached here. Sultan Muhammad the first ruler (2) was succeeded in 1475 A.D. by his full brother Sultan Ahmad (3). The latter, who was mistaken by *Bust.* for the eldest son of (2), was the Sultan who abdicated and was known as *Marhum Shaikh*. Jamil (6), Ahmad (7), and Mahmud (9) were the sons of the first Sultan. The *Sejarah Melayu* is wrong in saying that Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamil (6) was *Marhum Shaikh* and, apart from the opposing evidence of the *Bust.* on the point, contradicts itself by describing 'Abdu'l-Jamil as still ruling, jointly with Mansur (11), in 1500, and 1511. 'Abdu'l-Jamil is correctly styled *Marhum Ziarat* by the *Bust.* He was buried in *Ziarat Raja Raden* in Pekan Lama. His is the tomb there the inscription on which gives his name as '*Abdu'l-Jalil* and the date of his death as 917 A.H. (1511-1512 A.D.). He was the prince who, according to the "Commentaries," died "of grief" in 1511-1512, and he was important enough to be mistaken by the Portuguese writer for the fugitive Sultan of Malacca who, at the time, was a refugee in Pahang.

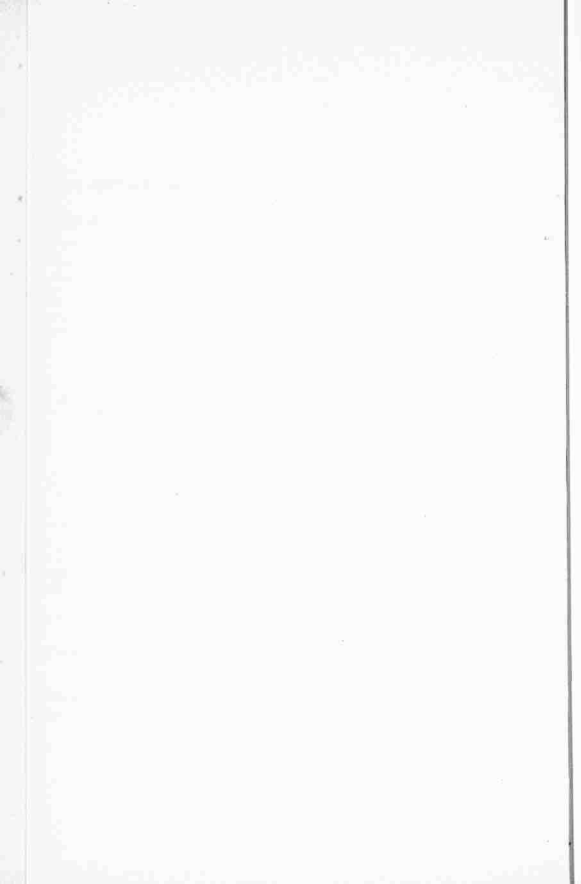
After 'Abdu'l-Jamil's death his cousin Mansur was sole ruler. His royal wife was a daughter (18) of *Marhum Kampar* whom he had married in 1511-1512 A.D. His father (3) the ex-Sultan Ahmad who had abdicated and retired to Lubok Pélang, was still alive. Between the year 1512-1519 A.D. it appears that Mansur was killed by his warriors because he engaged in an intrigue with one of his father's wives (*Bust.*, pp. 44-46; *Sej. V.V.*, pp. 13-14).

On Mansur's death the succession reverted to one of the original line, his first cousin Mahmud (9) who apparently is the prince described in the *Sej. V.V.* (p. 39) as *anak raja Pahang raja yang asal*, "the son of the original ruler of Pahang." This Mahmud (9) married (i) his first cousin Raja Olah (Wati) (10), a

"A"
RECONSTRUCTED DESCENT OF PAHANG RULERS TO MANSUR II.



Abbreviations: S., Sultan; R., Raja; d., died; a. d., a daughter; r., reigned; m., married; b., born; k., killed; M., Marhum; Z. R. R., Ziarat Raja Raden; ca., about; abd., abdicated; bu., buried.



daughter of the second Sultan (3), (ii) Raja Hatijah, a daughter of his first cousin *Marhum Kampar*. He was alive when Sultan Alauddin II (21) visited Pahang ca. 1529 A.D.

According to the *Bust.* Sultan Mahmud (9) had two sons, Raja Muzaffar who succeeded him, and Raja Zainal (Sultan Zainal-Abidin); Muzaffar was succeeded by Raja Zainal. According to the *Sej. V.V.* (p. 50) Mahmud was succeeded by a brother (*saudara*) called Raja Zainad (Zainal) who assumed the title of Sultan Muzaffar. Sultan Zainal-Abidin was succeeded by his son Sultan Mansur II (*Marhum Shahid*).

It is not unlikely that (9) is buried at *Ziarat Raja Raden*.

APPENDIX II.

THE FAMILY OF THE BENDAHARAS AND MODERN SULTANS.

The royal family of Pahang claim descent from the Bendahara Sekudai, *Marhum Padang Saujana* (Bendahara Tun Habib 'Abdu'l-Majid who died in 1697), and Sultan Abdu'l-Jalil IV (*Marhum Kuala Pahang*) who was killed at Kampong Marhum, Pahang, in 1720. From Bendahara Sëri Maharaja Tun 'Abdu'l-Majid, namesake of *Marhum Padang Saujana*, who governed Pahang from 1770 to 1802, onwards the descent is clear. The exact nature of the connection between him and 'Abdu'l-Jalil, and between the Chief who died in 1697 and Bendahara Sekudai is not certain.

Bendahara Paduka Raja, Tun Sëri Lanang of the Malacca stock of Bendaharas, whose patron was Sultan 'Abdu'llah Ma'ayati of Johore (reigned 1613-1615) and who wrote the "Malay Annals" about 1614, according to the Batavian version of the "Annals"¹ had two sons of note, Bendahara Sëri Maharaja Tun Anum, who was succeeded in the office of Bendahara by his brother Bendahara Paduka Raja Tun Jinal, Dato' Sekudai. One of Tun Jinal's sons, the same authority records, was Tun Mutahir Nara Wangsa, the latter being a common title in the Bendahara family.

According to the same version of the "Annals" (MS. p. 197) the Bendahara who betrayed the mad Sultan Mahmud, *i.e.* 'Abdu'l-Jalil IV, was a descendant of Dato' Sekudai.² Shellabear's version of the "Annals" states that a son of Bendahara Sekudai married a grand daughter of Tun Sëri Lanang. The same authority (p. 264) refers to a Chief who died at Tanjong Batu (*Dato' yang hilang di-Tanjong Batu*) at the time that Johore was subject to Jambi (1673-1678).

Is the Tanjong Batu here mentioned one of the places of that name in Pahang or the Tanjong Batu of Johor Lama? It will be remembered that Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil III with his Court took refuge in Pahang after the Jambi victory of 1673 and resided there for several years. The Sultan died in Pahang at the end of 1677 and was known as "The late Sultan who died in Pahang," (the Johore nobles did not leave the country until the following year). Naning and Sungai Ujong legends relate that the Bendahara Sekudai went to Pahang. It may be, then, that the Tanjong Batu here referred to was in Pahang.

According to the Batavian *Hikayat Negeri Johor* a Dato' Temenggong was killed by the Laxamana (Paduka Raja) at Tanjong Batu in 1677. Was the victim the *Dato' yang hilang*

¹Described by Winstedt (History of Johore p. 138) as Van Ronkel's CCCXLV, Von de Wall, 190, corresponding with Dulaurier's Codex A.

²Should the "Bendahara yang Batu la" of this partly-corrupt passage read "Bendahara Tanjong Batu-lah"?

di-Tanjong Batu of the "Annals"? A Johore family tree says that a Temenggong Tun Mutahir, whom it identifies with a brother of *Marhum Kuala Pahang*, was given Tanjong Batu as his province. Does the Johore account mistake this Chief for his namesake Tun Mutahir Nara Wangsa, according to the Batavian recension, the son of Tun Jinal Dato' Sekudai? And was this son of Tun Jinal the Temenggong who was killed at Tanjong Batu? If that is so, and if the "Dato who died at Tanjong Batu" of the "Annals" referred to this Mutahir, then we have grounds for believing that Tun Mutahir Nara Wangsa was an ascendant of Sultan Abdu'l-Jalil IV.

According to Rembau tradition, the Bendahara Sekudai, an ancestor, on the distaff side, of the ruling families of Rembau and Sungai Ujong, settled in Pahang and had a daughter To' Mengkudu who was the mother of a Bendahara of Pahang. A Nanning account says that a wife of a Sèri Maharaja of Sekudai bore a daughter To' Mengkudu who married a "noble of Pahang who was killed in war" (*Tun Shahid Pahang*). Was this the Chief who was killed at Tanjong Batu? Sir Richard Winstedt inclines to the view that *Shahid* was a corruption of *Saiyid*, and that the reference was to Bendahara Tun Habib 'Abdu'l-Majid ("Tun Habib")—*Habib* being the Achinese equivalent for *Saiyid*. Traditions from Sungai Ujong recorded by Campbell and Bland relate that Bendahara Sekudai, described in Campbell's account as Penghulu of Rembau, went to Pahang. It is strange that Pahang traditions should be almost completely silent regarding the advent of the famous Bendahara Sekudai. Dato Sètia Jaya (Haji 'Abu-bakar, Secretary to the late Sultan 'Abdu'l'ah) identifies him tentatively with an "Abbas of Semantan." It is unfortunate that so little is known of the descent of the old family of the Major Chiefs of Semantan (Orang Kaya Indèra Sègara of Temerloh). Their family traditions, now lost, may have contained information regarding Bendahara Sekudai.

It has been surmised that Bendahara Sekudai flourished about 1644 but that date seems rather early. The next Bendahara whose name is recorded in history is Tun Habib 'Abdu'l-Majid who died in 1697. The connection between him and Bendahara Sekudai is unknown. It may be that he married a daughter of that famous Chief. Habib 'Abdu'l-Majid was succeeded by the Bendahara who on his accession to the throne in 1699 was styled 'Abdu'l-Jalil. This Bendahara-Sultan is described in our Malay chroniclers as the son of Habib 'Abdu'l-Majid. From Tun 'Abdu'l-Majid (Bendahara of Pahang *ca.* 1770 to 1802) onwards, as we have said, the descent of the Pahang rulers is beyond dispute. It is not easy to find the exact link between him and Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil.

The available, original authorities for this period are:¹

¹Abbreviation: J. M. B. R. A. S., Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Malayan Branch.

- (1) The *Tuhfat-al-Nafis* (a Malay History of Riau and Johore, J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. X, Part II, 1932);
- (2) A Batavian *Hikayat Negeri Johor* (Batavian MS. CCCLV and CCCLVI of Van Ronkel's catalogue—published in J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol X, Part I, p 164 sq.);
- (3) A *Hikayat Johor*, (Weltevreden M.S., quoted by Mr. R. J. Wilkinson, J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. IX, 1931, pp. 28-34);
- (4) *Sejarah Raja-Raja Riouw* (Summary by Sir Richard Winstedt, J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. XI, Part II);
- (5) A Johore *Hikayat Kerajaan* (M.S., quoted in Winstedt's History of Johore, J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. X, Part III, p. 148);
- (6) *Silsilah Melayu dan Bugis dan Sakalian Raja-raja-nya* (translated by Mr. H. Overbeck, J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. IV, Part III, pp. 339-381);
- (7) A *Hikayat Johor serta Pahang* (Summary by Sir Richard Winstedt, J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. XI, Part II, 1933, pp. 161-165);
- (8) Pahang and Johore genealogical trees;
- (9) "A new Account of the East Indies" by Capt. Alexander Hamilton, Edinburgh, 1727.
(Tavares' "Jornada de Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho" sheds little new light upon the descent of the Bendaharas.) Other authorities are:
- (10) "Mahmud II and 'Abdu'l-Jalil III" by R. J. Wilkinson, (J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. IX, Part I, 1931, pp. 28-34);
- (11) "The Bendaharas and Temenggongs" by Sir Richard Winstedt (J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. X, Part I, 1932, pp. 55-66);
- (12) "The Bendaharas of Pahang" by the writer (J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. IV, Part III, 1926, pp. 334-338);
- (13) "History of the Peninsular Malays" by Mr. R. J. Wilkinson (3rd edition, pp. 82-83);
- (14) "The Bendaharas and Temenggongs of the Eighteenth Century" (Appendix F to Winstedt's History of Johore, J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. X, Part III, 1932, pp. 147-150);
- (15) "An Eighteenth Century Tomb at Pekan Lama" by the writer (J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. IV, Part III, 1926, p. 333).

The numbers in brackets in this Appendix refer to the authorities bearing the corresponding numbers above-given.

(3) records that Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil (*Marhum Kuala Pahang*) "while he was still Bendahara had a son who became Bendahara in Pahang, and it is from this son that are descended the present Bendaharas of Pahang."

According to (7), the author of which got his information mostly from oral sources :

" The present rulers of Pahang originally came from Johor Lama. They are descended from Bendahara 'Abdu'l-Jamal who was succeeded by 'Abdu'l-Jalil, who was succeeded by Hasan, who was succeeded by Tahir (Mutahir) who was the first Bendahara of Pahang. Tahir left five sons named Tun 'Abdu'l-Majid, Tun 'Abdu'l-Jamal who became Temenggong at Riau, Tun Muhammad who lived in Trengganu, Tun Yusop who resided at Tembëling, and Tun Abbas who lived at Semantan. On Tun Tahir's death his son Tun 'Abdu'l-Majid became Bendahara of Pahang "

The *Wan* families of the Tembëling claim descent from Yusop. (7) wrongly states that Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil IV was buried on the up-stream side of the Sungai Pekan (a tiny tributary of the Pahang).

The Pahang " official " tree (12) tells us that the descent was : 'Abdu'l-Jalil, Abas, Hasan, Mutahir (whom it describes as the first Bendahara of Pahang), and 'Abdu'l-Majid. It adds that Mutahir was buried in the Bendahara's grave-yard at Kuala Pahang, (a tomb said to be his is still pointed out there).

According to Johore family trees quoted in (13), and (14), Mutahir was a brother of 'Abdu'l-Jalil.

(1)¹ records that Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil had sixteen children, that Raja Sulaiman's mother was a commoner, but as this prince was born after his father had become ruler he was designated for the succession ; that Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil's eldest son was made Bendahara, another son Temenggong, and a third Raja Indëra Bongsu, and that his brother was made Raja Muda ; that Raja Sulaiman, when he was fighting the Menangkabaus after his father's death, went to Pahang to the *Bendahara Pekok* for assistance ; that when Sulaiman was created Sultan (in 1722) the Bugis leader Upu Këlana Jaya Putëra was created Yam Tuan Muda on the advice of Bendahara Sëri Maharaja Tun Abbas ; and that Abbas went mad in 1148 A.H. (1735 A.D.).

(4) says that, on the death of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil in 1720, Raja Kechil refused to raise the Bendahära to the throne.

According to (6), when 'Abdu'l-Jalil was made Sultan, Raja Indëra Bongsu was created Raja Muda, and Temenggong Abdullah was made Bendahara in succession to Bendahara Tun Mas Anom who had died, and it was in their time that Johore was destroyed ; Tun Nara Wangsa was killed with Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil at Kuala Pahang in 1133 A.H. (1720 A.D.) ; the Sultan was buried at Teluk Kandang (Kampong Marhum) ; Raja Sulaiman

¹Malay text p. 8.

went to Pahang to his uncle *Bendarahara Pekok*; the Bugis had an understanding with Raja Sulaiman, the eldest of his family, and "*Bendahara Pekok of Pahang.*"

(2) records that Orang Kaya Nara Wangsa Tun Hamid¹ was killed with his father Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil at Kuala Pahang; that Sultan Sulaiman visited Pahang on 20 Rabi-al-Awal 1148 A.H. (1735 A.D.), and built a wall around his father's tomb; that not long afterwards, at Trengganu, he married Tun 'Abdu'l-Majid to Tun Inah a daughter of *Dato' Bendahara di-Trengganu*; that about 1151 A.H. (1738 A.D.) Inche Kutan and *Dato' Tua* came (to His Highness) on the instructions of the *Bendahara di-Trengganu*, and Tun 'Abdu'l-Rahman, and Tun 'Abdu'l-Majid; that subsequently His Highness went to collect the aborigines accompanied by Tun 'Abdul-Rahman and Tun 'Abdul-Majid; that the Sultan again went to Pahang in 1154 A.H. (1741 A.D.) and ordered his father's tomb to be repaired; that at the time were present certain Chiefs (to whom we shall refer presently); that *Dato' Bendahara Tun Husain* then returned to Trengganu with a sick son, while another son, with "the old *Bendahara* at Pahang," (*Bendahara Tua di-Pahang*) accompanied His Highness to Riau. From the above passages in (2) it is clear that Tun Husain was the *Bendahara di-Trengganu*; that he cannot have been the father of Tun 'Abdu'l-Majid as his daughter Tun Inah married that Chief; and that he was not the "old *Bendahara.*"

(2) says: when Sultan Sulaiman repaired the tomb of his father in 1741 there were present (among others):

"*Dato' Bendahara Tun Husain* a half-brother of His Highness (Sultan Sulaiman), and Tun 'Abdu'l-Rahman son of *Dato' Temenggong* whose popular name was Tun Mutahir, and Tun 'Abdu'l-Majid, and Raja Muhammad son of the Raja Muda Mahmud who died at Kayu Anak."

If this passage is correct, and words are not omitted, it seems strange that the patronymic of Tun 'Abdu'l-Majid is not given, while the parentage of the Chiefs mentioned before and after him is stated—the mention of 'Abdu'l-Rahman as a son of Mutahir, and the absence of mention of Mutahir as father of 'Abdu'l-Majid, coupled with this juxtaposition of the names, leads to the supposition that 'Abdu'l-Majid was not the son of Mutahir. Did the writer know who Tun 'Abdu'l-Majid's father was, or was the parentage so well known that the chronicler considered it unnecessary to mention? 'Abdu'l-Majid's name appears in several other passages of (2) but without a patronymic. One other point

¹Malay text p. 10. The reading *تون تاراغي* "Tun Tarangi" on p. 2 is an obvious corruption of *تون ناراوغس* "Tun Nara Wangsa": vide (1), Malay text p. 40, and (6), pp. 349-350.

arising from the extract from (2) here quoted is noteworthy: the traditional ancestor of the royal family was popularly called "Mutahir"; we do not yet know his real name.

During this period 'Abdu'l-Majid's name is frequently mentioned in (2) side by side with that of Tun 'Abdu'l-Rahman, a son of Mutahir—an indication, perhaps, of their close relationship.

In yet another passage of (2) it is stated that Sultan Sulaiman (about 1737) was accompanied on a voyage by "the three brothers Tun 'Abdu'l-Rahman and Dato' Sewa Raja and Tun 'Abdu'l-Jamil." If 'Abdu'l-Majid is here referred to under the title *Dato' Sewa Raja*—a title held by his grand-son Bendahara Ali and his great grand-son Bendahara Ahmad—then this extract provides evidence to show that he was the son of Mutahir who, we know, was the father of Tun 'Abdu'l-Rahman. The view that this Dato' Sewa Raja was 'Abdu'l-Majid is corroborated by the mention of Tun 'Abdu'l-Jamil (a frequent misspelling in MSS. for 'Abdu'l-Jamal) as his brother; we know that 'Abdu'l-Majid had a brother Temenggong 'Abdu'l-Jamal.

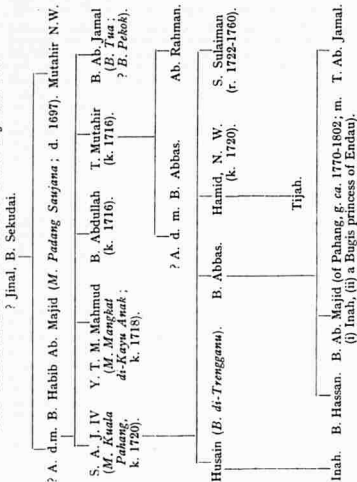
According to the evidence presented by (15) given above (p. 47)—to which former writers on the subject have not adverted—Mutahir and 'Abdullah, brothers, killed one another at Pekan on 12 September 1716. Sir Richard Winstedt (14) is clearly mistaken in inferring from (2) that Mutahir was alive in 1740, and that Yam Tuan Muda Mahmud was killed in Pahang—*vide* (6), p. 349.

Mutahir and Abdullah were buried at Pekan Lama on the up-stream side of the rivulet known as Sungai Pekan near the grave yard Ziarat Raja Raden in which is situated the tomb of " 'Abdu'l-Jalil " who died in 1511-1512. (7) confusing this 16th century potentate with *Marhum Kuala Pahang*, recorded that 'Abdu'l-Jalil IV was buried "on the up-stream side of Sungai Pekan". A different Pahang tradition (12) correctly places the grave of the Bendahara-Sultan at Kuala Pahang but wrongly locates Mutahir's grave in the same cemetery. It was a natural mistake to make. Pahang folk-lore had heard of a Tun Mutahir (according to the Batavian recension of the 'Annals,' a son of Bendahara Sekudai) who bore the title Nara Wangsa; it also heard that a Chief with the title of Nara Wangsa was killed with his father Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil IV in 1720—(1), (2), and (6)—(and was almost certainly buried by his side), so it was naturally, but wrongly assumed that the son of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil who was killed with him bore the name Tun Mutahir Nara Wangsa.

It will be seen that, apart from the genealogical trees (to which the objections put forward *supra*, p. 49, apply), nowhere in the original authorities here quoted is there direct evidence of the parentage of Tun 'Abdu'l-Majid, Bendahara of Pahang *ca.* 1770-1802. That he was descended from the old Bendaharas is

undisputed, but the exact lineage still awaits proof. Pending such proof we accept, with hesitation, Tun Abbas son of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil IV as the parent of 'Abdu'l-Majid. In support of this conclusion there is the Pahang tradition that an Abbas resided at Semantan in Pahang.

RECONSTRUCTED GENEALOGY SHOWING SOME OF THE ASCENDANTS
AND DESCENDANTS OF SULTAN 'ABDU'L-JALIL IV:¹



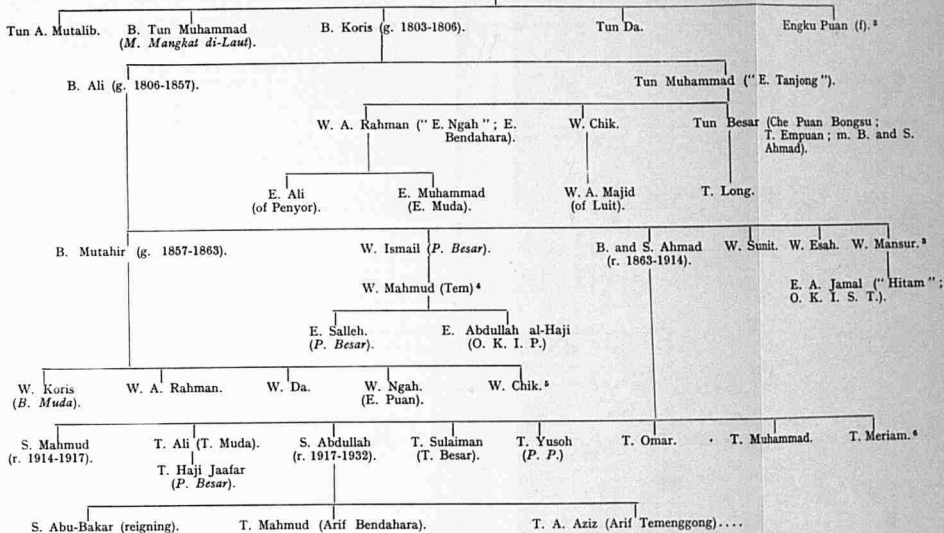
¹Abbreviations : B., Bendahara ; A. d., A daughter ; m., married ; Ab., 'Abdu'l- ; N.W., Orang Kayu Nara Wangsa ; S. A. J., Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil ; Y. T. M., Yam Tuan Muda ; M., Marhum ; S., Sultan ; g., governed ; T., Temenggong ; k., killed ; d., died ; r., reigned. The designation Tun should be prefixed to each of the personal names (except those of Sultans) above recorded.

Abbas may have married a daughter of Mutahir. This conjecture, though unsupported by any evidence, is consonant with the Pahang tradition that Mutahir was an ancestor of the Pahang royal family.

On the death of Bendahara Abdullah in 1716, another brother, Tun 'Abdu'l-Jamal, was made Bendahara. He may have

SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL DESCENDANTS OF BENDAHARA 'ABDU'L-MAJID :¹

B. A. Majid (g. ca. 1770-1802).



¹Abbreviations : B. Bendahara ; A. 'Abdu'l-' ; f. female ; E., Engku ; W. Wan ; S. Sultan ; P. Penglima ; P. P., Penglima Perang ; O. K. I. P., Orang Kaya Indera Pahlawan of Chenor ; O. K. I. S. T., Orang Kaya Indera Ségara of Temerloh ; g., governed ; r., ruled or reigned ; ca. about ; M., *Marks* ; Tem., Temenggong.

²Engku Puan married Sultan Mahmud Shah of Lingga.

³Other children of Bendahara Ali were : Wan Sulong, Wan Teh, Wan Timah, Wan Andak, and Wan Hassan. Wan Sunit married Wan Abdullah a younger brother of Sultan Abu-Bakar of Johore. Wan Esah married Tengku Kechik of Johore.

⁴Wan Mahmud's full title was Temenggong Seri Maharaja.

⁵Mutahir's other children were Wan Osman, Wan Abdullah, Wan Mahammad, and Wan Nit. Wan Chik married Sultan Abu-Bakar of Johore.

⁶Sultan Ahmad's other children were Tengku Long, Tengku Dalam, Tengku Nong and Tengku Ketsom. Sultan Mahmud married Tengku Meriam sister of Sultan Ibrahim of Johore. Tengku Meriam, daughter of Sultan Ahmad, married the present Sultan of Trengganu.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PHYSICS DEPARTMENT

PHYSICS 435

LECTURE 10

STATISTICAL MECHANICS

PROFESSOR [Name]

LECTURER [Name]

DATE [Date]

TOPIC [Topic]

OBJECTIVES

1. [Objective 1]

2. [Objective 2]

3. [Objective 3]

4. [Objective 4]

5. [Objective 5]

6. [Objective 6]

7. [Objective 7]

8. [Objective 8]

9. [Objective 9]

10. [Objective 10]

11. [Objective 11]

12. [Objective 12]

been the Chief who, according to (4), unsuccessfully claimed the throne on the death of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil in 1720. It may have been for that reason that Sulaiman, when he became Sultan in 1722, made his elder brother Abbas, Bendahara Seri Maharaja, after which date 'Abdu'l-Jamal was known as *Bendahara Tua*, "the old Bendahara."

When Sulaiman was fighting against the Menangkabaus (1720-1722) he went to *Bendahara Pekok* "the deformed Bendahara" in Pahang for re-inforcements. Was this Chief Abbas, Sulaiman's elder brother, or 'Abdu'l-Jamal, his uncle? (6) bears out the latter view, describing the *Bendahara Pekok* as Sulaiman's uncle, and saying that the Bugis were sure to have an understanding with Raja Sulaiman and "*Bendahara Pekok* of Pahang." On the other hand the tradition that a Chief named Abbas lived at Semantan must not be ignored.

APPENDIX III.

THE PRINCIPAL CHIEFS.

ORANG BESAR BEREMPAT.

At the time of the advent of the Bendaharas in the 18th century, Pahang had been parcelled out among four great Chiefs, the Orang Besar Berempat, holding office as feudatories of the Sultan of Riau-Johore-Pahang. The country from Tanjong Lindong to the borders of Perak and Kelantan, excluding the Tembeling, was held by the Orang Kaya Indera Maharaja Perba ("To'Raja") of Jelai. The river Triang "to the boundaries of Rembau and Selangor" (i.e. extending right into what is now known as the Negri Sembilan) was, according to tradition, under the Orang Kaya Indera Ségara of Temerloh. The land between the Béra and Kuala Luit was held by the Orang Kaya Indera Pahlawan of Chénor, while the jurisdiction of the Orang Kaya Indera Shahbandar extended from Luit to Bebar.

Before we proceed to deal with the origin and status of the Chiefs it will be well to discuss the truth of the statement made by Newbold in "The British Settlements in Malacca" that "Ulu Pahang" and "Jelai," the regions controlled by the major Chiefs of the interior, at one time were members of the confederacy of Menangkabau-Peninsular petty States which included Sungai Ujong, Rembau, Johol, and Jelebu. What was the nature of the connection between the hinter-land of Pahang and the units which subsequently merged into the modern Negri Sembilan? To examine the problem we must first ascertain what stretch of country was covered by the term "Ulu Pahang."

According to Malay ideas a river is comprised of three parts: the head or source (*ulu*), the length or "body" (*batang*), and the mouth (*kuala*). The rivers Jelai and Tembeling form the *ulu* of the Pahang river.¹ Thus Ulu Pahang is the country watered by the Jelai and Tembeling, and the main stream was called Pahang from Kuala Tembeling to the sea. But in the 18th century, owing to the fact that travellers over-land mostly entered Pahang following the old Malacca-Pahang route by the Muar and the Béra, and the imperfect knowledge that they had of the geography of the country north of the Triang, the term Ulu Pahang was applied to the region watered by the Béra and the Triang, really feeders but not the source of the main stream. This mistake was perpetuated in a map issued by the Royal Asiatic Society, Straits Branch, in 1887, wherein the main river is styled "Jelai" as far as Kuala Béra and called "Pahang" only from

¹Malay purists hold the view that, strictly speaking, the source of the Pahang is a tiny stream running between the Jelai and Tembeling and merging in the main river at Kuala Tembeling, hence the statement in one of Sir Hugh Clifford's books that the noble Pahang river is born in a ditch.

that point down-stream. The "Ulu Pahang" of Newbold was therefore the country watered by the Triang and Bĕra.

To digress—the Triang river takes its rise in Jelebu, and the considerations that, before the 18th century, this little State was included in the ancient kingdom of Pahang, and that the custom was to divide the country by watersheds led Bendahara Ahmad in the 19th century to claim the source of the Triang as Pahang territory.¹ That the country watered by the source of the Triang was at one time included in Pahang there is little doubt. Apart from the evidence furnished by the traditional definition of the fief of the Orang Kaya Indĕra Šĕgara of Temerloh which was held to extend to Rembau, and the statement made by Sultan Ahmad in a letter to the Governor dated 25 February 1885: "I understand that in the time of my ancestors Pahang and Jelebu were one," there is a note in one of d'Eredia's maps which describes Rembau as the "head of the hinter-land of the Malayos," by which he meant that, as far as the west was concerned, the Malay sphere of influence stopped at Rembau.

Having identified Newbold's "Ulu Pahang," we may now put forward evidence to show the relations between that region and Jelai on the one hand, and the Menangkabau-Peninsular States of the Nĕgri Sembilan on the other.

Numerous Menangkabau colonists entered Pahang through Ulu Muar, the Bĕra and the Triang, about the end of the 16th century, and established settlements as far as Jelai and Lipis in the north, and down-stream at least to Luit. Follows the evidence of this Menangkabau colonization in the interior of the country:

- (i) The present inhabitants of some of these places lay claim to Menangkabau origin.
- (ii) The genealogical trees of Maharaja Perba of Jelai, and the Orang Kaya Indĕra Pahlawan of Chĕnor attribute a Menangkabau source to their respective families.
- (iii) The very name of the four Major Chiefs, Orang Besar Berempat, corresponds with that of the sib (*suku*) heads under the Menangkabau system of government—the *datuq nan berampe*.
- (iv) In the Journal of the F.M.S. Museums² is recorded a tradition of Menangkabau colonization of Pahang through Ulu Muar and the Bĕra.
- (v) According to the Dagh Register,³ in October 1644, the Menangkabaus, fearing treachery from the Sultan of

¹*Supra*, p. 105.

²Vol. IX, Pt. II.

³M. B. R. A. S., Vol. X., Pt. I, p. 39.

Johore, "very bravely removed their property from Pahang." The exodus was, no doubt, partial and temporary.

It is clear, therefore, that not alone the watersheds of the Bera and Triang, controlled by the Chiefs of Temerloh and Chenor, but the territory of the Jelai magnate could rightly be regarded as units in the group of the Menangkabau-Peninsular petty States, to the extent that the Chiefs, with many of the non-aboriginal settlers who resided within their jurisdiction, were of Menangkabau origin, and owed a common allegiance to the Bendahara-Sultans who had succeeded to the throne of the Malay kingdom after the murder of Sultan Mahmud in 1699. But it is significant, and it must be emphasized that the Menangkabaus in Pahang never became powerful enough to impose their matrilineal system of society on the country.

There are three genealogical accounts extant of the powerful family of the Jelai Chiefs, one of which, the oldest, was at one time in the possession of the Orang Kaya Maharaja Sëtia Raja, Haji Wan Daud, another was written by Maharaja Perba the second Wan Muhammad, and a third was collected by Mr. A. F. Worthington from Che Sat of Penjom, one of the head-men of the Orang Kaya Sëtia Wangsa of Lipis. We designate these genealogies *A*, *B* and *C* respectively.¹ *A*, which is only partly legible, can readily be dated: it mentions Bandar Maharani (Muar) which was not so named till 1884, and the Orang Kaya Haji was killed in 1889. *A* was therefore written between 1884 and 1889, but it was, without doubt, based on an older MS. In addition to an account of Maharaja Perba's family it comprises a few details of the families of the other three Major Chiefs.

According to *A*, the family of Maharaja Perba, whom it designates Sëri Maharaja Perba, came originally from Kota Lima-Puloh in Menangkabau. Sëri Maharaja Perba had two brothers and a sister. His sister married Tun Bandan, a pious man of Sembawa, and emigrated to Patani with her husband and one of her brothers. Bandar Maharani (Muar) was granted by the Sultan to the four Chiefs *i.e.* Sëri Maharaja Perba, Maharaja Indëra Putëra, Maharaja Indëra Pahlawan and Shahbandar. They were subsequently granted territory in Pahang by Sultan 'Abdu'l-Ghafur. Sëri Maharaja Perba found a child in Selinsing grass, (the traditional origin of the name of a locality on the Jelai). He reared the child to man-hood and then, with the consent of the other three Chiefs, presented his adopted son as his successor to the Sultan of "Johore" who approved the appointment, and gave the heir the title of (?) Maharaja Dalam. Maharaja Perba's successor married the daughter of Tun Bandan of Patani, and founded a settlement at Kuala Tanum which became known as Bukit Kota. His descendants established

¹Genealogies *A* and *B* appear in Appendix IV.

themselves at Kuala Kechau, Lanar, and Balai (places on or near the Jelai). After Sēri Maharaja Perba, there came into the Jelai Tun Bahar, Tun Budiman, Tun Draman, Tun Derhaka, Tun Jalil and others. And after him, too, there came into the Jelai Bendahara Garang . . . (here the manuscript becomes undecipherable). Bendahara Garang had no children, but a supernatural agency, this time a *betong* bamboo, conveniently provided him with an adopted son who was given the title of Baginda Damun (or Temu). Bendahara Garang then returned to Perak, having left Baginda Damun behind in charge of Maharaja Perba with twelve families to tend the boy.

According to genealogy *B*, the original Maharaja Perba purchased from the Sultan of Lingga territory in Pahang extending from Tanjong Lindong (above Jerantut) to the boundaries of Perak and Kelantan. The price was a levelled (or full) gantang of gold, a coconut-shaped vessel filled with gold, and an arm-sleeveful of gold! Maharaja Perba's descent was :

To'Raja married Tuan Putēri, an aboriginal Princess of Bukit Berenting (a hill in the locality of Selinsing).
 |
 To'Raja (*Raja Muda*) who died at Sempu (in the Tanum).
 |
 To'Raja who died at Riau.
 |
 To'Raja Wan Muhammad who died at Bukit Kota.
 |
 To'Raja Wan Idris who died at Bukit Betong.
 |
 To'Raja Wan Muhammad (1882-1919).

A well-established tradition gives the name of the Chief who died at Riau as Wan Ismail.

According to genealogy *C*. To'Raja's descent was :

Baginda Damun (of Kota Lama Kanan, Perak).
 |
 To'Jaffar Saban.
 |
 To'Embong Pian (eldest son).

After To'Embong Pian came five generations of To'Raja's family (whose names are not recorded), the sixth in descent being To'Raja Wan Idris. To'Jaffar Saban's (?) brother, ancestor of the Sētia Wangsa family of Lipis, left Perak about 1,000 A.H. (1591 A.D.), and after passing through Selangor, Sungai Ujong, Malacca and Johore came to Pahang. He was the first Muhammadan to enter the Jelai and he converted the people to Islam.

Thus the genealogies. What truth is in them? History knows of no Sultan of Johore named 'Abdu'l-Ghafur, but there was

a famous Pahang Sultan of that name ('Abdu'l-Ghafur Mohaidin, 1567—1614 A.D.), who, we learn from Chinese records, took refuge from his enemies in the Jelai (about 1612). This ruler owned gold-mines on the Jelai and had given his son Raja Muda especial jurisdiction over the Tembeling.¹

The account in *A* of Chiefs with the title of *Tun*—a designation commonly used by the descendants of the Malacca Bendaharas—coming into the Jelai after Maharaja Perba, and of the visit of Bendahara Garang of Perak—one of the family of Megats who usurped the Perak Bendaharaship in the (?) 18th century—coupled with the statement in *C* that a progenitor of the line of Lipis Chiefs was Baginda *Damun*—a name derived either from Temu a place in the Jelai valley, or from Demang a "headman," or from Temong in Upper Perak—and the occurrence of the name To' Jaffar *Saban*, recalls the Perak legend of the white Semang (J.S.B.R.A.S., No. 9, 1882, pp. 89 ff. ; and the "History of Perak," pp. 122-124 and 138-139). Are we to suppose that the relatives of Tun Saban, the last of his line to be Bendahara of Perak, who was killed at Kota Lama by a Menangkabau soldier of fortune Megat Terawis (a near relative of Bendahara Garang), fled to the Jelai, which district was already in the possession of Maharaja Perba, and were pursued thither by Bendahara Garang ?

If we leave out of account the aboriginal princess, and the reference to "Raja Muda," *B* may be taken as correct in so far as it goes. It is corroborated by Pahang tradition emanating from another source (*Hikayat Pahang serta Johor*).

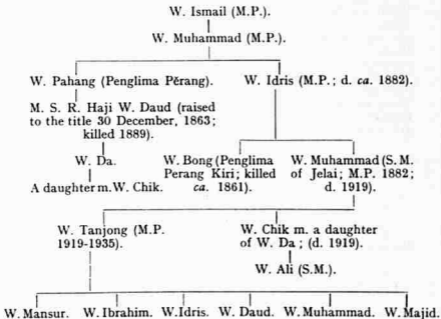
A reconstruction of the history of Maharaja Perba's family may now be attempted. The first Menangkabau immigration to Pahang took place towards the end of the 16th century. Some of the new-comers settled in the Jelai and Lipis, and inter-married with, and converted to Islam numbers of aborigines. Sultan 'Abdu'l-Gafur appointed the Head-man of the Menangkabaus to take charge of that part of the country. It is not necessary to believe that the conferring of the title *Maharaja Perba* took place then. Safe in their remote rivers, the Jelai Menangkabaus, in the 17th century, were attacked only once by the Achinese who pursued them as far as the Telom. They were probably not affected by the panic which induced the settlers living further down-stream to remove their property from Pahang in 1644. In 1699, the last representative of the Pahang-Johore Sultans of the old royal line of Malacca was killed. The murdered ruler's successor, the ex-Bendahara 'Abdu'l-Jalil, (whose fore-runners had Rembau for their fief, a District which had long been settled with Menangkabaus, and formed a favourable base for the Menangkabau colonisation of Pahang), conferred jurisdiction over parts of the eastern State on the Chiefs who came to be known as the Orang Besar Berempat.

¹*Supra*, Chap. IV.

Was the Jelai fief given to a new settler, a favourite of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil from Ulu Muar,¹ as was the Chenor Chieftaincy, or was the jurisdiction of an existing Chief confirmed? Bendahara Garang appeared in the Jelai in the 18th century. What part he played in the country is unknown. On returning to Perak he appears to have left behind him a protégé in the charge of the Jelai Chief.

In the same century the Bendaharas had settled in Pahang. The other Chiefs owed allegiance to them not as Bendaharas, but as the fully-authorized representatives (*wakil mutallak*) or viceroys of the Sultan. When the Sultanate was dismembered by the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824, the Bendaharas ended by becoming the *de facto* rulers of Pahang, (though the fiction of the sovereignty of the old Sultanate was kept up for many years), and the allegiance of Maharaja Perba and the other Chiefs was transferred to them.

The authenticated descent of the family of Maharaja Perba follows:²



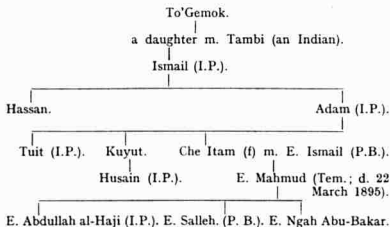
¹The name Ulu Muar is here used to describe generally the upper watershed of the river Muar.

²Abbreviations M.P., Orang Kaya Indra Maharaja Perba; S.M., Dato, Setia Muda; M.S.R., Orang Kaya Maharaja Setia Raja; m., married; d., died; W., Wan; ca., about.

The Orang Kaya Indëra Sëgara of Temerloh seems to be the Chief referred to as *Maharaja Indera Putra* in Genealogy A. According to A he was granted land in Pahang by Sultan 'Abdu'l-Ghafur. The traditional description of his *pegangan* or fief was the Sungai Triang to the borders of Selangor and Rembau.

Five generations of Chiefs are known: Muhammad, Aji, Hasan, Ahmad, Tahir. Tahir's children were: (i) Long (f) whose children were Kelsom and Teh of Temerloh; (ii) Siti Esah whose children were Ali and Zahrah; (iii) Jeriah whose children were Mat Salleh, Ishak, Besah, Rahman, Mat Aris and Timah of Temerloh; (iv) Haji Busu, whose children were Mahmud, Maimunah, and Meriam of Telok Mengkuang, Mukim Bangau; (v) Haji Ibrahim whose descendants live at Mengkarak, Mukim Triang. After the death of Tahir the title was allowed to lapse, but it has again been revived, (though not in the same family), in the person of Che Engku 'Abdu'l-Jamal ("Hitam"), a son of Engku Muda Mansur.

Maharaja Pahlawan, or *Maharaja Indera Putëra Pahlawan* of Genealogy A was the Chief whom we know as Orang Kaya Indëra Pahlawan of Chenor. The family was Menangkabau by origin. The first mention in our records of this Chieftaincy was in 1740 when Sultan Sulaiman summoned the holder to Pëkan. The original territory of the Chënor fief was the land extending from the Bëra to Kuala Luit. The present holder of the title, Che Engku Haji 'Abdu'l-lah, gives an account of the Chieftaincy. The founder of the family was a Menangkabau, To'Gemok, who settled at Pasir Besar, Ulu Muar. He came to Pahang following the route by Ulu Serting, Penarik and Bëra, and founded a settlement in Chënor. His descent was:¹



Note.—¹Abbreviations: I. P., Orang Kaya Indera Pahlawan; E., Engku; P. B., Penglima Besar; Tem., Temenggong; m., married; d. died.

After the death of Ali, the title went to Che Osman, son of Imam Pĕrang Indĕra Makhota Gendut (who changed his name to Haji 'Abdu'l-Halim after a pilgrimage to Mecca). On Che Osman's death, the Chieftaincy reverted to the old family in the person of Dato' Husain.

In a proclamation issued in 1892, in which Sultan Ahmad censured a holder of the title for failing to arrest the Penglima Muda of Jempul, the Shahbandar is thus described :

" A Chief trusted by Us and regarded almost as one of Our own flesh and blood, a Chief of the highest rank, and of no mushroom growth, whose ancestors took their part in the installation of many Rulers in Pahang, a Chief of wide authority over Our subjects...." (Papers of Maharaja Perba, MS.).

The Orang Besar Berempat wielded very wide powers. They had authority to impose taxation and to decide all criminal and civil cases except (in theory) those which involved capital punishment. In fact, their power was limited only by the capacity of the Bendahara or Sultan to restrain them, and it varied according to their proximity to Pekan—the further from the Court, the greater their authority. They were obliged to appear at Pekan once a year to pay homage (*menjunjong Duli*). They had to pay a form of tribute called *banchi* to the Bendahara as representative of the Sultan. Their districts were subject to *serahan*: the obligation to buy, at exorbitant prices, goods the monopoly for the sale of which, in certain localities, the ruler was in the habit of granting to one of his favourites.¹ In the month of Muharram, they appeared at Court with offerings in kind: buffaloes, padi, fowl, jungle produce and quantities of tin wrought into the shape of tortoises and other animals. In time of war they were required to take the field with men, arms, and food. The installation of Bendahara or Sultan was not complete (*sempurna*) unless the Orang Besar Berempat assisted thereat. The constitutional theory was that the Orang Besar Berempat and, to a lesser degree, the other Chiefs were the foundation upon which the ruler's authority rested :

" According to the constitution of Pahang, the Ruler stands upon the Major Chiefs—and then upon the Secondary Chiefs...."²

They had to be present at all important State ceremonies such as the installation, or death of the Ruler. When a Chief died his successor, before approval of his appointment, was

¹For the practice of *serahan* in Siak, vide J. S. B. R. A. S. : No. 17, 1886, p. 152.

²*Adat istiadat Kerajaan Pahang ini Raja-nya berdiri di atas Orang Besar Berempat kemudian Orang Besar Delapan....* (Papers of Maharaja Perba, MS.)

required to make a ceremonial offering to the Ruler which was known (as in Negri Sembilan) as *kepala mayat*.¹ This usually took the shape of a gold-hilted creese, but other forms of offering were permissible.

The titles of the Orang Besar Berempat were hereditary. If the eldest son of a deceased Chief were unfitted for the succession it was proper to appoint a younger son, a brother, or a nephew to the Chieftaincy. The great Chiefs gave allegiance to the Bendahara as representing the Sultan, but, in time, the sovereign being to them a nebulous figure, their allegiance tended to become more and more a matter of loyalty to the Bendahara personally. To'Raja, controlling a bigger stretch of territory, including gold mines, and living at a greater distance from the capital than the other Chiefs, wielded far greater power. Thus Sultan Ahmad, in 1898, wrote of Wan Muhammad, a holder of the title :

"... He is the fore-most of all the Chiefs, Warriors, and Head-men; his rank is higher than that of all the said Chiefs; (his sphere of influence extends) from Tanjong Lindong upwards; in the old days he was the associate of princes...."²

The fourth of the major Chiefs, the Shahbandar, because he lived in the vicinity of the capital, tended to become the Ruler's Mantëri, or chief executive officer.

ORANG BESAR BERLAPAN.

Next to the Orang Besar Berempat came the Secondary Chiefs, the Orang Besar Berlapan. Their full complement was eight, but vacancies occurred frequently which were not always filled. They were appointed by the Bendahara with the concurrence of the Major Chief of their district. The post was originally hereditary. Their powers varied enormously. Some of the "Eight" were of little account, but two Chiefs, the Orang Kaya Sëtia Wangsa of Lipis, and the Orang Kaya Sëtia Perkasa Pahlawan of Semantan came to wield an influence almost equal to that of the Major Chiefs. The Lipis Chief was associated with the "Four" in proclamations issued by the Ruler. He was a member of the Council of State, entitled to be consulted on all important matters affecting the country, and was the territorial magnate, subject to the over-lordship of To'Raja, of the valley of the Lipis.

The full list of the Orang Besar Berlapan (of many of whom history has left little record) is given below.

(i) Dato' Amar Segara of Sungai Duri. The holder of this title was, according to the Malay expression, "a lone elephant"

¹This expression is not given in Wilkinson's Dictionary. Its original meaning appears to be equivalent to *kepala arwah* "the choice viands of the funeral feast," which would naturally be presented to the Raja if the deceased were a chief.

²Papers of Maharaja Perba (MS.).

(*bergajah tunggal*), that is to say, he had the right of direct approach to the Raja without prior reference to the Major Chief. The known holders of the title were Sabur, Aji, and Ghafur. When Ghafur died his sons Jahya and Tunggal did not succeed their father but ranked merely as head-men (*Orang Besar Enam-belas*) with the style of To'Muda. Tunggal's son, Awang Benteng, succeeded his father as a head-man.

(ii) The Orang Kaya Sëtia Perkasa Pahlawan of Semantan in the district (*pegangan*) of Orang Kaya Indëra Sëgara of Temerloh. The first known holder was Omar who was succeeded by 'Abdu'l-Rahman, better known as Bahman the rebel. Some prominent Malays are of the opinion that this Chief was not entitled to use the style "Orang Kaya," but he was so termed in Malay records, notably in a proclamation issued by the Sultan on 1st January 1892,¹ in which Bahman was denounced as a traitor. This Chief, too, had direct access to the Raja.

(iii) Dato' Sëtia Lela of Kerdau. Only one holder of the title is known: Abubakar who died about 1897.

(iv) The Orang Kaya Sëtia Penggawa whose sphere of influence extended from Berhala Gantang to Bukit Sa-Gumpal. Considerable confusion exists regarding this Chieftaincy. According to the present Major Chief of Chënor the title of Amar Sëgara, after its discontinuance in Sungai Duri, passed to a Bukit Sa-Gumpal Chief who was a grand-son of Dato' Parit. The name of one holder of the title, To'Che Bok is recorded.

(v) Dato' Sëtia Muda of Jelai in the *pegangan* or "holding" of Maharaja Perba of Jelai. This headmanship has always been held by a near relative of Maharaja Perba. Wan Muhammad was given the title during the life-time of his father Maharaja Perba Wan Idris whom he ultimately succeeded as a Major Chief. The present Sëtia Muda is Wan Ali, son of Wan Chik (the second son of Wan Muhammad). But for his untimely death in 1919 Wan Chik would have succeeded to the title of Maharaja Perba instead of the elder son Wan Tanjong.

(vi) Dato' Raja Hulubalang of Tanjong Belawan. No information as to this title is available.

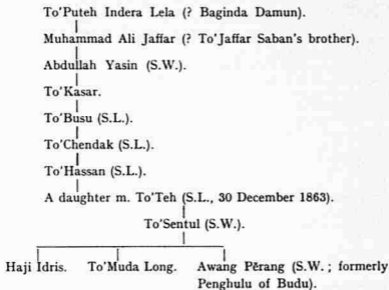
(vii) Orang Kaya Dewa Pahlawan of Bangau (To'Bangau) in the *pegangan* of Orang Kaya Indëra Sëgara of Temerloh. He had direct access to the ruler. The name of one holder, Muhammad Taib, is known.

(viii) The Orang Kaya Sëtia Wangsa of Lipis, or Orang Kaya Sëtia Lela of Lipis, in the *pegangan* of Maharaja Perba. These titles, in Pahang, in the last century, were apparently alternative, the former being conferred by Sultans, and the latter by the Bendaharas. This once-powerful family, of older stock, it may be, than their over-lords of the Jelai, came to be connected by close ties of blood and interest with Maharaja Perba. At least in the nineteenth century, the people of Lipis and Jelai regarded

¹Papers of Maharaja Perba (MS.).

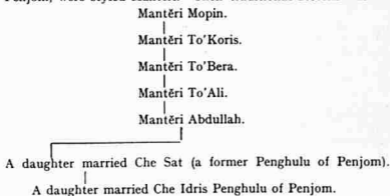
themselves as the same clan (*salu puak*). According to one tradition the Lipis and Jelai families were descended from Baginda Damun of Kota Lama Kanan in Perak whose son (or sons) settled at Lubok Yong Guntong in the Jelai.

The traditional descent of the Lipis Chiefs follows:¹



Tengku Kudin, a son of Tengku Samat, is the present holder of the title Dato' Sëtia Lela.

The Head-men of Orang Kaya Sëtia Wangsa of Lipis, at Penjom, were styled Mantëri. Their traditional descent was :



¹Abbreviations: S.W., Orang Kaya Sëtia Wangsa; S.L., Orang Kaya Sëtia Lela; m., married.

ORANG BESAR ENAM-BELAS.

After the secondary Chiefs came the minor head-men, *Orang Besar Enam-belas*: "the Sixteen Chiefs." Contrary to the indication afforded by their name, in practice, their number was not fixed. They were appointed by the Major Chiefs of their District, and their office was not hereditary. They were styled *To'Muda*.

ORANG BESAR RAJA.

Apart from the Major, Secondary, and Minor Chiefs there sprung up occasionally a magnate not provided for in the *adat istiadat* *Negri* or unwritten constitution of the country: the *Orang Besar Raja*, the "Raja's Chief," (an office still well known in *Negri Sembilan* under the *Menangkabau* constitution). In Pahang he was sometimes a Court favourite who had shown prowess in war, and having worked his way into the Ruler's good graces, sought to improve his position by becoming a territorial magnate. *Rasu*, the Imam *Pĕrang Indĕra Gajah* of Pahang, was one of this class. He distinguished himself in the civil war of the sixties and in the Selangor war, and in reward, was granted as his territory, in addition to *Pulau Tawar*, the district of *Budu*, hitherto the appendage of *To'Raja* whose greediness in appropriating to himself the spoils obtained in the Selangor war had made him unpopular with the *Bendahara*. *To'Gajah's* father was a foreign Malay, his mother a Pahang woman.

To' Gajah was employed by the *Bendahara* as an instrument with which to whittle down the powers of the great territorial Chiefs.

It must be added that Court officials, too, such as *Dato' Dalam* and *Dato' Luar*, come under the category of "Raja's Chiefs," but there was always a well-defined place for them in the constitutional frame-work.

The *Bendanas*, naturally, did not encourage territorial ambitions amongst their relatives, and we do not find them giving lands to potential rivals. There was, however, one part of Pahang where men of the *Bendahara's* stock held sway. The valley of the *Tembĕling* was controlled by the *Wans*, descendants, according to tradition, of *Temenggong Mutahir* whose son *Usop* migrated to that valley. To keep watch on their doings the *Bendahara* stationed in the *Tembĕling* a *Penghulu Raja* who was under the direct orders of his master. It is noteworthy that the water-shed of the *Tembĕling* has been held, at least from the beginning of the 17th century, by relatives of the rulers.



Orang Kaya Indëra Maharaja Perba of Jelai Wan Muhammad, his son Wan Chik, and a grandson.

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APPENDIX IV.

SELECTED PAPERS OF MAHARAJA PERBA.

How few of us, even the most methodical, keep the written records dealing with the various events, important and trivial, which affect us in the course of our lives ! The late Orang Kaya Indëra Maharaja Perba of Jelai, Wan Muhammad, (the holder of the Chieftaincy is popularly known as To'Raja), was one of the few. A recent law-suit regarding the interpretation of the Maharaja Perba's title to land in Ulu Pahang led to a search for records which might have a bearing on the subject. The result was the discovery of some thousands of papers left by the late Chief.

These documents touch upon all sorts of matters : the genealogy of To'Raja, the struggles between Che Wan Ahmad, (later Sultan of Pahang), and his relatives, the status of the Bendahara and To'Raja, a *pantun* or poem in honour of To'Raja, the Sultan's relations with his brother Engku Muda Mansur, Sir Hugh Clifford's treaty-making negotiations, the establishment of Kuala Lipis as a district head-quarters and the death of Orang Kaya Maharaja Sëtia Raja, Haji Wan Daud, the tax-collecting powers of the Chiefs, To'Raja's quarrels with the Selinsing and Jelai companies, the causes of the Pahang insurrection, the oath taken at Pulau Tawar, the efforts of the rebel Chiefs to embroil To'Raja, the unpopularity of the Kërah Regulations, Engku Muda's admonition to To'Raja, operations in the rebellion, intercepted correspondence addressed to the Resident of Pahang, the visit of the Sultan and To'Raja to Singapore, the amnesty to the insurgents, the efforts of the Governor and the Sultan of Johore to promote peace, correspondence between To'Raja and the disaffected leaders, To'Gajah's distrust, the attack on Kuala Tembëling, Sir Hugh Clifford's expedition to Kelantan and Trengganu, To'Raja's claim to an increased allowance, the custom of presenting a *kepala mayat*, the status of the Major Chiefs and the filling of vacancies among them etc.

A few of the papers of historical interest are here published.

DOCUMENT No. I.

A Genealogy of Maharaja Perba.

1. Maka Sëri Maharaja Perba itu orang Menangkabau Orang Besar Lima Puloh negeri-nya.
2. Maka Maharaja Indëra Putëra itu Orang Besar dalam negeri.
3. Maka Maharaja Indëra Pahlawan itu Orang Besar, Tanah Datar negeri-nya.
4. Maka Shahbandar itu sa-belah peranak Keling sa-belah China Puteh itu-lah negeri-nya.

5. Maka ada-lah Raja turun di-Pagar Ruyong itu asal-nya ka-Johor bergelar (?) Berhama... Sultan 'Abdu'l-Zaman, putëra-nya Sultan 'Abdu'l-Rahim, Sultan 'Abdu'l-Ghafur ibni Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil... Sultan Mahmud.
6. Maka ada-lah asal Sëri Maharaja Perba itu turun di-Menangkabau lalu ka-Sembawa, empat bersaudara, sa'orang perempuan, maka perempuan itu berkahwin dengan orang alim dalam Negeri Sembawa, sudah berkahwin berlayar ka-negeri Pertani dua kakak dengan Tun Bandan. Dia hendak buat balai gambang di-persembah kapada Raja Johor ini, maka di-kurnia kapada Orang yang Berempat Bandar Maharani segala orang di-dalam Bandar Maharani di-dalam perentah Orang yang Berempat ini, itu-lah ada-nya.
7. Maka yang mengurniai Pahang ini kapada Orang yang Berempat ini Raja Johor Sultan 'Abdu'l-Ghafur, itu-lah Raja-nya di-kurniakan Orang yang Berempat ini, pertama Sëri Maharaja Perba, dan kedua Maharaja Indëra Putera, dan ketiga Maharaja Indëra Putëra Pahlawan, dan keempat shahbandar itu-lah...
8. Maka ada-lah Sëri Maharaja Perba ini mendapat budak di-dalam selising maka di-cheria-nya sampai besar. Maka dia sudah-lah tua maka muafakat-lah dengan Orang yang empat hendak berhenti, telah masuk pada (?) taalok kapada budak dapat selising, maka betul-lah kapada orang yang bertiga itu, maka mengadap-lah kapada Raja Johor sembahkan-lah orang yang dapat dalam selising itu akan ganti Sëri Maharaja Perba itu, telah (?) betul kapada Raja Johor, di-gelar-nya Maharaja Dalam, itu-lah ada-nya.
9. Maka orang yang dapat dalam selising itu di-nikahkan dengan anak Tun Bandan Pertani... Maka di-buat-lah rumah di-Kuala Tanum, lalu di-buat Kota bergelar Bukit Kota, itu-lah tempat duduk Maharaja Perba di-dalam Selising itu. Maka Sëri Maharaja Perba turun di-Menangkabau ka-kampong-nya di-Batu Nesring (?) Nering), anak chuchunya di-Kuala Kechau, di-Lanar, di-Balai, itu-lah ada-nya.
10. Maka ini-lah orang yang masuk yang kemudian daripada Sëri Maharaja, pertama Tun Bahar, Tun... Tun Budiman, Tun Draman, Tun Derhaka, Tun Jalil, Tun Druumi... Tun... ka-dalam bandar itu. Maka anak Tun Bandan itu di-nikahkan dengan anak Tun... dapat Selising, maka di-buat-lah rumah di-Kuala Tanum, lalu di-buat Kota di-Kuala Tanum, maka bergelar-lah Bukit Kota, itu-lah orang masuk ka-dalam Jelai kemudian daripada Maharaja Perba; kemudian masuk pula Bendahara Garang ka-dalam (?) Jelai itu. Maka... orang itu... Maharaja Perba (?) Dewal di-Batu... Maka Bendahara Garang itu tiada beranak, maka dia mendapat anak di-dalam buloh batong, maka di-gelar uleh-nya Baginda Damun itu-lah anak -nya.

11. Maka Bendahara Garang pun hendak berbalek ka-negeri Perak, maka di-tinggalkan Baginda Damun.....itu kepada Maharaja Perba orang-nya di-tinggalkan (uleh....) Bendahara Garang....dua-belas kelamin akan memelakan Damun itu.
12. Maka di-nikahkan anak Tun Janggut maka tiada beranak maka tiba pada....Maharaja....tinggal, balek ka-Perak Bendahara Garang itu.

Translation.

1. Sēri Maharaja Perba came from Menangkabau. Lima Puloh was his country.
2. Maharaja Indēra Putēra is a Chief in the country.
3. Maharaja Indēra Pahlawan is a Chief, and Tanah Datar was his country.
4. The Shahbandar is descended from a southern Indian on the one side and from a white Chinese on the other side. That is his country.
5. A Prince came down from Pagar Ruyong and in the beginning went to Johore. He was called "Berahama" (? Burhan) ... Sultan 'Abdu'l-Zaman (? 'Abdu'l-Rahman) whose son was Sultan 'Abdu'l-Rahim.... Sultan 'Abdu'l-Ghafur son of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil.... Sultan Mahmud.
6. Originally Sēri Maharaja Perba came down from Menangkabau and then went to Sembawa with his two brothers and one sister. The woman married a pious man in Sembawa. Then she and Tun Bandan set sail for Patani. He desired to build a pleasure raft to give to the Sultan of Johore. Now Bandar Maharani was given to the Four Persons, and all the inhabitants of Bandar Maharani were under the jurisdiction of these Four Persons. That is it.
7. It was the Ruler of Johore Sultan 'Abdu'l-Ghafur who granted Pahang to the Four Persons. He it was who granted the country to the Four Persons, firstly, Sēri Maharaja Perba, secondly Maharaja Indēra Putēra, thirdly Maharaja Indēra Putēra Pahlawan, and fourthly Shahbandar....
8. Now Sēri Maharaja Perba found a boy in *selising* (or *selinsing*) grass and reared him to maturity, and when the boy was of full age, by agreement between the Four Persons, Sēri Maharaja Perba relinquished his title in favour of the boy that was found in *selising* grass and the other three persons agreed thereto. He went into the presence of the Ruler of Johore and proffered the person that was found in *selising* grass as his substitute. The Sultan of Johore agreed (?) and he (the person that was found in *selising* grass) was given the title Maharaja Dalam. That is it.

9. Now the person that was got in *selising* grass was married to the daughter of Tun Bandan of Patani. A house was built at Kuala Tanum, then a fort was built which was styled Bukit Kota—that was the residence of Maharaja Perba in Selising. Sēri Maharaja Perba came down from Menangkabau to his settlement at Batu Nesring (? Nering). His children and grand-children resided at Kuala Kechau, at Lanar, and at Balai. That is it.
10. These are the persons who entered the settlement after Sēri Maharaja, firstly Tun Bahar, then Tun... Tun Budiman, Tun Draman, Tun Derhaka, Tun Jalil, Tun Druumi... Tun... Now the son of Tun Bandan married the daughter of Tun... and (?) got Selising. A house was built at Kuala Tanum, then a fort was built at Kuala Tanum, and the place was called Bukit Kota. These were the persons who entered the Jelai after Maharaja Perba, and after them Bendahara Garang entered the (?) Jelai. Now... those persons... Maharaja Perba (?) Dewal at Batu... Now Bendahara Garang was childless. He found a child in a *batong* bamboo and (the child) was named by him Baginda Damun ; that was his child.
11. Now Bendahara Garang decided to return to Perak and he left Baginda Damun... to Maharaja Perba, and of his people were left behind twelve families to look after Baginda Damun.
12. He (?) Bendahara Garang married the daughter of Tun Janggut but had no children. On arriving at... Maharaja... Bendahara Garang left (?) Baginda Damun behind and returned to Perak.

Note.

This document was originally in the possession of the Orang Kaya Maharaja Sētia Raja Haji Wan Daud, a descendant of a Maharaja Perba of Jelai, whose history has already been given here. The writing in parts is illegible. Orang Kaya Haji died in 1889 ; Bandar Maharani (or Muar in Johore) mentioned in the document was first so named in 1884. The document was therefore written between these dates, but it was based on an older MS.

Maharaja Indēra Putēra : the original title of the major Chief known as Orang Kaya Indēra Sēgara of Temerloh (?).

Maharaja Indēra Pahlawan : is the major Chief Orang Kaya Indēra Pahlawan of Chēnor.

Pertani : there was a close connection between Pahang and Patani in the sixteenth century.

Sultan 'Abdu'l-Ghafur : Sultan 'Abdu'l-Ghafur Mohaidin of Pahang (not Johore) was born in 1567. He was murdered by a

younger son in 1614. From Chinese sources we learn that this ruler fled to the "gold mountains" (Jelai) about 1612.

His history has already been given here. The names of Sultans and their descent, as set forth in this list, are hopelessly confused.

Selising: the *selising* grass. This is the traditional origin of the name *Selising* or *Selinsing* given to a locality near the mouth of the Jelai Kechil. It may have been the aboriginal name for a wider area. Selinsing was famous, from time immemorial, for its gold mines. There is a taboo in the family of Maharaja Perba that no Chief holding that title may sleep on selinsing grass. The story of the boy found in the selinsing is reminiscent of the Perak account of the White Semang.

Kuala Tanum, Bukit Kota: This old head-quarters of Maharaja Perba is at the mouth of the Tanum.

Batu Nering: a locality on the Jelai above Kuala Lipis.

Kuala Kechau, Lanar: places on the Jelai below Kuala Lipis.

DOCUMENT No. II.

A Second Genealogy of Maharaja Perba.

Ini fasal keturunan awal surat salasilah Engku To'Raja yang berbini akan Tuan Puteri Bukit Berenting, maka kemudian To'Engku hilang di-Sempu yang ada memerintah di-dalam daerah jajahan Jelai, ka-hilir-nya di-sempadan sangkat Tanjong Lindong, ka-hulu-nya sampai sempadan Perak dan sempadan Kelantan ada-nya.

Kemudian ini tanah sudah kita beli kepada Raja Johor yang memerintah Daik dan Lingga. Maka bayaran-nya pertamata sa-gantang ulang-aling emas, dan kedua satu dasar bali isi emas, dan ketiga sa-suku tangan baju yang berisi emas jua, itu peraturan orang tua-tua dahulu sah dengan nyata-nya.

Kemudian turun yang kedua Engku To'Raja Perba hilang di-Riau, dan turun yang ketiga Engku To'Raja Perba hilang di-Bukit Kota, dan turun yang keempat Engku To'Raja hilang di-Bukit Betong, dan turun yang kelima Engku To'Raja Wan Muhammad ibni Engku To'Raja Perba Wan Dris yang hilang di-Bukit Betong ada-nya. Dan lagi fasal perintah-nya seperti pesaka orang tua-tua dahulu jua tiada tukar ubah-nya; ke-hilir-nya di-sempadan sangkat Tanjong Lindong ka-hulu-nya sampai di-sempadan Kelantan dan sempadan Perak serta di-kurniakan pula oleh Raja Johor yang memerintah Daik dan Lingga serta dengan Raja dalam negeri Pahang anak beranak, di-kurniakan kepada To'Raja Perba Jelai anak beranak sampai-lah kepada sekarang ini, tiada ubah-nya serta dengan 'kachita-nya. Tamat ada-nya.

Tertulis kepada 15 hari bulan Rajab, hari Rabu, jam pukul dua, sanat 1326.

Ini fasal awal salasilah sahaya Engku To'Raja Perba Jelai yang ada mengambil orang gunung seperti Tuan Puteri nama-nya. Maka di-buat isteri, maka beranak sa-orang laki-laki di-namakan Raja Muda, maka nama-nya Engku To'Raja hilang di-Semput yang ada membeli tanah daerah negeri Pahang perenggan-nya sangkat Tanjong Lindong ka-hilir-nya sampai akan hujung Sungai Jelai. Maka herga-nya sa-gantang ulang-aling emas dan satu dasar bali emas, dan sa-tangan baju isi emas. Maka di-beli-nya kepada Raja Johor yang memerintah negeri Lingga dan Daik, sah dengan nyata-nya.

Kemudian Engku To'Raja hilang di-Riau pula memerintah jajahan Jelai ini jua, dan ketiga-nya Engku To'Raja Wan Muhammad hilang di-Bukit Kota, dan keempat Engku To'Raja Dris hilang di-Bukit Betong, dan kelima-nya Engku To'Raja Wan Muhammad pula yang memerintah ini Jelai jua. Maka perjanjian-nya seperti peraturan perintah orang tua-tua dahulu itulah perjanjian-nya, tiada-lah tukar ubah-nya dengan nyata-nya. Tamat.

Translation.

This is the original descent and genealogy from Engku To'Raja who married the Princess of Bukit Berenting. Afterwards came To'Raja who died at Semput. He it was who ruled over the territory of Jelai, the boundary of which, on the down-river side, was Tanjong Lindong, and on the up-river side, the boundary of Perak and the boundary of Kelantan.

Furthermore, this land we bought from the Ruler of Johore who ruled over Daik and Lingga, and the price of it was firstly a *gantang* full of gold, and secondly a vessel shaped out of coconut-shell filled with gold, and thirdly an arm-sleeveful of gold—that was the arrangement of the people of old, truly and clearly.

Then the second in descent was Engku To'Raja Perba who died in Riau, and the third in descent was Engku To'Raja Perba who died at Bukit Kota, and the fourth in descent was Engku To'Raja Perba who died at Bukit Betong, and the fifth in descent was Engku To'Raja Wan Muhammad, son of Engku To'Raja Perba Wan Idris who died at Bukit Betong—and his territory is the same as that which has been handed down from his ancestors of old, there is no change: down-river its boundary is Tanjong Lindong and up-river its boundary is the boundary of Kelantan and the boundary of Perak; and it was granted by the Raja of Johore who ruled over Daik and Lingga, in conjunction with the Ruler of Pahang: they and their posterity granted the territory to To'Raja Perba and his posterity right up to the present time:

there has been no change or alteration, and the territory was granted with pleasure. Conclusion.

Written on the 15th day of the month of Rejab, on a Wednesday, at two of the clock, in the year 1326.

* * * *

This is the genealogy of me Engku To'Raja Perba of Jelai (whose original ancestor) took Tuan Putēri, a Princess of the mountain, as his wife.

She bore a son named Raja Muda who was the Engku To' Raja who died at Sempu. He bought land in the country of Pahang. Its boundaries were, on the down-river side Tanjong Lindong, and on the up-river side the source of the river Jelai; and its price was a *gantang* full of gold, and a vessel shaped out of coconut-shell filled with gold, and an arm-sleeveful of gold. He bought the land from the Raja of Johore who ruled over Lingga and Daik—truly and clearly it is set forth.

Then Engku To'Raja who died at Riau next ruled over the territory of Jelai, and the third in descent was Engku To'Raja Wan Muhammad who died at Bukit Kota, and the fourth was Engku To'Raja Wan Idris who died at Bukit Betong, and the fifth is the second Engku To'Raja Wan Muhammad who has jurisdiction over the Jelai, and the arrangement is that his jurisdiction extends over the same territory as that over which his ancestors of yore ruled—there is no change or alteration—truly and clearly it is set forth. Conclusion.

Note.

The original is in the hand-writing of To'Raja Wan Muhammad and is dated 10th August, 1908.

Bukit Berenting: is at Selising.

Sempu: is on the Tanum.

Tanjong Lindong: is on the river Pahang above Pedah.

Raja Muda: there is no other record to indicate that the family of Maharaja Perba had any connection with royalty. There is a hill near Kuala Tembeling called *Bukit Raja Muda* probably to commemorate that *Marhum Muda* of Pahang who met his bride, a Perak princess, at Kuala Tembeling towards the end of the sixteenth century. It is likely that this fanciful derivation of the Maharaja Perba's family from a *Raja Muda* originated from the name of this hill and the legends connected with it. Local tradition associates the hill with Muhammadan *genii* (*jin islam*) and, in proof of their presence, points to the existence of a white mouse-deer, a white sambhur, and a jungle fowl which fraternizes with domestic birds!

DOCUMENT No. III.

Taxation in Ulu Pahang in 1859.

Tarikh 1276 kapada tujuh-belas hari bulan Jemad-al-Awal kapada hari Ithnain waktu pukul sa-puloh, maka dewasa itu-lah Ka-Bawah Duli Tengku Ambong ibni al-Marhum Sultan Muhammad Shah serta dengan Inche Wan Long ibni Dato' Bendahara Sëri Maharaja menjadi wakil mutallak Sëri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Besar Sultan Mahmud al-Muzaffar Shah kurniakan surat keterangan ini kapada Mandara Lubok Sëtia Raja daerah Gali sebab karna Inche Wan Long itu sudah di-wakilkan Dato' Bendahara Sëri Maharaja akan sa-barang-barang pekerjaan titah perintah daripada Ka-Bawah Duli Baginda Yang Maha Mulia itu. Maka saperti ada-lah yang memangku di-bawah Inche Wan Long itu pertama-tama Inche Wan 'Abdu'l-Rahman dan Inche Wan Da. Maka hendak segala mana-mana Tok' Menangkabau itu yang pegangan Mandara Lubok Sëtia Raja itu mengikut dan menurut apa-apa yang sudah kita aturkan itu di-dalam adat istiadat, maka barang siapa ia yang tiada mengikut dan menurut saperti mana-mana yang di-aturkan itu melainkan derhaka-lah Ka-Bawah Duli Baginda Yang Maha Mulia dan salah kapada Dato' Bendahara Sëri Maharaja dan salah kapada Inche Wan Long serta dengan kita saperti mana-mana yang tersebut itu ada-nya.

Shahadan lagi hendak-lah Mandara Lubok Sëtia Raja itu jagakan apa-apa... kapada tiap-tiap tahun daripada hasil-nya, pungut kapada tiap-tiap satu orang hasil maka apabila sampai kapada tahun-nya maka hendak-lah di-persembahkan Ka-Bawah Duli Yang Maha Mulia dan jikalau ada orang yang membawa titah atau sabda serta dengan membawa tanda keterangan hendak menerima hasil itu, melainkan hendak-lah Mandara Lubok Sëtia Raja serahkan kapada-nya hasil itu, ada-nya. Dan lagi saperti apa-apa hal ahual-nya hendak-lah Mandara Lubok Sëtia Raja itu mendapatkan kapada To'Muda Teh dan Wan Daud supaya boleh Wan Daud dengan To'Muda Teh itu muapakat dan meshuarat kapada Maharaja Perba, ada-nya.

Serta ada-lah dengan chap Kita termeterai di-atas shatar ini, ada-nya.

Dan lagi hendak-lah Mandara Lubok Sëtia Raja itu pakat baik-baik dengan Penghulu Balang 'Alam sa-barang-barang ikhtiar dan bichara jangan sa-kali-kali meninggalkan ; demikian lagi Penghulu Balang 'Alam jangan sa-kali-kali meninggalkan bermuapakat baik di-atas berkekalan sa-lama-lama-nya menerima titah perintah dan sabda daripada Ka-Bawah Baginda Yang Maha Mulia. Demikian-lah ada-nya.

Translation.

Date 1276, upon the seventeenth day of the month Jamad-al-Awal, on a Monday, at ten of the clock.

On the aforesaid date His Highness Tengku Ambong, son of the late Sultan Muhammad Shah, and Inche Wan Long son of Dato' Bendahara Sēri Maharaja who is the fully authorized representative of His Illustrious Highness the Yang di-Pertuan Besar Sultan Mahmud al-Muzaffar Shah doth grant this warrant to Mandara Lubok Sētia Raja in the District of Gali, for Inche Wan Long has been authorized by Dato' Bendahara Sēri Maharaja in respect of any undertaking that has been commanded and ordered by His Illustrious Highness. Those that have been authorized to act under Inche Wan Long are firstly Wan 'Abdu'l-Rahman and Inche Wan Da.

Now all the petty Menangkabau Chiefs within the territory of Mandara Lubok Sētia Raja must observe and obey whatever arrangements we make in accordance with custom, and whosoever does not observe and obey such arrangements shall be guilty of treason against His Illustrious Highness and shall be guilty of an offence against Dato' Seri Bendahara, and shall be guilty of an offence against Inche Wan Long and against us as aforesaid.

Furthermore Mandara Lubok Sētia Raja must watch whatever... each year as regards taxes, and must collect a tax from each person, and when the time comes for payment he must deliver the revenue to His Illustrious Highness; and if anybody is the bearer of a command or of an order authenticated by a sealed certificate, Mandara Lubok Sētia Raja must hand the revenue to such person.

Further, in all details, Mandara Lubok Sētia Raja must consult To'Muda Teh and Wan Daud so that Wan Daud and To' Muda Teh may consult and confer with Maharaja Perba.

We hereby affix our seal to this document.

Furthermore, Mandara Lubok Sētia Raja must leave no stone unturned to come to an amicable arrangement with Penghulu Balang Alam, and likewise Penghulu Balang Alam must on no account decline to come to an amicable and abiding arrangement and must receive the command and instructions of His Illustrious Highness. So be it.

Note.

17 Jemad-al-Awal 1276 A.H. — 30th December 1859 A.D.

The date on the seal is 1266 A.H. = 1849 A.D.

Sultan Muhammad Shah: of Lingga. He died in 1841 and was known as *Marhum Kadaton*.

Wan Long, Wan Abdulrahman and Wan Da: were sons of Bendahara Sēri Maharaja Wan Mutahir who succeeded his father Bendahara Ali in 1857 A.D.

Sultan Mahmud Muzaffar Shah of Lingga succeeded his father in 1841, was deposed by the Dutch in 1857, and died in Pahang in 1864. He was buried in the royal grave-yard at Kuala Pahang.

Tok Menangkabau: apart from old-established colonies there were several recent Menangkabau settlements in the district of Raub.

Mandara Lubok Setia Raja: of Gali, the *To'Lubok* of the *Hikayat Pahang*. He was implicated in the rebellion against Ahmad in 1868. He received a pardon but several of his headmen were executed.

Derhaka...salah: the Bendahara has not yet acquired royal status and an offence against him is not "treason".

To'Muda Teh: son-in-law and heir of To'Hassan Orang Kaya Sëtia Lela of Lipis, the Secondary Chief, under To'Raja, in charge of the Lipis valley.

Wan Daud: later entitled Orang Kaya Maharaja Sëtia Raja, Haji Wan Daud.

Although, at the date on which the letter was written, ex-Sultan Mahmud was in Pahang, and was intriguing to get himself recognized as sovereign, the use of his name was purely formal: Bendahara Ali had, before his death in 1857, renounced allegiance to Riau.

DOCUMENT No. IV.

Dacoity in Pahang.

Al-Wakil al-Sultan Johor Dato'
(Seal) Bendahara Sewa Raja ibni
Bendahara Sewa Raja. Sanat
1224.

Kaul-al-Hak.

Sabda di-Bawah Kaus Engku Muda Dato' Bendahara Sewa Raja Pahang junjongan kapada To'Lubok Sëtia Raja, dan kapada Hulubalang 'Alam, dan Sutan Bangka Hulu, dan Raja Mengkasar, dan Jelampa, dan Sutan Salim, dan Jabuji, dan Sutan Tengah Hari, dan Pakeh Tengah Padang, dan Tuan Haji Muhammad Baki, dan Mintik Malim, dan To'Jati, dan Sutan Maharaja Lela Malim Penghulu, dan Penglima Muda anak To' Khatib Rawa, dan Imam Përang Padang Tinggi, dan To'Muda Jamjam dan Imam Përang Puteh.

Maka ada-lah Beta itu nyatakan kapada sakalian Orang Besar-Besar Beta maka ada-lah Beta ini di-ambil uleh Raja-Raja Raub dan sakalian Orang Besar-Besar Raub serta dengan

Journal Malayan Branch [Vol. XIV, Part II,

Wan Daud serta sapakat-rapat dengan Orang Besar-Besar Pahang yang di Jelai Lipis dari Kelantan lalu di-bawa ka-hulu Pahang, maka lalu-lah di-ambil Pahang ini dengan takdkir Allah, maka dapat-lah Pahang ini. Maka lepas itu maka ada-lah pendengar Beta ada di-hulu ini ada perompak merampas orang berjual beli, maka apa-lah sa-pakat ia-itu Kita biarkan perompak itu atau Kita rentikan? Itu pun minta muapakat-nya kepada sakalian Dato'-Dato' Kita. Maka ada-lah pikiran Beta maka ada-lah Kita ambil Pahang ini dengan beberapa-beberapa sakit serta pula menanggung luka mati dengan beberapa-beberapa banyak. tiada-lah guna-nya Kita hendak menchari senang menchari makan di-dalam Pahang ini serta hendak di-jual-beli. . apabila Kita biarkan perompak itu neschaya sakit-lah sedikit Kita hendak berjual-beli di-dalam Pahang ini karena ada-lah perniagaan di-dalam Pahang ini ia-lah China yang besar meniaga, maka apabila China takut hilir mudek neschaya kurang-lah besar perniagaan-nya.

Maka itu-lah Kita maalumkan kepada sakalian Orang Besar-Besar Beta, maka ada-lah Beta ini tiada-lah sa-dua Beta harapan yang sabelah hulu hanya-lah Orang Besar-Besar Beta di-Raub akan membela pelihara sa-belah hulu, itu pun dengan segala-segala anak raja-raja dagang karena Beta sebab boleh menjadi Raja dengan pertolongan daripada orang dagang. Maka itu-lah Kita maalumkan kepada sakalian Dato'-Dato' dan raja-raja dagang maka ada-lah Beta ini Wallahi Wa-billahi tiada-lah Beta berubahkan beraleh bagaimana yang di-persumpahkan dahulu itu-lah ada-nya. Suatu pun tiada tanda khat-nya hanya-lah doa fi-kuliwakti-wahi itu-lah ada-nya.

Translation.

The Representative of the
Sultan of Johore, Dato'
(Seal) Bendahara Sewa Raja, son
of Dato' Bendahara Sewa
Raja. Date 1224.

The Saying is the Truth.

A command from the Exalted Engku Dato' Bendahara Sewa Raja of Pahang to To'Lubok Sëtia Raja, and to Hulubalang 'Alam, and Sutan Bangka Hulu, and Raja Mengkasar, and Jelampa, and Sutan Salim, and Jabuji, and Sutan Tengah Hari, and Pakeh Tengah Padang, and Haji Muhammad Baki, and Mintik Malim and To'Jati, and Sutan Maharaja Lela Malim Penghulu, and Penglima Muda son of To'Khatib the Rawa, and Imam Përang of Padang Tinggi, and To'Muda Jamjam, and Imam Përang Puteh.

We proclaim to all Our Chiefs that We were brought from Kelantan to Ulu Pahang by the princes of Raub and all the Chiefs

of Raub and Wan Daud, in close co-operation with the Chiefs of Pahang that reside in Jelai and Lipis, and by the Will of God We obtained this country Pahang.

Now We have heard that robbers are robbing traders up-country. What counsel shall We take? Shall We leave the robbers unmolested, or shall We put an end to their activities? We ask that all Our Chiefs confer on this matter. Our opinion is: as it was at the cost of great suffering and of wounds and lives and, with great. . . . that We conquered Pahang, it would be fruitless for Us to look for peace and prosperity in Pahang and to encourage trading, if We leave the robbers unmolested; assuredly trade in Pahang would suffer for the bulk of trading in Pahang is carried on by Chinese, and if the Chinese are afraid to ply up river and down river assuredly trade will diminish.

Thus We inform all Our Chiefs. We have no divergent interests and We hope that it is Our Chiefs at Raub who will protect and supervise the hinter-land with, of course, the co-operation of all the foreign princes, for it was owing to the assistance rendered by the foreign people that We were enabled to establish Ourselves as Ruler. Thus We inform all the Chiefs and the foreign princes. We swear by God that We shall not be false to the oath that We swore formerly. We have nothing further to add except Our unending prayers.

Note.

The seal is that of Bendahara Ali (Bendahara Sewa Raja), son of Bendahara Koris (here termed "Bendahara Sewa Raja"), and the date of the seal is 1809A.D. Koris' designation, as given here, does not agree with that given in other seals in which he is described as *Bendahara Paduka Raja*. The latter was his correct title. The document was written between the 10th June 1863 and the 30th December 1863 by which latter date Wan Daud had been given a title.

The Rawa, Sutan Bangka Ulu, mentioned in the document, and his men were massacred at Kuala Kubu in 1873.

Engku Muda Dato' Bendahara Sewa Raja was Bendahara Ahmad who drove his elder brother, and his nephew, Bendahara Mutahir and Bendahara Muda Koris, respectively, out of Pahang in 1863.

Sutan Bangka Ulu, etc.: these resounding titles were assumed by the petty foreign chiefs who had settled in Ulu Pahang.

Sutan Tengah Hari: this Rawa Chief was given a very blasphemous name by the Pahang people.

DOCUMENT No. V.

The Bendahara confers titles upon certain Chiefs.

(Seal) (illegible).

Hajrat al-Nabi Salla Allahu alaihi wa salam sa-ribu dua-ratus delapan puluh tahun, kapada tahun alip, kapada enam-belas hari bulan Rejab, kapada hari Ahad, waktu jam pukul dua petang.

Dewasa ia-itu di-Bawah Kaus Engku Dato' Bendahara Sewa Raja mengurniakan nama Wan Daud ibni Wan Pahang menjadi Maharaja Sëtia Raja akan memerentahkan Sungai Lapis (Lipis) lagi (*sic*? dari) kuala-nya hingga sampai akan ayer meleleh. Yang memangku-nya To' Teh a... dar n. h. maka Beta kurniakan nama Orang Kaya Sëtia Lela maka hendak-lah sakalian mika-mika yang ada di-dalam daerah (? Lapis itu) mengikut dan menurut bagaimana yang di-perentahkan oleh Orang Besar kedua-nya. Shahadan lagi (ja)ngan-lah mika kedua berbalah sa-kali-kali karna Beta tiada retha sa-kali-kali. Maka telah harab-lah Beta akan mika kedua dahulu Allah wa-baadahu Rasul kemudian mika kedua-lah yang Beta harabkan. Shahadan lagi shahadan lagi (*sic*) apabila dapat perbalahan antara kedua mika maka hendak-lah di-adukan kapada Beta, (maka) jikalau tiada sempat, baharu-lah mika mengadukan kapada Maharaja Perba.

Shahadan lagi apabila tida(k) mengikut dan menurut salah sa-orang (? antara) kedua-nya, maka apabila ingkar Orang Kaya Sëtia Lela, maka hendak-lah Maharaja Sëtia Raja panchong, dan apabila ingkar Maharaja Sëtia Raja maka hendak-lah Orang Kaya Sëtia Lela tahan sa-boleh-boleh antara menyampaikan kapada Beta.

Maka hendak-lah sakalian mika-mika yang ada di-dalam Lapis (Lipis) mengikut dan menurut bagaimana yang di-perentahkan Orang Besar-Besar kedua itu yang di-dalam hukum Allah dan di-dalam adat. Maka barang-barang siapa yang ti(dak) mengikut dan menurut bagaimana yang di-perentahkan oleh Orang Besar-Besar kedua itu melainkan derhaka Ka-Bawah Duli yang di-Pertuan Besar dan salah kapada Beta, Beta hukuman sa-panoh-panoh hukum di-ram(pas), melawan di-bunoh.

Sah dengan nyata-nya, di-pukul chap di-atas kepala kertas itu. Intiha ada-nya tamat.

Translation.

In the year of the Prophet (on whom God shower blessings) one thousand two hundred and eighty, in the year *Alif*, on the sixteenth day of the month Rejab, on a Sunday, at 2 p.m., the Honourable Dato' Bendahara Sewa Raja confers upon Wan Daud ibni Wan Pahang the title of Maharaja Sëtia Raja with jurisdiction over the river Lapis from its mouth up to the point where

the waters trickle down (to form the stream). And upon his representative To'Teh... We confer the title of Orang Kaya Setia Lela. Now all the people in the region of the Lipis must observe and obey the instructions of the two Chiefs.

Furthermore the two Chiefs must not quarrel for it will be contrary to Our wishes. After God and His Prophet it is upon the two Chiefs that We place Our reliance. Should they quarrel, the dispute must be submitted to Us, and reference may be made to Maharaja Perba only if there is no time to refer the matter to Us. Should either of the two Chiefs disregard or fail to observe (Our decision), where the offender is Orang Kaya Sëtia Lela, Maharaja Sëtia Raja shall behead him; where Maharaja Sëtia Raja is the guilty party, the Orang Kaya Sëtia Lela must exercise the utmost restraint until the matter is brought before Us.

Now all the people in Lipis must observe and obey the instructions of those two Chiefs provided that they are in accord with custom and the law of God. Whosoever refuses to observe and obey the instructions of those two Chiefs shall be guilty of treason towards His Highness the Sultan and of an offence against Us, and We shall inflict the severest punishment upon them: confiscation, or, in case of resistance, death.

Truly and clearly the seal is affixed to the head of the document. Conclusion.

Note.

The warrant bears out the tradition that the title of Orang Kaya Sëtia Lela was conferred by Bendaharas (while that of Orang Kaya Sëtia Wangsa was given by Sultans). To'Teh was not a descendant of the former holders of the title but had married a daughter of his predecessor who had left no son to succeed him.

The difference in the status accorded in the warrant to Wan Daud and to To'Teh was due to the signal services given to Ahmad in the civil war by the former, whereas the family of the Orang Kaya Sëtia Lela did not come over to the victor's side till the Maharaja Perba's return from Kelantan in January 1862 (*supra*, p. 82).

Wan Daud's title died with him in 1889. A more modest form of it was conferred upon the Pulau Tawar Chief Penglina Garang Yusoh in 1894.

The warrant reveals a certain amount of jealousy on the part of Bendahara Ahmad of Maharaja Perba's power.

Ahmad is still Bendahara and is still nominally subject to the Sultan of Lingga to whom he pays lip-worship. Sultan Mahmud Muzaffar Shah (the deposed ruler of Lingga and the *Yang di-Per-tuan Besar* of the document) was actually in Pahang at the time the document was written, and died there the following year.

DOCUMENT No. VI.

The Civil War (1857—1863).

Ini Peraturan fasal Perang di-dalam negeri Pahang.

Pertama-tama perang dengan orang Kemaman, kedua perang dengan Wan Buang di-dalam Tembeling, dan ketiga perang Penglina Perang Kiri Wan Embong, dan keempat perang di-dalam Kuala Endau, dan kelima perang di-dalam Kuala Kuantan. Di-dalam tempoh perang Kuala Kuantan Wan Daud perang sampai di-Temerloh lalu Wan Daud hundor lari mengikut jalan Semantan hilir lalu sampai di-Raub berhenti di-situ. Maka kepala-kepala yang ada bersama-sama dengan Wan Daud, pertama Imam Pêrang Rasu, dan kedua Haji Penglina Kiri Tahir Telang, dan ketiga Penglina Dalam (?) Kadud dan keempat Penghulu Teh, dan kelima Imam Pêrang Busu Kasim Gua, dan kepala orang dagang pertama-tama Imam Pêrang Jemang, dan kedua Imam Pêrang Padang Tinggi, dan ketiga Penglina Raja (?) Betunanong Melayu, ini-lah yang ada bersama-sama Wan Daud. Kemudian Inche Engku Ahmad bersemayam di-dalam negeri Kelantan. Ada kapada satu hari muafakat dengan To' Raja dua beranak akan menyuroh To'Suboh mendapat Wan Daud ka-hulu Pahang. Maka To'Suboh pun pergi-lah mengikut jalan hulu Kelantan sampai hulu Lipis, berjumpa-lah dengan Wan Daud dan orang-orang kepala-kepala yang tersebut tadi lama-nya ada-lah kira-kira dua-puluh hari lalu balek mendapat To'Raja ka-dalam Kelantan. To'Suboh tiba di-dalam Kelantan. Tiada berapa lama To'Raja dua beranak pun bermohon-lah kapada Inche Engku Ahmad akan hendak melanggar ikut jalan hulu Pahang. Maka Inche Engku Ahmad pun membenarkan-lah :

“ Mana-mana sebut To'Raja benar-lah kapada Kita. Maka orang-orang Kita boleh To'Raja bawa, pertama-tama Penglina Komin, dan kedua Penglina Mat Pahang, ketiga Penglina Garang Ali Kuala Tembeling, dan Penglina Pêrang Tungal”—

ini-lah kepala orang-orang Inche Engku Ahmad. Kemudian To'Raja pun mudek mengikut jalan hulu Kelantan lalu ka-hulu Pahang banyak orang-nya empat-puluh orang masok orang Kelantan ada empat orang pertama Haji Wan Hamat dan kedua Wan Sulaiman dan berdua kawan-nya.

Translation.

The Scheme of Operations in the Pahang War.

Firstly were the operations in company with the men of Kemaman, secondly came Wan Buang's diversion in the Tembeling thirdly was the war of Penglina Pêrang Kiri Wan Embong, fourthly occurred the fighting at Kuala Endau, and fifthly there was the war in Kuala Kuantan.

During the engagement at Kuala Kuantan Wan Daud fought his way as far as Temerloh and then took to flight retreating by the lower Semantan until he arrived at Raub where he made a stand. Now the Head-men with Wan Daud were, firstly, Imam Perang Rasu, secondly, Haji Penglima Kiri Tahir of Telang, thirdly Penglima Dalam (?) Kadud, fourthly, Penghulu Teh, fifthly Imam Përang Busu Kasim of Gua while the leaders of the foreigners who helped Wan Daud were, firstly, Imam Përang Jemang, secondly, Penglima Përang of Padang Tinggi, thirdly, Penglima Raja (?) Betunanong Melayu—these were the Head-men with Wan Daud.

Afterwards Inche Engku Ahmad took up his residence in Kelantan. One day he arranged with To'Raja and his son that To'Suboh should proceed to Ulu Pahang to meet Wan Daud. To'Suboh accordingly set out, and journeyed by Ulu Kelantan to Kuala Lipis where he met Wan Daud and the aforesaid head-men. After a stay of about twenty days he returned to Kelantan to meet To'Raja.

Not long afterwards To'Raja and his son begged permission of Inche Engku Ahmad to launch an attack through Ulu Pahang. Inche Engku Ahmad expressed his approval :

" I agree to whatever you say, To'Raja. Of my head-men you may bring Penglima Komin, Penglima Mat of Pahang, Penglima Garang Ali of Kuala Tembeling and Penglima Përang Tunggal"—

these were the head-men of Inche Engku Ahmad.

Subsequently To'Raja went up-river through Ulu Kelantan and arrived in Ulu Pahang. His force consisted of forty men of whom four were Kelantan men, Haji Wan Hamat, and Wan Sulaiman with two comrades.

Note.

In the hand-writing of To'Raja Wan Muhammad. A fragmentary account of the various struggles between Wan Ahmad and his brother Bendahara Mutahir which took place between 1857 and 1863 (*supra*, Chap. VII).

DOCUMENT No. VII.

To'Gajah gets Budu.

Kaul al-Hak.

(Seal) Sultan Ahmad al-Mu'azam Shah.

Hajrat al-Nabi Salla Allahu alaihi wa salam sa-ribu tiga ratus tahun, sanat 1300, kapada dua-puloh-satu hari bulan Jemad-al-Awal, hari Sabtu, jam pukul sa-puloh.

Journal Malayan Branch [Vol. XIV, Part II,

Bahawa dewasa itu-lah Ka-Bawah Duli Yang Maha Mulia Sultan Ahmad al-Mu'azam Shah ia-itu telah mengurniakan surat tanda keterangan ini kepada Imam Pĕrang Indĕra Gajah Pahang.

Fasal yang pertama.—Kita menyatakan segala orang-orang isi Budu itu Kita pulangkan kepada Imam Pĕrang yang tersebut di-atas ini semua-nya.

Fasal yang kedua.—Barang siapa-siapa mereka yang tiada mengikut dan menurut saperti yang tersebut di-atas ini melainkan salah dengan sa-penoh-penoh salah-nya kepada Kita, maka Kita hukum-kan di-atas-nya dengan sa-penoh-penoh hukum demikian-lah ada-nya.

Maka sah-lah dengan nyata-nya serta termetrai-lah chap Kita di-atas shatar ini.

Translation.

The Saying is the Truth.

(Seal) Sultan Ahmad al-Mu'azam Shah.

In the year of the Prophet (on whom God shower blessings) one thousand three hundred (1300), on the twenty-first day of the month Jemad-al-Awal, on a Saturday, at ten of the clock.

On the said date His Highness Sultan Ahmad al-Mu'azam Shah doth grant this warrant to Imam Perang Indera Gajah Pahang.

Firstly.—We proclaim that We hand over entirely all the inhabitants of Budu to the aforesaid Imam Perang.

Secondly.—Should any of the said inhabitants disregard or disobey or fail to observe Our aforesaid Command they shall be guilty of a grave offence against Us, and We shall inflict upon them the severest penalties. So be it.

Truly and clearly We affix Our Seal to the above Warrant.

Note.

Date: 30th March, 1883.

Budu was originally under the jurisdiction of the Orang Kaya Sĕtia Wangsa of Lipis whose over-lord was the Maharaja Perba. The Budu people resented this transfer of authority (*vide* Document No. XI).

DOCUMENT No. VIII.

Threatened invasion of Pahang.

(Seal) Sultan Ahmad al-Mu'azam Shah Pahang.

Bahawa titah Ka-Bawah Duli Yang Maha Mulia Sultan Ahmad al-Mu'azam Shah di-junjongkan kepada orang tua Beta

1936] *Royal Asiatic Society.*

ia-itu Maharaja Perba, dan orang tua Beta Imam Përang Indëra Gajah Pahang, dan orang tua Beta Orang Kaya Sëtia Wangsa, barang tahu-lah kira-nya orang tua Beta yang bertiga ini-lah Beta nyatakan kepada orang tua Beta darihal perkara musoh itu, maka jikalau sudah tentu ada di-dalam daerah sempadan kita, maka hendak-lah kita ingat, maka jangan-lah sa-kali-kali daripada kita mendahului memulakan memecahkan perang atau bakar membakar segala rumah-rumah orang yang meninggalkan rumah tangga-nya. Maka hendak-lah kita berbanyak-banyak sabar serta jika yang boleh kita menahan daripada kekuatan daripada-nya jangan jadi kerosakan di-atas kita sementara kita menchari ikhtiar. Demikian-lah ada-nya.

Kapada 24 Shawal, malam Sabtu, jam pukul 9, Sanat 1301.

Translation.

(Seal) Sultan Ahmad al-Mu'azam Shah
of Pahang.

A command from His Highness Sultan Ahmad al-Mu'azam Shah to Our Chief Maharaja Perba, and Our Chief Imam Përang Indëra Gajah of Pahang, and Our Chief Orang Kaya Sëtia Wangsa.

Be it known to you our three Chiefs.—If it is certain that the enemy is within our territory we must beware. We must not on any account take the initiative in war-like operations or in burning the houses of those who have left their families. We must exercise the utmost restraint, and we must do all in our power to curb their violence so that we may not be ruined while we are devising our strategy.

On 24 Shawal, Friday night, at 10 of the clock, date 1301.

Note.

Date: 19th August, 1884.

Sultan Ahmad warns his Chiefs in Ulu Pahang to guard against an apprehended attack on Pahang. The enemy is his brother Engku Muda Mansur, known in Singapore as Raja Muda Mansur.

DOCUMENT No. IX.

Engku Muda Mansur is not allowed to use Selangor as a base.

(Sd.) Cecil Clementi Smith. Acting
Governor, S.S.

Bahawa ini warkah al-ikhlas yang di-sertakan beberapa tabek dan hurmat mulia ia-itu daripada Kita Cecil Clementi

Smith, C.M.G., yang ada memangku jawatan Tuan Governor yang Terutama memerintahkan Singapura, Pulau Pinang dan Malaka apa-lah kira-nya mendapatkan Paduka Sahabat Kita Yang di-Pertuan Ahmad Raja Pahang yang mulia yang ada dengan kesejahteraan-nya.

Wabaadahu barang isthafaham kira-nya Sahabat Kita. Ada pun di-dalam surat Kita bertarikh 14 May yang telah di-kirirkan pada Sahabat Kita dahulu itu ada Kita sebutkan demikian :

“ Yang Kita harap Sahabat Kita tiada kelak meluluskan atau memberi jalan kepada sa-barang anak-anak Raja Pahang itu membangkitkan pergadohan.”

Ada pun perkataan “ sa-barang anak-anak Raja Pahang ” itu jatuh pada Raja Empeh dan Raja Ismail, dengan To’Kaya Perba Jelai, Imam Përang Indëra Gajah Pahang, To’Sëtia Lela Raja, dan To’Mail. Shahadan daripada surat Sahabat Kita bertarikh 27 Ramathan itu pada pikiran Kita ambil Sahabat Kita pada Raja Muda Inche Wan Mansur. Maka jika sunggoh demikian salah pikiran Sahabat Kita kerana Kita ketahui ada pun Raja Muda Wan Mansur itu tiada berbaik dengan Sahabat Kita. Arakian apabila Kita dengar yang Raja Muda itu telah ka-hulu Selangor pada bulan yang lalu maka dengan segëra-nya telah Kita memberi perintah kepada Tuan acting Resident Selangor itu menahan dan melarangkan Raja Muda itu masuk ka-Pahang maka tentu-lah Tuan acting Resident itu kelak menjunjonkan perintah Kita itu dengan sa-buleh-buleh-nya ada-nya. Tiadalah suatu jua pun....hanya-lah tabek Kita kepada Sahabat Kita.

Tertulis pada 18 September, 1884.

Translation.

This letter in all sincerity accompanied by courteous salutations is from me Cecil Clementi Smith, C.M.G., acting Governor of Singapore, Penang, and Malacca. May it come to my honourable friend Yang di-Pertuan Ahmad renowned Raja of Pahang in safety !

Let it be known to you.—In my letter dated 14 May which I despatched to you some time ago I used the following expression :

“ I hope that you will not allow or encourage any Pahang nobles to create disturbances.”

Now the term “ any Pahang nobles ” applies to Raja Empeh and Raja Ismail, To’Kaya Perba of Jelai, Imam Përang Indëra Gajah of Pahang, To’Sëtia Lela Raja and To’Mail. From your letter dated 27 Ramathan it appears to me that you include

Raja Muda Inche Wan Mansur in this category. If that is so, you are mistaken, for I know that Raja Muda Wan Mansur is not on good terms with you. When I heard that Raja Muda had proceeded to Ulu Selangor last month I lost no time in instructing the acting Resident of Selangor to prevent him from entering Pahang. The acting Resident of Selangor will certainly carry out my instructions to the utmost extent of his ability. I have nothing further to add except to convey my regards to you.

Written on 18 September, 1884.

DOCUMENT No. X.

Engku Muda's intentions.

(Seal) Ka-bawah Duli Negeri
Pahang Sanat 1297.

Salam doa daripada Beta Sultan Ahmad al-Mu'azam Shah Yang di-Pertuan negeri Pahang maka di-junjungkan di-atas orang tua Beta ia-itu orang tua Beta Maharaja Perba dengan selamatnya pada masa ini di-Tanjong Betong ada-nya. Ahual barang tahu-lah kira-nya orang tua Beta itu. Maka ada-lah Beta menyatakan yang dari hal saudara Beta Engku Muda itu ada menulis surat kepada Beta mengatakan dia hendak balek jalan hulu ini serta ia hendak membetulkan segala peraturan di-hulu ini akan tetapi kepada pikiran Beta hendak-lah saudara Beta itu hilir ka-Pekan berjumpa Beta dahulu dan apabila sudah mendapat kebenaran daripada Beta baharu-lah di-perbuat apa-apa pekerjaan dan yang Beta sangat-lah suka-nya akan saudara Beta itu mengerjakan pekerjaan Beta. Maka itu-lah hajat Beta sa-lama lama-nya dan orang tua Beta sakalian pun maka hendak-lah beserta dan mengerjakan bersama-sama dengan saudara Beta itu ada-nya. Dan lagi jikalau saudara Beta itu tiada hilir berjumpa dengan Beta dahulu maka tiada-lah saudara Beta itu betul dengan Beta dan orang tua Beta pun jikalau ada kenang akan Beta lagi jangan-lah orang tua Beta beserta atau menyukakan segala perbuatan saudara Beta yang tiada berbetulan dengan Beta itu. Dan lagi jangan-lah orang tua Beta semua mendatangkan sesuatu pergadohan dahulu di-atas-nya. Maka hendak-lah orang tua Beta semua mendatangkan nasehat akan saudara Beta itu daripada jalan yang kebajikan. Maka tiada jua dapat di-ikhtiarkan ulah orang tua Beta semua, apa boleh buat, tiada-lah salah daripada Kita ada-nya. Dan lagi Beta harap di-atas orang tua Beta semua menjagakan pada tiap-tiap perkara yang mendatangkan kechelaan dan kerugian di-atas Beta demikian-lah Beta dengan orang tua Beta semua-nya ada-nya.

Kapada 30 hari bulan Jemad-al-Awal, 1304.

Journal Malayan Branch [Vol. XIV, Part II,

Translation.

(Seal) His Highness of Pahang, date
1297.

Prayers and Salutations from Us Sultan Ahmad al-Mu'azam Shah Ruler of Pahang to Our Chief Maharaja Perba who resides at Tanjong Betong in safety.

Let it be known to you.—We inform you that Our brother Engku Muda has written to Us announcing his intention of returning by the hinter-land and of regulating affairs in the interior. But Our brother should, in Our opinion, come down to Pekan and meet Us first, and only when We have given him permission may he take any action. We are only too pleased that Our brother should work in Our service. That is Our constant desire. You must wholeheartedly co-operate with Our brother.

Furthermore if Our brother does not come down to meet Us first he is not well-affected towards Us and if you love Us you will not abet or approve any action of his that savours of disloyalty to Us.

Furthermore you must not make any attack on him, but you must give him good counsel. If you are unsuccessful it cannot be helped: We shall impute no guilt to you.

Furthermore, We hope that all of you will be on your guard against anything that may be detrimental to Our interests, and We on Our part shall do likewise by you.

On the 30th day of the month Jemad-al-Awal, 1304.

Note.

Date: 25th February, 1887.

Engku Muda Mansur has accompanied Clifford into Pahang. The Sultan is uncertain whether his brother's intentions are peaceable or not. If Engku Muda does not go down to Pekan into the presence of the Sultan it will be proof that he is not well-affected. To'Raja must not countenance any action by Engku Muda which savours of disloyalty to the Sultan.

DOCUMENT No. XI.**A Complaint from Budu.**

Profound obeisance followed by honourable respects in all humility from me Wan Selat son of the late Orang Kaya Haji who resides at the present time in Budu at Kampong Chat, into the presence of the illustrious Dato' Maharaja Perba of Jelai who resides at the present time on the Jelai at Bukit Kota in all safety and security.

I forward this scrap of paper (not in the proper fashion but so far as lies in my power) to be a substitute for an interview with you, and I inform you that at the time of writing this letter, by the gift of God and a volume of prayer from you, I am free from fever and in good health, and I hope that you are likewise.

Furthermore I inform you that there is a great disturbance in the Mukim of Budu at the present time because the three head-men who rule in Budu are not making proper arrangements, and their orders are hurtful to all their people. If the jurisdiction of these three head-men in Budu is confirmed, in my opinion the people of Budu will suffer. I therefore bring this matter of Budu to your notice, for originally it was in your ancestral jurisdiction. I hope that you will give the matter your consideration and that you will devote your ability towards making a claim so that your ancestral jurisdiction there may be restored. Likewise regarding the head-men I hope that you will decide as you think best.

Furthermore, if my desire is not acceded to, the common people will suffer; I cannot say more. I have only you to look to for protection.

I have nothing further to add except to convey my profound and submissive salutations to you. Conclusion.

From me, in all humility, Wan Selat ibni al-Marhum Orang Kaya Haji.

Written on the 3rd Muharram in the year 1305.

Note.

Translation only (Malay text missing).

The letter is wrongly dated 21st September, 1887: the Orang Kaya Haji's death did not occur until 1889.

The people of Budu are unhappy at the handing over of the district to To'Gajah (*vide* Document No. VII).

DOCUMENT No. XII.

Payment and collection of duties in Ulu Pahang.

(Seal) Sultan Ahmad Mu'azam Shah
Pahang.

Kaul-al-Hak.

Di-dalam Pekan Pahang kapada 11 hari bulan Shaaban, sanat 1305.

Bahawa sa-sunggoh-nya Kita Sultan Ahmad Mu'azam Shah yang memileki negeri Pahang dengan segala daerah taalok-nya telah mengurniakan surat keterangan di-atas orang tua Kita yang tersebut di-bawah ini, pertama-tama Maharaja Perba Jelai,

Journal Malayan Branch [Vol. XIV, Part II,

dan kedua-nya Orang Kaya Sëtia Wangsa Lipis, dan ketiga-nya Imam Përang Indëra Gajah Pahang yang Kita berwakil mutallak kapada-nya.

Fasal yang pertama-tama.—Kita suroh dan Kita benarkan Orang tua Kita yang tersebut ini akan menjaga dan memereksa dan menangkap dan melawan barang siapa-siapa mereka yang melalui daripada hukum larangan Kita di-dalam Raub dan lain-lain tempat yang di-bawah perintah Kita daerah Hulu Pahang ia-itu seperti afiun dan tembakau yang datang daripada lain negeri yang menerusi jalan hulu. Maka tiada boleh sa-kali-kali dan di-kechuali-kan bagi mereka yang mendapat surat "Concession" sahaja yang Kita benarkan itu pun hendak mengikut jalan Kuala Pahang juga demikian-lah segala mereka yang membawa keluar jenis barang seperti mas dan timah dan lain-nya dari dalam negeri Kita pada lain-lain negeri yang belum berbayar daripada chukai bia-nya.

Fasal yang kedua.—Kita menyatakan Orang tua Kita yang tersebut itu telah mendapat kuasa daripada Kita akan menerima segala chukai-chukai dan hasil-hasil yang keluar di-dalam daerah yang tersebut itu ia-itu menurut bagaimana adat negeri bayaran-nya.

Fasal yang ketiga.—Segala chukai-chukai dan hasil-hasil yang di-peroleh di-dalam daerah yang tersebut itu hendak-lah di-dalam enam bulan atau satu tahun sa-kali di-hantarkan hilir serta dengan kira-kira-nya.

Fasal yang keempat.—Kita menyatakan tiap-tiap perkara yang sudah jadi maka hendak-lah di-tarohkan di-dalam "book" dan apa-bila sampai tiga bulan atau enam bulan sa-kali menghantarkan report perkara itu hilir ka-Pekan kapada mahkamah Kita. Demikian-lah ada-nya.

Translation.

(Seal) Sultan Ahmad Mu'azam Shah
Pahang.

The Saying is the Truth.

In Pekan, Pahang, on the 11th day of the month Shaaban in the year 1305 (23rd April 1888).

Verily We Sultan Ahmad Mu'azam Shah, Ruler of the country of Pahang, with all its territories and tributaries, give this warrant to, and confer a general authority upon the following of our Chiefs: firstly Maharaja Perba of Jelai, secondly Orang Kaya Sëtia Wangsa of Lipis, and thirdly Imam Përang Indëra Gajah of Pahang.

Firstly: We command and authorize Our aforesaid Chiefs to watch, examine, seize and oppose any person whatsoever that

disregards Our edicts in Raub and other places under Our sway in the territory of Ulu Pahang, in respect of the import of tobacco and opium through the hinter-land. Such imports are absolutely prohibited except in the case of those who have got Concessions from Us, and even in their case they are required to import *via* Kuala Pahang.

The same rule must be observed by all those who have not yet paid duty and who export different kinds of articles such as gold, tin etc., from Our country to other countries.

Secondly : We proclaim that Our said Chiefs are authorized by Us to receive all taxes and rents that accrue from the said territory, payments to be made in accordance with the custom of the country.

Thirdly : All taxes and rents obtained within the said territory must be sent down-stream, with accounts every six months or every twelve months.

Fourthly : We ordain that every transaction that takes place be recorded in a book, and that every three months or every six months a report of the transaction be sent down-stream to Pekan to Our court.

DOCUMENT No. XIII.

Appointment of a Penghulu.

Hajrat al-Nabi Salla Allahu alaihi wa salam sa-ribu tiga ratus dua-belas.

Kapada 1 hari bulan Ramathan, tahun 1312.

Bahawa dewasa ini-lah Dato' Maharaja Perba Jelai mengurniakan chap serta gelaran-nya akan Inche Mat Akhir ini di-kurniakan nama gelaran-nya Penghulu Mat Akhir Gua. Shahadan lagi Kita menyatakan fasal perentah-nya dan menyatakan fasal daerah nya didalam Gua itu, hendak-lah mengikut bagaimana istiadat zaman Penghulu-Penghulu yang dahulu. Demikian-lah ada-nya, intiha. Sanat 1312. (5th August, 1894).

Translation.

In the year of the Prophet (on whom God shower blessings) one thousand three hundred and twelve.

On the 1st day of the month of Ramathan, year 1312.

Now on this date Dato' Maharaja Perba of Jelai grants a seal and a title to Inche Mat Akhir of Gua—the title of Penghulu Mat Akhir of Gua. Furthermore, I proclaim that his jurisdiction and his district is in Gua. He must observe the customs which held in the time of former Penghulus.

So be it. Conclusion. Date 1312.

DOCUMENT No. XIV.

The presentation of a Kepala Mayat.

Salam ia-itu daripada anakanda To'Muda Long kepada masa ini di-Penjom Lama mudah-mudahan barang di-sampaikan Allah subahanahu wa'taala akan datang ka-hadapan majlis ayahanda Tuan Haji Muhammad Nor kepada masa ini di-Pekan Pahang dengan kesejahteraan-nya.

Ahual maka ada-lah anakanda maalumkan saperti surat ayahanda beri mari yang di-bawa uleh Dato' Maharaja Perba sudah-lah sampai dengan sempurna-nya dan paham-lah sakalian tersebut di-dalam-nya itu, kata surat anakanda menjawab Titah Duli Yang Maha Mulia ayahanda bawa dahulu junjongan pada anakanda. Maka di-dalam itu Dato' Maharaja Perba beri tahu anakanda dengan Titah Duli Yang Maha Mulia suroh muafakat dengan ketuaan di-dalam Lipis dari hal kematian ayahanda Orang Kaya Setia Wangsa Lipis itu sudah di-maalum pada Tuan Resident. Maka uleh Tuan Resident bertanyakan adat zaman dahulu, kata mahu-lah di-persembahkan kepala mayat pada Ka-Bawah Duli Yang Maha Mulia. Yang demikian itu di-suroh-lah anakanda hilir mengadap serta membawa sembahan kepala mayat.

Translation.

Salutations from me To'Muda Long who resides at the present time at Penjom Lama. May they be brought by the Almighty God (to Whom be praise) to Tuan Haji Muhammad Nor who resides at the present time in Pekan, Pahang in all security.

I inform you that your letter which was brought by Dato' Maharaja Perba reached me safely, and I noted its contents. The letter said that I should reply to the command of His Highness which you conveyed to me some time ago. Since then Dato' Maharaja Perba informed me that His Highness had instructed him to confer with the elders in Lipis regarding the death of my father the Orang Kaya Setia Wangsa of Lipis, and the Resident was informed. When the Resident enquired what the ancient custom was, he (Maharaja Perba) said that the funeral offering should be presented to His Highness, and I was instructed to proceed down-stream bringing the funeral offering.

Note.

For the exact meaning of *kepala mayat* vide *supra*, p. 197.

To'Muda Long was the second son of the Lipis Chief. The events which succeeded the writing of this letter are interesting. He proceeded to Pekan to be installed in his father's place but, on the eve of his reception by the Sultan, he gambled away the offerings which had been collected from the people of Lipis and had to flee from Pekan in disgrace.

APPENDIX V.

ANCIENT GRAVES.

The translations of the inscriptions on tomb-stones, photographs of which are here reproduced, are by Engku 'Abdu'l-Hamid bin 'Abdu'l-Majid of Johore.

KERAMAT GALONG.

Galong is situated near the boundary of the Temerloh and Pekan Districts on the south bank of the river Pahang. On the hill of Galong are two boulders (? megaliths) about six feet apart. The people of Luit regard the spot as a miraculous tomb. It is usual for visitors to the shrine to make a ceremonial offering, usually a coin, (there is no record, however, of coins of any antiquity having been found there) Mr. H. S. Sircom (Journal F.M.S. Museums, Vol. IX, Pt. 2) records a legend that people who lose their way in the adjacent jungle, and chance upon the tomb, find there sugar-cane ready cut to refresh them. Galong is near Luit where pre-Malaccan traces have been found. It is possible that here is another instance of a place of pagan worship having been converted by the Malays into a Muslim shrine. The tradition current among the people is that the spot marks the resting place of a Saiyid, one of seven brothers.

MAKAM LANGGAR.

Here is the tomb of Muhammad the first Sultan of Pahang who died on 17 September, 1475. The grave, which is situated at Langgar in the locality of Dusun Pinang on the bank of the Pahang Tua, is described, with illustrations, in J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. IV, Pt. II, 1926.

Following is a translation of the Arabic inscription on the panel of one of the tomb-stones :

"There passed away Sultan Muhammad Shah (on whom God have mercy) son of Sultan Mansur Shah, the son of the late Muzaffar Shah, the son of the late Muhammad Shah, (God have pity on them), on Wednesday night, sixteen days of the month Jumadi'l-Awal, in the year eighty and eight hundred of the era of the Chosen Prophet "

The 16th Jumadi'l-Awal 880 A.H. corresponds with 17 September 1475 A.D. There are extant not alone the inscribed tomb-stones of this first Malaccan ruler of Pahang but also those of his father Sultan Mansur of Malacca, of his two half-brothers Sulaiman and Sultan Alauddin of Malacca (*Marhum Berdarah Putih*) and of his niece Raja Fatimah, daughter of Alauddin. The inscriptions are the earliest yet discovered in Pahang. The epitaph corroborates the account given by the *Sejarah Melayu* of

Journal Malayan Branch [Vol. XIV, Part II,



*Tomb of Raja Fatimah binti Sultan Alauddin I.
A (I—IV).*



*Tomb of Raja Fatimah binti Sultan Alauddin I.
A (V-VI).*

the descent of the Malacca Sultans. Muhammad was probably that son of Sultan Mansur of Malacca who, D'Albuquerque's *Commentaries* say, was poisoned. Near-by is another ancient grave the inscriptions on the stones of which contain neither name nor date.

ZIARAT RAJA RADEN.

This grave-yard is situated in Pekan Lama on the west bank of the stream Sungai Pekan near the spot where it joins the Pahang. The ancient name *Ziarat Raja Raden* is almost forgotten: it is nowadays called *Makam 'Abdu'l-Jalil*. The Javanese title *Raden* was met with among the ancient Malacca royal family and its branches in Perak and Johore. Here it commemorates that part of the ancestry of the Malacca-Pahang princes which was derived from Java. In the cemetery are buried some of the Pahang princes who died at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th centuries.

Plates A (i) to A (vi) illustrate the tomb of Raja Fatimah:

A (i):

الغفور

- | | |
|------------------|----|
| الهجرة النبي صلى | 1. |
| الله عليه وسلم | 2. |
| سمبلن راتس تا | 3. |
| من ليم بلس هاري | 4. |

The Pardoners.

1. The year of the Prophet
2. May God bestow peace on him.
3. Nine hundred years
4. The fifteenth day

A (ii):

- | | |
|---------------|----|
| بولن شوال | 1. |
| مالم اتنين را | 2. |
| فاطمه ج كبا | 3. |
| ل كرحمتا لله | 4. |

1. Of the month Shawal
2. Sunday night, Ra(ja)
3. Fatimah
4. Returned to the mercy of God.

A (iii) :

الجميل

- | | |
|----------------|----|
| لااله الا الله | 1. |
| محمد رسول الله | 2. |
| خلقت من التراب | 3. |
| والبه اموت وعد | 4. |

Goodly.

1. There is no other but God
2. Muhammad is the Prophet of God
3. Created from earth
4. Unto it returned when dead.

A (iv) :

الجلال

- | | |
|-------------------|----|
| عجبت لظالم الدنيا | 1. |
| والموت يطلبه | 2. |
| عجبت لصاحب القصر | 3. |
| والقبر منزله | 4. |

Glorious.

1. It is surprising to see them pursuing the world
2. When death pursues them
3. It is surprising to see them dwelling in a castle
4. When the grave is their abode.

A (V and VI) :

- | | |
|---|----|
| الموت باب العذاب والقبر صندوق العذاب | 1. |
| يا قارو نا في بناء افلا تشغل عن طول الامل | 2. |

Death is the door which leads to sorrow and the grave is the casket (in which) to endure suffering.
Oh thou who readest the inscriptions on this tablet, wilt Thou not abandon thy endless longing.

Raja Fatimah was a full sister of Sultan Mahmud (*Marhum Kampar*) and a daughter of Sultan 'Alauddin of Malacca (reigned 1477-1488). Her mother was Tun Senaja, the daughter of Seri Nara 'diraja, and a sister of Tun Tahir the Temenggong (later Bendahara) Seri Maharaja. Raja Fatimah married either 'Abdu'l-Jamil or Mansur, son of Sultan Ahmad the second ruler of Pahang, who, when his father abdicated, succeeded to the throne jointly with his cousin 'Abdu'l-Jamil. The head-stone of Raja Fatimah's grave was, at some time in the past, removed from *Ziarat Raja Raden*. Early in this century it was found on the



*Tomb of 'Abdu'l-Jalil,
B (I-IV).*



*Tomb of 'Abdul-Jalil,
B (V—VIII).*

banks of the Pahang river at Tebing Tinggi. Perhaps it had been purloined by a Menangkabau Chief anxious to manufacture a royal lineage. The recovered stone was emplaced in the graveyard *Makam Chondong* as its provenance was not at the time known. In 1925 the companion stone was discovered in *Ziarat Raja Raden* on the true site of Raja Fatimah's grave and the lost stone restored to her tomb. 15 Shawal 900 A.H. corresponds with 7 July 1495 A.D.

Plates B (i) to (viii) show the grave of " 'Abdu'l-Jalil " who died in 1511-1512 A.D. This prince, as has been shown in Appendix I, *supra*, was probably Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamil. The epitaph on his tomb, which is situated by the side of that of Raja Fatimah, reads :

B (i) :

- هذا قبر الجميل الجليل للمسمى المورخ عبدالجليل 1.
المنتقل من دارالدنيا الى دارالآخرة السابع عشر وتسعمات 2.
من انتقال خير البرية عليه افضل الصلوات وازكي التحيت 3.

1. This (is) the grave of the excellent and illustrious 'Abdu'l-Jalil.
2. Departed from this world to the everlasting world on the date nine hundred and seventeen
3. After the most excellent of men had departed to him befits prayer and virtuous salutations.

B (ii) :

- الا انما الدنيا فنا ليس الدنيا ثبوت 1.
انما الدنيا كبيت نسجتها العنكبوت منها ولقد يكفيك 2.
ايها الظاعن قوت وقليل العمر فيها لك مهوم 3.

As Verses these should be arranged and completed in the following order :

- | | | |
|-----------------|---------------------|----|
| ليس للدنيا ثبوت | الا انما الدنيا فنا | 1. |
| نسجتها العنكبوت | انما الدنيا كبيت | 2. |
| ولقد يكفيك قوت | ايها الظاعن عن منها | 3. |
| لك مهوم صوت | وقليل العمر فيها | 4. |

1. Listen ! Verily the world is perishable
the world is not everlasting
2. Verily the world is like a Web weaved by a spider
3. Oh ye who will depart from it
be satisfied with what sustenance ye have
4. And the short life of the world
the grief that silences ye.

B (iii) :

1. هما محلان مالناس غيرهما فاختر لنفسك
2. اى الدار تختار مالعالمين سوى
3. ذوكرم وان هفوا هفوة فالرب الغفار

These Verses may be arranged as follows :

1. هما محلان مالناس غيرهما فاختر لنفسك اى الدار تختار
 2. ما للعالمين سوى الغفار ذوكرم. وان هفوا هفوة فالرب الغفار
1. There are no abodes other than these two for human beings ;
Choose thyself the place preferable to thee.
 2. There is none other than God Who is most merciful
And with transgressors God is most forgiving.

B (iv) :

1. الموت باب وكل الناس داخله فليت
2. شعرى بعدالموت مالدادار الدار جنت عدن
3. ان عملت بما يرضى الا له وان خالفت فالنار

These Verses may be arranged as follows :

1. الموت باب وكل الناس داخله. فليت شعرى بعدالموت فالدار
 2. الدار جنبت عدن ان عملت بما يرضى الا له وان خالفت فالنار
1. Death is a door which all men must enter. What shall be my
state after death ?
 2. The Paradise of Eden if my deeds are pleasing to God ; if
I transgress, the flames of Hell.

B (v) :

1. هو الله الذى لا اله الا هو عالم الغيب
2. والشهادة هو الرحمن الرحيم هو الله الذى لا اله
3. الا هو الملك القدوس السلام المؤمن المهيمن

(Ch. 59, Ver. 22 to the 1st portion of Ver. 23.)

1. He is God beside Whom there is no (other) God, He knoweth
things invisible
2. And visible. He is Compassionate and Merciful.
He is God beside Whom there is no other God.
3. He is the King, the Holy, the Peaceful, the Faithful, the
Guardian.

B (vi) :

1. العزيز الجبار المتكبر سبحانه الله عما يشركون
2. هو الله الخالق البارى المصور له الا
3. سوا الحسنى يسبح له مافى السموات والارض وهو العزيز الحكيم

(Ch. 59-the 2nd portion of the Verse 23-24.)

1. The Mighty, the Strong, the Most High. Far be the Glory of God from that which they unite with Him.
2. He is God the Producer, the Creator, the Fashioner. To Him are ascribed
3. Excellent titles. Whatever is in the Heavens and in the Earth praiseth Him. He is the Mighty, the Wise.

B (vii) :

1. اذ لا اله الا هو الحي القيوم
2. لا تاخذنه سنة ولا نوم له ما في السموات وما
3. وما في الارض من ذا الذي يشفع عنده الا باذنه

(Ch. II, Ver. 255, 1st portion.)

1. God ! There is no God but He ; the Living, the Eternal ;
2. Nor slumber seizeth Him, nor sleep ; His, whatsoever is in the Heavens and whatsoever is on
3. The Earth ! Who is he that can intercede with Him unless by His own permission ?

B (viii) :

1. يعلم ما بين ايديهم وما خلفهم ولا يحيطون بشيء من علمه الا بما شاء
2. وسع كرسيه السموات والارض
3. ولا يؤده حفظهما وهو العلي العظيم

(Ch. II Ver. 255, 2nd portion.)

1. He knoweth what hath been before them and what shall be after them ; yet nought of His knowledge shall they grasp, save what He willeth.
2. His Throne reacheth over the Heavens and the Earth.
3. Upholding of both burdeneth Him not ; and He is the High, the Great.

This tomb was, until recently, mistaken for that of the Bendahara-Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil IV (*Marhum Kuala Pahang*) who was killed in 1720 and buried near the estuary of the Pahang: the *Hikayat Johor serta Pahang* perpetuated the mistake by describing the eighteenth century ruler as having been buried "above the Sungai Pekan" *i.e.* at *Ziarat Raja Raden*.

In the same cemetery is another tomb,—Plates C. (i) to (viii)—similar to that of 'Abdu'l-Jalil, only some of the inscriptions on which have been deciphered :

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C (iii) :

لا اله الا الله

1. وفارقوا الاهل والاوطان واغتربو.
2. وكابدوا الليل ولا حزان كما زما نا
3. المال يستتر كل عيب ظاهر والفقر يظهر كل عيب ساتر

There is no other but God.

1. They separated from their families and homes and became strangers.
2. For long periods they suffered great distress in the nights.
3. Wealth veils all visible disgrace and poverty reveals all the hidden shame.

C (V) :

لا اله الا الله

1. قل اللهم مالك الملك توتى الملك من تشاء وتنزع
2. الملك من تشاء وتعزمن تشاء وتذل من تشاء بيدك الخير انك على
3. كل شىء قدير توليج الليل فى النهار وتوليج النهار فى الليل

(Chap. III, Ver. 25, and the 1st portion of Ver. 26.)

(Top panel : 1st half of the Kalimah.)

1. Say : O God who possesseth the Kingdom, Thou givest the Kingdom unto whom Thou wilt, and Thou takest away
2. The Kingdom from whom Thou wilt ! Thou exaltest whom Thou wilt, and Thou humblest whom Thou wilt : in Thy hand is good. Verily Thou
3. Hast power over all things. Thou causest the night to pass into the day, and Thou causest the day to pass into night.

C (VII) :

لا اله الا الله

1. شهادته انه لا اله هو والمملكه واولوا
2. العلم قام بما بالقسط لا اله الا هو العزيز
3. الحكيم ان الدين عند الله الا سلام

(Chap. III, Ver. 17, the 1st portion of Ver. 18.)

(Top panel : 1st half of the Kalimah.)

1. God witnesseth that there is no God but He : and the Angels and men
2. Endowed with wisdom, who execute righteousness, proclaim "There is no God but He." The Mighty
3. The Wise. Verily the true religion with God is Islam.



*An unidentified tomb at Ziarat Raja Raden,
C (I-IV).*



*An unidentified tomb at Ziarat Raja Raden,
C (V—VIII).*

MAKAM LUBOK PELANG.

Lubok Pëlang is situated on the right bank of the Pahang river near the village of Burau. On the hill of Lubok Pëlang is a grave marked by uninscribed tomb-stones of "Achinese" type. Here was buried *Marhum Shaikh*. The identity of this ruler is discussed in Appendix I, *supra* and the conclusion there reached is that he was Ahmad the second ruler of Pahang. Lubok Pëlang was the site of an ancient settlement. At the foot of the hill is an old cemetery which merits investigation; stone projectiles have been found there. On the opposite bank of the river a subterranean stream, Sungai Batu Burong, falls into the Pahang. The ancient grave on the hill is revered as a miraculous shrine.

MAKAM MEGAT ELOK.

At a place called Genting, situated on the south bank of the Pahang river, directly opposite Lubok Paku, are a pair of natural stones placed about six feet apart which are said to mark the burial place of one *Mëgat Elok*. The people come from long distances to make their vows there. *Mëgat Elok* may have been one of the Trengganu Mëgats. The *Hikayat Hang Tuah* relates the killing of *Mëgat Panji Alam*, son of a ruler of Trengganu, a suitor for the hand of Tun Teja, daughter of a Pahang Bendahara, (and afterwards wife of Sultan Mahmud of Malacca), at the end of the fifteenth century.

PADANG HANGUS.

A locality situated on the north bank of the Pahang Tua. At this spot is a tomb marked by an uninscribed stone of local origin. According to local tradition the grave is a *keramat tajalli*: a shrine which miraculously appeared.

MAKAM TANJONG BRUNAI.

A tomb at Tanjong Brunai (a place adjoining Kampong Marhum) marked by a (?) Pahang stone. It bears an inscription which is not readily legible. Is this the grave of Sultan Mansur II who was killed (*ca.* 1560) fighting against *Jawa Kafir* "pagan southerners", or of that Sultan who was killed in 1540 for adultery with the wife of Khoja Zainal, the Chief of an expedition from Borneo?

MAKAM NIBONG.

"The Tombs of the Nibong Palms"—an ancient cemetery in Pekan Lama situated within a few hundred yards of *Makam Chondong*. Its earlier name is said to have been *Makam Tembuni* "The Burial Ground of the Cauls"

Plates D (i) to (viii) show the inscriptions on one set of tomb-stones. Follow the readings of those which have been deciphered:

D (iii) :

لا اله الا الله

1. هو الله العالق الباري المصور له
2. اسماء الحسنى له ما فى السموات
3. والارض وهو العزيز الحكيم

(Chap. LIX, Ver. 24.)

(Top panel: the 1st half of the Kalimah.)

1. He is God the Creator, the Maker the Fashioner, He hath
2. Most excellent names. Whatever is in the Heavens
3. And the Earth praiseth Him. He is the Mighty, the Wise.

D (VII) :

وكل الناس داخله

1. حكم الميت فى البريت جارى
2. ماهذه الدنيا بدارقرار
3. الناس نيام فاذا ماتوا انتبهوا

(Top panel: Which all human beings enter.)

1. Death has been decreed to all beings and it is inevitable.
2. The world is not an everlasting abode.
3. Human beings are asleep while they are alive, but they awake when they are dead.

D (i) :

محمد رسول الله

1. شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو والملائكة
2. واولوا العلم قائما با لقسط الا اله
3. الا هو العزيز الحكيم

(Top panel: 2nd half of the Kalimah.)

1. God witnesseth there is no God but He, and the Angels
2. And men endowed with wisdom who execute righteousness proclaim " There is no God
3. But He," the Mighty, the Wise.

D (V) :

واموت باب

1. الموت باب وكل الناس داخله
2. الموت كاس وكل الناس شاربه
3. الناس نيام فاذا ماتوا انتبهوا



*An unidentified tomb at Makam Nibong.
D (I—IV).*



An unidentified tomb at Makam Nibong.
D (V—VIII).

(Chap. III Ver. 17, and the 1st part of Ver. 18.)

(Top Panel: And Death is The door.)

1. Death is the door which all human beings enter
2. Death is the glass from which all humanity drink
3. Human beings are asleep while they are alive but they are awake when they are dead.

It is unknown what personages are buried here. It is possible that the graves are those of Sultan Zain-al-Abidin (ruled? 1540-1555) and his relatives.

MAKAM BURHAN.

A grave in Pekan Lama marked by uninscribed stones. Tradition is silent as to the identity of the tomb.

KERAMAT SAIYID ABU-BAKAR.

At Temai on the Pahang river is a wonder-working shrine which is said to be the grave of one Saiyid Abu-Bakar, and to date from a period prior to the establishment of a settlement at Temai. This locality, according to tradition, was colonized by Menangkabau who came to Pahang in large numbers towards the latter part of the sixteenth century. This grave, which is marked by a carved "Achinese" stone on which no inscription can be traced, would date then from about 1550 A.D. The shrine is mentioned by Mr. H. S. Sircorn (Journal F.M.S. Museums, Vol. IX, part 2, 1920). The Saiyid Abu-Bakar whom the tomb commemorates may have been one of the original apostles of Islam in that part of the country.

MAKAM CHONDONG.

"The Graves of the Leaning Tree." The ancient name for this burial-ground was, *Makam Tujoh Beradek*: "The Sepulchre of the Seven Brothers." It was in this cemetery (which is situated in Pekan Lama) that the tomb-stones of the relatives of the Pahang-born Sultan Iskandar Thani of Aceh were emplaced in circumstances which are related *supra* (p. 37 sq.). Only five ancient graves can now be distinguished on the site. One (the most easterly) is that of a female, it is marked by elaborately carved stones the inscriptions on which are now illegible, perhaps the resting place of Puteri Bongsu Chendëra Dewi, Iskandar Thani's mother. The adjoining grave is that of *Marhum Muda Abdullah* which is described (with illustrations) in J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. XII, Part II, pp. 171-172. After that paper was written, further research revealed that *Marhum Pahang* was Sultan 'Abdu'l-Ghafur, and that *Marhum Muda*, his son, was the first-cousin and not the brother of Iskandar Thani. Before the Achinese sent tomb-stones to *Makam Chondong*, it appears that there were already monuments in that cemetery erected in honour of the Pahang royal family of the period, including *Marhum Muda*

Abdullah; in recent years has been found in the jungle adjoining the grave-yard a fragment of a tomb-stone on which may be traced the inscription *Haza al-Kubur Sultan Muda (?) Lah*: "This is the grave of Sultan Muda Lah," (i.e. *Abdullah*). The terms *Sultan Muda* and *Raja Muda* were occasionally used, at least in the 16th and 17th centuries, as synonyms for the heir designate to the throne. The inscriptions on the other tombs in this cemetery are undecipherable.

KUALA TEMELONG.

At the point of junction of the Temelong stream with the Pahang river in the mukim of Luit is a grave marked by a pair of elaborately carved, uninscribed, "Achinese" tomb-stones. The tomb, according to local tradition, is that of a princess whose betrothed lover went to Acheen; on her death he sent the stones to mark her grave. This is probably a garbled version of the sending of tomb-stones to Pahang in 1638 by the Pahang-born Sultan Iskandar Thani of Acheen to commemorate his deceased relatives.

BINTANG.

A locality on the Pahang river at Kuala Chini. Here is an ancient grave-yard, and uninscribed tomb-stones of the pattern known as "Achinese." Before its use as a cemetery the place was a pre-Malaccan settlement and fragments of rough pottery are met with when the ground is dug. Adjoining the grave-yard have been found the remains of a pre-Malaccan brick structure parts of which have fallen into the Chini stream (J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. VI, Pt. IV, p. 79).

KERAMAT KERATONG.

A shrine at Sëribut on the left bank of the Rompin river near Kuala Keratong. The stones marking the grave are about sixteen feet apart. The tomb is said to be that of a Saiyid, one of seven brothers (of whom another was buried in the *Keramat* at Galong). The tomb-stones are reputed to have been miraculously removed from their original site at Kuala Aur to their present position about eighty years ago. This shrine is described by Mr. H. S. Sircom (Journal F.M.S. Museums, Vol. IV, pt. 2, p. 153).

Does Sëribut give the clue to the derivation of the name of an islet *Sëri Buat* situated a short distance from the estuary of the Rompin river? *But*, in Persian, means 'Idol,' and it is possible that the name, in the mouth of mariners, was corrupted to *Buat*. Forty miles further north we get the island *Berhala*, the Malay term for an idol, which in English sea-charts came to be called *Pulau Barilly*.

MAKAM MUTAHIR.

Two graves described in "An Eighteenth century Tomb at Pekan Lama" (J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. IV, Pt. III) and *supra* p. 47.

Journal Malayan Branch [Vol. XIV, Part II,

Here are buried Bendahara Tun Abdullah and Temenggong Tun Mutahir (brothers of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil IV) who were killed on 12 September, 1716 A.D. The graves are situated behind the residence of the late Tengku Empuan Tua in Pekan Lama, above the point of junction of the Pekan stream with the Pahang river, and close to *Makam 'Abdu'l-Jalil (Ziarat Raja Raden)*.

MAKAM KUALA PAHANG.

The cemetery of the present royal family of Pahang, situated on the left bank of the Pahang river between Kampong Marhum (the ancient Pasir Kandang of the *Malay Annals*) and the estuary. Here are buried that tragic figure in Malay history Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil IV (*Marhum Kuala Pahang*) who was killed at Pasir Kandang in 1720 A.D., Bendahara 'Abdu'l-Majid (ruled 1770-1802), Bendahara Koris (1803-1806), Bendahara Ali (1806-1857), Sultan Ahmad (Bendahara and Sultan 1863-1914), Sultan Mahmud (1914-1917), and Sultan 'Abdu'llah (1917-1932). Here, too, are the graves of Sultan Mahmud Muzaffar of Lingga (deposed by the Dutch in 1857, died 1864), and of some of the powerful al-Attas family of Saiyids. The tomb of one of the latter, Saiyid Omar, (the "Tengku Saiyid" of Abdullah's *Pelayaran*, and the "astute old gentleman" of Governor Cavenagh's "Reminiscences"), is marked by a fine, but decayed, wood-carving. The location of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil's grave in the cemetery is not certain. It is possible that the tomb which is pointed out as that of Temenggong Tun Mutahir (who, we now know, was buried at Pekan Lama) is that of the murdered Sultan. The Orang Kaya Nara Wangsa Tun Hamid, who was killed with his father, was almost certainly buried here.

MAKAM TO' TUAN.

A grave in Pekan Lama, that of To'Tuan, one of the Bugis Chiefs who married a Pahang lady in (?) 1722, and settled in Pekan. The grave which is revered as a shrine is marked by two plain stones. To'Tuan was an ancestor, on the distaff side, of the Shahbandar family.

MAKAM CHE RIAL.

A grave at Pekan Lama marked by two tomb-stones of "Achineese" pattern, uninscribed. The tomb is said to be that of Che Rial, a Bugis lady of great wealth, who died in Pekan in the eighteenth century.

KUBUR SEMBILAN.

At Tanjong Gemok, Kuala Endau, is the resting-place, according to tradition, of nine Endau men who were killed by Bugis marauders. The name may commemorate operations in the civil war (1857-1863) between Bendahara Mutahir and his brother.

LOST TOMB-STONES.

Dato' Sétia Jaya Haji Abu-Bakar, Secretary to the late Sultan Abdullah of Pahang, states that several inscribed tombstones of historic interest have fallen into the river at the junction of the stream Parit with the river Pahang at Pekan Lama. These stones, if they are recovered, may throw further light on the descent of the early rulers of Pahang.

APPENDIX VI. ANTIQUITIES.

BELUKAR BATA.

A place now in the heart of the jungle on the track between Lake Chini and Ulu Jeram (Ulu Rompin), Pekan District. The spot has not yet been investigated. The name indicates the presence of the remains of pre-Malaccan buildings.

JOKO' (JONGKOH OR JONGKONG).

Chinese coins adopted as currency in Pahang during Ahmad's reign, and before British intervention in the country. These coins were often stamped on the obverse in Malay, in Arabic script, with the name of the Chinese who issued them, thus *Sung Bak punya* "Sung Bak's currency." They were said to have been introduced by the gambling farms to replace the unwieldy ingot-money (*tampang*). *Tampang jongkong* was the term used at a still earlier date to designate the solid type of ingot-money.

KAMPONG MELAYU.

The name of a locality in the mukim of Penyor, on the south bank of the river Pahang, near Kuala Chini, Pekan District. The country bordering on the Pahang is inhabited solely by Malays. The name *Kampung Melayu* indicates that there was a time when some other race shared the country with the Malays. It is certain that when the Malacca Malays took possession of Pahang about 1455 A.D. not all the former civilized inhabitants were driven out. Numbers of them stayed behind, and in course of time amalgamated with their conquerors. Those comparatively late comers in Pahang the Siamese did not disappear as a separate race till the immigration of the Menangkabuas towards the latter part of the sixteenth century. It may be that *Kampung Melayu* formed the boundary between the Malaccan Malays and their predecessors. In the *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, the Pahang people are represented as speaking an outlandish language which would indicate a mixture of tongues and races.

PARANG PAHANG.

Pahang was famous in the old days for the manufacture of fine machetes or *golok*. One of the presents sent by Sultan Mahmud of Malacca to Pasai was a Pahang machete (*Sejarah Melayu*, Shellabear, p. 205). These *golok* are still made in Pekan.

PORCELAIN.

Pahang, lying on the trade-route between China and the west, from very early times, provided a mart for Chinese products including porcelain. It is probable, however, that a certain amount of pottery came from Siam. Pottery was manufactured

on a large scale at Sawan Kalok (north of Bangkok) in the fourteenth century, and the Siamese had an extensive intercourse with Pahang. Pieces of old pottery dating from the Sung, Ming and later periods have occasionally been discovered in the country. The people had especial names for certain types of pottery; thus plates decorated with *pal-kwa* or similar patterns were known as *pinggan anak toman* "plates with decorations which look like the young of the toman fish"; *pinggan kèrang*, grey-green, celadon ware with incised decoration; *pinggan Moghul*, "Sino-Persian" china especially manufactured for export to Islamic countries; *pinggan retak* (or *retak sa-ribu*), celadon crackle china (this type of pottery is mentioned in the "Malay Annals"); *pinggan sa-raga* (or *sa-rakit*), a set of sweet-meat dishes.

PULAU PEMANGGIL.

"The Island of Summons," an islet situated between Pulau Aur and Pulau Tioman, so called because, in former days, when the inhabitants of one of these places desired to invoke the help of the sister isle in an emergency they lighted beacon fires on Pulau Pemanggil.

RUKMA.

The hearth on which the sap of the coconut or sugar-palm is boiled in the process of its manufacture into sugar. Several of these fire-places dating from pre-Malaccan times are still to be seen in Pahang. The word *Sabak* is equivalent to *Rukma*. *Sabak* appears in the names of several places in the Peninsula, notably *Sabak Bernam*, and *Sabak* in the mukim of Luit, Pahang. For the Luit *Sabak* *vide* Sircom's note in the Journal F.M.S. Museums, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 152. Near *Sabak* in Luit is the village of Singgora, which was named after the capital of Patani. There was a long-established connection between Pahang and that country.

SUNGAI TEKEH.

The largest river in the island of Tioman. On its banks have been discovered specimens of ancient pottery dating, perhaps, from Sung times. Tioman lies directly in the trade-route between China and the Straits.

PENKALAN DURIAN.

A locality in Ulu Bebar. The remains of a pre-Malaccan habitation have been found there. Nearby, at Kuala Serai, is a plain known as *Padang Siam*, commemorative of pre-Malaccan occupation. Adjoining *Padang Siam* is a place styled *Padang Tambun Tulang*, "the Plain of the Pile of Bones," (perhaps a kitchen-midden), so called, according to tradition, because the bones of animals slain and eaten by the "Siamese" were heaped there. The Jakun head-men Pa Usoh of Kuala Serai and Pa

Mehat of Kuala Merba claim descent from the "Siamese," or pre-Malaccan inhabitants of Pahang. This country (the region of the Bebar) was, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, included in the fief (*pegangan*) of the Shahbandar family.

TAMBAK SIAM.

The remains of a pre-Malaccan brick dwelling at Langgar, Pekan District (J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. VI, Pt. 4, p. 78). In the same locality is *Kolam Siam*, an excavation, according to tradition, of Siamese miners. On the opposite bank of the Pahang river is a large canal known as *Parit Siam* which drains the plain of Tanjong Medang. Langgar was the head-quarters of a ruler of Pahang prior to 1455 A.D. The tomb of Muhammad Shah the first Malacca-Malay Sultan of Pahang who died in 1475 A.D. is also situated in this locality.

ULU JERAM.

In the river Jeram, one of the head-streams of the Rompin, at a place known as *Kebun Pa'Nyatoh*, in the heart of the jungle has been found a large quantity of potsherds. The locality merits investigation.

GELANG KIU AND KOTA GELANGGI.

According to the 'Malay Annals,' Raja Suran king of a country called Amdan Negara, identified by some writers with the Chola prince Rajendra Chola I who was said to have raided the Straits of Malacca about 1025 A.D., determined to subjugate China. He mobilized his forces and after a journey which took some time reached Gangga Negara which, the "Annals" tell us, had a fort to the in-land of Dinding "on the further side of Perak"—this country has been identified with an ancient state of Bruas. After conquering Gangga Negara, Raja Suran, the "Annals" say, set forth and ultimately came to the country of Ganggayu:

"Now in olden days this was a great kingdom. Its fort was made of black stone; up to the present day the fort exists in the upper reaches (*ulu*) of the river Johore. Originally the name of the kingdom was Gēlang Kiu (گيلنگيو) which in Siamese, means 'Treasure-house of Jewels.' We (Malays) not knowing how to pronounce it called it Ganggayu. Raja Chulan was the name of its king. He was a great monarch and all the princes 'below the wind' were under his sway."

Sir Richard Winstedt identifies Gēlang Kiu with Lenggiu which is the name of a tributary stream of the Johore, but it is probable that the place which the author really had in mind was the famous Kota Gēlanggi (گيلنگي) situated near Pulau Tawar, in Pahang, about 20 miles from the mouth of the Tembeling.

According to traditions recorded by Cameron ("Kota Glanggi or Klanggi, Pahang," J.S.B.R.A.S., No. 9, 1882) Kota Gèlanggi was the seat of ancient kings. In 1870 Bendahara Ahmad sent men to the locality to capture a legendary princess who was said to reside there! In 1882 he himself visited the caves.

Johore forces sacked Pahang in September 1612, a year or so before the Malay Annals were commenced. The Johore men brought back captives who, no doubt, circulated among the people legends of Pahang including that of Kota Gèlanggi. It is probable that this was the account which inspired Tun Sèri Lanang to connect Ganggayu and its king Raja Chulan with Gèlanggi and its fabled monarch.

Why do the "Annals" state that Gèlang Kiu was situated in the upper reaches of the Johore? We may assume either that the story of Gèlanggi reached the author in a garbled form, or that, being a patriotic son of Johore, he was determined that his country should be connected with the beginnings of the Malay kings, or that he made the simple mistake of writing Johore for Pahang, or that a subsequent Johore commentator, convinced that the author was wrong, took it upon himself to emend the original text and that this emendation became incorporated in the MSS. of the "Annals" which have been handed down to us.

We have d'Eredia's word for it that in ancient times the king of Pahang ruled over the countries of *Ujong Tanah* (which, of course, included Johore). Mention of the "Siamese" subjects of Raja Chulan would point to Pahang rather than Johore as having been the scene of the conflict between him and Raja Suran. In the vicinity of Kota Gèlanggi is a stream called the Sungai Lego (Ligor). The name of Raja Chulan's daughter, Putèri Onang Kiu, is reminiscent of that of Putèri Onang (or Wanang) Sèri, the daughter of the king of Pahang who was captured by the Malacca Malays about 1454, married Sultan Mansur, and was the ancestress of the ancient Sultans of Pahang.

Traditions are extant even in Johore to the present day of a black stone fort called Kota Gèlanggi (Sir Richard Winstedt's "History of Johore," p. 124). Cameron (*loc. cit.*) records:

"About this place there are many legends amongst the natives, but hitherto no European has ever been allowed to visit it. Native rumour describes it as an ancient ruin, the inmates of which, as well as all their furniture and utensils, have been turned to stone...."

"The story was imparted to me whilst lying becalmed opposite Kwala Kuantan, and seven idle Malay boatmen under the combined influence of sirih and roko assisted in

spinning the yarn. I must say that I was not deeply impressed with the truth of the narrative as a whole, but comparing what I heard with what I have previously seen on the Patani river, I was enabled to guess what these fabled ruins would turn out to be. Nevertheless, my curiosity was excited, as that of other Europeans has been, regarding this place, and I resolved to see it if I possibly could.

"Circumstances favoured this resolve without any effort on my part, for, as we were making our way up the river Pahang, we were detained for two days at Pulau Tawar, from which Kota Glanggi is distant only about three or four miles, and the Sultan having given me a *carte blanche* to visit whatever place I chose, I availed myself of this opportunity to settle the question as to these ancient ruins.

"The wonderful ruins are, after all, only limestone caves, with no trace of man's handiwork about them, and no evidence whatever of having ever been occupied by man. Still, as caves they are wonderful and well deserve a visit....

"I have seen and traversed many other wonderful caves amongst the limestone mountains on the Patani River, some of them with rivers running right through them, but I never saw any that could compete in natural grandeur and imposing effect with those at Kota Glanggi.....

"A small river called the Tekam falls into the Pahang, and about three miles up the course of this river, the caves are reached. There are a good many of them, but only the four principal ones—Kota Tongkat, Kota Burong, Kota Glanggi and Kota Papan—are deserving of notice. Kota Tongkat and Kota Papan are the nearest, and are close together; Kota Burong is the furthest off, and Kota Glanggi lies between.

"Kota Tongkat, as it is seen and entered, is like the gigantic entrance to some vast citadel; it is open on two sides, it pierces the ridge of limestone under which it lies from one side to the other, and the road leads right through it. This extensive natural porch is supported, or appears to be supported, by huge columns of stalactites and stalagmites, which have thickened through the dripping of endless ages, until they have become like the pillars of some great temple. This, so far as I saw at the time, is the only entrance to a valley which lies basin-like at the foot of a range of hills. As a natural fort, this place would be impregnable; a handful of men, to use the hackneyed phrase, could hold it against an army.

"Passing through Kota Tongkat, we went first to Kota Burong. I was rather disappointed with this cave, but it was well I saw it first and not last. It lies low, and consists of two or three long and wide, comparatively low-roofed

caverns, of great extent, but not imposing in appearance. The most striking feature about it was the enormous number of bats that swarmed in myriads, and the flutter of whose wings made a noise like the distant sound of a water-fall; indeed I mistook it for that at first, and expected to meet with a subterraneous river, but was soon disabused of that idea....

" We next inspected Kota Glanggi, which is situated higher up the cliffs. It is approached through a narrow entrance of some length, from which one emerges into a fine, open lofty cave, with a large opening in the face of the cliff. As this entrance brought us in at the back of the cave, the first effect produced on looking through the stupendous gloom which surrounded us to the distant yet dazzling light of this opening, was very fine, and this effect enhanced by the circumstance that about twenty of our company had reached the cave before us, and having seated themselves close to the opening, looked like so many pigmies, whose small dark forms were thrown athwart the light with startling distinctness of outline, and served to give some idea of the vast proportions of the cavern. The appearance of this cave is not unlike that I have described on the Patani, but much larger in its proportions; from it, however, branch off other caves of extraordinary height. Ascending a steep and slippery incline at an angle of about 60° or 70° by the aid of holes chipped in the rock, a gallery is reached, on each side of which rises a lofty dome about one hundred feet high, and both narrow, one being only about fifteen feet wide at the bottom; one of these domes is lighted from the top by three round holes which are placed at regular intervals and give the roof almost the appearance of artificial construction, whilst the narrower one is lighted by a square hole near the top and looks like a gigantic belfry; a third, rather wider, leads up, by a series of cyclopean steps, to a narrow exit higher up the precipice, and from this we emerged, and by the aid of a rattan climbed up and over an awkward ledge, and reached a jagged pinnacle four hundred feet high, with a sheer drop to the valley beneath. From this point we had a very fine view of the country and of distant mountains, by means of which I obtained some good bearings for future guidance.

" Retracing our steps, we approached Kota Papan, which is really the great cave of the district. Our road lay through another part of Kota Tongkat, a series of dark and dangerous galleries, with dismal abysses of unknown depth, yawning at our feet; along one of these we had to travel by a narrow ledge against an over-hanging wall to the right, whilst to the left one of these horrid gulphs was gaping to receive us in its maw, should we make a false step. At last we emerged from this "hell's gate," and found ourselves under the entrance to Kota Papan, but no one unacquainted

with the locality would ever guess that there was a cave here at all, much less one of such gigantic proportions as this. An over-hanging ledge projects from the face of the cliff, and up to this we climbed by the aid of a rattan ladder. Reaching the ledge, we found an insignificant-looking entrance, with no appearance of depth or size. Stepping within, however, we were assailed by a blast of air which came rushing continuously from the interior with an amazing force and with a sound like the rumbling in a chimney on a windy night. This considerably disconcerted our torch-bearers, whose futile attempts to light their damars were accompanied by volleys of "chelakas." Having at last got our torches alight, we began first to descend, then to ascend, then to descend and ascend again, wending our way between immense angular masses of fallen stone, and groping and clambering with hands and feet over shin-breaking ledges, until we found ourselves involved in a labyrinth of passages. Selecting that on the right, our guides led us into the great cave of Kota Papan.

"I do not know how to describe it, language fails me, from the fact that there are no familiar objects to which I can liken it. Perhaps the dome of St. Pauls might serve to give some idea of the height and size, but the cave is polysided. It is lighted from a grotto-like opening in one of its sides about twenty feet above the floor. This opening is backed by a screen of velvety-green foliage about thirty feet high, through which the sun's rays scintillate from a wide opening above, so that the interior is illuminated chiefly by reflected light, a few small holes in the top of the dome just admit enough to prevent the roof being altogether lost in the gloom. The angles of this polygon are fluted and columnar and radiate at the capital, branch meeting branch, so that the dome is like the many-arched roof of the nave of some Gothic cathedral, whilst the drippings from the limestone have wrought themselves into combinations of stalactites of endless variety of form, and have decked this edifice of nature with more elaborate and fantastic ornamentation than all the genius of Gothic art could devise.

"There are no idols of man's construction, but the floor of this natural temple is strewn with curious and weird-like forms. There is one huge block of stone about fifteen feet square which might represent the altar of an ancient race of giants; there are four or five upright stones like those of the Druids on Salisbury plains, three of which are placed symmetrically at the grotto-like opening, one at each side, and one in the middle, as if to guard the entrance one could almost imagine they had been put there by design....

"It would not do to pass away from these caves without reciting the legend of Kota Glanggi, as narrated to the company by one of the oldest men at the kampong, as we rested

ourselves after our labours on a rock at the foot of Kota Papan. In olden times there was a Raja Glanggi who had a beautiful daughter, whom the son of Raja Membang of Lipis had fallen desperately in love with. This son of Membang got his father to open negotiations with Raja Glanggi for the hand of his daughter. Raja Glanggi was willing enough and consented, but the person of the son of Membang was distasteful to the daughter. In the meantime the son of Raja Usul of Bëra was out hunting one day in the neighbourhood of Kota Glanggi and accidentally got sight of the intended bride; straightaway his breast was fired with passion, and he with his attendants loitered about the neighbouring forest for days until he could see her again. Fortune favoured him, and being one of your bold wooers, he seized and carried her off by force. The young lady took kindly to her captor, and was eventually carried off by him to his father's court, after some unavailing efforts to gain Raja Glanggi's consent to their union. Here they lived happily for a short time, until the rival lover, hearing of the abduction, got his father to appeal to Raja Glanggi to have the girl restored, and as neither the daughter herself nor her bold winner would consent, a war ensued between Raja Usul of Bëra and Raja Glanggi, because Raja Usul, like a sensible man, said that if the girl liked his son they were now married, and he did not see why he should go against his son for the sake of Raja Membang. The result was that seven of Glanggi's best men got killed, and as he was not very warm on the subject of the abduction, seeing his daughter was pleased he resolved to get out of the embroilment as creditably as he could; accordingly, he wrote a letter to Raja Membang of Lipis representing that it really was his affair and recommending him to go to war with Raja Bëra on his own account, and this, poor old Membang did and was killed, whilst Glanggi and Usul of Bëra became reconciled, and the bride and bridegroom lived happily ever afterwards. I give you the story as it was told to me, without any attempt at improvement, and just as I took it down in my note-book.

Hulu Raub,

Interior of Pahang, 26th July, 1882."

Mr. I. H. N. Evans ("Ethnology and Archaeology of the Malay Peninsula," p. 148) writes:

"At Kota Tongkat, one of the Kota Glanggi group of caves visited by Wray, I did comparatively little excavation, but obtained a fair number of flakes, cord-marked pottery, shells of *Melania*, etc. In some shelters nearby I found a peculiar foursided, grooved, sharpening stone and four pieces of fine-grained stone, one of which has a well marked percussion bulk and has certainly been struck from a larger piece

Journal Malayan Branch [Vol. XIV, Part II,

by human agency. All these are polished on one side and I believe this to be artificial. Bones were not common at Kota Tongkat."

The view here put forward that Gēlang Kiu was the Kota Gēlanggi of Pahang is not new: Sir Frank Swettenham ("Journal kept during a journey across the Malay Peninsula," J.S.B.R.A.S., No. 15, 1885, p. 24), after describing his visit to the place in company with To'Gajah, says:

"It is worthy of record that this Kota Kelanggi is mentioned in the Sējara Malaiu (the Malay Annals) as having been occupied by Siamese."

Madamalingam, Tan-ma-ling, Tambralinga and Tembeling.

In Chap. II *supra* it has been suggested that the Tembēling river and Tanjong Tembēling in Pahang derived their name from a former appellation of the country about Ligor, the suggestion being partly based upon the correctness of Dr. Coedès' identification of Ligor with the Tan-ma-ling of Chau Ju-Kua and the Tambralinga of the Jaiya inscription (BEFEO., XVIII, 6). Dr. Coedès also considers that the Madamalingam of the Tanjore inscription referred to the same country.

Should we go farther and place Tan-ma-ling and Tambralinga, as well as Madamalingam, not at Ligor, but in the Tembēling region of Pahang, including in the latter designation not alone the watershed of the Tembēling but the locality of the Kuantan river the northern head-land of the estuary of which is styled Tanjong Tembēling? The Kuantan and the Tekai, one of the largest of the affluents of the Tembēling, take their rise in the same range of hills, and the short-cut to the Tembēling from the coast, in ancient days, must have lain by that route.

In the Tanjore inscription of 1030 A.D. a list is given of countries claimed as conquests by king Rajendra Chola I who, during his reign, it appears, had invaded countries in the Malay Peninsula. Included in the list is *Madamalingam* ("valorous in fierce battles") which region Dr. Coedès considers to be equivalent to Tan-ma-ling and Tambralinga and the country of Ligor.

According to the "Malay Annals," Raja Suran, an ancient king from "Amdan Negara," with "Kēling" forces invaded Malaya and fought a battle with Raja Chulan, a local ruler with "Siamese" subjects, whose head-quarters were at Gēlang Kiu, a place which the writer (*supra*, p. 241 *sq.*) has identified with Kota Gēlanggi in Pahang, situated a short distance from the Tembēling. It has been conjectured that Raja Suran of the "Annals" was Rajendra Chola I. If this identification, and that of Gēlang Kiu with Kota Gēlanggi is correct, then here we have an indication

1936] *Royal Asiatic Society.*

the Chola king's activities in the locality of the Tembëling—activities commemorated by the mention in the Tanjore inscription of *Madamalingam* in the list of his conquests? There is a stream in the vicinity of Kota Gëlanggi—the Sungai Lëgo—the name of which suggests Ligor influence there at one time.

The Chinese chronicler Chau Ju-Kua, writing *ca* 1225 A.D., mentions a country Tan-ma-ling in the Malay Peninsula: it is under a ruler styled Siang-kung (Minister of State); it produces yellow wax, laka wood, gharu wood, incense, ebony, camphor, elephants' tusks and rhinoceros horns; it imports silks, arrack, rice, salt, sugar, porcelain, and bowls of gold and silver; the people ride buffaloes, wear their hair in a knot, and go bare footed; officials live in wooden houses, the common people in bamboo huts with leaf sides and poles fastened with rattan; the regions of Ji-ling, Ts'ien-Mai, Pa-t'a (? the modern Paka in Trengganu) and Kia-lo-hi (Grahi) are similar (?in their customs) to Tan-ma-ling; the country collects gold and silver vessels¹ and sends them as tribute to San-fo-t'si.

According to the same writer Ling-ya-sseu-(kia), (Langkasuka), could be reached from Tan-ma-ling by sailing six days and nights, but the two countries also had communications by land. Dr. Coedès has expressed the opinion, here accepted, that the kingdom of Langkasuka, anciently centred in Kedah, may have stretched right across the Peninsula to the east coast; the Patani river, the source of which adjoins Kedah, provided access to the eastern side of the Peninsula. In the "wu-pei-pi-shu" charts published by Phillips in the *Journal of the R.A.S.* (China Branch)—Vol. XX (1885), and XXI (1886)—which are thought to refer to the voyages of Cheng Ho in the first half of the 15th century, (though some of the *data* in the charts may be earlier than 1400), the estuary of a river which is certainly the Patani is called Lang-hsi chia or Long-sai-ka, a probable Chinese rendering of Langkasuka.

According to a Chinese text quoted by Schlegel (T'oung Pao, 1901, p. 126), Tan-ma-ling was separated from the south of Cambodia by a sea-voyage which took 10 days.

In the *Tao i chik lio*, written by Wang Ta-yuan in 1349, it is recorded that Tan-ma-ling is the country which adjoins Sha-li-fo-lai-an; it is level and extensive; its people have abundance of grain; men and women wear their hair in a knot; their clothing is a white shirt and a black *sarong*; in arranging marriages they bargain with satins and brocades or with tin; they make salt and spirits; they have a ruler; indigenous products include tin,

¹ Smelted down? Was this the derivation of the custom which obtained in Pahang in the beginning of the 16th century (*supra*, p. 20), and probably earlier, of sending gold and silver "flowers" to Siam? The "flowers" appear to have been large sheets of metal hammered out to an extreme thinness.

camphor, turtle's shells, crane's crests¹, beeswax and eagle wood ; imports include cotton cloths, white procelain cups, drums etc. (T'oung Pao, Vol. XVI, 1915, pp. 62-68).

The country of Sha-li-fo-lai-an (S'eri-Fo-lai-an) which was, probably, the Fo-lo-an of Chau Ju-Kua, has not yet been identified with any certainty. The earlier Chinese writer mentioned that it took 4 days by sea to reach Fo-lo-an from Ling-ya-ssi-kia (Langkasuka), that it was a tributary state of San-fo-ts'i, and that its neighbours were P'ong-fong (Pahang), Tong-ya-nung (Trengganu) and Ki-lan-tan (Kelantan). Elsewhere in the same work Chau Ju-Kua remarks that Fo-lo-an was one of the two principal ports in South-eastern Asia to which Arab traders resorted. If Chau Ju-Kua's statement that Fo-lo-an adjoined the countries identified almost certainly with Pahang, Trengganu, and Kelantan is correct, is Fo-lo-an the locality watered by one of the rivers of Trengganu or Kelantan and then extending inland to Pulai in Kelantan where exists a community of Chinese, the date of whose arrival is unknown, originally gold miners, and when that source of living was exhausted, padi planters ?

Tan-ma-ling was not an independent national entity : its ruler or governor was styled only Siang-kung (Minister of State), a designation which would accord with the view of its loose dependence on Pahang, but hardly consonant with Dr. Coedès' opinion that Tan-ma-ling (if that place was Tambralinga) was Ligor, the ruler of which, Candrabhanu, was a very important personage who had fleets powerful enough to attack Ceylon.

Of Tan-ma-ling, Hirth and Rockhill (" Chau Ju-Kua," St. Petersburg, 1912) write :

" Takakusu (Record of the Buddhist Religion XLIII-XLV) thought he saw in this name the Tana Malayu of de Barros' list of Sumatran kingdoms. Schlegel (T'oung-pao, 2d ser. II, 130) looked for it also in Sumatra. Pelliot, B.E.F.E.O. IV., 328, while not trying to locate this district calls attention to the fact that there is an important affluent of the Pahang river called the Tembeling. Gerini, J.R.A.S., 1905, 498 identifies our Tan-ma-ling with Temiling or Tembeling the name of a cape and a hill near the north of the Kwantan river in Pahang. 'Probably,' he says, 'it (Tan-ma-ling) is an old designation borne by the present Kwantan district, and should not be confused with Tembeling or Tembelang, the name of an inland district on one of the tributaries of the Pahang rivers.'"

It is certain that Tan-ma-ling was in the Malay Peninsula. The view of its identity here adopted is a combination of Pelliot's

¹The Chinese chronicler possibly referred to the beak of the lesser hornbill (*burong lilin* or *helengkling*) the material of which, in Malay States, was used as an inset for finger-rings or other personal ornaments worn as talismans to ward off death by poison.

conjecture and Gerini's suggestion, but with a rejection of the latter's opinion that Tan-ma-ling did not include the river Tembëling.

Dr. Blagden (J.R.A.S., January, 1913) discussing Chau Ju-Kua's "Chu-fan-chi" says:

"*Lengkasuka*, p. 68. If the sailing time between this place and Tan-ma-ling is correctly given in the text, it seems doubtful whether the latter can be Kuantan, as six days would be rather a short time considering the weak monsoon of the Straits of Malacca."

Dr. Blagden takes Langkasuka in this connection as being only on the west coast of the Peninsula. If, as Dr. Coedès suggests, this State extended to the east coast, and it was the latter point that the Chinese chronicler designated, Dr. Blagden's objection to the identification of Tan-ma-ling with a locality in Pahang loses its force.

The Jaiya Inscription of 1230 A.D. records that a king of Ligor, according to Dr. Coedès' translation, styled himself Sëri Dharmaraja and Lord of Tambralinga. Dr. Coedès identifies Tambralinga with the Madamalingam of the Tanjore inscription and the Tan-ma-ling of Chau Ju-Kua, and the identifications are here accepted. But did the Tambralinga of the Jaiya inscription refer to Ligor? Is it not possible that it designated, not Ligor, but a conquest of Ligor: the Tembëling district of Pahang? There are indications that Pahang was at one period under the suzerainty of Ligor (*supra*, Chap. II). The "Malay Annals," begun *ca.* 1613, refer to events which occurred in the Tembëling *ca.* 1454 but do not so name the river or region (*supra*, p. 10). The first known mention of the Tembëling by that name in Malay records occurs in the Perak MSS. collected by Maxwell, relating events which occurred not later than 1600 A.D.

The Tembëling river was an important province, and carried a fairly numerous population in prehistoric days, witness the many neolithic and early iron-age relics recently found on its banks—and that, though little search has yet been made there, and the locality is now almost deserted. Habitation was, no doubt, intermittent as, although the Tembëling was the main northern high-way of communication into Pahang, invading forces from the north, for example, the Ligor raiders of 1500 A.D. drove out the inhabitants. Sultan 'Abdu'l-Ghafur gave the Tembëling river to his son Raja Muda *ca.* 1600 A.D. The Bendaharas who owned Pahang during the 18th century established their relatives there; and in the 19th century they appointed a "Pengahulu Raja" to watch the district on behalf of the Raja. In the civil wars and the Semantan insurrection of the 19th century the district was several times completely evacuated.

Journal Malayan Branch [Vol. XIV, Part II,

The importance of the Kuantan river lay in the fact that it had the best, and in monsoon weather the only practicable harbour in Pahang, that the head-land at its estuary often provided a land-fall for Chinese mariners, and that it gave access to the tin mines in its tributaries including the Sungai Lembing (which lay just over the hills from the Tembeling)—mines which were worked in prehistoric times, and as late as the 19th century were kept as the personal appendage of the Pahang rulers, and which to-day have developed into one of the biggest tin mining undertakings in the world.

The view here put forward is that the *Madamalingam* of the Tanjore inscription of 1030 A.D., the *Tan-ma-ling* of Chau Ju-Kua (1225 A.D.), and of Wang Ta-yuan (1349 A.D.), and the *Tambralinga* of the Jaiya inscription of 1230 A.D. referred to the region of the Tembeling in Pahang in which term is included the Kuantan and its tributaries.

APPENDIX VII.

EXTRACTS FROM CASTANHEDA.

Fernao Lopes de Castanheda.

Historia do Descobrimento E Conquista da India pelos Portugueses.

Translated by T. D. Hughes M.C.S.

References in the work to Pahang (Edition 1929, University Press, Coimbra, Portugal, 3 Vols. in the original Portuguese according to the first Edition, 1551).

Vol. 3

Chapter L. III

(p. 233).

Dom Sacho having returned to Malaca he desired to go back in search of the Moors and learning they had gone he remained there. And Jorge Albuquerque gave permission to Antonio de Pina a young gentleman fo the Royal Bed Chamber of the King of Portugal to proceed in a junk to the Island of Iaoa† to do trade. Three Portuguese accompanied him and one of them was Bernaldo Drago a man who had long been established in Malaca. Returning from Iaoa to Malaca he put into the port of Pao‡ on account of the weather. This city is situate on the coast near to Malaca and as its King was a friend of the Portuguese, the King of Bintao§ took him as a son-in-law giving him one of his daughters as wife and he was moved to enter into this relationship because he was making war on the Portuguese who continued to frequent his port and the coast of his Kingdom. This marriage was very secret because as long as it was unknown the King of Pao caused great harm to the Portuguese covertly the latter being ignorant, of what was occurring. Antonio de Pina happened to visit the Port of Pao. And he believing the King to be a friend of the Portuguese, as before, sent ashore for victuals. The King knowing the vessel was in port sent to enquire of Antonio de Pina if anything else was required from his city and that he would send it willingly. He sent out at the same time many fresh provisions. But that night he despatched seven vessels with 280 fighting men. in addition to the rowers who were doubled, who, on the break of day, boarded the Portuguese vessel from all sides. Antonio de Pina, Bernaldo Drago and the other Portuguese fought until they could do no more and having killed some of the enemy the factor of the vessel fell and Antonio de Pina, Bernaldo Drago and the other Portuguese were taken prisoner and the vessel captured with all that it contained. All was delivered to the King of Pao who, very happy, sent the prisoners to the King of Bintao who tried to

†Java.

‡Pahang.

§Bintang.

make them enter Islam offering them great threats if they did not agree. The Portuguese, with great constancy replied that he could do what he liked, as they would not abandon their faith which was the true one and embrace his which was completely false. The King seeing that they were firm in their refusal of his proposal ordered that each one be fixed to a cannon and blown to pieces for confessing to our Holy Faith, and they died martyrs. And nothing was known of this in Malaca for some time.

CHAPTER L IIII (p. 234).

How Andre de Bryto and other Portuguese were killed in the port of Pao.

Before this was known Jorge Albuquerque sent Dom Sacho to the coast of Patane to seize prizes and there accompanied him in the galley which he commanded his brother Antonio and fully thirty Portuguese and in another vessel went Ambrosio de Rego with as many men. And Andre* Bryto reached Malaca from India in his own vessel, as mentioned previously, bearing the Governor's permission to trade where he liked. With the consent of Jorge Albuquerque he set sail for Siao,† taking with him another twelve Portuguese and en route he anchored at Pao in order to take on victuals. Learning this, the King sent out his boats and as dawn was about to break, the Portuguese being few, the Moors boarded the Portuguese vessel from all sides. And when the Moors entered the ship it was terrifying to see how the Portuguese defended themselves, wounding some and killing others and there was no part of the ship to which they did not rally with marvellous agility but, as they were few in number and the Moors beyond count, the latter could fight with full vigour and when they were tired others took their place. But this the Portuguese were unable to do and they commenced to fall dead whilst others were at the point of death on account of the grievous wounds, they had sustained and so, they were overcome little by little, until no other remained except the brother of Andre Bryto (whose name I did not know) and who wielded his sword with both hands and performed such marvellous deeds that the Moors took him to be a devil since on two occasions he drove them away from the vessel with frightful slaughter and the second time he was so weakened and tired that he did not venture to defend himself any longer and to avoid being taken prisoner or dying in the hands of the Moors he hastily tied his feet to two falcon carriages and threw himself into the sea and with precipitation the Moors took the vessel. This I learned subsequently through one Francisco de Brito, a native Catholic convert, who had accompanied Andrade de Brito as factor and interpreter and who being on shore had not been killed by the Moors and who subsequently made his way to Malaca.

*Given later in the narrative as Andrade de Brito.

†Siam.

CHAPTER LV. (p. 235).

How Do Sacho Arriquez and Do Antonio Arriquez were killed in the port of Pao and how their galley was taken.

Dom Sacho with Ambrosio de Rego sailed from Malaca for Patane† and reached there in safety. Having completed his business there which is not recounted at length because it is not known, he returned with Ambrosio de Rego. Setting a course from Malaca they parted in a storm which they encountered. Ambrosio de Rego being out to sea was ahead whilst Dom Sacho who had lain in nearer to land was behind. They anchored at the Pao bar in order to be sure that the King was still a friend of the Portuguese and they remained there until the following day for the weather to improve. And whilst they were there the King sent on board with a present in order to ascertain who they were and learning of their identity he sent further courtiers in greater style to welcome their arrival with many friendly greetings together with some cattle and buffaloes and all this was a bait to trap the Portuguese. It happened that the day before Laqueximena‡ had arrived and determined to take some of our vessels, which he knew were sheltering in the port. He entered the river and hid his fleet of thirty vessels. Hearing from the King that Dom Sancho had reached the bar he set out at dawn together with ten of the king's vessels, that is, a fleet of forty with 1,200 fighting men whilst the Portuguese company only numbered 30. When Dom Sancho saw so many men bearing upon him and having no course but to fight he said to the Portuguese. "Companions, with the hope in our Lord that makes our strength, our only salvation is to put up a good fight and I ask of you that you should seek death with honour rather than capture and shame". Stationing his thirty men on both sides of the vessel he placed his brother in command at the prow whilst he took over the poop. On either side of the vessel were placed seven men with eight on the poop and eight on the prow. The enemy seeing that they were so few shouted with joy counting the Portuguese already dead and the foe surrounded and grappled the ship with four vessels. Then commenced a fearful combat; the Moors seeking to board and the Portuguese resisting. The four vessels were grappled for a time before their crews could board the ship and a number of them were slain whilst many of our men were wounded and some killed. The Moors unable to sustain the combat any longer cast off and other vessels fresh for battle took their place. And Dom Sancho seeing that if his men continued to be thus distributed they would be finally routed by the Moors he collected them all on the quarter deck as there they would be better able to fortify themselves and better able to wreak vengeance on the Moors before dying. So it was. They killed so

*Dom.

†Patani.

‡Laksamana.

many of the enemy that they lay on top of each other. But as the Moors were beyond count, fresh men continually entered the fray as their fellows tired. But the Portuguese could not do likewise and they sustained so many wounds that many were dead and others weak from great loss of blood and, over-come by the immense efforts of the struggle, they all fell. Thus were the Moors able to enter and finish off those who were half dead. None were pardoned because of the great harm the Portuguese had inflicted on the enemy in whose hands the vessel now remained together with the numerous and good artillery on board.

CHAPTER L.XI (p. 244).

How Martim Afonso de Souza went to make war on the king of Bintao and the kings of Pao and Patane.

Martim Afonso de Souza who sailed for Malaca arrived there at the end of June. He found that a chicken was worth five cruzados* and an egg two vintes† whilst a gata ‡ of rice was a cruzado and the Portuguese there resembled disinterred corpses, having lost all colour. His arrival gave great pleasure both to the Portuguese and to the inhabitants. And then Jorge Albuquerque delivered to him the commission of Captain-General of the Sea of Malaca, withdrawing it from Dom Garcia Arriquez his brother-in-law to whom the title had passed upon the death of Dom Sancho. And Marti Afonso acting by authority of the Governor gave the latter the Captainship of Maluco§. In order to settle the war with the King of Bintao Jorge Albuquerque ordered Marti Afonso to proceed with five vessels to anchor at the bar of Bintao and not let the Laqueximena come out and not permit provisions to enter the city. He felt Malaca with a fleet of five sail and of the captains, I only knew the name of Vasco Loureco. Having reached the bar of Bintao he remained there three months and sorely oppressed the city neither permitting provisions and merchandise to enter nor allowing anything whatsoever to come out not even the fisherman to come and fish. During this time the Laqueximena did not dare once to come out and fight. When Marti Afonso was there, some of his men died as that part was unhealthy. For this reason he did not wish to proceed further but went to make war against the King of Pao in order to punish him for the harm he had done to the Portuguese and there he burned many junks both of Pao and Iaoa and in which action fully 600 Moors were killed and so many taken prisoner that I did not hear of a single Portuguese who did not take at least ten prisoners. Having made fearful destruction there he went to the city of Patane, whose King was also an enemy of the Portuguese and in the

*Old Portuguese Coin—400 Reis.

†Plural of Vintem—the old Portuguese coin of 1 sou or ½d.

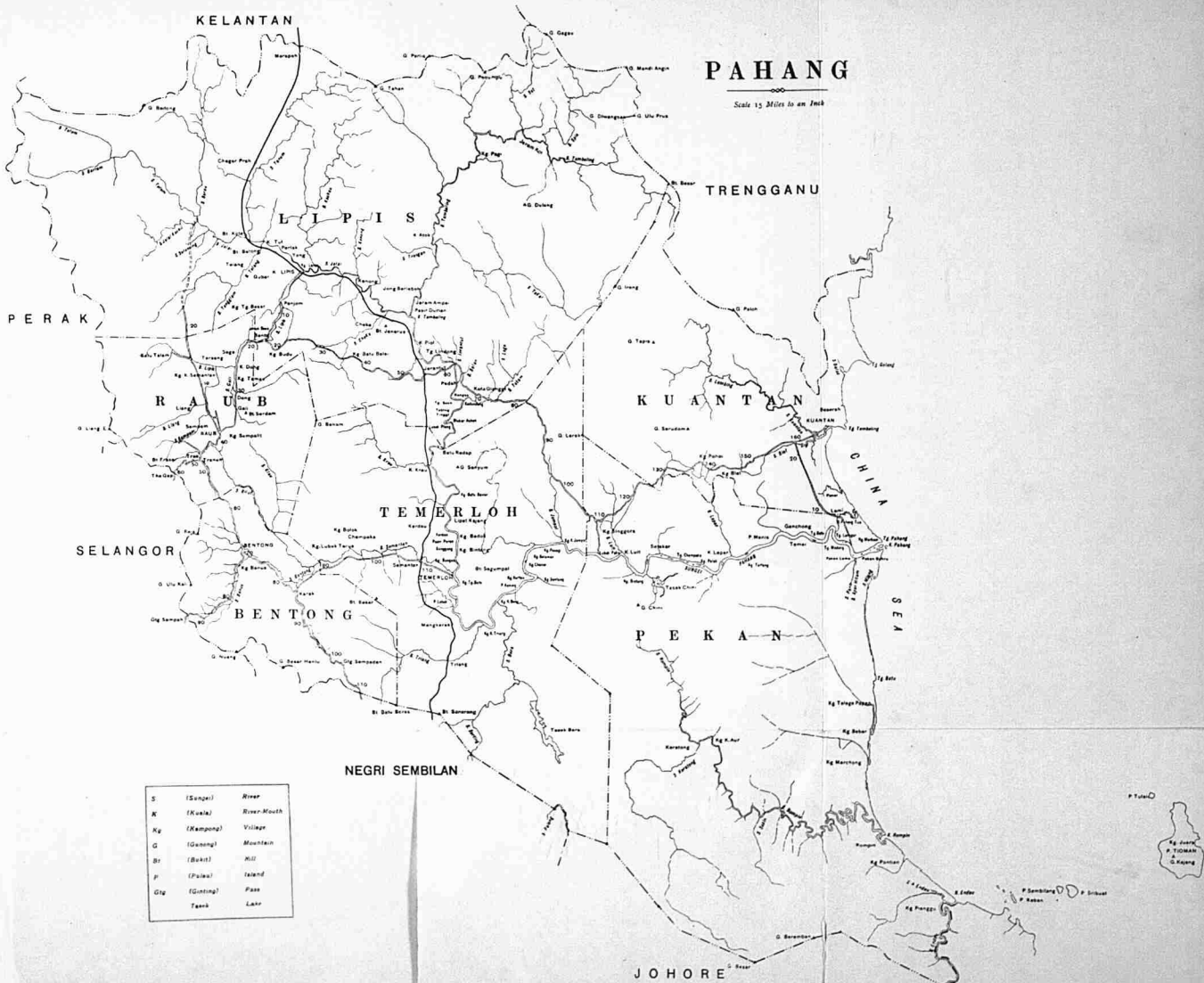
‡Gantang (Malay) the Malay cylindrical gallon measure.

§The Moluccas or Spice Islands.

port he found some junks which he also burned including a very large one which had at that moment arrived from Iaoa and had on board the King of Patane himself who, together with at least 200 Moors, fearful of the Portuguese fire, leaped into the sea and were all killed by the lance thrusts of the Portuguese. And those in the city seeing this destruction at sea, frightened lest it should be likewise on land, evacuated the city taking with them the greater part of their goods. So that Martim Afonso when he landed found no one to fight and he burned down the city completely, so that only the plain on which it had been situate was left and a few vegetable gardens and palm tree groves on the outskirts. And leaving the Portuguese name credited and much feared in those parts Martim Afonso returned to Malaca which was enjoying a very prosperous period.

PAHANG

Scale 15 Miles to an Inch



| | | |
|----|-----------|-------------|
| S | (Sungai) | River |
| K | (Kuala) | River-Mouth |
| Kg | (Kampung) | Village |
| G | (Gasing) | Mountain |
| Bt | (Bukit) | Hill |
| P | (Pulau) | Island |
| Pg | (Gintang) | Pass |
| | Tangk | Lake |



JOHORE

ADDENDUM.

1. According to information collected by Mr. H. D. Noone, Ethnographer, F.M.S. Museums, from Tong Ken Nien, Penghulu of Pulau, two hundred years ago a Kheh clan immigrated to Kelantan and found Chinese from "Hoi-lu-fung" (in China) with the patronymic of P'ang in possession of the rich valley of Ulu Galas. The new comers drove out the ancient settlers who fled to a place known as "P'ang-kong" in Pahaug about five miles from Kuala Lipis "where there are old gold-workings." "P'ang-kong" is *Panggong*, the name by which the Penjom mines were popularly known to Chinese miners; it still survives in the name of a Village *Simpang Panggong*: "the Turn-off to Panggong." *Panggong* literally meant the wooden structure used in open-cast mining operations. Before the arrival of the British, Maharaja Perba of Jelai had been receiving tribute from the Chinese for each *panggong* erected.

Cf. supra, pp. 109, and 249.

2. Sir Hugh Clifford (Report on the Kelantan-Trengganu Expedition) records that he found a gold currency in Ulu Pahang when he first visited the interior. He refers not to a coinage but to the use of "gold-dust" as a medium of exchange.

3. According to "The Book of Duarte Barbosa," (Vol. II, Hakluyt Society, 1921, p. 165):

"In this land of Anseam (Siam) there is much gold which is found and gathered there chiefly in the Signory of Paam.."

And, again, (p. 178):

".....in this land of Paam there is much gold of low quality."

30 SEP 1978