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KERAJAAN:
Malay Political Culture on the Eve of Colonial Rule

A. C. Milner

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About the Author . . .

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CONTENTS

Maps

PREFACE

This book is concerned with Malay political culture on the eve of colonial rule. I became interested in this subject because I encountered difficulties in analysing political change during the colonial period. But this study is intended to provide more than a background to British Malaya. In exploring the Malay material, I became aware of the intrinsic importance of investigating the political experience of pre-modern communities.

My examination of a Malay rebellion against the British demonstrated the importance of discerning the character of Malay political motivation. Although it was possible to establish a chronology of events, and to propose certain connections between them, I could not understand the bases of political action. To what extent the actions of Malay leaders or their subjects could be interpreted in familiar, modern terms was unclear. I saw indications of the influence of Western values, but, ignorant of the character of traditional political thinking, it was possible neither to explain the uprising nor to analyse its significance as an indication of political change. My difficulties, I concluded, were experienced by many historians of the colonial period. Colonial development is too often studied in a vacuum. Accounts of the dramatic transformation which is supposed to have taken place under European rule concentrate on the features imported rather than the process of change. Such accounts merely present fragmented mirror images of our own society because they are not grounded in an analysis of the political structure and forces present in pre-colonial times.

To obtain an understanding of Malay political motivation I turned first to J.M. Gullick's Indigenous Political Systems of Western Malaya,[1] a seminal work for both historians and anthropologists. Gullick was unwilling to accept the view of earlier European authors that the Malay states of the nineteenth century were anarchical and in general lacked any recognizable form of government. Trained in British anthropology in the early 1950's he applied the principles of functionalism to the investigation not of living communities but of historical documents.[2] For my purpose, however, Gullick's monograph had important limitations. The model which Gullick proposed left unanswered many of my enquiries regarding Malay motivation. His training led him to be less concerned with the variety of considerations leading men to act as they did than with analysing Malay politics in terms of 'political institutions', the 'essential functions of a political system'[3] and the flow of 'real power'.[4] Moreover, I was aware that, since Gullick wrote, functionalist anthropology had come increasingly under attack. Scholars have become particularly wary of applying models germane to Western experience to the study of pre-modern communities. I could not follow Gullick in viewing Malay government as a "working system of social control and leadership".[5] I wanted to understand Malay political activity in Malay terms. In order to investigate the process of change during the colonial period, it was necessary to examine first not political institutions or the flow of 'real power', but what Clifford Geertz has described as the "meaningful structures"[6] by means of which Malays gave shape to their political experience. I needed to explore Malay political culture.

Like Gullick, therefore I responded to a tradition of anthropology, but it is a tradition which emphasizes cultural rather than sociological analysis. It is concerned with the perceptions of actors rather than the models imposed by observers. I also began work on the type of sources which Gullick had used - European colonial archives and the unofficial accounts of Western visitors to the Malay world. From the standpoint of cultural analysis, however, it soon became apparent that these sources were less helpful for the study of political culture than for the study of institutions. The structure of this book records the process by which I became disillusioned with European sources and turned to Malay writings.

In the hope of eliciting Malay perceptions of their political actions I focused on the historical records of two very different regions of the nineteenth-century Malay world: the east coast of Sumatra and the east coast of the Malay Peninsula. The former, which became the rich *cultuurgebied*, the cultivation region, of the Dutch East Indies and the major export producer of independent Indonesia, possessed numerous tiny polities which were constantly at war with one another. The eastern Malay peninsula, which was to come under British protection, was a relatively stable area, containing large and ancient states. The east Sumatran states formed a Malay frontier bordering on the populous Batak lands of the interior; the Peninsula states were Malay heartlands. I chose these two regions, which have received little attention from scholars, because of their contrasts. The fact that they fell under the protection of separate European colonial powers allowed me to benefit from two European traditions of observation and analysis. But more importantly, as I had determined to proceed not by testing the models of social science but by investigating concrete situations, it was necessary to study political developments in contrasting parts of the Malay world; the discovery of features common to both these regions would provide a starting point for making more general observations on the character of Malay political culture.

The two political developments on which this study is based are the rise and expansion of the Sumatran state of Deli, and a civil war which occurred in the Peninsular state of Pahang and embroiled many of the neighbouring Malay polities. I chose these two developments because they appeared to throw light on the character of Malay political motivation and were well documented in European sources. But although the Dutch and British records contained much data relating to political and economic matters, and are essential in establishing chronology, they are of little help in the attempt to determine the way in which Malays categorised their political experience. They seldom quoted Malay views and their judgments on Malay political behaviour were often contradicted by the outcome of events. To achieve a fuller Malay perspective I began to explore indigenous writings from both regions.

Classical Malay writings have long been neglected by Western historians. The nineteenth-century orientalist, John Crawfurd's dictum that such works as the Malay Annals are 'worthless', being nothing but a 'wild tissue of

fable'[7] is only a hyperbolic percursor of many modern judgements.[8] When Malay *hikayats*, or histories, were investigated by historians at all, they were simply combed for hard data, particularly data relating to periods undocumented by apparently reliable European sources. By the late 1950's interest in Malay and other South-East Asian chronicles was at a low ebb; at a conference held in London it was noted that the number of students working on these texts was 'rapidly diminishing'.[9] In an influential article, an historian explained why members of his discipline turned so rarely to Malay histories. The chronicles provided, he observed, 'no real idea of what [the individuals they describe] thought as distinct historical beings': they lacked 'a personality base'.[10]

The *hikayats* certainly present problems. Their authorship and provenance are uncertain and their standards of factual accuracy differ from those employed in modern histories. Despite their weaknesses as a record of events, however, the texts offer insights into Malay political thinking. By noting the qualities and values which they emphasize, the connections they make, the style in which they are written and the particular terminology they use, I located in the *hikayats* cultural values which had remained obscure in the European sources. An expanding vocabulary of Malay terms acquired from the texts began to shape my thinking about Malay political life, and I came to the conclusion that the answer to my questions regarding political motivation entailed an understanding of 'political' experience radically different from our own. The Malay writings disclosed a distinct form of centralized polity. It is less a political than a religious system, a system which involved a reciprocal process in which men were concerned not with 'real power' or 'social control' but with the maximization of spiritual rewards.

The present work explains why and how I explored Malay writings in order to discover Malay perceptions of their political motivation. It concludes with the explication of a particular Malay text, and it argues that the structure of political experience revealed in that document has implications for the understanding of political behaviour elsewhere in the Malay world. The book is a case study in political culture. It is not, of course, the first case study of this type in South-East

Asia: the work of Geertz[11] and Anderson[12] on Indonesia has been influential in shifting scholarly attention from institutions to culture. But my concern is solely with historical documents rather than ethnographic data, and the community I am investigating exists only in the past.[13]

The model I develop of Malay political experience aims first to illuminate the processes of change occurring in the colonial period. But as one of a growing number of studies of political culture it aims also to contribute to comparative research: the conclusions drawn from the examination of one community will sharpen the questions asked of another; gradually, perhaps, a classification of traditional polities in South-East Asia and elsewhere will emerge. In revealing structures of political experience, such studies serve a further purpose. They display in context the various 'webs of significance'[14] in which men are suspended, and so test the claims of theory. The historian and the anthropologist, so often influenced by the theoretical fashions of their time, are in this sense pioneers. They are the first to encounter alien modes of thought, and in so doing help to extend, multiply and rediscover the categories of experience of our own society. The exploration of Malay culture can therefore challenge the categories which we employ in understanding our own political condition.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A study of the nineteenth-century Malay world depends on the scholarship of pioneers. Such administrator-historians as Elisa Netscher, R.J. Wilkinson, W. Linehan, and W.H.M. Schadee established chronological frameworks for the region and their judgements on Malay political and social arrangements were often acute. In more recent years, Professor N. Tarling and Dr. A.J.S. Reid have explored and described British and Dutch archival collections dealing with East Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. Finally, the student of Malay political behaviour may today benefit from a growing number of studies of political culture. Work carried out on Southeast Asia and other regions suggests new questions which might be asked of the Malay material. I think, in particular, of the writings of Maruyama on Japan,[1] Anderson on Java,[2] and Wolters on Cambodia.[3]

In writing the present study, I am indebted first to Professor O.W. Wolters, Goldwin Smith Professor of Southeast Asian History at Cornell University, who aroused my interest in Southeast Asian kingship. Professor Wolters contributed much to this book; I am especially grateful for his historical imagination and enthusiasm.

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A.C. MILNER
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GLOSSARY

(Foreign derivations are given where known. Arabic is abbreviated to "Ar.", Sanscrit to "Sk.")

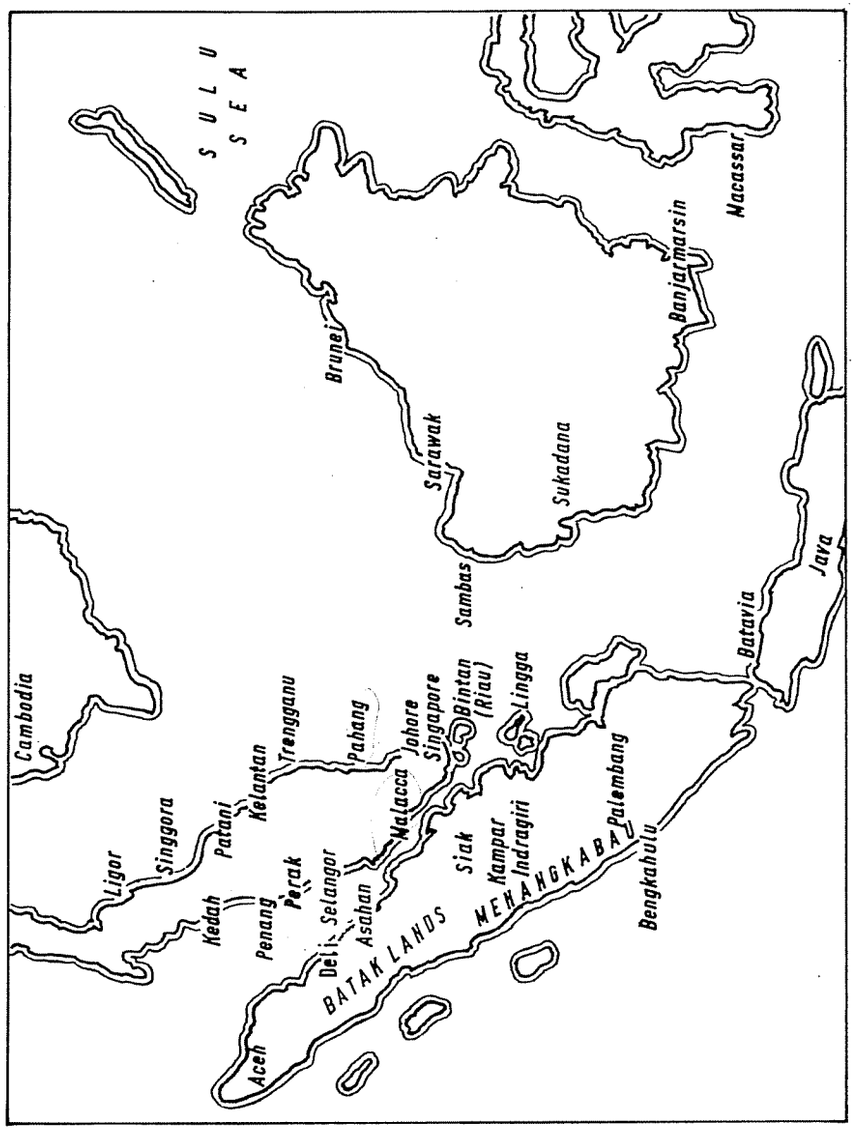
adat (Ar.)	custom, customary law
adil (Ar.)	impartial, just, equitable, propriety
bakti (Sk.)	loyal service, devotion; *berbuat bhakti* -- earn merit
bangsa (Sk.)	rank, caste, sort, kind, stock, family, race, nation, tribe
belanja (Pali)	money for current expenses, outlay, expenditure
derhaka (Sk.)	treason against the Ruler, God or the State
gelar	title, nickname
halus	delicate, refined, lenient, soft, invisible
hawa nafsu (Ar.)	sensual desire, lusts of the heart
huru hara, haru hara, huru buru, haru buru	confusion, uproar, turmoil
kaya (Sk.)	great, powerful, rich, wealth
kerajaan (Raja is a Sanscrit word)	the condition of having a Raja
kurnia (Sk.)	gift, bounty

lemah lembut	gentle, soft, delicate
malu	shame, embarrassment, shy
manis	delicate, sweet, graceful, charming
murah (the word may have an Arabic derivation. See Chapter III, n.70)	generous, charitable, merciful, cheap
nama (name, fame, reputation. Persian, nam: reputation)	name, reputation, title, denomination
pangkat	rank, standard, grade
patut	right, proper, fit, fitting, reasonable, lawful
perentah	order, jurisdiction, government
sombong	arrogance, self-assertion, pride
taraf (Ar.)	rank, position
tertib (Ar.)	correct conduct, order, ritual, arrangement, propriety

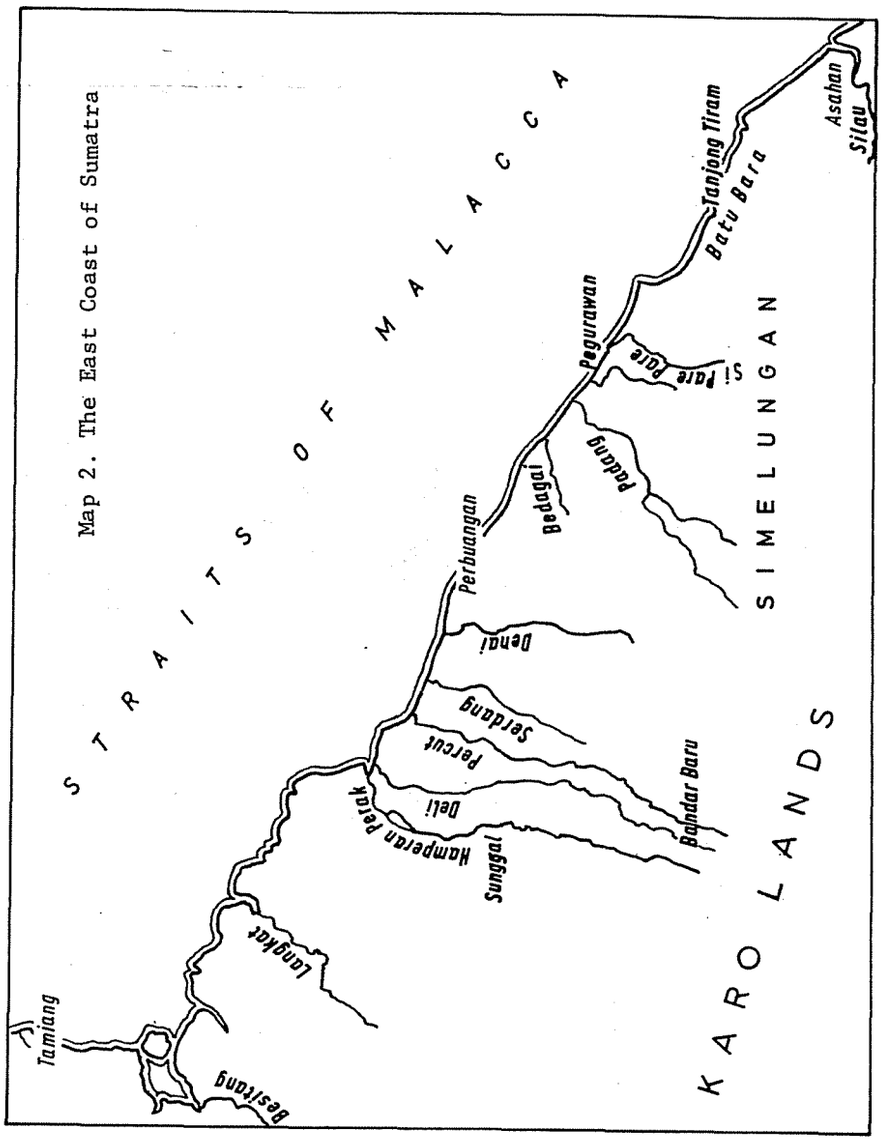
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BC	Boards Collections (India Office)
BEFEO	Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient
BKI	Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, and Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indie, published by the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde
BMJ	Brunei Museum Journal
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
CO	Colonial Office, London
CPD	Collections to Political Despatches to India, India Office, London
ENI	Encyclopedia van Nederlandsch-Indië
FO	Foreign Office, London
G.G.	Governor-General of Netherlands India
IO	India Office, London
JIA	Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia
JMBRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Malayan Branch
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society

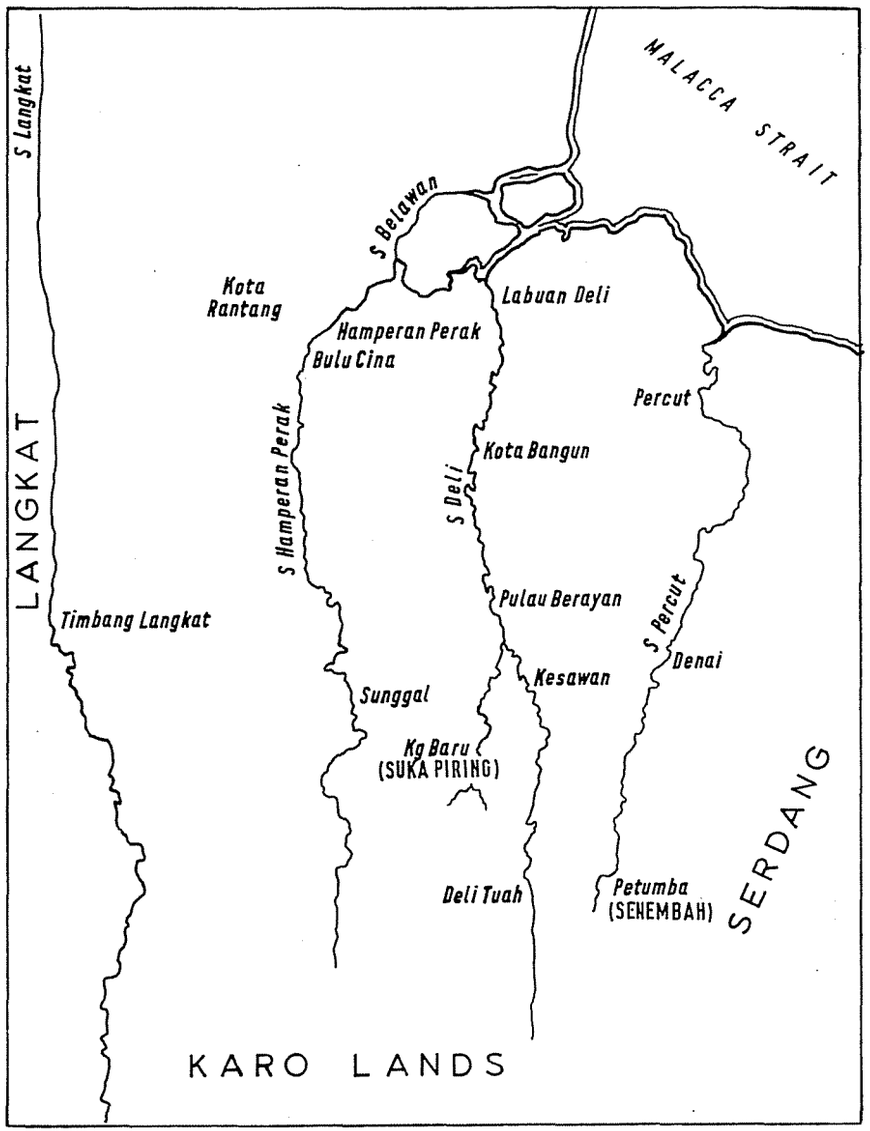
JSBRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Straits Branch
JSEAH	Journal of Southeast Asian History
Kol.	Ministry of Colonies, The Hague
Kol. Kab.	Kabinets-archief of the Netherlands Colonial Ministry
Kol. Op. Verb.	Openbare Verbalen (public archive) of the Netherlands Colonial Ministry
MHJ	Malayan History Journal
MR	Mail Rapporten of the Netherlands Colonial Ministry
Pol.	Political Despatches to India, India Office
SSFR	Straits Settlements Factory Records
TBG	Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde, published by the Bataviaasch Genootschap voor Kunsten en Wetenschappen
TNAG	Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap
TNI	Tijdschrift voor Neerlands-Indie
VBG	Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen



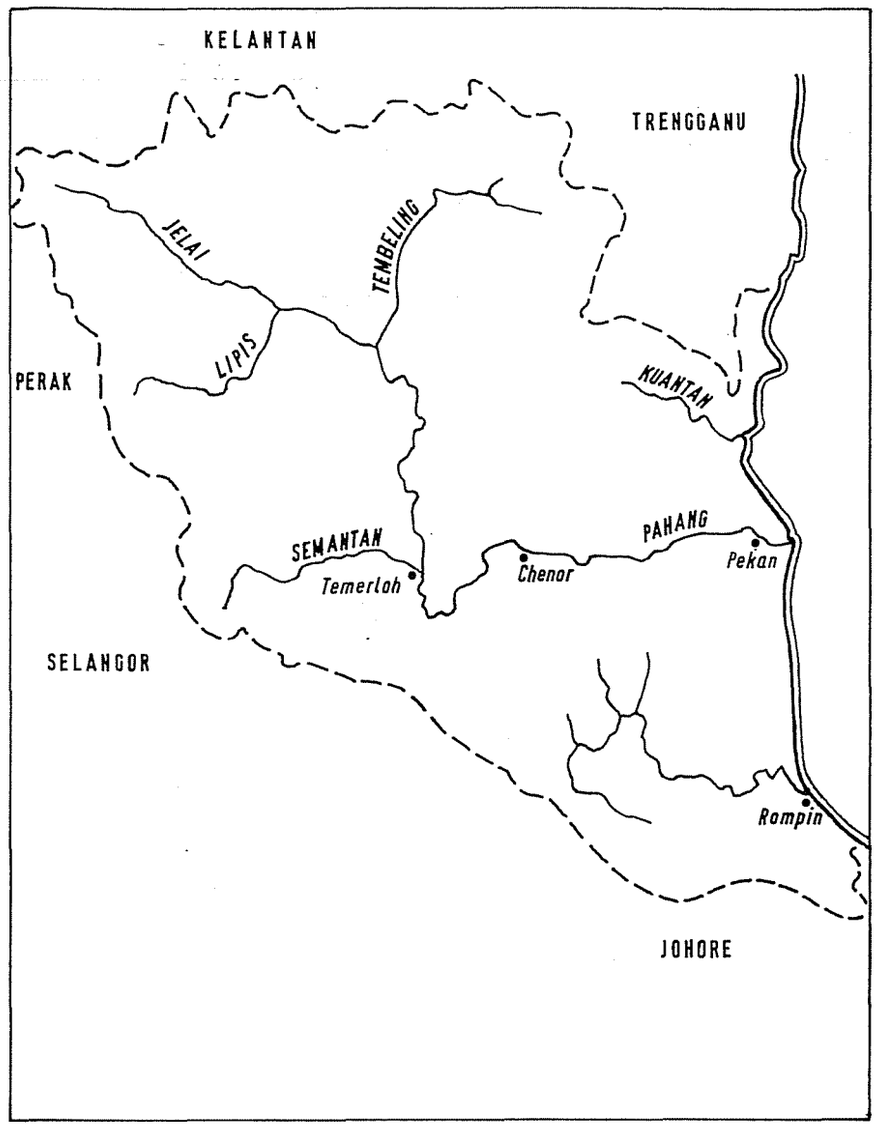
Map 1. The Malay World of the Early Nineteenth Century



Map 2. The East Coast of Sumatra



Map 3. Deli



Map 4. Pahang

NOTE ON MALAY PLURALS

For the convenience of the reader, and contrary to the rules of Malay grammar, the plural of Malay nouns has been indicated by the addition of an "s". Thus, the plural of *hikayat* is rendered *hikayats* rather than *hikayat*.

I. INTRODUCTION
THE MALAY WORLD ON THE EVE OF COLONIAL RULE

The visitor to the Malay regions of Sumatra, the Peninsula, and Borneo did not encounter one all-encompassing Malay empire or state. There were many Malay polities. Occasionally, however, leaders arose who tried to dominate all or most of them. The Maharajas of Srivijaya, a Sumatran based empire which flourished before the thirteenth century, sometimes may have controlled most of the Malay Peninsula and Western Indonesia.[1] A seventeenth-century prince who became ruler of Aceh, in North Sumatra, probably aspired to a similar position; he controlled a large army and ordered that a genealogy (the *Bustan as-Salatin*) be written to establish him not only as heir to the dynasty which once reigned in Srivijaya, and in its successor, Melaka, but also as the rightful ruler of Aceh.[2] But these are exceptions. Few empires existed on so grand a scale. Even fifteenth-century Melaka, which was much admired by Malays of later centuries, had important Malay rivals: Pasai and Aru in North Sumatra never came under its control;[3] indeed, Melaka acknowledged Pasai as an equal.[4] In the seventeenth century Johor was the foremost Malay power, but it probably did not equal Melaka in area.[5] Throughout this period other Malay states arose, such as Patani in the south of present day Thailand, and Brunei in North Borneo. While these kingdoms, as a result of either military might or distance, were able to remain independent of the powers to their West, they did not create large-scale empires of their own.

Malays did not even formally acknowledge a single sovereign. In Vietnam, when the actual control of that country was in the hands of two rival families, the ideal of a single ruler was retained in the person of the Later Le Emperor.[6] No such figure existed in the Malay lands. Nor did one particular family possess an ancestry which

made it pre-eminent. Most Malay rajas had genealogies of comparable prestige and status. On the other hand, the ruling families did not share a common genealogy. The origins of the Kings of Patani and Pasai, for instance, have no connection with those of the line of Melaka, and its successor, Johor.[7]

Possessing neither a single or supreme ruler, nor a common ruling family, Malays expressed no sense of "nationhood"; nor did they consider themselves members of a race which owed its origins to a single ancestor or homeland. A nineteenth-century Vietnamese might quote an origin myth for his people,[8] and, when asked about his identity, he would answer: "I am an Annamite".[9] Under similar circumstances a Malay would describe himself as the subject of a certain Raja: "I am the subject of the Raja of Lingga", is the way Malays replied to a question about their identity when interviewed regarding piracy in 1836.[10]

Although there was no empire or race in which all Malays participated, Europeans who visited the area did find a type of unity that permits us to talk of a "Malay world".[11] "I cannot but consider the Melayu nation", wrote Sir Stamford Raffles, "as one people, speaking one language, though spread over so wide a space, and preserving their character and customs. . . ."[12] The similarities were no less evident to George Earl, who travelled widely in the archipelago during the 1830's. He described the people of Trengganu as "genuine Malays" and remarked that "a description of the town and its inhabitants would with a few topographical alterations answer equally well for all the independent Malay states on the Peninsula."[13]

Dress was perhaps the most obvious feature which characterized Malay people for foreigners who toured the Malay lands in the early nineteenth century. John Anderson, one of the English East India Company's most experienced Malay specialists, when describing East Sumatra in 1823, could remark that "the dresses of all Malays are so much alike in almost all countries . . . that it is unnecessary to enter more at length into the subject."[14] The Malay men in East Sumatra usually wore "short bajoos or jackets", a "sarong or tartan petticoat" and "serwahs or trousers".[15] Dutch and English accounts of the Peninsula and of other parts of the archipelago

suggest that the short jacket (*baju*), trousers, and *sarong* (which an English lady, Isabella Bird, described as a "pleatless kilt")[16] were indeed the usual attire of Malays.[17] And, when Malays listened to the popular tales of the rhapsodists who journeyed from one polity to another, they learnt that even the great hero, Seri Rama, a figure of Hindu Indian origin, wore exactly this costume.[18]

Nineteenth-century travellers also noted a recognizable style in Malay manners. Anderson, the official who discussed East Sumatran dress, is equally helpful in this matter. The surprise he expressed when a chief from the interior greeted him in a fashion "quite contrary to all rules of Malayan etiquette" indicates the extent to which Malay manners generally conformed to one pattern.[19] Similarly, a Dutchman observed of the Malays of Bandjarmarsin in Borneo that "their customs are similar to those of the Malays elsewhere."[20]

Language was another feature of Malay unity. Malay was spoken throughout the southern portion of the Malay Peninsula, and it was noted in the early nineteenth century that whereas "the islands of the archipelago . . . have their own peculiar languages . . . the Malayan is generally employed in the districts bordering on the sea-coasts and the mouths and banks of navigable rivers . . . every person, of whatever nation, who frequents a port of trade must negotiate his business in this tongue . . ."[21] An eighteenth century Dutch writer, Valentijn, compared Malay with "French and Latin in Europe," and he remarked that "if you don't understand this language you are not considered a very broadly educated man in the east."[22]

Spoken Malay varied from place to place. The dialect of Kelantan in the east of the Peninsula was different from that of Melaka in the west and Johor in the south.[23] The people of Deli in East Sumatra spoke another dialect, but it was not quite the same as that of their southern neighbour, Asahan.[24] Literary Malay, however, displayed much less variation. William Marsden, who, as an East India Company official in West Sumatra received letters from all over the archipelago, noticed "a striking consistency in the style of writing, not only of books in prose and verse, but also of epistolary correspondence."[25]

Such observations were not unusual. On the other side of the Malay world, a Dutch scholar, W. Kern, noted that Bandjarese, the dialect of Bendjarmasin, in South-east Borneo, had "never been used as a literary language. Even in private correspondence and speeches people always use, or at least try to use, literary Malay."[26]

Literature itself was a further aspect of Malay uniformity. It was, as Wilkinson explained,[27] heard rather than read. A mid-nineteenth-century European account from South Sumatra suggests the intense interest taken by the audience. It describes a young man who

> sat crossleg upon a mat, with a manuscript in his hand from which he read with a drawling monotone, yet a somewhat pleasing tone . . . [he] pitched his voice to a harsh or plaintive tone, as he read of love or war, he rocked his body, he moved his hand; and men and women, youths and coolies, slid off their mats, and drawing near with swaying heads, and moving hands, kept pace with limb and sympathetic look. . . .[28]

Sometimes these storytellers were elders of the village, but more often they were, in the words of the British Malayan official, W.E. Maxwell, "minstrels [wandering] among Malay villages as Homer did among the Greek cities."[29] These professional bards took their tales from state to state, and Malays in many far flung places came to enjoy the same literature. We know, for instance, that the old Indian tale of Rama, the Raja who expunges evil from the world, was widely known: Marsden encountered a Malay version of the "*Ramayan*, a celebrated Sanscrit poem", in West Sumatra,[30] and a Dutch writer found the tale in the Riau-Lingga archipelago, which lies just below the Peninsula.[31] Manuscripts dealing with Rama's life are believed to have existed in Bandjarmasin,[32] and the story was also recited in nineteenth-century Perak: a European official arranged for a rhapsodist's version from that state to be written down and published.[33] Finally, the Rama tale constitutes the major source of repertoire for the Malay shadow play known as *Wayang Siam*. Today these performances retain their popularity only on the East Coast of the Peninsula, but in the nineteenth century they were found in many parts of the Malay world.[34]

The legend of Alexander the Great, the *Hikayat Iskandar*, was also widely known among Malays. The *Malay Annals*, which deal with the history of the Melaka-Johor Sultanate, describe it as famous (*termashur*).[35] Werndly certainly included the tale among the Malay works he encountered in the 1730's,[36] and an Englishman visiting East Sumatra early in the next century saw a royal official reading the story to a large and attentive crowd.[37] Texts of the *Hikayat Iskandar* probably existed in many other places. The figure of Alexander was recalled in the folk tales of Sulu[38] (in the southern Philippines) and in Kedah,[39] and Alexander was also included in the genealogies of Bandjarmasin,[40] Melaka-Johor,[41] Siak[42] and Deli.[43] The *Hikayat Seri Rama* and the *Hikayat Iskandar*, however, were not the only tales found in widely scattered areas of the Malay world. Many Europeans remarked upon the popularity of the *Hang Tuah* romance,[44] for instance, and the poem *Ken Tambuhan* was known from Borneo to Sumatra.[45] In listening to tales such as these, to the stories and descriptions of Rama, Alexander, Hang Tuah and others, Malays from Borneo to Sumatra were sharing in a culture which extended beyond their villages and little kingdoms. Moreover, as we shall see, these romances and sagas shaped and expressed the way their listeners viewed the world.

"Historical" literature, which was, like the prose romances, often referred to as *hikayat* literature, provides a further reflection of an underlying cultural unity in the Malay regions. The *hikayat* genre will be discussed in some detail below. What must be emphasized for the present purpose is that "historical" texts do not display a view of the past which all Malays held in common; as noted above, there are no tales of a founding ancestor, or of the ancient migration of a Malay race. But these historical texts are often similar in language and style, and on occasion they borrow motifs from one another. The chronicles relating to such kingdoms as Pasai, Aceh, Kedah, Sukodana (West Borneo), and Kutai (East Borneo) all tell of princes or princesses emerging magically from bamboo, a feature also encountered in the Rama tales.[46] Alexander the Great, as we have seen, appears in the genealogies or histories of kingdoms in Borneo, the Peninsula, and Sumatra. Figures of a less mythical or remote nature also appear in a wide range of historical literature. The sultans of Melaka-Johor, for example, figure prominently in texts from Brunei[47] (North Borneo), and many of the Peninsular states.[48]

Legal documents, too, exhibit an underlying uniformity in the Malay lands. Copies of the Melaka code, the *Undang*[2] *Melaka*, have been collected from Riau, Pahang, Pontianak (West Borneo), and Brunei.[49] In addition, this code had an enormous influence on later legal texts. A 1784 digest from Kedah, for instance, includes twenty-three sections of the *Undang*[2] *Melaka*,[50] and Sir Richard Winstedt explains that another set of laws, claiming validity in Perak, Pahang, and the old Johor empire, revised and supplemented the original Melaka digest.[51] Finally, an early nineteenth-century writer, Newbold, notes that even the codes of Maguindanao were "not much unlike the Malayan".[52]

A nineteenth-century traveller from Europe would have been struck by other elements of congruence among the Malay societies he visited. He would find everywhere the accoutrements of Islam: "When a village or campong grows to any size", it was said of Perak, "the religious welfare of the place is provided for [and] a mosque is also formally built and instituted."[53] In Kuching, Sarawak, nineteenth-century Malays maintained schools conducted by religious teachers.[54] And in Deli, East Sumatra, "at each of the villages there [was] a place of worship."[55] So closely were the Malays identified with Islam that, at the end of the eighteenth century Marsden noted: "in common speech the Term MALAY, like that of Moor in the continent of India, was almost synonymous with Mohametan."[56]

Even in occupation there was some conformity. The accounts of nineteenth-century visitors to the region suggest that, in the manner of other lowland peoples of Southeast Asia, most of the population were *padi* (rice) planters or fishermen; their income was often supplemented by coconut growing or the collection of jungle produce. We sometimes read of Malay craftsmen, navigators, and traders,[57] but it was unusual for Malays, unless they were of the ruling class, to become wealthy merchants or owners of large properties.[58] Unlike the Chinese and Bataks who were sometimes their neighbours, they did not accumulate money.[59] Some observers, including Francis Light, the founder of Penang, divided the Malay lower orders into land and sea people,[60] but in both cases the style of economic existence was modest.

Europeans also found similarities in Malay settlement patterns. Hugh Clifford, visiting a rather densely populated region in Trengganu at the end of the nineteenth century, concluded that:

> in most states . . . the villages are scattered, and are usually separated from one another by long stretches of forest; and even in Trangganu this is the case so far as the country permits. The Malay prefers to have plenty of room.[61]

Similarly, Isabella Bird, who travelled through the Western Peninsular states in 1879, found that "the Malays never join house to house . . ."[62] At least, when compared with the intensive settlement found in such places as Central Java and Upper Burma, Malay residential patterns appeared loose and almost individualistic. Moreover, a restless, frontier spirit characterized Malay land tenure. Territories were not owned by villages, clans, or families. Rather, although the Raja of a state had an "absolute property in the soil", the proprietary right over land was created by the "clearing of land followed by continuous occupation".[63] The absence of a concept of permanent ownership is expressed in the fact that the literal meaning of the Malay phrase for "land sale" is simply "return of expenses".[64] Land was used rather than possessed. This tenure system cannot have promoted residential stability. And, indeed, migration was common in the Malay world. During the nineteenth century, for example, thousands left Siak for the Malay Peninsula, Riau and Borneo, as well as for other places in Sumatra.[65] Penang was populated by Malays from Kedah and the East Coast of Sumatra,[66] and Patani had a village of Pasai people:[67] as a result of the mid-nineteenth-century civil wars in Pahang large numbers of people moved from that state to Kelantan, Perak, and Selangor.[68]

To the foreign observer political conditions in the Malay world appeared as unsettled as the demographic situation. A picture of fragmentation and fluidity is vividly presented, for instance, in the work of Joseph Conrad, who travelled through the Malay regions in the 1880's, and in whose novels we are presented with Rajas who were once pirates and with endless conspiracies and tiny kingdoms that rose and fell.[69]

European administrators were particularly critical of Malay political conditions. Sir Frank Swettenham found in the Malay states "no political institutions",[70] and Hugh Clifford believed that the people possessed "no rights either of person or of property".[71] The individual, it seemed, had "no initiative whatever", and asked only "What is the Raja's order?"[72] To these observers, there was "no government, as we understand the word" in the Malay territories:[73] Malays lived under "absolute and cynical autocracies".[74]

Just as the Malay state lacked governmental or legal structures, so it differed from Western states in its geographical definition. Territorial borders were often unknown: a Sultan of Trengganu, for instance, admitted to an English enquirer in 1875 that it was not known "where the Trengganu boundary ran".[75] The actual location of the Malay state, in fact, appears to have been a matter of relatively little importance. Thus, the *Malay Annals* portray the loss of Melaka itself as an obstacle rather than a turning point in the history of the kingdom. The text's concern is with a line of rulers, and it gives little emphasis to the various shifts in their land base.[76]

Finally, as we have seen, the demographic character of the Malay state was subject to frequent and dramatic change. Migration was common, and European records also note that men easily shifted their allegiance from one Raja to another. "Pirates", living on the island of Redang, near Trengganu, for instance, were said to have moved there from the south and to "no longer hold allegiance to the Sultan of Johore".[77] And in 1816, the Sultan of Perak complained that "eighty percent of [his] people" had fled to another chief.[78]

Apparently without legal or governmental institutions and possessing neither clearly demarcated territories nor settled populations, the Malay polity, at least from the perspective of the outsider, appeared to be little more than the personal fief of the Raja: "all power" Clifford explained, "emanated" from the Raja.[79]

Here the European observer would have found support in the terminology which Malays themselves used to describe their political condition. The Malay word often translated loosely as 'government', 'state' or

'kingdom' was *kerajaan*. It is an important word in Malay political thinking and its definition will require further investigation. For the present it is sufficient to emphasize that *kerajaan* connotates little more than "being in the condition of having a Raja".[80] Malays, it would appear, considered themselves to be living not in so many states but under individual Rajas.

With its multitude of Rajas, shifting capitals, and migrating subjects, the Malay world undoubtedly presented to the European observer an image of turbulence. Yet this apparent instability, in particular the movement of migrants and regular travellers such as peddlars and professional storytellers, may well have encouraged a sense of Malay-ness. The arrival of Malays from distant parts of the region, like submission to an alien ruling house, would temper the parochialism of many a district. With newcomers would come new connections, including marriage relationships, with the wider Malay world. Association with Malays from different parts of the archipelago must also have promoted the standardization of language and custom, and thereby discouraged that refinement and separate development of provincial cultures which would have threatened the existence of a Malay world.

The development of a sense of Malay-ness was not a completely unconscious process. It was a phenomenon noted by Malays themselves as well as by foreign observers. The Malays, though they recognized no single overlord or common ancestor, were capable of expressing a vague sense of unity. Such notions were not, of course, often in the forefront of their minds.[81] Nevertheless, there appears to have existed an awareness of a cultural unity, a sense of belonging not only to a group such as the village or state, but also to a wider, Malay, community.

The origins of the word 'Malay' have been subject to considerable debate.[82] The records of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries appear to use the term primarily with reference to Melakan 'Malays'.[83] By the seventeenth century, however, 'Malay' was used very much in the modern sense. The Portuguese writer, Eredia, explains that "throughout all the continental territory of Ujontana [which he defined as covering the Malay Peninsula beneath Junk Ceylon] the Malay language is used, and the natives describe themselves as 'Malayos'."[84]

Similarly, the eighteenth-century Dutch writer, Valentijn, notes that the term "Melayu" was applied to people from such places as Pahang, Johor, Lingga, Patani, and Haru (an archaic name for much of North-eastern Sumatra).[85] And a Chinese document of the same period applies "Melayu" not only to Peninsular states such as Kelantan, Trengganu, and Pahang, but also to Brunei and Sukadana in Borneo and to parts of the Philippines.[86] "Melayu" was also used in indigenous literature. Thus, when the early seventeenth-century conquests of Aceh are described two hundred years later in an *hikayat* or history from Deli, the subjugated countries in Sumatra, the Peninsula, and Borneo are termed "Malay (*negeri*[2] *Melayu*).[87] Similarly, in a Pahang text it is frequently explained that the ceremony and behaviour in that state are in accordance with the "custom of Malay Rajas" (*adat Raja Melayu*).[88] Similarities in style of behaviour and in experience, therefore, were evidently numerous enough to enable Malays in settlements scattered over a region as large as the Indian subcontinent to apply to themselves the term "Melayu".

Notions of common identity, however, seldom inspired concerted action in practical affairs. The records of foreign observers, like those of the Malays themselves, suggest that Malays were frequently involved in internecine squabbles. But there are exceptions. An early nineteenth-century text from Siak, for example, tells of the days during the eighteenth century when the Buginese, from Celebes, were attempting to dominate the Johor empire. The intruders are portrayed as being justly opposed by the "Malay leaders", the *Raja*[2] *Melayu*.[89] Furthermore, when the Dutch seized the royal regalia of Riau-Lingga in the 1820's, a European visitor to the East Coast of Sumatra (an area which had no obvious political connection with Riau-Lingga) found that the Malays "everywhere I visited, appear to be much incensed".[90] A similar sympathy is suggested in an 1831 British report on the Malay success in recapturing Kedah from the Thai. "There never was a doubt", admits the writer, "that every Malay state on the Peninsula of Melaka and the East coast of Sumatra [is] more or less interested in the fate of the ex-King [of Kedah] and would always contribute to aid his restoration upon any certain prospects of success". But the official was amazed that the planned attack was kept a secret: "Not

a single individual among the many hundreds of the Malays living in British administered settlements . . . came forward to give intelligence".[91]

The foreign visitor to the mid-nineteenth-century Malay world encountered, therefore, a Malay people expressing some awareness of a cultural unity and sharing a language, a literature, and a style of life. They dominated a broad region. In the mid-nineteenth century the English writer, Crawfurd, believed they possessed "about one-half the area of Sumatra, including the whole of the eastern coast, a part of the western, and some of the most fruitful parts of the interior. . . ." In Borneo, Malays "occupied nearly the whole sea-coast, without penetrating far into the interior". Finally, "with the exception of a few wandering negritos, they form[ed] the entire population of the Malay Peninsula and its adjacent islands".[92]

Beyond the Malay sphere lay a variety of peoples whom the Malays considered vastly different from and inferior to themselves. The Malays traded and fought with such groups as the Bataks of Sumatra, the Dayaks of Borneo, and the aborigines in the jungles of the Peninsula. Malays not only despised but also feared these people. "The Jakuns [of the Peninsula]", explained the Reverend Favre in 1848, "hate the Malays", and the Malays "despise and fear extremely the Jakuns."[93] But the contrast between Malays and the communities beyond the frontier was one of culture. Thus, the Jakun aborigines of Johor barely differed in physical appearance from the Malays; it was "the air, manner, and expression [which] constituted the great distinction between them."[94] In this study it will be seen that numerous Malays possessed pagan cousins or even brothers. To "become Malay" often meant no more than to adopt, in its broadest sense, a culture, a distinct manner of behaviour and thought.[95]

Malay culture had deep roots in the past. We find, for instance, considerable continuity in literary tastes. The *Hikayat Iskandar* was probably current in fifteenth-century Melaka,[96] and we know from European accounts that it was popular three or four centuries later.[97] The *Hikayat Mohammed Hanafia* was read to the Malay army before the Portuguese attack on Melaka in 1511,[98] but was still well known in East Sumatra in 1823.[99] Finally, a version of the *Hikayat Seri Rama* which came into Archbishop Laud's

possession, and which must have been written before 1633, has much in common with the Rama tales recited and performed in modern times.[100] Language also experienced little alteration. A Chinese list of words used in fifteenth-century Melaka, a poem from fourteenth-century Pasai and even the inscriptions of seventh-century Sumatra, contain much that is familiar to the student of eighteenth- or nineteenth-century classical Malay.[101]

During the nineteenth century Malay culture was increasingly challenged by two developments: the arrival of the West and of fundamentalist Islam. The involvement of European powers in the Malay world had certain obvious results. Trade fell under the control of the British and Dutch entrepots of Melaka, Penang and Singapore, for instance, and Malay political ambitions had to be tempered by an awareness of the reality of European power. The real threat, however, was not economic or military, but cultural. Western ideas as well as those of a purified Islam were beginning to challenge the very bases upon which the Malay style of life depended. But in the early nineteenth-century these new forces were just appearing on the horizon, and only with the benefit of hindsight can we emphasize their existence in this period. Some aristocrats and deeply religious persons were certainly being influenced by the fresh ideas coming from the Middle East and from the expanding European settlements in the Straits of Melaka, but most Malays appear to have lived and thought in the same manner as their ancestors had done.

To assert the persistence of a culture is easier than to describe its character. It cannot be assumed that the Malay tradition was a mere amalgam of manners, artistic predilections, and occupational habits. Nor ought we to be misled by the picture of fragmentation and fluidity which European observers present when describing Malay political life. Those who visited the Malay world, as has been seen, also discovered there a distinctive style of life which justified the use of the term "Malay" to describe people from widely scattered regions. The very resilience of Malay tradition implies an inner coherence. And the ease with which peoples beyond the frontier might enter "Malaydom" suggests that some "form or logic" endowed this culture with intelligibility and, therefore, attractiveness, enabling it to be identified and assimilated.

This study investigates Malay political experience: it attempts to discover the way in which Malays made sense of their political activity. In examining the Malay experience I deal first with European writings. It is necessary, however, to look beyond the type of generalization regarding the Malay world discussed in this chapter. The following chapters focus on two historical developments which I believe throw light on the character of Malay political life. The European evidence for these developments is relatively rich, but the reader will discover why and how I became dissatisfied with this evidence.

II. COMMERCE AND POLITICS

Influenced perhaps by their own preoccupations in Southeast Asia, Europeans were quick to view Malay political motivation in economic terms. A good example of the manner in which Europeans perceived Malay politics is to be found in the European analysis of the situation in East Sumatra during the early 1800's.

In this period East Sumatra[1] was a fragmented, restless region. Unlike the East Coast of the Peninsula it was never termed "quiet and orderly":[2] it had more in common with the Western Peninsular state of Perak which English observers described as "torn by internal dissensions".[3] When John Anderson, an official from Penang, visited East Sumatra in the 1820's he remarked that only a few of the states there "had been settled for centuries"; others were "gradually retrograding"; and "there [were] others again, of recent foundation, where government and character [had] not arrived at that stability, consistency, and uniformity, which [were] found in the more anciently established kingdoms".[4]

At the time the Dutch established control in East Sumatra in the 1860's they, too, found numerous small kingdoms and principalities. None had a population of more than a few thousand, most of them had pretenders struggling for control of petty thrones, and all were continually squabbling over boundaries.[5] One young officer, J.A.M. Cats, Baron de Raet, explained that "powder, shot and rifles" were the commodities on which "dollars were squandered" in the region.[6]

A detailed history of East Sumatra during the nineteenth century is unnecessary for the present purpose. The fortunes of such states as Deli, Langkat, Serdang and Asahan make a complex tale.[7] Yet European

observers noted a pattern, a consistency of purpose, in the politics of the region.

The Europeans observed that East Sumatra was economically well-endowed. John Anderson, for instance, believed that the soil was "peculiarly rich"[8] and that the "whole country (abounded) with the most valuable productions of the east".[9] This view agrees with that of the modern geographer. The territory lying between the Batak highlands of North Sumatra and the coast not only had the advantage of bordering on the great commercial highway, the Straits of Melaka, but also contains "fertile transported soils".[10] In the early nineteenth century a wide range of products, some deriving from the coastal region, others from the interior, were exported from East Sumatra. They included gold, camphor, rattans, lignaloes, ivory, tobacco and pepper. Pepper was the principal commodity.[11] The quest for control over this export trade, and over the pepper trade in particular, was seen by European observers to underly political action in the region. In their opinion, the desire for monopoly was the cause of the myriad disputes which troubled East Sumatra. In the 1820's much of the warfare was attributed to the "excessive partiality for trade"[12] of the ruler of Deli, who was based in the area of modern Medan, and who traced his dynastic origins to the seventeenth century.[13] Anderson accused this ruler of instituting "projects of commercial monopoly".[14]

The commercial ambitions of the Deli ruler, whose name was Mangidar Alam, must have been encouraged by the political crisis which occurred in Aceh, the north Sumatran state which had played a prominent role in East Sumatra since the sixteenth century.[15] At a time of world pepper shortage,[16] a civil war in Aceh, an important exporter of pepper, created in Penang a demand for alternate supplies of that product.[17] Mangidar Alam responded creatively to this demand. He established friendly relations with the British government in Penang and promoted pepper growing in his territories.[18] If judged by the increase in Deli's pepper exports, his policy was successful: British records suggest that pepper exports may have increased more than ten-fold between 1815 and 1822.[19] However, Mangidar Alam sought not only traders from Penang but also British gunpowder and muskets to prevent what he termed "piracy" and "smuggling".[20]

In describing his enemies as smugglers and pirates, Mangidar Alam was attempting to play on the sensibilities of the Penang authorities. To obtain British assistance he gave the authorities a distorted view of the political situation in East Sumatra. It will be seen that "piracy" did not possess the same moral overtones for Malays as it did for Europeans, but, even in European terms, many of those who exported pepper from the region of Deli without the Sultan's pass were not acting illegally. Mangidar Alam claimed, for instance, that his neighbours, Bulu Cina and Langkat, were under Deli's authority;[21] in fact, as John Anderson showed, Langkat did "not admit of any interference on the part of the Sultan of Delli",[22] and Bulu Cina, although it acknowledged his sovereignty, was a disobedient vassal.[23]

Mangidar Alam, therefore, was establishing rather than defending a trading empire. Driven by what Anderson described as a "spirit of avarice",[24] the Sultan was not protecting "legitimate trade" against pirates or smugglers but attempting to monopolize the trade in his region.

It was not unusual for an East Sumatran ruler to display an "excessive partiality for trade": many of the rulers were described as "great traders",[25] and when the Dutch intervened in the region during the 1860's, the senior Dutch official, Elisa Netscher, having described the enormous amount of dissension and warfare there, explained that each chief was fighting in order to enrich himself.[26] But Mangidar Alam and, later, his son, Osman (who succeeded to the throne in 1826), were particularly successful "traders".[27] And their monopolising of the local pepper trade, so the European records indicate, led to the expansion of the little Deli empire in East Sumatra.[28] There is a suggestion in these records that trade was not only the object of Malay political activity: the kingdom was, in the final analysis, a commercial venture.

The perspectives and policies of the rulers of Deli will be examined in greater detail below. What must be emphasized now is that passion for commerce is a theme running through much of the European literature on Malay politics. The Portuguese writer Tome Pires noted that the rulers of fifteenth-century Melaka, Pahang, Kampar, and Indragiri all "employed money in [trading] junks".[29] These kings, like those of earlier times, also received

an income from the duties and port charges paid by traders in their countries.[30] Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European records are sprinkled with the information that Rajas all over the Malay world engaged in commerce. In the second half of the eighteenth century, for instance, a Kedah ruler equipped his own ships for trade to India and Sumatra,[31] while a Trengganu Sultan sent trading vessels to Cambodia, Siam, Cochin-China, and China.[32] Sultan Mahmud, the last ruler of the old Johor empire, who died in 1812, was reputed to possess "talent in mercantile pursuits,"[33] and in the early decades of the nineteenth century it was reported that the Trengganu Sultan and his officials had formed "a sort of commercial company" and "monopolize[d] the whole of [Trengganu's] foreign trade."[34] Finally, a British official from Sarawak with great experience of the Malay regions, Hugh Low, noted that "passion for trade" was a principle "so rooted in their natures, that the [Malay] kings and princes have been found, in all periods of their history, to be the greatest merchants in their states."[35] The East Sumatran rulers, therefore, would seem to be not alone among Malay rajas in displaying a strong commercial spirit.

Nor was Deli an isolated example of a state that was portrayed as little more than a commercial venture. Temenggong Ibrahim, a junior official of the old Johor empire, who established himself at Singapore during the early decades of the nineteenth century, created an empire based on the boom in *getah percha* or wild trade rubber. This product's medical uses had only been discovered in 1843, and within five years Ibrahim declared the *getah* a government monopoly and secured for himself the greatest share of the profit. By offering a fair price, he induced Malays to abandon other pursuits in order to search for the product. He also ordered parties of men to hunt for it, and stationed boats in the Singapore harbour to prevent the *getah* being "smuggled". Ibrahim became a man of considerable wealth, and together with his son, Abu Bakar, established a new Johor Sultanate in the *getah* producing, southern part of the Peninsula.[36]

Malay political behaviour undoubtedly involved what the Europeans saw as economic activity. But it should not be supposed that the quest for commerce provides the key to understanding Malay political activity. In the discussion above, the Rajas' actions have been interpreted

from an "outsider's" perspective. The bases of political action cannot be analysed without examining sources which embody Malay perspectives. Indigenous correspondence and literature throw a different light on the perspectives of the rulers whom the Europeans thought they understood.

At first impression Malay attitudes to commerce are inconsistent. In Deli and elsewhere, for instance, European writers described rajas as seeking or instituting monopolies. Anderson believed that the Deli ruler's "excessive partiality for trade, and desire to monopolize the whole" had been the cause of the frequent wars in that part of East Sumatra. The brother of an eighteenth-century Sultan of Johor was also described as having "engrossed all trade in his own hands, buying and selling at his own prices."[37] Indeed, one nineteenth-century European writer, J.R. Logan, went so far as to refer to monopoly as "the usual Malay policy."[38]

In Deli, however (it will be argued below), although the Sultan may have sought exclusive personal rights over trade, he also encouraged private merchants to come to his port. Furthermore, in general, indigenous evidence does not suggest that in the Malay world monopoly had become a tradition. Malay writings refer to Rajas involved in commerce; but, as Sir Stamford Raffles (a pioneer of Malay legal studies) reported, there is in the "undang undang of the Malays, or in the fragments of their history", "no trace" of monopoly.[39] The implementation of a monopoly appears rather to have been a response to special circumstances than a Malay political practice. Perhaps the best example of the way Malay rulers improvised their trade monopolies is found in a letter written by the Raja of Kelantan in 1865. In answer to a British complaint, he explains that he decided to institute a monopoly on the trade in cotton yarn that year in order to "gain some profit for our livelihood in our country." If the measure does not succeed, the ruler adds, he will not continue the monopoly.[40] He presents monopoly, therefore, as a matter of expediency and not custom.

The approach of Malay rulers to economic matters appears capricious in another sense. They made only a vague distinction between trade and piracy.

Europeans frequently accused seemingly respectable Malay men of authority of engaging in freebooting. Thus,

the Penang authorities decided that the usually friendly ruler of Langkat was guilty of "plunder,"[41] and a Naval Lieutenant noted the irony of the fact that "the chief pirate" in the region around Singapore was the Temenggong, who was "paid 300 dollars per month" as a pension by the East India Company.[42] In fact, "every chief," according to Francis Light, who wrote in the 1790's, was "desirous of procuring many desperate followers to bring him in plunder and execute his revengeful purposes."[43]

The accusations made by Europeans were well-founded. The evidence that apparently worthy Malay rulers were involved in what European observers regarded as piracy is convincing. Men captured and accused of piracy by the British near Trengganu, for example, claimed to have been "sent hither by the King of Sulu to plunder on his account."[44] Similarly, in the early part of the nineteenth century British officials found a letter which proved that Sultan Hussain of Johor was involved in what they described as piractical pursuits.[45] Evidently Rajas expected to obtain a part of the spoils. Even as early as the first decades of the sixteenth century Tome Pires reported that when the officials and people of Aru went "robbing at sea" they shared the booty with their Raja, and the latter paid for a part of the armada.[46] In a similar vein, during the 1830's, the chiefs of Pahang and Kelantan "demanded presents for allowing [pirates] shelter and granting [them] supplies."[47] On the other hand, Rajas who claimed authority in, but who did not actually govern a country, were sometimes directly involved in piracy. A mid-nineteenth-century claimant to the throne of Pahang, for instance, amassed wealth before launching an attack on that state "by raiding for many months the hill tribes folk of the main range . . . and selling their children into slavery to the miners of Selangor."[48]

The surprise expressed by foreign observers at this tendency of Malay rulers to engage in plunder is not reflected in the writings of Malays themselves. Malays took a less censorious view of these activities. Thus, the *Siak Chronicle*, which tells of the struggles and aspirations of the dynasty which was driven from Siak at the end of the eighteenth century, displays no moral repugnance in its description of a Raja who looted boats bringing gold and silver from Manila to Dutch Melaka.[49] The word translated as "looted" is *merampas* which can also mean "confiscate", or to take "by law".[50] Another

example of the Malay attitude to piracy is to be found in the *Hikayat Pahang*, a late nineteenth-century account of Wan Ahmad, who established the Pahang Sultanate. The gambling and pillaging carried on in order to provide the "hero" with funds is described by the text with approbation.[51] The clear distinction between "legitimate trade" and piracy, to which European officials and merchants attached importance, was apparently not recognized by Malay rulers: *merampas*, as we have seen, had no moral connotations.

Moreover, Malays moved from trade to "piracy" with apparent ease. Anderson admitted that the people of the East Coast of Sumatra had once been "addicted to piracy," but when new opportunities arose they became "entirely addicted to commercial pursuits."[52] Such changes in life style had long been a feature of the area. The rulers of the great East Sumatran state of Aru, for instance, appear to have shifted their attention from trade to "plunder" in the early fifteenth century.[53] The Temenggong of Johor, who was described as the "chief pirate" in the Singapore region, turned rapidly to "legitimate trade" when the opportunity offered itself in the 1840's. After the Temenggong had been "put on the trail" of the valuable *getah percha*, an old resident of the Straits Settlements, W.H. Read, remembered that "piracy" soon "disappeared".[54]

Rajas were not concerned to distinguish between commerce and "piracy" because, as we shall see, trade was not their object. The concern of Malay rulers, as reflected in Malay writings, was not with commerce but with wealth. The way in which wealth was obtained, be it by force, "legitimate trade", monopoly, or even gambling or magic, was a relatively unimportant matter.

Is, then, the quest for wealth, regardless of its source, a sufficient explanation of Malay political actions? Such an interpretation overlooks apparent contradictions in the Malay attitude to the accumulation of wealth. It does not explain, for instance, the different ways in which the Malay ruler responded to men of different backgrounds who sought to accumulate riches in his state.

A prominent feature of Malay lands is the absence of Malay private merchants of substance. Even in the great

fifteenth-century port of Melaka the trade was principally in the hands of Indians and Arabs.[55] Similarly, Mandelslo noted that in Patani during the 1630's "Only the Chinese and Mestizes betake themselves to any trade."[56] It will be seen that the Malays fared little better in the nineteenth century: "the Malay," a British writer noted in 1865, "never rises to be more than a hawker."[57] But early nineteenth-century East Sumatra was, for a short time, an exception. Malay merchants enjoyed a brief period of prominence there. In 1823, British officials noted that the pepper trade to Penang was "entirely brought . . . by the Native Traders in their own Boats."[58] But by the mid-nineteenth century the commerce, at least in Deli and Asahan, was largely in the hands of Chinese merchants. The changing character of those who handled the trade can be detected even in the 1820's. While, in the early 1820's, Anderson noted that the produce was transported only in prahus there are indications of an increasing number of foreign schooners visiting Deli between 1823 and 1829.[59] By the 1860's a Penang newspaper described the Deli trade in general as being handled by the small schooners of the Chinese.[60] The increasing involvement of Chinese in the trade may be attributed in part to the increased immigration of Chinese to Southeast Asia after the Opium War of 1842.[61] Yet it need not be assumed that Malays were unable to compete in commerce. On the contrary, they had established a reputation in many non-Malay countries as able traders. The commerce of the flourishing port of early seventeenth-century Makassar, for instance, was "mainly in the hands of Malay merchants from Johor, Patani and other places on the Malay peninsula."[62] Similarly, in the mid-nineteenth century, Malays appear to have constituted a substantial proportion of the merchant community in Cambodia.[63] But these Malays were trading in foreign ports. Their absence in Malay states was due, at least in part, to the attitude of the Malay rajas.

In Deli, for instance, it was foreign rather than local traders who were encouraged by the ruler. Mangidar Alam told the British Governor in 1823 of his anxiety that "merchants flock in large numbers" to his country,[64] and correspondence of later years suggests that this continued to be the Sultan's policy.[65] It is also clear that, at least by the mid-1820's, Malay merchants were less welcome than those of other ethnic groups. The British authorities received many complaints that Sultan Osman and his

militarily powerful ally, Syed Akil,[66] had plundered traders at the Deli port. A few of the complaints appear to have been submitted by merchants from Penang's Chinese community, but the majority were from Malays.[67] Perhaps the most dramatic case of a Malay trader affected by the Deli Sultan's policy was that of Shahbandar Ahmad. In 1823, Anderson found him to be a "shrewd clever merchant" who had "visited Batavia and all the principal settlements to the Eastward."[68] He owned a "great many proas" and carried on a "more extensive trade in pepper from Delli, than any other person."[69] Shahbandar Ahmad's family resided in Batu Bara,[70] to the south of Deli; but his letters to Penang indicate that he was a Deli official, having been appointed by Sultan Mangidar Alam in about 1817.[71] He had even been sent as the latter's agent to Penang to improve commerce,[72] and Anderson noted that as Shahbandar he managed "everything relating to commerce" in Deli, and was involved in the collection of duties on imports and exports.[73] Ahmad's fortunes waned under Sultan Osman. The new ruler declared that his Shahbandar, who had "till my time taken charge of all my property," was "deviating from his duty."[74] Ahmad was dismissed from his post, and by 1828 was complaining to the British authorities that the new Sultan and Syed Akil were "plundering" his prahus.[75]

The specific circumstances of Shahbandar Ahmad's fall from favour are not clear, but his fate was a common one. Wealthy Malay traders were frequently victimized by rajas. The most famous example is found in the *Sejarah Melayu*. A fifteenth-century Bendahara, Tun Mutahir, who was "always engaging in business and never once . . . came to grief in any of his enterprises," was falsely accused of a crime and sentenced to death by the Sultan. After his execution, the text explains, "all the property that [the Bendahara] left was taken to the palace."[76] Not only merchants, however, incurred the wrath of rajas. Any wealthy Malay was in danger. A nineteenth-century Singapore newspaper remarked that if Malays "cultivate a lot of ground, as soon as it becomes productive it is sure to be claimed by some retainer of the native chiefs."[77] The "poverty of Pahang" during the 1830's is likewise attributed by Munshi Abdullah, who lived in the Straits Settlements and was much influenced by Western ideas, to the fact that it was "useless to be energetic when it is certain that any profits will be grabbed by those higher up."[78]

The opportunities in the European-governed territories contrasted vividly with opportunities in their own states. A Malay with experience of both Malay and British trading settlements praised the latter to the colonial official, Thomas Braddell: in Malay territories, he explained, "if a gold miner finds a bit of gold larger than 2 moyans, it is a Royalty, and, as such, is seized by the Rajah. If a hunter shoots an elephant, it is a Royalty, and, as such, seized. If a cultivator has a very fine buffalo, or a game cock, or anything worth taking, the Rajah steps in and seizes it."[79] Similarly, George Earl, in his *Eastern Seas*, observed that in Malay states the "lower classes" had no wish to acquire anything beyond "the means necessary for their subsistence." But in the British settlements, "finding that they are not burthened with the support of a dissolute and luxurious nobility, and that they would themselves enjoy the fruits of their labour," Malays acquired "habits of industry, which, though not equal to those of the other native settlers [sufficed] to show that they are not incapable of improvement." Earl concluded that the "dissolute mode of life for which the Malays [were] famed" was in fact the "result of circumstances under which they are placed."[80] As Munshi Abdullah observed, their rajas contributed substantially to these circumstances.

Although the lack of wealthy Malays, particularly of wealthy traders, in the Malay states appears to have been a consequence of his policy, there is no indication that the Malay raja was motivated by simple avarice. Rajas did not seek riches to the detriment of all but themselves. The Deli Sultans followed other archipelago rulers in encouraging non-Malay merchants to visit their port.[81] In Malay literature the presence of numerous foreign merchants is conventionally seen as a desirable feature in a state.[82] The attitude of rajas to the Malay community also reveals no single-minded desire for financial gain. No evidence exists to suggest, for instance, that Malay rulers generally wished to reduce their own people to a condition of abject poverty. On the contrary, Sultan Osman of Deli praised his father for making Deli a place where people had "cheap and good clothing" and "constant employment."[83] Rajas often expressed the desire to "protect their subjects"[84] and to make certain they were able to seek a living (*menchari makan*).[85] The ruler was certainly expected to be aware of the sufferings of his people: Malay authors portrayed the good ruler as one who

does not fine his subjects heavily. The Malay ruler was expected to promote a situation in which his people will be happy (*bersuka*[2]).[86]

Malay leaders, therefore, not only welcomed foreign traders to their ports but evidently wished to possess contented subjects. If the rajas, however, were not generally rapacious, we have seen that they undoubtedly feared the presence in their states of rich men of their own ethnic group. To understand the reasons for their anxiety it is necessary to look more closely at Malay attitudes to wealth.

An indication of Malay attitudes is to be found in classical Malay literature, a literature which, as we shall see, was associated particularly (but not exclusively) with the royal courts. The classical texts (often called *hikayat*) seldom touch on the economic activity of rajas; where rulers are described as "seeking riches", however, they are normally depicted as having a particular problem in mind. Malays, it is suggested, did not seek wealth as an object in itself. The *Hikayat Pahang*, for instance, describes the Pahang ruler's involvement in trade when he is about to undertake a "state visit" to Johor:

> the Raja prepared for his journey, together with his retinue, to Johor. He had written to the Ruler of Johor. Then Haji Muhammed Nor was commanded (by the Raja) to go upstream (in Pahang) to trade in Ulu Jelai, Lipis, and Tembeling. He took nine large prows carrying all kinds of goods, including opium, tobacco and coin. With these goods he bought gold.[87]

The Raja, this statement suggests, did not trouble with commercial activity unless confronted by a need for funds.

Nothing expresses better the Malay view regarding the acquisition and disposal of wealth than the fact that the word most frequently used in respect of economic activity was *belanja* ("outlay" or "expenditure"). Thus, when the protagonist of the Pahang *hikayat* is in the midst of preparing an invasion, the text tells us that he lacks *belanja*.[88] Prows are sent in search of plunder and the hero gambles on cock fights. "With the help of God," it is explained, "he increases his *belanja*."[89] Similarly, in the *Siak Chronicle*, an eighteenth-century Siak Raja,

who is resident in Trengganu, seizes a boat bringing tin from Palembang. The Raja writes to the Sultan of Palembang, explaining that he is now in debt to the latter, and that he has taken the vessel "because he lacked *belanja*."[90] *Belanja*, as has been noted, suggests "outlay" or "expenditure," but William Marsden's dictionary of the early nineteenth century provides what is perhaps the clearest definition: "money for current expenses."[91] The rajas mentioned in the Pahang and Siak texts quoted above, therefore, were not attempting to increase their wealth; rather they needed money and tin to finance the projects in which they were engaged.

Belanja is not the only word which is used in Malay literature in relation to economic activity. Classical Malay possesses words for "profit", "revenue" and "capital" but these are notions of a limited and specific type.[92] No less an authority than the Malay scholar, Za'ba, noted in 1941 that the language included no expression equivalent to "financial" or "economic".[93] Malays, it would seem, were unable to classify an exercise as purely financial in nature. The *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, the tale of a hero of Melaka days, which appears to have been written in the sixteenth century, is explicit on this point. The text tells how the rich Indian merchant, Parmadewan, hears that God has placed a Raja from Heaven in the Malay region. As his own land has no ruler, the merchant thinks: "It is best that I expend (*berbelanjakan*) my property to bring a Raja to this land, because my property is very extensive, and the property of this world can have no use."[94] The merchant's judgement, as portrayed in the Malay text, implies that, while a concept of property existed, property had no value in itself. In this case, it was valued only in so far as it could achieve what we might call a political end.

The *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, therefore, presents wealth in a political context. Such a view of wealth is frequently encountered in Malay thinking. Even the word usually translated as "rich", *"kaya"*, suggests "power" as well as "property."[95] In certain regions *kaya* has a very obvious political flavour, for territorial chiefs are sometimes called *orang kaya*, or "men who are *kaya*."[96] But the tendency to see rich men as powerful men was general among Malay people. A king of sixteenth-century Aru, for instance, explained that the success of his enemy, the ruler of Aceh, was due to the "great store of gold which

he possesseth."[97] Likewise, the raja of mid-nineteenth century Pahang, when complaining to the British authorities about the rise to power of a once junior official of the Johor empire, the Temenggong Ibrahim, asserted that "now [the Temenggong] has become rich and got money, he does what he thinks proper . . . [and he] calls himself Rajah."[98] The way in which wealth was seen to lead to political power is perhaps best expressed in a passage in the *Siak Chronicle*: "A ship", we are told, "was captured and 500,000 dollars and other goods taken from it. Then the Prince (who had been responsible for obtaining the booty) became Raja in Siantan."[99] The writer of the Chronicle saw no need to elaborate on the process by which the prince acquired Siantan. His new-found riches were a sufficient explanation for his new status.

Occasionally the historian catches glimpses of how these assumptions about wealth and power affected Malay behaviour. Thus, in the early part of the century, a man named Lebai Saris came south from Patani to Kemaman, a district in the state of Trengganu. He established a settlement in Kemaman, where his authority was based "solely on his influence and wealth." Lebai Saris's son, so the Malay report on the settlement relates:

> gave himself airs as though he were a Sultan. At the padi season he used to build a great pavilion of State in which he used to sit, from whence he would visit the various padi plantings carried on a litter by some of the men who owed allegiance to him. He paid no attention to any instructions from the Sultan of Trengganu.[100]

Another example of a man whose riches led him to desire political status comes from Pahang. Hugh Clifford tells the story of a Pahang trader, Mat Rasad, who acquired considerable wealth. Though a "man of no birth or breeding", he soon gathered around him "all manner of low riff-raff" and called them his "followers." Those in the state who were "of the Blood royal" were soon "irked by his airs and his graces, by his ostentations and his arrogance" and planned for him a violent death.[101] In the Trengganu and Pahang stories economic success led quickly to political aspirations. Lebai Saris's son and Mat Rasad both obtained followers and acted in a regal manner. It is as though the possession of wealth was

instinctively conceptualized in political terms. In fact, this is precisely the observation made by John Anderson at the conclusion of his 1823 journey to East Sumatra. He noted that while Chinese and Bataks had "frugal habits", and a "desire of collecting money . . . the moment a Malay [became] possessed of a little money, he entertain[ed] as many attendants as he [could]."[102]

Malays, it would seem, sought wealth not for its own sake but as a means for gaining political influence in the form of a sizeable personal following. This quest for subjects on the part of Malay rajas is frequently displayed in the records. One Malay text, for example, describes a nineteenth-century ruler of Pahang encouraging European companies to mine in his country in order to "increase the population (*meramaikan*) as well as the revenue" of the place.[103] Rajas, however, were as concerned to prevent the loss of subjects as to gain new ones. Thus, when a late nineteenth-century Deli sovereign was told that certain of his people refused to answer his summonses, a European official remarked on his resulting embarrassment (*malu*).[104] (We shall see that *malu* is a word of considerable significance for Malays.) Allegiance was also terminated by death and it is probably because the Raja hoped to avoid a loss of subjects in battle that fatalities in Malay warfare were rare: the death of twenty men, according to one observer, was considered a "great slaughter".[105]

The possession of large numbers of subjects reflected well on a Raja. In Malay literature, a great ruler was one to whom many people owed allegiance. In the *Sejarah Melayu*, when the Sultan of Melaka wanted to impress the Chinese Emperor he sent him a ship full of sago. The Emperor was told that the Malay ruler had ordered each of his subjects to roll out a grain of sago until there were enough grains to fill a ship: "That will indicate", explained the Melaka envoy, "how many are the subjects of our Raja." "This Raja of Melaka", the Chinese ruler is made to reply, "must be great indeed."[106] In his observations on East Sumatra Anderson noted the same phenomenon: a Malay, he learnt, was "accounted rich or respectable according to the number of his followers".[107]

The tendency of Rajas to oppress rich men of their own ethnic group is now more intelligible. When the Sultan of Deli "plunders" the Shahbandar Ahmad, or the Sultan of

Melaka kills his wealthy Bendahara and confiscates the latter's property, these monarchs were not motivated by a lust for wealth, in the sense of possessing wealth for its own sake. Malays conceptualized riches in political terms. Rich Malays became powerful Malays and the Raja therefore sought not only to enhance his own fortune but to prevent the accumulation of wealth on the part of his Malay subjects. In the restless Malay world, where land was plentiful and migration was common, Rajas would be constantly on their guard against potential competitors for the allegiance of their subjects. Just as Lebai Saris's son began to establish a kingdom in a region claimed by the Sultan of Trengganu, so Anderson found Mangidar Alam of Deli fighting a chief who had established himself only a few miles from the port and who had begun to collect the paper levies and followers. Even in the 1860's, according to a Dutch report, the Deli Sultan was threatened by a man "trying to acquire power by means of wealth."[108]

We have seen that Malay Rajas were motivated not by avarice but by a desire to acquire and retain subjects, and it is clear that wealth was one condition for gaining supporters. Two further and related questions have now to be considered: were subjects drawn to their ruler primarily in the expectation of material rewards? And for what reasons were subjects important to a Raja? The next chapter begins to discuss the first of these questions. In doing so, it analyses an event, the Pahang civil war, which was of considerable importance in the nineteenth-century Malay world. The struggle in Pahang not only attracted the interest of European (and Thai) observers but provoked a Malay author to disclose certain expectations regarding leadership and the advantages of allegiance.

III. ALLEGIANCE: THE PAHANG WAR

To some European observers the relationship between Malay rulers and their subjects appeared to be based essentially on the accumulation and distribution of wealth. Malays, as Anderson commented, used their wealth to "entertain as many attendants" as they could. Men gathered around wealthy leaders who evidently distributed goods to their people. An examination of the role played by material considerations in promoting Malay obedience, however, requires further exploration of the Malay perspective. It is not enough to assemble a list of possible motives that would have encouraged obedience. A Malay explication of the subject is necessary. The wars in mid-nineteenth century Pahang inspired such an explanation at a time when the issue of allegiance was critically important.

Pahang[1] was larger in area than the combined territories of all the pepper states on Sumatra's east coast. Moreover, European observers of the mid-nineteenth century considered Pahang to be, at least by Malay standards, a single political unit. In one sense it was, like Deli, a new state; but it had a far longer history than the latter. Pahang appears as an important toponym in Arab and Chinese sources,[2] and the Pahang rulers and people play a significant role in the Malay account of the fifteenth century, the *Sejarah Melayu*. But in the seventeenth century Pahang was incorporated into the great Johor empire, and it receives little attention in the records until the early 1800's. By that time a Johor official, the Bendahara,[3] had made the territory drained by the Pahang river and its tributaries his special province. So closely did the region become identified with the Bendahara that, in 1839, a British observer, Lieutenant Newbold, remarked that although "nominally feudatory to [the Old Johor

Sultanate]," Pahang was "virtually under a chief termed the Bendahara."[4] By the 1880's the Bendaharas had assumed the title "Sultan," and, by so doing, formally announced the re-emergence of an independent Pahang. What Newbold and others saw as de facto independence in the early 1800's was probably due, in part, to the decline of the Johor Sultanate; as we shall see, the old Empire experienced both internal division and external aggression. The independence of Pahang, however, would also have been promoted by the long and relatively successful governorship of Bendahara Ali, who ruled from 1806 to 1857.

Although European writers, with some justification, regarded mid-nineteenth-century Pahang as a single state, it was not a tidy political entity. It was only loosely defined by the mighty river which carried the name of the state and wound its way from the mountainous interior to the coast. The capital was the seaport, Pekan, yet the majority of the people and the gold, which had given the state fame for centuries,[5] were situated in the interior districts, some weeks' journey from the coast.[6] Thus, when Munshi Abdullah visited Pahang in 1838, he was told that Jelai, many days up the Pahang river, was "the place for trade and contained thousands of people."[7] The 1891 census, taken after the introduction of British rule, demonstrates that well over two-thirds of the Malay population lived in the inland area of Ulu Pahang (which included Jelai) and Temerloh.[8] The chief of Jelai, the Maharaja Perba, or the "To Raja," was the most powerful magnate in the country. He was described by Hugh Clifford, one of the last Europeans to see Pahang before it was brought under British control, as "the great upcountry chief [who] ruled most of the interior of Pahang."[9] The Bendahara, and later, Sultan, of late nineteenth-century Pahang acknowledged the Maharaja Perba's position in the affairs of the state and referred to him as being "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. . ."[10] The size of the Jelai ruler's following demonstrated his importance, for it rivalled that of the Bendahara himself.[11] Pahang possessed three other chiefs: the *Orang Kaya* (which we have seen meant literally "great man" or "wealthy man") of Temerloh, the *Orang Kaya* of Chenor, and the *Orang Kaya Shahbandar*.

None of these magnates was as powerful as the Maharaja Perba Jelai, and only the Shahbandar was based on the coast. Chenor was in the centre of the state, Temerloh in the West.

Not only was the interior wealthy and populous, but the chiefs there had no compelling geographic or economic reason for looking toward the coastal capital. Communication and trade routes had connected the inland region of Pahang with the Western states of the peninsula for many centuries.[12] Not surprisingly, therefore, the Bendahara's control over the interior districts was neither uniform nor continuous. Even in the 1880's, Clifford noticed how loosely supervised were areas such as Tembeling in the north.[13] Jelai, in the 1830's, had been mistaken by the traveller, Howard Malcolm, for a separate state;[14] and, in the middle of the century, its chief, who was addressed by the semi-royal title, "Engku,"[15] appears to have attempted to make himself independent of the Bendaharas.[16] Even in an area as far downstream as Temerloh, we have record of a village which came under central control only in 1800, when a man of Sumatran descent obtained a title from the court.[17] Finally, in the mid-nineteenth century a valley in the Northwest of Pahang was held by Rawa people, who paid heed neither to the Bendahara nor to the territorial chief in that area.[18]

Pahang thus possessed some of the chaotic, restless character of East Sumatra. Consequently, it is dangerous to talk of a "history of Pahang" and to assume that all those living in that part of the Peninsula believed that they belonged to one polity. Some ambitious men, such as the Jelai chief, may even have hoped to create new states in territories drained by the Pahang river. The fissiparous situation found in East Sumatra, it seems, might have developed in any Malay region. Yet it need not be assumed that the early decades of the nineteenth century constituted a particularly unstable period in Pahang. From 1806 to 1857, as has been noted, there was only one Bandahara, Ali, and both Malay and British sources suggest that during his reign the state enjoyed a considerable measure of prosperity and peace. In 1839, Newbold described Pahang as "the best regulated and wealthiest of the Malayan states on the peninsula";[19] by 1847 it was still said to be "tolerably flourishing".[20] But the relative tranquility did not last long, for a

civil war followed Bendahara Ali's death in 1857. Ali had played little part in the administration of the state during the last years of his life: in 1845 he was described as "old and unwell,"[21] and a report from the early 1850's suggests that his eldest son, Mutahir, had begun to take control.[22] But in 1854 the British records mention another of Ali's sons, Ahmad, whom one official described as "a most reckless and desperate character."[23] When Ali died three years later, this son challenged Mutahir for the control of Pahang.[24] The struggle between these two brothers lay at the heart of the civil war.

A detailed account of the course of the war is unnecessary. Linehan's *A History of Pahang*[25] contains a lengthy description of the period, based primarily on the principal Malay source, the *Hikayat Pahang*, a text which will be examined in some detail later in the chapter. Trouble began at the funeral of Bendahara Ali. Ahmad and Mutahir attended with bands of armed followers and, when their father had been buried, Ahmad travelled to Singapore where he prepared for the coming struggle.[26] Mutahir appears initially to have had the support of the Pahang chiefs, and he assumed the title Bendahara. Both brothers sought aid from other parts of the Malay world: Ahmad met with the politically feeble Sultan Ali,[27] who claimed to be heir to the ancient Johor-Riau empire, and with the Sultan of Trengganu. Mutahir was supported by the wealthy Temenggong Ibrahim, who, though only the third ranking official of the old Johor empire, was gradually seizing control of the southern part of the peninsula from the Johor royal family, and who was assisted in this venture by his British allies in Singapore.

The first battle took place late in 1857. While Mutahir's three sons were attending the marriage of the eldest, Koris, in Singapore, Ahmad attacked Pahang from the south of Trengganu. The invading force consisted of Trengganu as well as Pahang men, and it met with some success in the coastal regions. The Temenggong of Johor found it difficult to aid his ally, for the British authorities in Singapore strongly opposed the intervention of any outsiders in the affair. But, for reasons that are not stated in the *Hikayat Pahang*, the major chiefs of Pahang still supported Mutahir, and after some months of fighting Ahmad and his followers withdrew to Trengganu.

Mutahir and his party were jubilant. Yet the peace was short lived. Ahmad attacked again in 1858, this time in the northern Tembeling area of Pahang. In the same year, Sultan Mahmud Muzaffar Shah visited Pahang and married his sister to Aman, Mutahir's son.[28] Like Sultan Ali, he claimed to be the rightful sovereign of the old Johor empire; and he had been ruler of Lingga, an island to the south of the Malay Peninsula, until the Dutch deposed him in 1857. Mahmud did not stay long in Pahang. It was rumoured that the Jelai chief had instigated a plot in the interior to make Mahmud Raja of the state, and Mutahir therefore encouraged the latter to leave. Soon after Mahmud's departure, there were reports of a second conspiracy developing in the Jelai region. The *Hikayat Pahang* denies that the Jelai chief intended to rebel against Mutahir, but the rumours led to fighting and to the death of the Jelai chief's son. Also, when the troubles had been suppressed, one of Mutahir's sons punished the people of the interior by levying heavy fines. At this point, it appears, the powerful Maharaja Perba of Jelai joined Ahmad's camp.

Meanwhile, Mutahir and the Temenggong of Johor strengthened their alliance. In 1858, the latter's son, Abu Bakar, spent some time in Pahang and married one of Mutahir's daughters. Three years later, Mutahir transferred the southern part of Pahang, below the Endau river, to his ally in return for a pledge of military assistance. A treaty was arranged, and it was sanctioned by the British authorities, who now looked more favourably on the Temenggong's interference in Pahang.[29]

In March 1861, Ahmad once more attacked Pahang from Trengganu. This time he was accompanied by the Maharaja Perba of Jelai, whose son had been killed by Mutahir's people. Ahmad's forces again experienced some success in the coastal region, and the Malay text declares he was especially popular in the northern district of Kuantan.[30] Yet, after a few months, the invaders were forced to return again to Trengganu. Possibly because of British pressure, for the Singapore governor was still trying to prevent other Malay rulers from helping Ahmad, the Sultan of Trengganu was now less friendly. Ahmad therefore went to Kelantan.

During this period, the British tried to mediate in the dispute. The governor persuaded Mutahir to offer some compensation to Ahmad. But Ahmad could not be contacted, and nothing came of the scheme. In August, 1861, fresh disturbances broke out in the interior of Pahang. The Sumatran Rawas,[31] who lived in the Raub district to the west of the state, joined with the Jelai people, who had suffered at the hands of Mutahir's sons and followers. Up to this time, the majority of Pahang's territorial chiefs were apparently still loyal to Mutahir. But now the Jelai people asked their chief to return home from Kelantan, where he had been staying with Ahmad. After swearing an oath of loyalty to the latter, the Maharaja Perba and a band of warriors travelled across the Kelantan border into the interior of Pahang. Mutahir's camp was in a state of alarm. Three of the leading chiefs, including the *Orang Kaya* of Temerloh and the Shahbandar, told Mutahir that his bad fortune was due to his sons, Koris, Aman and Da, who had been in control of the war: "if your sons are allowed to continue," the chiefs explained, "there will never be peace."[32] But the loyalty of these advisers was, in any case, weakening. They were soon negotiating with the Maharaja Perba, and the latter sent messengers to Ahmad in Kelantan inviting him to return to Pahang. About this time another powerful figure in the Northwest of the State, the Lipis chief, also joined Ahmad's camp.

The tide of the war was turning. After acquiring funds in Kelantan, Ahmad went to Trengganu where the Sultan provided him with both money and arms. Accompanied by a large following, Ahmad now began his last and victorious expedition across the Trengganu border, down the Tembeling river into Pahang. In the meantime, his allies were suffering at the hands of the Singapore Governor. The Trengganu Sultan's capital was shelled when he refused to surrender Mahmud, the ex-Sultan of Lingga, who had become a supporter of Ahmad's cause.[33] But Ahmad's main opposition still came from Johor. The new Temenggong, Abu Bakar, provided Mutahir with military supplies and men (some six hundred according to the *Hikayat Pahang*),[34] warned chiefs and rulers in districts bordering on Pahang not to assist Ahmad, and offered a reward of five hundred Straits Dollars for the latter's head. Yet, as Ahmad's forces rolled down the Pahang river toward the coast, it was clear that the Temenggong's people were almost alone in fighting for Mutahir. Even

the latter's long-time adviser, Haji Hassan, had joined the other side, and it would appear that the *Orang Kaya* of Chenor had also deserted. In May 1863 both Mutahir and his son Koris became ill and died. Mutahir's second son, Aman, attempted to succeed as Bendahara. But the war was almost over, and, despite the determined efforts of the Temenggong, Ahmad's Pahang enemies fled; they escaped, relates the *hikayat*, "in prows numbering more than a thousand, some big, some small, some headed East, some headed West, and bearing all kinds of sails."[35] After watching their departure, Ahmad summoned his chiefs and assumed the government of the state.

This is the account of the war as found in Linehan. It is essentially the picture presented in the *Hikayat Pahang*. Because Linehan's description of the period is so detailed it is particularly useful to the general reader. Yet it contains little analysis. Certainly, the change of loyalty on behalf of the Jelai chief was seen by Linehan as a turning point in Ahmad's fortunes,[36] and, in view of what we know of the importance of the Jelai district in Pahang, this is a reasonable assessment. But Linehan does not attempt a systematic examination of Ahmad's success in the war. It is true that both Malay and British sources themselves do not readily yield an explanation. Much of the evidence suggests that Mutahir's camp ought to have won. At the outset, at least, all the great chiefs of Pahang supported him. Also, his allies in the wider Malay world appear to have been more powerful than Ahmad's. The Temenggong of Johor, in particular, should have been the most attractive ally. He was rich and, having obtained both British trust and support, had begun to create his own empire in the southern portion of the peninsula bordering on Pahang.[37] Although the sources suggest that Ahmad respected British might and was aware of the Temenggong's growing stature,[38] he turned for assistance to the old Johor royal family, Sultan Ali of Johor and Sultan Mahmud of Lingga, and to the states lying to the north of Pahang.

In choosing Ali and Mahmud as allies, Ahmad was alienating the Temenggong. Both Sultans possessed, and were suspected of asserting, some claim to Johor, and consequently they threatened the Temenggong's control of the southern part of the peninsula.[39] Moreover, Ali and Mahmud could offer little in the way of military assistance. Neither possessed a state of his own. Ali,

like his father, "was never recognized by the Malay states as Sultan of Johor and enjoyed neither revenue nor political sway in that country."[40] Mahmud had lost his kingdom. He had been Sultan of Lingga, the centre of that part of the old Johor empire which during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had gradually passed under Dutch protection;[41] but in 1857 his protectors had deposed him.[42] Also, Mahmud's involvement in Pahang would certainly inspire British opposition for, by the terms of the 1824 Anglo-Dutch treaty, a Lingga prince was forbidden to interfere in the affairs of the peninsula, which fell within the British sphere of influence.[43] In any case Linehan, probably on the basis of his reading of the *Hikayat Pahang*, explains that Mahmud could exercise little influence over Pahang affairs; although Pahang had once been a part of the Johor-Lingga empire, only a "fiction of suzerainty" remained in the nineteenth century.[44] Mahmud, it would seem, could contribute neither military power nor prestige to Ahmad's cause. In seeking his help, and that of Sultan Ali, Ahmad would appear to have attached himself to "falling stars," to a royal family which, over the last half century, had lost all real power.

The Sultans of Trengganu and Kelantan were more promising allies. As in the case of the Temenggong and Mutahir, their states might be used as sanctuaries from which Ahmad could make forays into Pahang. Yet, without the kind of close relationship with the British which the Temenggong possessed, neither Sultan was able to provide Ahmad with active support. Their involvement in the disputes of an area geographically close to Singapore, and important in the trade of the colony,[45] would inevitably arouse British opposition.

At first glance, therefore, Ahmad's success is curious. It did not, however, inspire the Singapore government to make extensive enquiries and, as a consequence, Linehan had little official material to draw upon for an explanation.[46] Moreover, Linehan did not seek an interpretation of the affair in the *Hikayat Pahang*. Yet the *hikayat*, in its own way, provides an interpretation. And in doing so, it reveals certain Malay expectations regarding the qualities sought in a successful leader.

The account of the Pahang Civil War comprises approximately a third of the *Hikayat Pahang*, some seventy typed pages. The author of this work is unknown, but it was probably written in the early years of this century.[47] Most of the text deals with the victor of the Pahang war, Ahmad. The tale begins with a short genealogy, which includes only Bendahara Koris (who ruled in the early 1800's), Bendahara Ali (who died in 1857)[48] and the latter's children, including Mutahir and Ahmad. The text then describes an elaborate visit made by Ali to the Sultan of Lingga in order to participate in the promotion to Sultan of the latter's son.[49] Ahmad's birth and the prophecy that he would one day rule are then recorded. The conflict between Ali's sons is described, and the civil war following his death is dealt with in detail. Many of the participants are mentioned, and the various episodes reported: the invasions, the ex-Sultan of Lingga's visit, the revolt of the Jelai people, Ahmad's residence in Kelantan and Trengganu, and so forth. Following the war, we read of visits to Pahang by both Sultan Ali of Johor and ex-Sultan Mahmud of Lingga; of Ahmad's different wives; the quarrels and later reconciliation with Johor; the invasion of Mutahir's son, Aman; Ahmad's journey through Pahang; celebrations to honour such events as the ear boring of Ahmad's daughter; the involvement of Pahang forces in the Selangor wars; Ahmad's promotion from Bendahara to Sultan of Pahang; the negotiations and the signing of a treaty with the Singapore Governor; the arrival of a British Resident; an uprising centred in the interior; and, finally, the bestowal on Sultan Ahmad of a "star" (the *K.C.M.G.*) by King Edward VII.

The *Hikayat Pahang* thus contains a great deal of information about people and events, both in and outside Pahang. Indeed, a Pahang Malay living in 1900 could probably find what he would consider all the principal episodes of the previous century accounted for in the text. Events are presented in chronological order, but the text is not a history of a type familiar today.[50] (Sir Richard Winstedt acknowledged that it was only with the publication of his own *Tawarikh Melayu* in 1921 that the eyes of the average Malay were opened to "the meaning of history as distinct from legend".)[51]

The author of the *Hikayat Pahang* is not attempting to convey the character of a different era, nor are episodes

presented as linked, causal, elements in an unfolding or developing story. It would be inaccurate, however, to conclude that the *Hikayat* is simply a "catch-all" of anecdotes and genealogical data. It has a certain coherence. The most obvious element of unity in the text is Ahmad. All of the narrative is in some way related to him, and the text concludes with a summary of his career.[52] This is not to say that the *Hikayat* has much in common with a modern biography: it tells us nothing of the psychological or intellectual development of its subject.

The *Hikayat Pahang* is a "story", as the word "hikayat" implies. But *hikayats* were not stories written simply for light entertainment. The term "hikayat" is itself sometimes used in Malay literature to imply more than "narrative, story or tale".[53] In a passage from the *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, for instance, the "hero" of the tale, while travelling in the Middle East, is questioned about the government of the Rajas "below the wind" (an expression which referred to the Malay archipelago). The answer given by Hang Tuah is described as an *hikayat*. Evidently the term implied something more than a simple narration; the *hikayat*, it would seem, was also concerned to present an explication or exposition of a matter.[54]

That *hikayats* were something more than light entertainment is suggested also by the passionate interest taken in them by Malays. In Chapter I we saw how those who listened to *hikayats* "slid off their mats" and drew close to the reader "with swaying heads". Even today the visitor to Malay regions can occasionally see enraptured audiences surrounding an old man telling tales of Hang Tuah or of the fortunes of some ruling house.[55] Although these texts appear to have aroused the interest of all Malays, they were the special concern of the ruling elite. After listing all the Malay texts which he found available in the early eighteenth century, the Dutch scholar, Valentijn, explained that "the Mohammedan Princes and their priests [were] almost the unique possessors of these works and it is the greatest difficulty in the world to get possession of one."[56] Rulers also had their own storytellers, *Penglipor Lara*,[57] who read aloud Malay tales to the populace,[58] and we shall see that some texts were included among the articles of royal regalia.[59]

One manuscript in the hands of a Perak noble was particularly valued; W.E. Maxwell remarked that it was "a well thumbed genealogy of the kings of that State" and was treated "as a treasure, for it [was] wrapped up in an embroidered napkin and an outer wrapper of yellow cloth."[60]

That *hikayats* were valued highly by Malays and that they might have a serious intent seem probable. Crawfurd's accusation that such texts as the *Malay Annals* are "worthless" and a "wild tissue of fable"[61] is difficult to defend. What the intent of the text was, however, remains problematic. Some writers have emphasized their magical function;[62] one author believes a famous text prescribes a "mythologically based, a truly sacral code of political conduct";[63] another *hikayat* is thought to "provide a focus for the identity" of a particular community of Malays;[64] and, finally, a Dutch scholar, J.J. Ras, has argued that the "primary function" of Malay chronicles "was to prove the right to the throne of the person who was to occupy it, or who occupied it, by virtue of his descent from [a] primeval couple."[65] We shall return to the purpose of *hikayats* in the next chapter. For the present it is sufficient to note that a text need not possess only one aim. In the way that a modern novel may explore a philosophical concept, evoke an historical period, and tell an exciting story, so a Malay *hikayat* may perform a number of functions. Only one aspect of the *Hikayat Pahang* will be dealt with at this point: its concern with Ahmad's assumption of the Bendaharaship.

My impression is that the Pahang text is concerned to prove Ahmad's right to rule, but that it does not do so primarily in genealogical terms. As noted above, Ahmad is described as coming from the ancient Bendahara family, which can be traced back to the old Johor and Melaka empires. Not surprisingly, this aspect of Ahmad receives little emphasis: his main rivals were his brothers and nephews, and all of them enjoyed similar genealogical advantages.

The *Hikayat Pahang* justifies Ahmad's claim to the throne not on the ground of his descent but in terms of the qualities required in a leader. The argument is nowhere stated explicitly; but, if the text is viewed as a whole, the interpretation and justification, for the two are combined, are obvious.

The first few pages of the *Hikayat* introduce Ahmad's father, Bendahara Ali. The author clearly approves of him. In Ali's time Pahang was peaceful, populous and prosperous;[66] at one point, the *Hikayat* ascribes this flourishing condition to the just (*adil*) government of Raja Bendahara Ali, at another to the "just and generous (*murah*) raja."[67] "*Adil*" suggests "justice" or "propriety". Wilkinson's dictionary explains that it is originally an Arabic word, and, in that language, it implies the impartial or strict application of the law.[68] There is certainly the inference in the *Hikayat Pahang* that *adil* involves a knowledge of customary and legal rules. After declaring that Ali's orders (*perentah*) were *adil*, for instance, the writer mentions that every day Ali discussed and studied Islamic and traditional law with his chiefs and religious officials.[69] "*Murah*" suggests "liberal", "merciful", "generous" and "bounteous".[70] It appears to be related to *adil*; the two words are often found together,[71] though *adil* occasionally stands alone in a context where one might usually expect to find them in conjunction. In the *Hikayat Pahang*, *adil* is used to describe the generosity of Raja Ahmad when, in time of famine, he gives rice to his people as repayment for the loyalty they have shown him.[72] *Murah* (liberality), it appears, may be an integral aspect of "justice".

In Malay literature, the qualities *adil* and *murah* are often associated with successful rulers of flourishing states. Thus, Sultan Mahmud of Melaka, the *Malay Annals* relate, was extremely just (*adil*), and Melaka became great with strangers flocking there.[73] Another text describes Sultan Mudhaffar Shah of Patani as having ruled with propriety (*adil*) and generosity (*murah*), while the "land of Patani increased in peace and prosperity and foreign traders came and went in great numbers."[74] Good government, it would seem, was *adil* government, government distinguished by justice or propriety. As yet, however, we know nothing about the type of man who could become a good governor.

In the early pages of the text a great deal more is disclosed concerning Ali. He is not, of course, described in a modern manner; no personality or character is elaborated. Rather, as in most traditional Malay literature, qualities are attributed to him. They are not so much individual traits as powers; and are

presented in a formalistic or stylized manner. What we term adjectives are listed after the individual's name rather as articles of dress might be draped in layers over the body. The text focuses most directly on Ali when he travels to Lingga to attend the installation of the Sultan's son. It is explained that Ali's behaviour could be compared with that of no one else; his speech was charming (*elok*)[75] and graceful (*manis*), soft and gentle (*lemah lembut*); and his words were "beyond description"; everyone in Lingga was "amazed to hear his speech disseminating both Islamic and customary law, and doing so in a manner which was both melodious and able to be understood."[76]

A few pages later the same sort of qualities are listed again. This time, however, they follow the name of Ali's son, Ahmad, the central figure of the *Hikayat*. After noting Ahmad's birth, the great predictions made for him, and the fact that he has grown up, the text declares: "great was his goodness, his behaviour towards his serfs and slaves was charming"; he is also described as being "clever at nurturing people and capturing the hearts (*mengambil hati*) of attendants - every day his following became more numerous."[77] Ahmad is seen displaying these qualities on many occasions. When fighting Mutahir, after their father's death, Ahmad visits Trengganu where his "charming behaviour", "refined (*halus*) and graceful (*manis*) speech" and "soft and gentle disposition" win him both love (*kaseh sayang*) and support.[78] Later, Ahmad's relations with his followers are again described: he is "clever at capturing their hearts and speaking sweetly to all his serfs and slaves, and as a result, all those who worked for him would die for him without the slightest hesitation."[79] In a following episode his utterances and countenance are said to be refined and graceful.[80]

When Ahmad embarks on his last and victorious march into Pahang, with gongs and clarinets playing, he is again reported as speaking "softly and gently", with a "sweet face". In these final stages of the civil war, when the chiefs and people of Pahang appear to be flocking to Ahmad's side, the writer of the *Hikayat* discloses that he has never met a Raja of Pahang like Ahmad:

> brave and enterprising, skillful, clever in conducting war and capturing the hearts of all the officers, making speeches which are charming, of a refined

> disposition, soft and gentle toward all his people - however cowardly a person is, he will fight, and a brave man will never be satisfied, and will never tire of working day and night in order to serve (*bakti*) (this Raja).[81]

Having presented this eulogy, the *hikayat* describes Ahmad's victory.

Shortly we learn that, as in Ali's time, Pahang is peaceful, populous, and prosperous. The population increases and varieties of foods available are detailed. The flourishing condition of the state is then attributed to the just (*adil*) and generous (*murah*) government of the new Bendahara.[82] The text's implicit interpretation of Ahmad's victory is becoming evident.

The *Hikayat*, of course, does not analyse events in the manner of much present day historical writing. The outcome of the war is not explained as the product of a number of contributing factors or in terms of an underlying process. Such a style of explication is not in the nature of Malay literature. Indeed, according to linguists, formal causal linking is uncommon in the structure of the Malay language. In the words of Professor C. Skinner, Malay is "paratactic" rather than "syntactic":[83] ideas are linked by juxtaposition rather than by conjunctions, and therefore words such as "because" and "as a result of" are unnecessary. Consequently, the way in which a text such as the *Hikayat Pahang* juxtaposes descriptions of states and rulers deserves particular attention. Significantly, Pahang flourished under Ahmad as it had in the time of his father, and the government of both father and son is praised in similar fashion as "*adil*" or "*murah*". More important, however, Ahmad is portrayed in the same terms as his father. The qualities *manis, elok, halus,* and *lemah lembut* are attributed to them both. "*Manis*"[84] suggests "delicate", "graceful", "sweet" and "soft"; "*halus*", "refined" or "delicate"; "*elok*", "charming", "handsome", "beautiful" or "excellent"; and "*lemah lembut*", "delicate", "gentle", "soft" or "tender". These terms appear to constitute a cluster of ideas; together they convey the notions of "gracefulness" and "gentleness". Moreover, the context in which they appear in eulogistic paragraphs suggests their particular efficacy in the gaining and retaining of followers. We have seen how, as a young man, Ahmad behaved charmingly toward his serfs and slaves, was clever at nurturing people and capturing their hearts, and, as a result, it would seem, his following increased. Later, it is noted that men will work day and night to serve the graceful and gentle Ahmad, and that these qualities win him love and support in Trengganu.

In accounting for Ahmad's victory, therefore, the *Hikayat Pahang* always associates his popularity with his gracefulness and gentleness. These are the same qualities that the author attributes to Ahmad's father, whose reign is so roundly praised in the early part of the text. The implication is that a graceful and "gentle" man will make a fine ruler, one who will rule with justice or propriety (*adil*) and whose kingdom will flourish; that the people of Pahang knew this and consequently supported Ahmad; and finally, that they were not disappointed in the result.

Ahmad's success, however, is not viewed solely in terms of his own positive qualities. The *Hikayat* also presents his victory as a rejection of his opponents, who fail primarily because they demonstrate a lack of the gentleness and charm which Ahmad clearly possesses. Mutahir's sons, for instance, are at one point described as "*sombong*", a word meaning "extreme arrogance" or "self-assertiveness".[85] And, after a non-Malay, Bugis, warrior performs a war dance for Koris (Mutahir's son), this prince is so impressed that he jeers at his Pahang forces. He calls them women and suggests they leave the real fighting to the Bugis mercenaries. A Pahang official, who was a supporter of Koris, notes that a Raja who behaves in a manner such as this will be "repaid in kind".[86] Similarly, the text explains that after a victory in the interior, Ahmad's enemies became *sombong* and acted according to *hawa nafsu*, cruelly punishing the people by levying heavy fines.[87] "*Hawa nafsu*" is best translated as "sensual desire" or "animal lust", and in other Malay texts such as the *Sejarah Melayu*, rulers are warned not to yield to it.[88] *Hawa nafsu* and *sombong* are antonyms for the types of behaviour exhibited by Ahmad. The gentleness and refinement of the latter stands in dramatic contrast to the arrogant, self-centred and lustful behaviour of his enemies, who spoke and acted so harshly toward the people. It is not surprising to find that when one of Mutahir's sons is retreating down the river from Ahmad's forces, the *Hikayat Pahang* describes the common folk screaming after him: "You Raja *Dzalim*!"[89] "*Dzalim*" suggests

"cruel" and "tyrannical". Like *adil* it is a word of Arabic origin, but in meaning it is almost the exact opposite of *adil*.[90]

Portrayal of Ahmad's success in terms of the victory of graceful manners over selfish arrogance is not immediately convincing to the modern reader. Yet the *Hikayat Pahang*'s account of the victory finds support in other sources. The *Hikayat* is not alone, for instance, in emphasizing Ahmad's popularity: a Siamese report noted that the population of Pahang preferred Ahmad to his brother,[91] and one of Mutahir's own advisers admitted to the Singapore governor that Ahmad "was liked by the people because he was kind to them."[92] Ahmad himself declared, in a letter to the British which may be perceptive as well as immodest: "Is it possible for me to live in Pahang for one moment without the support of the majority of my people?"[93]

Not only do we possess confirmation of Ahmad's appeal among the people of Pahang, but accounts other than the *Hikayat Pahang* attribute to him a "sugary" manner. Englishmen who knew Malays well praised what they termed his "softness of voice"[94] and "refined manners".[95] Moreover, it is clear that these were qualities highly valued by Malays. When, for instance, a Kelantan prince praised the Raja of Sorburi (in southern Thailand) in 1839, he described him as possessing a manner which was "soft and gentle".[96] Likewise, when a late eighteenth-century Trengganu ruler attempted to pay tribute to Francis Light, the English founder of Penang, the ruler portrayed him as "soft mannered" in his relationships with other Rajas and chiefs.[97] Even today, some Malays remember that the attributes most required in their old rulers were softness, gentleness and gracefulness (*lemah lembut* and *manis*).[98]

Ahmad's popularity, we may conclude, was promoted by his graceful and gentle behaviour. But was "sweetness" the only commodity he offered his followers? To return to the question posed at the opening of this chapter, how important was the expectation of material reward in attracting Malays to Ahmad's rule? The *Hikayat* mentions that Ahmad gave presents of clothing to those who joined him, and that he served them food and sweetmeats. And once he had won the struggle, Ahmad is often depicted as bestowing raiment and refreshments upon his chiefs and officials.[99] But although the wealthy man must have been

better able to display generosity, material gain is unlikely to have been an important ingredient in the relationship between Ahmad and his followers. First, gift giving was not a one-way process. Ahmad appears to have received presents, often of great value, as frequently as he gave them. When he travels through Pahang, for instance, the *Hikayat* states that he is "presented with buffalos and all sorts of gifts because", seeing him, "the people are immensely happy, and their hearts open".[100] Secondly, despite the fact that the clothing and refreshments presented by the Raja must sometimes have involved considerable expense, they do not seem to be valued for their economic worth. Rather, their value appears to derive from the fact that they are distributed both with due ceremony and according to rank (*dengan taraf*).

I shall return again to royal gift-giving. What must be noted now is that the ceremonial character of the ruler's munificence as presented in the *Hikayat Pahang* is in keeping with other activities of the Pahang ruler. The text conveys the impression that his tasks were in general concerned with ceremony and custom. At one level he was frequently engaged in celebrations. Eleven pages of the text, for instance, are devoted to describing the earboring ceremony of one of Ahmad's daughters, which, we are told, lasted eleven months. Many additional pages deal with weddings and other life cycle events in which the Raja was involved. The seriousness with which these events are presented is indicated by the word used to describe the Raja's participation in them. He is not considered to be celebrating or to be enjoying himself. Rather the term employed is *bekerja*, the usual Malay word for "work" or "to be engaged in work".[101]

These ceremonies, of course, were formalistic in nature. Thus, a royal marriage is described in the *Hikayat* as "correct" or "well-ordered" (*tertib*).[102] The dependents of the Shahbandar are said to be the only ones able to carry food into a particular function, because if any other chief performed the task it would be an infringement of the customs (*adat*) and formal rules (*peratoran*);[103] and when people are seated at a feast it is always "according to rank" (*dengan taraf*).[104]

Propriety and custom, however, are not restricted to ceremonial occasions. What we might consider to be the "practical" aspects of a Raja's work also possessed a

formalistic tone. This is most evident in the case of royal audiences. Those described in the Pahang text are not remarkable primarily for the "practical" business transacted. When Ahmad has won the civil war, for instance, a palace is built and "everyone" sits in the audience hall:

> all the chiefs and ministers and captains wait upon the Rajah every day according to rank; [when] the Raja attends the audience hall the arrangements are excellent, and the ceremonial "fixed" in the style of great Rajas; at every audience there is feasting and all kinds of delicious food . . . and the Raja declares that he wishes to bestow titles (*nama*) . . . on many of these present.[105]

According to the *Hikayat Pahang*, therefore, Ahmad's subjects receive nothing from him other than refreshments and raiments presented ceremonially, titles and the experience of a perfectly arranged audience. Even on the rare occasions when the ruler makes what we would recognize as a political or policy decision, there is an aura of convention. Hence, it is considered "not proper" (*patut*) to kill Ahmad's enemy, Engku Aman (a son of Mutahir), because he is the grandson of Bendahara Ali.[106] Similarly, when Ahmad gives rice to his starving subjects, the act is described as "bounty" conferred upon the people as a result of their devoted service (*bakti*).[107] There is no question of political necessity (for instance, the prevention of food riots) or of the state's possessing certain welfare functions. The act is viewed in conventional terms. It will be seen in a later chapter that royal bounty regularly follows devoted service.

In war, too, the Raja's role seems ceremonial rather than practical. When Ahmad is involved in the Pahang fighting, less attention is given to his tactical skills than to describing in detail his battle dress. Here is the way the *Hikayat* portrays his involvement in one episode:

> Ahmad is no longer patient, listening to the reports of his chiefs. Despite their efforts to restrain him, he enters the fray, accompanied by soldiers, some to the front of him, some to the left and right of him, and some behind him. Ahmad wears the costume of a warrior captain. He is awe-inspiring: he wears short tight Bugis trousers, a sleeveless jacket, a decorated fez, and a sword. He carries a gun, which has the name, "the brass one".[108] This weapon is endowed with great luck, and whenever it is fired, a cloud of smoke bellows forth. When the enemy sees Ahmad's face on the barge, the firing becomes more intense: all sorts of cannon balls are fired, including some of chains. But the Raja Ahmad heeds none of this. . . .

The *hikayat* proceeds to relate that "the hearts of all are expanded with joy when the Raja watches the work of his people", and the enemy is "amazed".[109] Evidently, little else could be expected from a Raja than the experience of his presence.

The *Hikayat Pahang* is not the only Malay document which attributes to the Malay ruler a largely formal role. Monarchs are presented in similar terms in much of Malay literature. On the first page of the *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, for instance, there is a description of what seems to be considered a perfect kingdom, that of the heavenly king, Raja Sang Perba Dewa:

> whenever the ruler leaves [his Istana] he is attended by all the Rajas and the ministers and the religious people, some holding unsheathed swords are on the left and right of the King, and some heralds follow him holding swords bound with gems, studded with jewels of various sorts. Then whenever the King gives orders to all his Rajas and ministers, the ruler looks to the right [and] all the Rajas and ministers who are on the right, all of them, make obeisance; then the heralds on the right convey the order of the ruler. Whenever the ruler looks to the left, all the Rajas and all the ministers who are on the left, all of them, make obeisance; then the heralds on the left convey the order of the Raja.[110]

This is all we learn about the kingdom (*kerajaan*) of Sang Perba Dewa. Describing only the Raja's court, the placement of courtiers and the conduct of an audience, it is, by modern standards, an unsatisfactory exposition. Yet a similar description of government is found in a very different type of Malay text. Early in the nineteenth century, when a Malay wrote a "history" in order that "men may not be ignorant of Bengal and of the manners and

customs of the great Rajah [the British Governor] of Bengal", the picture, though it survives only in an English translation,[111] is a familiar one. After informing us of the enormous size of Bengal, the proportions of the fort and of the "great hall" in the "palace of the white Rajah", the author describes the governor's arrival in court:

> . . . as soon as the Rajah seated himself, the mentries [ministers] and high officers of state arranged themselves according to rank. On that side of the hall which was to the left of the Rajah, and within the pillars, all the wives and family of the Rajah were arranged in row one by one. . . . It is the custom of this great country that the wives of the Rajah always sit on the left side of the throne.

After describing the beauty of these women, the writer continues:

> . . . an aged bintara[112] stood up and addressed the Rajah. . . . When this bintara had finished his speech, he looked round to all. Two sida-sida [courtiers], who were youths, went each into dark wood cases that had been placed in front of the Rajah, and then began to address and reply to each other. Four times, as the youths became fatigued, they were relieved by others. . . . After the Rajah had amused himself with their speaking, and was tired of it, everybody stood up, and he gave to each who had spoken, titles, and to those who had not, he gave papers, and small packets tied with red string, for red is the English colour.

The writer assumes that these papers contained much writing "for the youths to learn against the next time the Rajah might call them together."[113]

This account, though it claims to describe Bengal, provides little more than a description of the "Rajah's" audience. We learn where individuals are situated in the court procedures; the raja is portrayed as issuing titles, and, perhaps, in the fashion of Bendahara Ali in Lingga when he "disseminated both Islamic and customary law", he instructs his courtiers, giving them "papers to learn". Like the example from the *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, this Malay description of Bengal suggests that a raja's

work was expected to be concerned largely with ceremony and convention.

The same impression is conveyed by the reports of outside observers. The Malay writer Munshi Abdullah, who, as we shall see, was much influenced by Western ideas regarding the proper functions of government, complained about the Malay ruler's obsession with "matters of etiquette, in behaviour and dress, and in style of houses and boats."[114] (A glance at a Malay legal digest confirms that sumptuary laws were given extraordinary prominence in Malay law.)[115] And a Dutch observer remarked in 1853 that the Sultan of Lingga, like most Malay rulers, was preoccupied with "outward pomp" and an "appearance of greatness"; he went on to note that the Sultan seldom concerned himself with "the real issues in his kingdom."[116]

Yet according not only to indigenous but also to European commentators "real issues" were not the business of a Raja. Hugh Clifford, for instance, noted with surprise that the Raja's participation in seemingly festive occasions was dignified by the term "work",[117] and numerous Western writers found that even such important events as audiences were notable primarily for their formal arrangements and ceremonial character. The importance attached to order (*tertib*) and rank (*taraf*) in the *Hikayat Pahang*'s description of events involving the raja is equally evident in the account of a visitor to mid-nineteenth century Kelantan, who observed that "at their meetings the natives of the higher rank sit near the chief, the next grade on a lower step and so on, decreasing until the common people sit on the ground."[118] Similarly, in a newspaper report of a Trengganu audience held in 1875, it is recorded that there was "no bustling or pushing . . . everybody seems to be contented with the position he may have taken up."[119] When Europeans had dealings with Malay courts they complained of this apparent obsession with formalities. Dr Barbara Andaya has observed that even "an incorrectly placed seal on a letter was regarded as a studied insult."[120] When a Dutch Governor made such a mistake in regard to Perak in 1765, the Dutch resident in that state reported that he had "work enough to dissipate all the suspicion and "imagined evil" that the mistake had caused.[121]

Finally, foreign accounts also remarked on the importance of gift giving by the Raja; but, like the *Hikayat Pahang* itself, they suggest that gifts were

not valued for their material worth. Indeed, these accounts place an equal or greater emphasis on the gifts received, rather than bestowed, by the Raja. Clifford's description of a twelve-month celebration relating to the marriage of Ahmad's daughter in 1884 is an excellent example. The ruler provided food and entertainments, but he received so much from his chiefs that Clifford believed that the ceremonial functions of the court must have been the "great revenue producing periods of the King's reign."[122]

The account of the Rajas presented by foreign observers, therefore, agrees in important respects with that found in Malay literature. The ruler was expected to be concerned with what we would normally consider formal rather than practical or "real" matters. In a society where the Raja's work is largely ceremonial, a good or just (*adil*) Raja would appear to be one who carried out his ceremonial functions appropriately. Men, who, like Ahmad's enemies, were impetuous or acted according to the "lusts of the flesh" rather than the requirements of convention, would be unsuited to such work. "Refined" and "graceful" individuals would know and obey laws and rules. Not unexpectedly, therefore, the *Hikayat Pahang*'s description of Bendahara Ali's charming behaviour is followed by the comment that everyone was amazed to hear him "dissiminating religious and customary law" in his melodious voice."[123] (The two characteristics are linked paratactically.[124]) Nor is it surprising that, when Ahmad, whose refined behaviour and speech have been so often praised early in the text, becomes Raja his first act is to "fix" (*menetapkan*) all the *adat* in the state and hold an elaborate and excellently (*elok*) arranged audience.[125] But nowhere is the connection between graceful manners, the knowledge of custom and the ability to carry out a ruler's duties more strongly suggested than in the last pages of the *Hikayat*, where the daughter of Sultan Abu Bakar of Johor is said to possess just those qualities required of a Sultan. After noting her refined and graceful manner, the author tells us of her ability in arranging feasts and other ceremonies, activities which require a thorough knowledge of custom.[126]

The ruler's duties, then, were concerned with etiquette, and he was expected to exemplify the highest norm of the Malay culture; ideally he was the most

cultured of men. Refined manners, therefore, were a requirement for a just and good ruler as they imply a knowledge of customary arrangements; that is, Malays were attracted to a leader whose manner and voice were graceful and refined; such a figure would become a good or just (*adil*) ruler. Those who encountered Ahmad in the days of the civil war, so the *Hikayat* implies, would see in him an example of the virtues which made a worthy Raja and, therefore, would be motivated to offer him allegiance.

Yet assuming that the people of Pahang believed Ahmad's refined manners indicated his suitability for the position of ruler, a task primarily concerned with ceremony, it must be asked how effective a role this largely ceremonial figure could play in his realm. Did the preoccupation with formal aspects of government expressed in Malay literature, and observed at Malay courts, reflect or disguise the real basis of Malay political behaviour?

The most important modern analysis of indigenous Malay political systems, the Functionalist study of J.M. Gullick which is discussed briefly above, suggests there was a disjunction between the formal and practical aspects of government. The Sultan "enjoyed a position of great dignity but not in most cases of power."[127] The "major public occasions of his reign" were his installation and his funeral;[128] the ruler was the "apex of the political system", the "symbol of its unity" and the "titular source of rank and authority . . ."[129] "Real power", on the other hand, was divided among district chiefs who, like the Maharaja Perba of Jelai in Pahang, ruled over river-based territories.[130] (Beneath the chief was the headman who was in charge of a village and was "the bridge and channel of communication between his group of villagers and the district chief."[131]) The chief was responsible for such "hard facts" of government as "local administration, justice, defence, revenue collection and general leadership."[132] He, not the Raja, Gullick concludes, was the "key institution in the political system."[133]

The larger question of whether the chief or the Sultan was the "key institution" in Malay political life will be discussed below. What must be investigated now is did the ceremonial Raja stand majestically but ineffectually above the political processes in Malay society or was he in fact able to inspire political action.

We know from European writings that Malays anxiously sought at least one of the ceremonial benefits which he offered: a mid-nineteenth century visitor to Pahang, the Reverend Favre, noted the Malay passion for titles (*nama gelar*)[134] and, some decades later, R.J. Wilkinson bemoaned the fact that Malay chiefs were "never content with the reality of power . . . they imperil it for the sake of empty titles."[135] European sources present, however, other and more convincing evidence of the role played by the Raja in Malay political life. Again, the evidence comes from the Pahang civil war. I will suggest that the *Hikayat Pahang* soft pedalled one aspect of the war for reasons that, far from discrediting the text, help to answer the question as to whether the Raja was a real political force. Although it is not admitted in the *Hikayat Pahang*, evidence in British and Thai records suggests that a man who possessed little military or other "real" power, and whose relationship to Pahang has been described as at best a formal one, had a decisive impact on the war. This figure, the Sultan of Lingga, could not be expected to compete with Ahmad in the Pahang text. His role, and the reasons for disguising it, throw light on the position and "power" of the Malay ruler.

Malays, in conclusion, were not attracted to their rulers on the basis of material rewards. They saw the ruler's duties as primarily ceremonial. To what extent, it will now be asked, could allegiance to this ceremonial ruler engender action.

IV. A CEREMONIAL RAJA

A question that may have arisen in the mind of the reader is why Ahmad, with his special personal qualities, should have taken so long to win the "civil war". Linehan appears to have been aware of the need to explain the actual timing of the victory, for his account suggests that only after obtaining the Maharaja Perba's support in 1861 was Ahmad able to win.[1] But British[2] and Siamese[3] records relating to the Pahang conflict point to another factor: the intervention of Sultan Mahmud of Lingga. As we have seen, Linehan believed that the Lingga rulers held only a "fiction of suzereignty" over Pahang and that Mahmud played little part in the war. The reason he came to this conclusion is not hard to ascertain. His main source was the *Hikayat Pahang* and that document gives little attention to Mahmud.[4]

Mahmud and Lingga are first mentioned in the early pages of the *hikayat*, where there is a description of a visit by Bendahara Ali (Ahmad's father) to Lingga.[5] This journey is occasioned by the decision of Sultan Mohammed of Lingga to raise the title of his young son, Mahmud, to that of "Sultan". The text's portrayal of the relationship between the Bendahara and the Sultan is somewhat ambiguous. That the former is of inferior status is suggested by the fact that he makes obeisance (*sembah*) before Sultan Mohammed, and that his undertakings for the latter are termed "devoted service" (*kebaktian*). Yet Ali is invited (*silakan*), not summoned (*panggil*), to Lingga, is praised more lavishly than is the Sultan,[6] and is referred to by the royal title, *Yang Maha Mulia*.[7] Furthermore, upon the Bendahara's arrival in Lingga, the Sultan surrenders (*menyerahkan*) to him the state of Lingga and all its "administration, laws and customs", and places the ceremony relating to Mahmud's promotion under his control. After leaving Lingga, Ali returns to Pahang and is received in a manner appropriate to all great Rajas.

Soon a son is born to Ali, and the *Hikayat* records a prediction that this child, Ahmad, will one day obtain *daulat*, a supernatural power possessed only by royalty.[8]

Mahmud enters the narrative again in the account of the civil war.[9] At the time when Mutahir is master of the state, Mahmud visits Pahang, and a marriage is arranged between Aman, Mutahir's son, and the Sultan's younger sister.[10] Mahmud then travels upstream to view the interior of Pahang, and is liked by the people. However, a malicious report is circulated against the Maharaja Perba of Jelai, claiming that this chief intends to make the Sultan Raja of Pahang and to transfer his allegiance (*sembah*) to him. Mutahir now treats the latter with coolness, and Mahmud travels to Trengganu where he meets with Ahmad. He tells the latter that he and the Maharaja Perba of Jelai will remain behind in Trengganu if Ahmad wishes to attack Pahang. Ahmad accepts the Sultan's suggestion and, in his reply, he indicates that Mahmud's status is superior to his own by referring to himself as "*patek*" (slave).[11] The Sultan now goes to Siam to ask for help in retaking Lingga from the Dutch.

Following Ahmad's victory in the civil war, Sultan Mahmud again visits Pahang.[12] His return almost coincides with the arrival of his relative, Sultan Ali of Johor, the British sponsored representative of the old Johor royal family. We are told that Sultan Ali requests, unsuccessfully, to be installed as ruler of Pahang. But Mahmud appears to make no claims on the state; he merely seeks aid from Ahmad in his struggle against the Dutch who had deposed him in Lingga. The Bendahara, however, refuses to assist him and Mahmud sulks, becomes ill, and dies within a few months.

Thus, the *Hikayat* does not deny that the Sultan of Lingga held a position superior to that of the Bendahara. It admits that Sultan Mahmud visited Pahang at the time of the civil war, and even hints that there was an agreement between him and Ahmad. But nothing is said which might have suggested to Linehan that the Sultan possessed more than "a fiction of suzereignty" over Pahang and that his intervention in the civil war was in any way decisive. The observations of foreign observers, however, suggest a very different view and one which, as we will see, the *Hikayat Pahang* could be expected to suppress.

Mahmud, as has been noted, was a claimant to the old Johor empire. He was the great grandson of Sultan Mahmud bin Sultan Abdu'l Jalil, whom Sir Richard Winstedt has described as "the last Emperor of Johor, Pahang, the Riau Archipelago, the Carimons and Singapore."[13] Although the empire had withered considerably by 1800, its rulers possessed a noble heritage stretching back through the Johor of the seventeenth century, Melaka and, finally, in the opinion of Professor Wolters, to the Sumatran based Srivijaya.[14] After the death of Sultan Mahmud bin Abdu'l Jalil in 1812, the latter's sons were left to dispute the throne; the British supported one, the Dutch promoted the other. When, in 1824, the European powers divided the Malay world into two spheres of influence, they also attempted to divide the old Johor Sultanate: one brother, the so-called Sultan of Johor, the British candidate, was to restrict himself to the Malay peninsula; the other, the Sultan of Lingga, was expected to remain on the Dutch islands to the south and west.

The "Sultan of Johor" fared badly. He failed to win the approval of the Peninsular Malays,[15] and his British allies betrayed him by supporting the pretensions of the ambitious Temenggong, who had once been merely an official of the Johor empire. Ultimately, the fate of the Lingga branch of the old ruling family was equally grim. The development of new and powerful Sultanates on the Peninsula, and the expansion of European control in the region, placed strong restrictions on the influence the Lingga Sultan could exercise. Finally, in 1913,[16] the Dutch abolished the Sultanate. We shall see, however, that in the middle of the nineteenth century, the Lingga rulers, unlike the Sultans of Johor, played an important part in Pensinular affairs.

Sultan Mahmud, when he decided to meddle in Pahang affairs, certainly believed he was drawing on much more than a "fiction of suzereignty." He was not simply a former ruler of a few isolated islands, the sad and ineffectual offspring of a once mighty family; rather he claimed to be "the rightful heir to the different states comprising the kingdom of Johor."[17] Although one Dutch writer noted his intelligent appearance and "zest for Life",[18] Mahmud has received little praise. The scholar-official, Netscher, wrote of Mahmud's "lack of worldly knowledge",[19] and King Mongkut of Thailand considered him "a thoughtless person" and "fond of amusements."[20] But Mahmud's behaviour was in some

respects consistent. After his father's death in 1841, he seems to have attempted to advance the interests of the Lingga Sultanate.[21] He formed a small corps of soldiers, armed and dressed in European style,[22] and began building a new palace and a large stone fortress.[23] Even Netscher praised the quality of the roads Mahmud laid out in his capital.[24] On a more obviously political level, the Sultan opposed the Bugis family, which, for more than a century, had played a powerful role in the affairs of his empire.[25] In addition, he attempted to assert his authority on the Pensinsula. In 1852, he was said to have formed alliances with the Raja of Trengganu, to whom he married his sister, and with his potential rivals, the British-supported branch of the Johor royal family.[26] Indeed, Mahmud persuaded the leading member of the latter group, Tengku Ali, to transfer to him the territory bordering Singapore, a proposal which was vetoed by the European authorities.[27] Mahmud also appears to have had plans to join Ali in an attempt to bring the Bendaharas of Pahang under control.[28] There is certainly evidence that Mahmud claimed to be the rightful king of Johor and Pahang.[29]

By the mid-1850's Mahmud was in serious trouble in Lingga. His meddling in the Peninsula, now a British sphere of influence, led to protests from the Straits Settlements Government. The Dutch, finding the Sultan impossible to control in this and other respects, finally deposed him in October 1857.[30] He was now a king without a base, and apparently without subjects. If, like his father, Sultan Mohammed, he was familiar with Malay literature,[31] he probably found solace in the *Sejarah Melayu*. For that text relates how Sultan Mahmud Shah, when driven from the island of Bentan (not far from Lingga) by the Portuguese in the early sixteenth century, was comforted by an adviser who explained that "every country has a Raja, and if Your Highness is granted length of days, we can find ten countries for you."[32]

After leaving Lingga, Mahmud sought support in Singapore and in Reteh, situated near Indragiri on the East Coast of Sumatra. In the former, he stayed with the Temenggong, who began representations with the Dutch on his behalf, and who later attempted to incite rebellion in Lingga.[33] Mahmud could not have hoped for whole-hearted support from the Temenggong.

For many years it had been clear that the latter intended to become Sultan of Johor himself, and Mahmud posed a threat to the achievement of this ambition.[34] Resistance to Mahmud's deposition was most determined in Reteh. But the Dutch killed Mahmud's most powerful adherent there, and Mahmud was soon intriguing on the Peninsula again.[35] Pahang was one of his principal interests. We have seen that in the years immediately prior to Mahmud's dismissal his relations with the Pahang rulers had not been good. In 1852, a British official described them as enemies.[36] Bendahara Ali expelled princes of Lingga and Johor from the state in that year[37] and, in 1853, he or his son, Mutahir, renounced allegiance to the Sultan.[38] When Mahmud came to Pahang as a fugitive in 1858, however, the *Hikayat Pahang* and other sources[39] suggest he was treated well by Mutahir, and, as has been noted, a marriage was arranged between the two families. Much had happened since 1853. Mutahir was now struggling to control Pahang after his father's death, and, in these new and turbulent circumstances, he possibly hoped to use the Sultan against his enemies. If there was an alliance between the two men, however, it was short-lived. According to the *Hikayat Pahang* Mutahir suspected the powerful Jelai chief of plotting to proclaim Mahmud Sultan of Pahang. If Mutahir was not already chary of the ex-Sultan, the British governor in Singapore warned the Pahang leader that he could not expect British assistance in his quarrels unless Mahmud was expelled.[40]

Accompanied by the Maharaja Perba of Jelai, Mahmud appears to have left Pahang for Trengganu at the close of 1859.[41] He had usually been made welcome in that state. Its ruler, Sultan Omar, was his uncle, and had received help from Mahmud's father during his own struggle for power.[42] Omar probably hoped to repay this debt by aiding his patron's son.

Mahmud now turned his attention to Mutahir's eldest son, Koris. In 1860 the Trengganu Sultan suggested to Koris that he assume the position of Bendahara, as his father was "such an old man."[43] In a letter to the Singapore Governor, Sultan Omar explained that Mutahir had actually asked to "be retired", and in accordance with his request, he added, "we have conferred on [Koris] the title of Bendahara of Pahang."[44] Nothing in the history of the region suggests a Trengganu ruler could appoint a Bendahara of Pahang. But a member of the old

Johor ruling family might be expected to claim the right.[45] Indeed, a British official noted that Mahmud had been "an active mover" in the "intrigues" surrounding Koris's appointment,[46] and a special relationship between the former Lingga ruler and Koris is suggested by a document of December 1859 which declares that the latter was the Sultan's "fully authorized representative" (*wakil mutallak*).[47] Mahmud's role in the appointment may have been deliberately disguised to deceive the British, who so strongly opposed Mahmud's intervention in Peninsular affairs. The Raja of Trengganu in this situation would have acted as a go-between. The affair, however, came to nothing. Though some kind of an installation ceremony was held in Trengganu, British reports suggest the appointment of Koris as Bendahara was neither approved nor taken seriously by Mutahir.[48]

Whatever Mahmud's relationship with Mutahir's sons may have been, he was soon pursuing a very different policy. He began to support Mutahir's enemy, Ahmad, and even sought Siam's assistance in his new venture. The Thai Chronicles provide the clearest account of these developments.[49] At the end of 1860, "a close confidant of Sultan Mahmud" arrived in Bangkok and told the Siamese authorities of the former Lingga ruler's sad plight. He described the troubles in Pahang, and asserted that the population of that state "loved the younger brother [Ahmad]." Sultan Mahmud, his emissary continued, had "taken a liking" to Ahmad, and the latter "also respected Sultan Mahmud as his superior, since the dominion of Pahang itself was in fact under the Suzereignty of Lingga."[50] Ahmad had evolved plans to "take over Pahang, and install Sultan Mahmud as ruler", the emissary explained, and if the King of Siam "would render his aid" in the venture, Mahmud "would cause Pahang to become a vassal city under Bangkok."

Mahmud clearly expected to be made Sultan of Pahang if Ahmad won, and he worked energetically for the latter's victory. In mid-1861, he came to Bangkok himself, where he was given a royal audience "in a grand style",[51] and (to the apparent disgust of the *Hikayat Pahang*'s author)[52] he presented his sister to King Mongkut. Later, Siam's *Khalahom*, or Foreign Minister, told the British consul in Bangkok that when Mahmud explained how the Dutch "sent him away from his home and country", and how he had suffered "hardships and privations", the Thai king "had

great pity" on him.[53] Neither Siamese nor British reports, however, suggest that Mahmud received any substantial assistance from the Thais.[54]

The details of Mahmud's activities during the important year following the audience in Bangkok are difficult to ascertain. Although the Sultan does not appear to have returned to the Peninsula for some months, Wan Ahmad's correspondence with the British began to reflect the existence of his new alliance. Thus, in the latter part of 1861, Ahmad explained he was working for a "true Sultan", and he described his enemies, the Bendahara and the Temenggong, as usurpers.[55] In June of the next year, according to the Thai Annals, Sultan Mahmud himself returned to Trengganu from Bangkok, and "made plans with Ahmad to seize control of Pahang at all cost."[56] Mutahir now began to complain of Mahmud's role in the war. He reported in July that Ahmad would be "desired by the Sultan of Lingga to attack Pahang from [Trengganu]";[57] the next month he described one of the Sultan's servants as having accompanied Ahmad's most recent force across the border into the interior of Pahang.[58] At about the same time, the Khalahom of Siam concluded that "as Pahang once belonged to Lingga", and as its "chiefs and officers have been accustomed to respect him", Mahmud might "induce the inhabitants to create a disturbance" there.[59]

Mahmud made his own hopes clear in a letter he sent to the British authorities in September.[60] The Temenggong of Johor and the Bendahara of Pahang, he emphasized, "are clearly our own ministers and under our rule". This, Mahmud argued, was the Malay law, and he invited the Governor to confirm these assertions by consulting other Malay rajas, such as those ruling Kelantan and Trengganu. The Singapore Governor was not impressed. He warned the Sultan that his claims on Johor and Pahang were not recognized by the British authorities; further, Mahmud was not to "interfere in the Government of these States", but was to return to Bangkok.[61] Mahmud paid no heed to this advice. During the following months a series of reports from Pahang portray him as playing an instrumental role in the struggle there. In October, a British firm with interests in Pahang learnt that Ahmad was preparing for war in the interior of the state, and noted that the "ex Sultan . . . for whom it is known [Ahmad] acts", was also in the region.[62] Similarly, Abraham Logan, the Secretary of the Singapore Chamber of Commerce, believed

Ahmad had "lately entered Pahang from Trengganu" and had been "instigated by the ex-Sultan of Lingga" who "in virtue of his descent from Sultan Mohammed of Johore, claims to be the rightful heir to the different states formerly comprising the Kingdom of Johore".[63] It was in the face of such reports that Governor Cavenagh took drastic action. He decided to remove Sultan Mahmud, "the instigator of these disturbances",[64] from Trengganu. In November 1862, as we have seen, British ships bombarded the capital of Trengganu after its ruler refused to surrender Sultan Mahmud. The exercise, however, failed to remove the former Lingga ruler. During the next few months, despite the British efforts and the assistance of the Temenggong's forces, Pahang slowly fell under Ahmad's control. In May 1863, while still clinging to the coastal region of his state, Mutahir again complained that Sultan Mahmud had been "imploring" Ahmad to attack Pahang. According to Mutahir, Ahmad had written letters to "every chief in the interior of Pahang", explaining that he "had been desired by the ex-Sultan of Lingga to attack Pahang".[65] The Temenggong of Johor was also keen to place blame on Mahmud. "In the course of the last year", he reported, Ahmad has been "strongly supported by the ex-Sultan of Lingga, who, as a descendant of the former royal family of Johor, asserts rights to the Kingdom of Johor and to the allegiance of the Malay states in the southern part of the Peninsular".[66] The war, however, was now over, and in its last days both Mutahir and his son, Koris, died.

The Governor began anxiously examining the correspondence from the new Bendahara. He noted that Ahmad had not styled himself ruler of Pahang; rather, he appeared to "consider he [was] acting under the authority of the ex-Sultan of Lingga".[67] Two Malay documents from Pahang, both letters of appointment, confirm the Governor's judgement. The first document, written in October 1863, warns the people of Pulau Tinggi (an island off the Pahang coast) that those who oppose Ahmad's representative there will not only "offend us", but also "commit treason to the Sultan" (*derhaka kebawah duli*).[68] The second declaration confers titles, in the name of Sultan Mahmud, on the Jelai and Lipis chiefs, and defines the area over which they consequently received jurisdiction. The document warns that "Whosoever refuses to observe and obey the instructions of these two chiefs" will be "guilty of treason towards His Highness the Sultan, and an offence against us".[69]

At the time these documents were written, Mahmud's hopes must have been high. The Temenggong of Johor even heard that the Sultan was making plans to "overrun Johore."[70] But Mahmud's fortunes quickly changed. In Pahang, Ahmad, either through fear of the British, personal ambition, or a combination of both, was not keen for Mahmud to remain permanently in the state. The Thai Chronicles record that, after Mahmud had "reached the state of Pahang, the promise that those from Pahang had given him about handing over the state to him did not materialize."[71] This difficult situation was over in a few months. Mahmud was "so grieved" that he "fell ill" and conveniently died in July 1864.[72]

The Sultan had clearly expected much from his relationship with Ahmad. His flirtations with Mutahir and Koris had come to nothing, and he had turned to their enemy, Ahmad, whose qualities had perhaps impressed him. With Ahmad's assistance, Mahmud hoped to acquire again a country and subjects.

Ahmad also appears to have held high hopes for the alliance. He had struggled for six years against his brother, yet his attacks had always failed. With Mahmud's backing, his campaign assumed a new complexion. As we have seen, a letter Ahmad sent to the Singapore Governor reveals that he now portrayed his enemies as usurpers. The Temenggong of Johor and the Bendahara of Pahang, he explained, were really ministers of the Johor Empire, and, therefore, bound to obey the rule of the "true Sultan." These officials, however, "had changed their seals, having made Rajas of themselves." Thus, both had committed crimes against Sultan Mahmud, and, "according to the laws of Malay countries, long ago would have lost their lives." Pahang, Ahmad concludes, had "always been glittering, and the sun [shone] forth gold and tin under the rulership of a true Sultan."[73] Ahmad, therefore, was linking his cause to that of the rightful Sultan, Mahmud.

Ahmad's use of the Sultan's name is particularly evident during the months of his last and successful attack on Pahang. On this matter, as noted above, all sources, with the exception of the *Hikayat Pahang*, concur. Indeed, after his victory, Ahmad warned potential rebels that resistance to his orders constituted treason, or *derhaka*, to the Sultan. Those who supported Ahmad were presumably acknowledging the "true Sultan" under whom Pahang would "glitter". A decade after Pahang was

reported to have renounced allegiance to the Sultan of Lingga, therefore, a new Bendahara was invoking the latter's name.

Ahmad's attitude to Sultan Mahmud may have been cynical or opportunistic: after the war was won, he certainly refused to acknowledge Mahmud as ruler. But the fact that Ahmad attempted to make use of the Sultan suggests that he, at least, believed that Mahmud held some special significance for the people of Pahang. His understanding of the Sultanate's role in Pahang, therefore, was profoundly different from that presented in the principal Malay account of the period, the *Hikayat Pahang*. I have suggested that this text interprets Ahmad's victory in the war in terms of his regal personality and style. But although the *Hikayat* is useful as an expression of Malay attitudes regarding the characteristics in a leader which promoted allegiance, its account of the civil war differs significantly from that suggested by Ahmad's letters and by other sources contemporary to the event. The author appears to have played down Sultan Mahmud's activities and I believe the considerations which led him to do so testify to the Sultan's real importance in Pahang affairs.

A number of important developments occurred in Pahang between the end of the civil war and the composition of the *Hikayat*. For a short time, as we have seen, Ahmad invoked the Sultan of Lingga when conferring titles; Ahmad also referred to himself as *di Bawah Kaus*, which means literally "Underneath the Foot of the Raja".[74] But his allegiance to the Sultan appears never to have been given greater substance than this. In fact, after Mahmud had died disappointed in 1864, although a Sultan of Lingga continued to rule in Lingga (another Sultan had been installed on the Dutch protected island in 1857),[75] Ahmad began to assume new titles. He presented himself as independent of the Lingga Sultanate. His decrees made no mention of the Sultan[76] and Ahmad referred to himself as *Kaus Yang Maha Mulia Engku Besar*; the *di Bawah*, or "underneath", had been dropped.[77] By 1881 Ahmad must have considered his independence complete: he assumed the title of the old Lingga-Johor rulers. He wrote to the Singapore governor announcing that he had been "elected Sultan by our great men, our princes and our elders."[78]

Although Ahmad's assumption of the title "sultan" must have been a momentous event in Pahang, its significance is not apparent in the *Hikayat Pahang*. The text states, for instance, that the installation ceremonies were "greater than those described in story 29."[79] Only the diligent reader, however (and people may have listened rather than read),[80] would refer back to find that "story 29" relates to the ear-boring of Ahmad's daughter, a celebration lasting ten months and involving *joget* dancing, *wayang* plays and other Malay cultural activities.

Even less is said in the text about the process leading up to Ahmad's promotion. The reader is simply informed that Abu Bakar of Johor, who had himself been promoted from Temenggong to Sultan, told Ahmad that, as the kingdom (*kerajaan*) of Lingga had been taken by the Dutch, he ought to adopt the name (*nama*), *Yang Maha Mulia*, normally associated with rulers. Ahmad consulted his chiefs, and the latter favoured the change.[81] This is an inaccurate account of the event. In fact, Lingga still had a Sultan at this time, and the Dutch had played a part in the government of the state for many years. The situation had not changed dramatically since Mahmud's time. The significance of the event is further obscured by the way the text reduces the contrast between the positions of Bendahara and Sultan. For instance, the qualities sought in the former (those examined in Chapter III) are seen to be precisely the qualities required in a Sultan. At the very end of the text, as we have seen, it is explained that the daughter of the Sultan (formerly Temenggong) Abu Bakar of Johor, if she were a man, would have made a fine Sultan, and the description of her suggests that she possessed those admirable qualities, refined manners, gentle speech, and a knowledge of custom and ceremony, attributed to both Ahmad and his father, Ali.[82]

The attribution of titles to the Bendahara and the Sultan in the *Hikayat* also emphasizes the similarity between the two offices. The text assigns the name, *Yang Maha Mulia* and other royal titles, to earlier Bendaharas.[83] The reader of the Pahang text might well conclude that in adopting the title *Yang Maha Mulia*, Ahmad was not seeking a higher rank. In becoming Sultan he was not, by implication, experiencing a substantial promotion.

The perspectives of the *Hikayat Pahang* are increasingly apparent. Its subject, as has been noted, is Ahmad: nothing occurs which is not in some way related to him, and the concern with Ahmad provides the *Hikayat*'s only source of continuity.[84] But the text is not merely the tale of a Bendahara. Like many Malay *hikayat*s it deals with a Sultan, and, at least in part, it appears to be concerned to "prove [his] right to the throne."[85] In justifying Ahmad's claim to the title of Bendahara, the author had only to deal with the claims of Ahmad's brothers and nephews, and, as seen above, did so primarily in terms of the qualities of the men involved. But to establish Ahmad's right to hold the position of Sultan, it was necessary for the author to contend with the presence of the Sultanate in Lingga. The Sultanate was a factor he could not ignore. Even at the end of the nineteenth century, a British observer noted that the Lingga Sultans were remembered as the once legitimate rulers of Pahang:[86] it is probable that some men thought or even suggested that, in assuming his new title, Ahmad was committing treason toward his sovereign.

The *Hikayat* could not defend Ahmad's assumption of the Sultanate primarily in genealogical terms. Since 1699, when the old Melaka-Johor line was terminated by an assassination, the Bendaharas and the Sultans of the Empire had come from the same family.[87] At best, an argument in terms of lineage would establish that Ahmad's genealogical status was equal to that of the Lingga Sultan.[88] In order to support Ahmad's right to the Sultanate, therefore, the text implies the post of Bendahara was virtually equivalent to that of the Sultan. The writer gives scant attention to Ahmad's assumption of the new title, and presents the Bendahara less as a subject of the Sultan than as a fellow monarch. I believe also that it is in order to disguise the Lingga ruler's real significance that the text does not describe the extent of Mahmud's participation in the war and mentions only that Sultan Ali (a man of little significance in the Malay world) had sought the position of Sultan.

In manipulating the past for political purposes,[89] the Pahang text is not an exception among Malay *hikayat*s. Their tendency to "tamper with historical truth"[90] (an expression used with much confidence in a Positivist era) was suggested many years ago. Written literature generally had a political significance; as a mid-nineteenth century traveller noted in Kedah, for instance, an *hikayat* might be "quoted over and over again" even by opposing factions "to support their jarring interests and theories".[91] In such circumstances the author or copyist was a man of consequence; he might further the claims of one party or another by the way he portrayed events. It has been noted that rulers jealously guarded texts, allowing them to be heard but not copied; indeed, Wilkinson noted a "Malay magnate" who "destroyed deliberately a number of documents that did not corroborate his own version of history".[92] Ahmad, having fought a war to obtain the Bendaharaship, and having claimed the noble title of Sultan, had particularly strong reasons for manipulating the past. That the *Hikayat* conformed to his adaptation of events is suggested by the manner in which he himself explained his promotion to Sultan to the Singapore authorities in 1881. Ahmad explained that his adoption of the title "Sultan" ought not to be seen as a matter of "any particular significance".[93] Although the title "Bendahara", Ahmad wrote in 1881, implied that its "owner [was] subject to a superior", the Pahang Bendaharas had been "independent rulers" since the "time of Sultan Mahmud of Johor" (died 1812).[94] This is the same Ahmad who, during the civil war, had accused his enemies of making Rajas of themselves, rather than serving the true Sultan.

Ahmad's posture in the 1880's is not difficult to understand. With the consolidation of the British and Dutch protectorates in the region during the 1870's, connections between Pahang and Lingga would be difficult to maintain. Pahang had also been under one Bendahara for almost two decades, and in these years, Ahmad had tightened his hold on the state and developed new ambitions. What requires further investigation is why Ahmad placed such faith in Sultan Mahmud during the troubled years of the early 1860's.

The young Ahmad would have known that a Sultan of Lingga's financial and military power was not great. Even before Mahmud was deposed he had been in a weak position. By a treaty of 1830 his kingdom was held in fief to, and by favour of, the Netherlands Indies Government, and his traditional rights over taxation and other matters were also limited. Much of the

administration of the Riau-Lingga archipelago was in the hands of a Bugis "underking" and Mahmud's domain was comprised merely of Lingga and its surrounding islands, an area having a population of only some 12,000.[95]

But Ahmad would not have judged the Sultan's power primarily in material terms. First, the Lingga rulers had maintained contact with the Peninsula after the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824. Mahmud's father, Sultan Mohammed, and his grandfather, Sultan Abdu'l Rahman, had visited, and were visited by, the rulers of such states as Pahang and Trengganu.[96] Moreover, there was considerable intermarriage between the Lingga royal family and some of the Peninsula ruling houses.[97] Visits and marriages were not the only ways in which the Lingga rulers continued to be involved in Peninsula politics. In 1827, for instance, the British-supported "Sultan of Johor" complained that Sultan Abdu'l Rahman had joined with the Bendahara of Pahang in order to "evict him [the "Sultan of Johor"] from his present title and authority."[98] During the next decade Mahmud's father, Mohammed, attempted to mediate in the Trengganu civil war, but soon became identified with the eventual victor, Omar.[99]

Even during the mid-nineteenth century, in their visits to the Peninsula, these Sultans conveyed an aura of prestige and grandeur. Malays who came into contact with the Lingga Sultans would have been impressed by them. A Singapore newspaper account of 1838 believed that Sultan Mohammed travelled "in as much state as any Malayan chief of these times can afford--sailing aboard his own barque, and being attended by thirteen or fourteen prows, which have aboard nearly 400 people in all."[100] On one visit to the Peninsula, the Lingga Sultan was described by a Malay source as having been accompanied by forty-seven boats of various types; it is not stated whether they were Lingga boats or a largely Trengganu or Pahang fleet.[101]

Malays visiting Lingga itself would learn, and report to others, that the Sultan's capital, though far from prosperous,[102] was no mere backwater establishment. He welcomed visitors in a large audience hall, situated in a compound which was entered through a gateway fine enough to provoke the admiration of at least one Dutch official.[103] Here, too, the marriages, birth and

circumcisions of the royal family were celebrated with gamelan music, various types of Malay dancing, *maayong* theatre, and shadow plays.[104] The presentation of such cultural activities was a matter of pride in Malay states, and the range existing in Lingga appears to have been as extensive as that found in any Malay capital.[105] Even a European observer could note an element of splendour at the court. A naval officer in 1836 told of "a large procession with bands of music", and he was impressed by the elaborate ritual surrounding the reception of a letter in the "open public building with three heights of floors".[106] But for many Malays one of the Lingga court's most impressive features would have been the royal regalia. According to legend, the latter long ago had been brought by the Johor royal family from Seguntang, in South Sumatra, a centre, according to some scholars, of the old Srivijaya empire. Few Malay princes could display objects of such majesty, and they would act as a reminder of the antiquity of the relationship between Pahang and the Lingga-Johor Sultans.[107]

The Lingga rulers, therefore, not only maintained contact with the Peninsular states during the first half of the nineteenth century but, despite the great decline of the Johor-Lingga empire, were still able to exhibit some grandeur.

Glimpses of the attitude to the Sultans found among the people of such states as Pahang and Johor are to be found in a variety of sources. A Straits Settlements newspaper, for instance, noted that Sultan Abdu'l Rahman rather than the British-supported "Sultan of Johor" was "universally believed by Malays to be the only legitimate son" of Sultan Mahmud who had ruled the Johor empire without challenge at the opening of the century.[108] When Sultan Mohammed died in 1841, the same paper described the "conspicuous rank and position he occupied among Malayan princes".[109] A Singapore official, S.G. Bonham, writing in 1836, noted that the Sultan of Lingga "was generally considered the representative of the Ancient Johor Empire, and [was] acknowledged by all the chiefs as such in this neighborhood, as well as by the Sultan of Tringanoe and the Bindahara of Pahang, all of whom [had] lately paid tribute as an acknowledgement".[110] Finally, in the 1840's, the Melakan missionary, the Reverend Favre, when travelling into the south of the Peninsula, made the mistake of seeking the patronage of

Ali, the so-called Sultan of Johor. He encountered many difficulties and concluded that "it was the Temenggong who actually governed the state", and "the Malays [looked] upon the Sultan of Lingga as the Sultan of Johor."[111]

The sparse Malay evidence which survives from the early nineteenth century also demonstrates the prestige held by the Sultan of Lingga in Pahang. A letter written in 1819 by the Bendahara uses a seal which describes the latter as the representative (*wakil*) of the Sultan.[112] And when Bendahara Ali appoints an official in 1844 he uses the same seal, and declares that those who refuse to obey the commands of the appointee will be guilty of treason (*derhaka*) to the Sultan.[113] In 1859, at the time when Mutahir and his sons were still in control of Pahang and on relatively good terms with Sultan Mahmud, another decree regarding taxation was issued containing the statement that those ignoring its injunctions are guilty of *derhaka* (treason) to Sultan Mahmud himself.[114] These references to the Lingga Sultanate cannot have been empty invocations, devoid of all meaning for those who read or heard them. Government appointments and taxation demands were not light matters, and the declarations are written in a deliberate effort to convey the highest possible sanction. Reference to the Lingga Sultanate seems to have communicated an august authority. The statements of Malay commoners themselves are seldom recorded, but we have at least one indication that they would confirm the implications contained in official documents. When an old man talked about mid-nineteenth century Pahang to Hugh Clifford, who came to the state in the late 1880's, he explained that the Bendahara "under the Sultan of Daik (Lingga) was ruler of Pahang."[115]

In his struggle for Pahang, therefore, Ahmad had strong reasons for seeking the support of Sultan Mahmud of Lingga. Although the Bendaharas of the old Johor Empire had established a special connection with Pahang, the people apparently still looked ultimately to the Sultans. Nothing attests so well to the wisdom of Ahmad's alliance with the former Lingga rulers as the declarations of Ahmad's enemies. Having been unfaithful to Mahmud in the past, Mutahir was unable himself to rely upon the Lingga ruler's patronage. When Mahmud joined their enemy, Mutahir appears to have panicked. And it has been seen that his almost frenzied appeals lead to the sending of a British naval expedition to remove the Sultan from the Peninsula.

For the present purpose it is unnecessary to analyse further Ahmad's success in the Pahang civil war. His personal qualities, as well as Mahmud's support, may well have played an important part, and we have seen that the *Hikayat Pahang*'s description of him finds support in other sources. The Jelai chief's intervention on Ahmad's behalf, as Dr Linehan suggested, may have been a turning point in events, and was perhaps encouraged by the death of the Maharaja's son at the hands of Mutahir's followers. It has been noted,however, that even in the *Hikayat Pahang* the Jelai chief is portrayed as having close links with the Lingga Sultan. Considerable evidence must be overlooked, therefore, if the significance of the Sultan of Lingga is to be ignored. Only in the *Hikayat Pahang* is his importance not apparent, and, as I have suggested, its compiler had good reasons for disguising Mahmud's involvement in mid-nineteenth century Pahang. Today, Sultan Mahmud seems almost a tragic figure, a king without a state who could contribute little but his name. Yet his intervention in the Pahang war inspired fear in Ahmad's enemies, and was followed by a change in Ahmad's fortunes.

What must be emphasized is that Mahmud possessed considerable political significance despite his lack of "real power". In this respect he was not unique among Malay rulers. Such figures are found, for instance, in the *hikayat* literature. In the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*, for instance, when the much praised Beraim Bapa, son of the Sultan of Pasai, learns that his father intends to kill him he tells his followers that he will not commit treason (*derhaka*). He explains, however, that his reluctance is not a matter of fear: "If I wished to *derhaka* in Pasai, Pasai would be mine; if I wished to *derhaka* in Siam, Siam would be mine; if in China, China would be mine; if in Java, Java would be mine; if in India (*Kling*), India would be mine."[116] Beraim Bapa's aversion to *derhaka* clearly has nothing to do with the threat of physical retaliation by the Raja. Similarly, at the time Sultan Mahmud of Melaka ordered his wealthy Bendahara put to death, the latter prevents his followers from defending him by saying: "It is the custom of Malays never to *derhaka*" (*Adat Melayu tiada pernah derhaka*).[117]

The seemingly contradictory situation in which apparently powerful Malays submitted to rulers whom they believed weaker than themselves is also noted by J.M. Gullick. In his *Indigenous Political Systems*,

Gullick explains that royal audiences in which territorial chiefs made obeisance to their rulers were not "the mere acknowledgement of the facts of power but rather a contrast with them."[118] The chiefs, who monopolized the "real power" of their states, the taxation and administrative authority, for instance, were publicly declaring the superiority of the Sultan who enjoyed dignity rather than power.

The position held by the Sultan of Lingga in Pahang affairs, therefore, was not entirely unusual. But he probably held less "real power" than most. Unlike many Sultans[119] he did not possess a region or district from which he could obtain a regular income, and there is no evidence that he had an armed retinue of any size. Moreover, both distance and the expansion of the European Powers had limited his opportunities, and those of his two predecessors, to visit Pahang. The question remains how a Sultan possessing so little power could command sufficient authority to be able to play a decisive role in a civil war.

The discussion of political motivation, and in particular of allegiance, has taken us a long way from the "merchant princes" of East Sumatra. I have argued that those whom Anderson and other European observers chose to see as being motivated by a lust for the rewards of commerce were in fact not interested in trade or even wealth as an end in itself. Rather, the Malay ruler conceptualized his own riches and the pursuit of riches on the part of his subjects in political terms. In the turbulent Malay world, where population was scarce and migration was common, wealth was important to a Raja only in so far as it gained him subjects. But, I asked, did wealth constitute the only grounds of allegiance? And why were rulers preoccupied with the accumulation of subjects?

In examining the Pahang civil war I have begun to answer the first of these questions. Far from emphasizing the financial benefits of allegiance, the analysis suggests that a Raja could be a significant figure without possessing financial or other forms of "real power". It is obvious that the modest grandeur of the Sultan's court in Lingga required financial expenditure: and like other Malay rulers, Mahmud could be expected to seek wealth to finance royal audiences,

ceremonies, and gift-giving. But Mahmud was not a rich ruler and there is no evidence that he contributed wealth, forces, or tactical expertise to the war: despite the fact that his intervention determined the outcome of the Pahang struggle, he appears to have held a purely formal or ceremonial position in the state.

We have seen that it is precisely in respect to their ceremonial role that Malay literature has most to say about the Malay ruler. The manner in which he re-distributed wealth is presented as being more significant than any material value which his gifts may have had. His principal tasks, as portrayed in the *Hikayat Pahang* and other texts, involve what we would consider "formal matters" and good manners were considered his most important personal attribute.

As reflected in both Malay and European records of the Pahang war, therefore, Malays were preoccupied to a remarkable extent with what modern men would call subsidiary aspects of government. The ceremonial ruler was clearly able to inspire political action on the part of his subjects. What we do not know, as yet, is why he was able to do so. Why, for instance, did Malays place so high a value on the formal occasions of state and on the apparently "empty" titles which rulers bestowed? What, in particular, gave substance and influence to the Raja.

The *Hikayat Pahang* takes the ceremonial ruler's role for granted. After all, the Pahang Malays belonged to the grand tradition of Johor-Lingga, with its ancient Melakan connections. For a Malay rationale of the relationship between the Malay ruler and his subjects, it will be revealing to consider a text from the frontier of the Malay world. This text, the *Hikayat Deli*, takes us back to the East Coast of Sumatra. In it we shall find disclosed certain norms and values seldom if ever discussed in more established regions of the Malay world. In its own way this document provides a coherent perspective on the considerations underlying the political actions not only of the Malay subject but of his Raja. It provides what might be called a Malay model, a "working system of. . leadership".

V. A MANUAL FROM EAST SUMATRA

The manuscript of the *Hikayat Deli* was found in Amsterdam in 1972. It comprises 196 typed pages of romanized Malay. An accompanying letter explains that the Sultan of Deli gave it to a Mr Andrae in 1923 "as a momento", describing it as a "history concerning our ancestors".[1] It will be seen that the text was probably written in the nineteenth century, when Mangidar Alam and his son Osman were establishing a new Deli state. The story contained in the *Hikayat Deli* is still known today in East Sumatra,[2] though, perhaps as a consequence of the 1946 social revolution which brought an end to Malay dominance in that region, no other manuscript exists.[3] The *Hikayat* is a curious document. At first glance it is disappointing: it is slow moving and repetitive, and it contains very little information concerning the history of Deli. But my concern is not to write a history of Deli, using the *Hikayat* as a source from which data can be combed and then collated with European documents. The *Hikayat* will be used as evidence of the preoccupations and categories of Malay political culture. To this end, I intend first to examine the text as a whole, noting the important themes and the style of presentation.[4] I shall suggest that the *Hikayat* has a special interest for students of Malay political culture, an interest which compensates for, and in some ways even explains, its apparent inadequacies. The analysis will begin with a summary of the text.

The *Hikayat* opens with the statement: "This is the story, the *hikayat*, of the descent (*keturunan*) of the Radjas of Negeri Deli." It then relates that in former days there existed a great raja of "Deli Akbar and Hindistan (*sic*)" named Bahashed Sjaich Matijoeddin, who was descended from the grandchildren of Alexander the Great. After describing the seating arrangements of his court, his just rule (*adil*), the fact that the name (*nama*) of not one of his subjects was wronged, and the populous condition of

his country (*negeri*), the text states that he had two sons. When they had grown up, one of these sons, Mohammed Dalek, sets off on a voyage to China to "observe the customs of that land". He is shipwrecked off Pasai (in North Sumatra) and from there, disguised as a beggar, he journeys to Aceh.

On arrival, Mohammed Dalek learns that a powerful ascetic, by murdering the inhabitants, is creating havoc in the interior. He offers to carry out the order of the Sultan of Aceh, Iskandar Muda, to kill him. He succeeds and the Sultan, astonished at Mohammed Dalek's strength and bravery, bestows on him a title "*Laksamana Koedbintan*".[5]

Mohammed Dalek now waits upon the Sultan daily, and soon the latter decides to test Mohammed Dalek's strength by pitting him against an elephant. Mohammed Dalek wins easily. The Sultan is again amazed and, after consulting with his ministers, decides that Mohammed Dalek's power and gracious manners warrant a higher title (*gelar, nama*).[6] He is, therefore, created *Gochoh Pahlawan*[7] and made head of all the chiefs, generals, and ministers. The Sultan then orders him to be outfitted in a new set of clothes:

> clothes which were stately and impressive, ear pendants with hanging pearl drops, eight, of old-fashioned style; . . . his jacket of the lotus flower pattern, his *sarong* held with a sash of fine flowered cloth, his trousers of rare style. And he held a *kris*, and his waist buckle was studded with jewels of various sorts.[8]

The Sultan of Aceh now desires to increase his territories by taking the *negeri* (country or settlement) of Pahang and other *negeri*s. On an auspicious day, following ceremonies and prayers to Allah to ward off misfortune, the Acehnese fleet departs, and it is led by Mohammed Dalek.

They land first at Siak. Mohammed Dalek sends a letter to the Raja Siak, demanding his surrender. The latter replies that he will come and do obeisance. He does so and is received in the custom (*adat*) suitable to great rajas. A feast is held. Mohammed Dalek explains that the Sultan of Aceh, who has the title "Ruler of the World" (*Shah Alam*), wishes to "subdue all Malay *negeri*". Raja Siak replies that he will follow Mohammed Dalek, who announces his intention of conquering Malaka, as well as all the Malay lands, and implores the Raja Siak: "Do not allow me to be dishonoured (*kemaloean*) at the hands of the Portuguese."[9]

The fleet comes next to Kedah, and then to Perak. In both these places almost exactly the same process occurs as in Siak. And in all three places, we are told which officials (the same in each case) are ordered by Mohammed Dalek to carry the letters to the Rajas, the manner in which the Rajas are received by Mohammed Dalek (always in accordance with the "custom of great Rajas"), and some details regarding the feast (and all feasts follow the same pattern). Finally, in each instance the text presents Mohammed Dalek's speech proclaiming his intention of conquering Melaka as well as many Malay lands, and also his plea to each Raja: "Do not allow me to be dishonoured (*kemaloean*) at the hands of the Portuguese." This is the pattern of most of the *Hikayat*; it supplies elaborate detail regarding what we would consider formalities, and frequent formulaic speeches as well as repetitious description.

After Perak, Mohammed Dalek sails to Selangor. As in many of the later states visited, the ruler consults his ministers upon receipt of Mohammed Dalek's letter. Here and elsewhere the consultation is described. It is always in the same format: the Raja asks "What is your opinion, sirs, regarding this letter of Gochoh Pahlawan's? This is its import (*bunyi*)." The ministers reply: "Pardon, My Lord, a thousand pardons, our opinion is that it is best, My Lord, that we . . ." They then state a course of action giving their reasons for acting in this way rather than another. If the Raja agrees with his ministers' advice, and normally he does, he notes that this is the proper (*patut*) thing to do. The contents of the letter replying to Mohammed Dalek are then recorded. In Selangor, the Raja and his ministers decide that it is proper (*patut*) to surrender in order to avoid war and the loss of their *negeri*. They submit according to the custom (*adat*) of Rajas; the Selangor ruler and his forces then join the Acehnese fleet, and they all sail for Johor.

In Johor, the Raja again consults with his miniters. To avoid the dishonour (*aib*) of defeat, and to retain the *kerajaan* (government or kingdom) in their hands, they decide to surrender. The Johor forces join the Acehnese fleet, and they all proceed to Pahang. But the Pahang Raja (who is referred to as *Sri Paduka*, a title more glorious than that possessed by any of the Rajas previously encountered)[10] and his ministers decide that, as the defences of the country are already prepared, and in order to avoid dishonour (*malu*), they will fight the Acehnese.

A carefully described battle ensues and the Pahang army fares badly against that of Aceh, whose leader, Mohammed Dalek, is "as a tiger after its prey".[11] Following a second disappointing battle, the Pahang ruler and his ministers, fearing that the *negeri* will be captured and the people killed, surrender, offering the two Pahang princesses to the Acehnese.

A reception is held for Mohammed Dalek and the appropriate (*patut*) arrangements are described in detail: we are told which officers held the state umbrella, who wore shoulder clothes, how many men carried the royal spear and many other details. Mohammed Dalek now orders his forces to act properly (*patut*) towards the inhabitants of Pahang, and he explains that the chiefs, officers, laws and "customs and ceremonial" (*adat istiadat*) of Pahang will remain in the charge of, or "in the hands of", the Pahang Raja.[12] The Sultan of Aceh is told by letter of the victories and is delighted.

Mohammed Dalek and his fleet return to Aceh, and a grand reception is held and described in great detail. The Sultan assures the Rajas of the conquered *negeri* that their custom and ceremonial (*adat-istiadat*) will not be altered, and suggests that their loyalty (*kebaktian*) will be repaid by God.[13] The Sultan now marries one of the Pahang princesses and the toilette, the garments worn, and the composition of the ceremonies are described in detail. Mohammed Dalek marries the second princess and, although the procedure is virtually identical, once again the toilette, garments and ceremonies are detailed and receive the same attention as those involving the Sultan.

The Raja Selangor, praised for his fine manners, strength and bravery, is now made the Sultan of Aceh's representative (*wakil*) on the Malay Peninsula, and the Sultan then bestows suits of clothing on the assembled Rajas, chiefs, and officials. The Aceh ruler then announces his desire to make subject additional lands, and those assembled declare they will serve him and not bring dishonour (*malu*) to his name (*nama*). A great feast is held, and the conquered Rajas later return to their lands, where they are all welcomed by their subjects in the same manner, and prepare for the next expedition.

After some time, the Rajas are summoned to Aceh and the fleet sails to Kelantan, following a holy feast and ceremonies to ward off danger. At Kelantan, Mohammed

Dalek, as usual, sends an ultimatum to the Raja. The latter consults with his ministers, and they decide to comply in order to avoid the death of their people, the loss of the *negeri*, and dishonour (*malu*).

The Raja Kelantan and his ships now join the Acehnese and they all sail to Trengganu. The same procedure occurs, and the Trengganu forces join those of the invaders and sail to Patani. The Raja Patani and his ministers also decide to surrender and join forces with the Acehnese. At this point a conference is held to plan the attack on Melaka. A strategy is devised and Melaka is assailed by land and by sea. No consultations are mentioned in the case of Melaka, but the ensuing battle is well-described and, when the Melaka people lose, they flee to the jungle where they become *Jakun*, or aborigines. A religious feast is then held at which clothing and ranks are given to the Rajas, chiefs, officials, and people. Afterward, Mohammed Dalek goes to Kemuja,[14] leaving half the force behind to guard Melaka.

The Raja Kemuja, having the lofty title of *Shah Alam* (Ruler of the World), decides to fight the Acehnese, against the advice of his ministers, who warn that war will lead to the death of the people of Kemuja and the loss of the *negeri*. A battle takes place and is portrayed in some detail. The Kemuja forces do badly; the Raja Kemuja assumes command and prepares to enter the fray himself.

> The thunder sounds, rumbling and groaning, and hot rain descends, drizzling in ribbons. The wind rises, blowing gently, and all the leaves of the trees droop like dead princes. The chickens do not cluck, a sign that a great Raja is about to die.[15]

After Raja Kemuja is slain there is much weeping and wailing. The Kemuja ministers decide to cease fighting. Their Raja is buried and Mohammed Dalek speaks to his family, "soothing their sorrow with his sweet words".[16]

Mohammed Dalek then sends a letter, announcing his victories, to the Sultan of Aceh; Iskandar Muda, on receiving the news, considers that his own rank, *Sultan Mahkota Alam*, is truly fitting.[17] The Sultan organizes

a grand reception for Mohammed Dalek. As in the description of many other events we learn such details as how the Sultan greeted Mohammed Dalek, where the ministers and the Rajas were located, and how they were carried in the procession which followed.

In the celebrations themselves, Mohammed Dalek is given the high title of *Sri Paduka*.[18] The Sultan then assures the newly subject Rajas that their customs and ceremonial (*adat istiadat*) will not be altered, and his wife holds a ceremony in Mohammed Dalek's honour, enumerates the latter's many qualities, and praises his service to the Sultan.

After some months, the Sultan of Aceh and his ministers decide that it is proper (*patut*) to attack the as yet undefeated Bangkahulu (Bencoolen in West Sumatra), in order to avoid the Sultan's name (*nama*) being dishonoured among other Rajas. Mohammed Dalek suggests he go alone, accompanied by only a few rowers. After arriving in Bangkahulu, he and his men kidnap the Raja and take him back to Aceh, where the Sultan assures him that the *adat istiadat* of his country will not be altered. Meanwhile Bangkahulu is in confusion and, as in Kemuja after the loss of its Raja, there is much weeping and wailing: "There was a din of cries and frightened shouting, a sound of wailing and weeping; all announcing that the Raja had been taken captive. . . Then all was in disturbance."[19] The officials and chiefs decide to search for their Raja, and sail to Aceh. Hearing of their arrival, the Sultan of Aceh considers that the Raja Bangkahulu must indeed be a ruler (*shah*)[20] if his chiefs have come in search of him. The Sultan assures the Bangkahulu ministers and their king that their *adat* and *istiadat* will not be altered; Bangkahulu, explains the Sultan, will merely be "under his orders (*perentah*)."[21] The Bangkahulu people are delighted and, following celebrations, are escorted back to their country by Mohammed Dalek. A great feast is held for Mohammed Dalek in Bangkahulu (as usual it is recounted in some detail) and his qualities are enumerated by the Raja Bangkahulu, who declares his hope that Mohammed Dalek's "rank and grade, which are honoured in the world to come", may increase.[22]

Mohammed Dalek then returns to Aceh and decides that, if there are no more orders from the Sultan, he will go

home to his parents in India, and also visit China and other countries. But Sultan Iskandar wishes to attack Sambas (in Borneo) and, on the advice of his ministers, asks Mohammed Dalek to lead the expedition. Mohammed Dalek summons the other Rajas to join the attack. An auspicious day is determined, a feast is held, and the fleet sails for Sambas.

The text now relates that the Sultan of Aceh's wife (the eldest daughter of the Raja Pahang) wishes to amuse herself in the mountains. The Sultan arranges for an artificial river and mountain to be built, and the journey there of the Queen and her sister, Mohammed Dalek's wife, is described in great detail. Sultan Aceh asks his wife if she desires anything further. She replies that she is afraid of the worms which enter the three-sided Muslim coffin and would like a coffin of gold raised on posts. The Sultan might then, she tells him, have a name (*nama*) which is famous in this world. The people who hear her request remark on the Sultan's passion for his wife.

The construction of the coffin is now described. Following its completion, the Queen gives birth to a girl. Celebrations are held, and we are told of the entertainments, the musical instruments, the appearance of the lustration platform, the location of the various ranks of officials, and the rites involved in the haircutting and naming of the child.

The account now returns to Pahang, where Mohammed Dalek waits for the Rajas to assemble in order to aid him in his attack on Sambas. When they have arrived, the Raja Pahang holds ceremonies to ward off danger. The fleet then sails. The Sambas ruler, having the lofty titles of *Sri Paduka* and *Sultan*, decides to fight despite the advice of his ministers, who warn that war will lead to the death of his people, the loss of the *negeri*, and harm to his name (*nama*). A battle follows in which Mohammed Dalek kills the commander of the Sambas forces, and the Sambas people flee. The Sambas ruler, when told of the situation, decides to summon his ministers.

At this point, however, Mohammed Dalek receives a letter, telling him that the Sultan of Aceh's heart is "inclining towards" Mohammed Dalek's wife. Mohammed

Dalek then declares he is leaving Sambas for Aceh; he orders the war halted, and states that all the Rajas may go home to their own countries if he has not returned within a month. Mohammed Dalek does not tell the Rajas the reason for his decision; if they knew of the fate of one so loyal as he, their own loyalty would end.[23]

Mohammed Dalek sails for Aceh. Knowing that it is not proper (*patut*) to commit treason, he confronts the Sultan, tells him of the service he has done, and then declares that he will no longer carry out the Sultan's orders and that he has divorced his wife whom he offers as a masseuse for the Sultan's feet. Mohammed Dalek now sails out of the Aceh river, and the *Hikayat* conveys a mood of hopelessness and sorrow:

> The moon, spreading its light, illuminates all; a bird, with a voice full of melody, cries longingly at the moon, like a woman who is abandoned, mourning her love. Anyone who listens is sorrowful and feels compassion in his heart, while tears trickle from his eyes.[24]

Mohammed Dalek arrives in Percut (on the East Coast of Sumatra).[25] The Raja there is known as Tengku Kejuruan Hitam.[26] A large reception is held and the Percut ruler, knowing of Mohammed Dalek's position in Aceh, asks where he is going and invites him to stay in Percut. Mohammed Dalek soon requests permission to visit the outlying districts, and goes to Kota Djawa, Pulau Berayan, Kota Rentang, and Kampong Kesawan (all located in the Deli-Bulu Cina region).[27] After his return, the Tengku Kejuruan and his ministers decide to arrange a marriage between Mohammed Dalek and the Kejuruan's daughter. Having consulted with his chiefs and ministers, Mohammed Dalek agrees, and the Tengku Kejuruan then offers him the *negeri*[2] Percut. A wedding now takes place. The description is detailed and the ceremony is similar to that held in Aceh.

After a time, Mohammed Dalek asks permission of the Tengku Kejuruan to establish a village (*kampong*) in which to live. A place is found in the vicinity of Gunong Kelaus,[28] and an account is given of the procedures involved in locating and building the main house of the *kampong*. Mohammed Dalek and his followers move to the new settlement and celebrations are held. A road is built

to Percut, and a Batak chief is ordered to extend his settlement (*dusun*).[29] Both *kampong* and *dusun* expand. Mohammed Dalek's wife becomes pregnant and a boy is born. The ceremonies following his birth are carefully described and resemble closely the haircutting ceremony in Aceh. The child is given the name Tengku Perunggit.[30]

We are told that "this is all that is said in the *hikayat*,"[31] and the text now assumes a different style. In a brief and summary manner, and with a notable lack of dialogue, it is related that Mohammed Dalek eventually dies and his son, Tengku Perunggit, succeeds him. The latter holds the title "*Penglima*"[32] which is said to have the same authority as "*Sultan*".[33] Yet, the text explains, he was not a Sultan because there were no *Datoes* or chiefs at that time to instal him.

Tengku Perunggit has a son named Tengku Peradap,[34] who later has four sons, and who travels to Java in search of knowledge and comrades. In his absence, a Raja Karau (presumably a Karo Batak) rules Deli with great cruelty and, as a consequence, the people flee. Hearing of these events, Tengku Peradap returns, a battle is fought, and Raja Karau is captured. Tengku Peradap attempts to execute his enemy, but killing him proves difficult and eventually Raja Karau's "corpse" becomes a voracious crocodile, devouring many of Deli's people.

After Tengku Peradap's death, his son, Tengku Penglima Pasoetan, rules. He, too, has a son, Tengku Gendar Wahid, and we are told that the customs and ceremonies remain the same as in the time of Mohammed Dalek. When Tengku Gendar Wahid's son, Tengku Amal, rules he holds the title *Sultan Penglima Mengedar Alam Negeri Deli* (evidently the "Mangidar Alam" of the British records). He makes a contract with *negeri* Siak, in which it is stated that both Rajas are equal. In his time, Deli has four territories (*suku*) each with a chief (*datoe*). When this Sultan dies, he is "succeeded by his son, Sultan Osman, who journeys to Aceh where he is given the title "Veranda of Atjeh" (*Serambi Atjeh*)". After Sultan Osman's death, his son Sultan Mahmud rules and is assisted by the Dutch in a war against one of his chiefs. On Mahmud's death, he is in turn succeeded by Sultan Maamoen Alrasjed, "who rules now".[35]

The Hikayat Deli is difficult to characterize. It is clearly concerned with the past, and its account of seventeenth-century North Sumatra obviously contains an element of factual truth. Aceh, for instance, had made conquests in East Sumatra and many other parts of the Malay world,[36] and Dutch records confirm that a title of the seventeenth-century rulers of Deli was *Penglima*.[37] Investigation of the scant records for seventeenth-century East Sumatra would produce further indications of historicity in the *Hikayat*. But such an investigation is unnecessary for the present purpose.[38]

What must be emphasized here is that although the text is not "tissue-less fable", it has, of course, little in common with most modern history. First, its information is, on occasion, inaccurate. Though Sultan Iskandar Muda's early seventeenth-century conquests were extensive, they did not include Melaka, Cambodia or Selangor;[39] indeed Selangor does not appear to have existed as a state at that time.[40] Secondly, the *Hikayat Deli*, like the *Hikayat Pahang*, does not evoke the mood of another era or disclose any historical processes; it is not concerned with the development through time of a nation, an institution, or an idea.[41] It is primarily a tale about a man, Mohammed Dalek. Little evidence exists to establish his historical existence.[42] The *Hikayat* describes him as a descendant of Alexander the Great, who comes from India to Aceh, conquers much of Southeast Asia for Sultan Iskandar Muda, and later flees to the East Coast of Sumatra, where he founds the dynasty which is to rule Deli. Yet, although the text deals with an individual, it is not a biography as we define the term: there is no character analysis, and the only way in which Mohammed Dalek alters or develops is in terms of change of rank.

Perhaps the most obvious purpose of the *Hikayat* is to establish a royal genealogy. The author terms his work an "*hikayat keturunan*", a story (*hikayat*) of descent (*keturunan*), and he traces the Deli dynasty back to Alexander the Great. This is a noble lineage in the Malay world. As in the case of the *Hikayat Pahang*, the *Hikayat Deli* would appear to be "proving the right to the throne of the person . . . who occupied it."[43]

That the *hikayat* should have a "political" purpose of this nature is not surprising. The dating of such a text

is difficult to determine with certainty, but the major part of it appears to have been written at the critical time when Mangidar Alam and his son, Osman, were consolidating the Deli state. Although the sole surviving manuscript concludes with the reign of Sultan Maamun al Rashid (1873-1924), the main body of the text was probably not composed at such a late date.[44] The last six pages seem to be a sequel. At the top of page 192, just before Mohammed Dalek's death, we are, in fact, told that "this is all that is said in the *Hikayat*". From this point onwards there is a distinct change in style. The prose becomes less repetitive and the text is not written so consistently in what linguists refer to as the "narrative present".[45] There is also no dialogue in these last pages. The text instead presents, in a matter of fact manner, a summary of the reigns of the later rulers of Deli. Whether this portion of the text was added in one or several stages is unclear. Presumably, the various rulers of Deli directed that the *Hikayat* be brought up to date in order to include their own names.

Despite the fact that the first addition deals with Mohammed Dalek's successor, we cannot conclude that the text was originally composed during or soon after the latter's reign. If Mohammed Dalek was a contemporary of Iskandar Muda (1607-36),[46] as the text indicates, he must have died in the seventeenth century. The content of the main body of the text, however, indicates that it was written at a much later date. We are told, for instance, that Aceh conquered Selangor. Yet only in the 1700's does one read of Selangor, and it was probably not of much importance until the end of the century.[47] The *Hikayat* also refers to a "Raja Bendahara" of Pahang; but Pahang did not become the special province of the Bendaharas' until the late eighteenth century.[48] Finally, the ruler of Johor is portrayed as a relatively unimportant Raja. Yet Johor was a powerful and prestigious state in the seventeenth century, and only by the late eighteenth century would it have been possible to portray it as a place of little consequence.[49] Thus, the shape of the Malay world set forth in the *Hikayat Deli* appears to reflect the situation not of the seventeenth but of the late eighteenth or the early decades of the nineteenth century.

The early 1880's, as observed in Chapter II, was a turbulent period for East Sumatra. Malay leaders

competed with one another for the profits of the pepper boom. At this time Mangidar Alam and his son, Osman, were establishing a vigorous state in Deli. Moreover, both the *Hikayat Deli* and John Anderson, who visited the region in 1823, record that Mangidar Alam had obtained a new title, and one no less prestigious than "Sultan". He was to be known, as the *Hikayat Deli* relates, as Sultan Penglima Mangidar Alam Shah (the Sultan, the warrior leader, who encircles the world, the King).[50]

The composition of an *hikayat* containing a genealogy was perhaps one aspect of the formation of the Deli state. According to a mid-nineteenth-century observer, Newbold, genealogies were generally part of the regalia of a Malay court and were "preserved with superstitious care".[51] Even today a visitor to the remnants of East Sumatran courts may be shown a genealogy, meticulously preserved, which exhibits the rights and status of some royal house.[52]

Malay genalogies usually refer to renowned empires and personages of the past. Many mention Alexander the Great;[53] the Melaka text incorporates the South Indian Cholas,[54] and Byzantium or *Rum* plays a part in the Kedah annals.[55] Similarly, Malay kingdoms which were important in the early history of the Malay world appear in the genealogies of later states; the Brunei text, for example, has references to Johor,[56] and Aceh appears in Asahan's "Kingslist".[57] In the competitive atmosphere of early nineteenth-century East Sumatra the Deli text, which embodies such prominent features of the remembered past as Iskandar Muda, the Delhi court of India, and Alexander the Great, would have provided Mangidar Alam with a genealogy equal to that of any Malay ruler.

Although possessing a genealogical function, the *Hikayat Deli* contains a quantity of material which would be extraneous to this purpose. The carefully detailed descriptions of clothing, court language, royal life cycle ceremonies, audiences, receptions, departures, wars, and negotiations would be unnecessary if the text were merely "proving the right to the throne" of the Deli dynasty. This material, relating to what might be called social and political matters, has two main characteristics: it is written, as we have seen, in a style which a Western reader might be excused for regarding as unnecessarily elaborate and repetitive. Furthermore, the bulk of the text is not even concerned with Deli. These two features deserve to be emphasized, for together they suggest a

further function which the text might have performed in nineteenth-century Deli.

A large part of the *Hikayat Deli* is devoted to detailed description of courtly style. This characteristic is particularly apparent in the text's handling of ceremony. In the summary I have noted, for instance, the careful way in which the ritual surrounding the birth of a child to the Queen of Aceh is described. We are told of the entertainments, musical instruments, the appearance of the lustration platform, the location of the various ranks of officials, and the rites involved in the haircutting and naming of the child. Similarly, when the Sultan of Aceh marries a Pahang princess, the toilette, the garments worn, and the composition of the ceremonial rites are related in great detail.

Not only, however, are the *Hikayat*'s accounts of such occasions elaborate, but they are also reiterated. Thus, although the events associated with the birth of Mohammed Dalek's son towards the end of the *Hikayat* are for the most part identical with those following the Aceh princess's birth, they, too, are carefully recounted. Descriptions of royal weddings are also repetitive. Thus, the portrayal of Mohammed Dalek's marriage to the Pahang princess, and to the daughter of the Percut ruler, follow closely the description of the Aceh Sultan's wedding. But repetition is not limited to the *Hikayat*'s handling of life cycle ceremonies. Speeches by Mohammed Dalek to subject Rajas, for example, become formulaic, being repeated time and again. In addressing each of them he declares his intention of conquering Melaka and other lands, and asks them to assist him, and save him from incurring dishonour. Similarly, when the Acehnese fleet arrives at each state, the consultations held between the local ruler and his ministers all have the same format: the Raja asks, "What is your opinion, sirs, regarding this letter (from Mohammed Dalek)? This is its import." The ministers reply, "Pardon, My Lord, a thousand pardons, our opinion is that it is best, My Lord, that we . . ." Such statements as these are so standardized in the *Hikayat* that they soon become imbedded in the mind of the reader and, presumably, the listener.

In the next chapter I shall suggest that a repetitive and formulaic style is a general feature of Malay *hikayats*,

and has important implications for our understanding of Malay political culture. But the elaborate and repetitive description found in the *Hikayat Deli* is exceptional even by the standards of Malay literature. In the *Hikayat Raja Pasai*, for example, only one royal wedding is described, and it is dealt with in a paragraph. The Perlak princess concerned is said to be dressed "in fine clothing" and we are told simply that "wedding festivities" took place.[58] In the *Hikayat Deli* two or more pages are devoted to such weddings, and the princesses' attire and toilette, like the ceremonial procedure, are fully described. In the *Sejarah Melayu*, too, we find no detailed accounts of weddings. Perhaps the most elaborate description of a ceremony concerns the lustration of the Prince Sri Tri Buana and his bride in the early sections of the chronicle,[59] but, by the standards of the *Hikayat Deli*, this important occasion receives scant attention. The *Sejarah Melayu* does contain a statement of sumptuary laws and protocol which deals with the placement of court officials at royal audiences and the procedures for receiving and despatching envoys and for installing officials and numerous other matters.[60] But the five pages devoted to these concerns in Sir Richard Winstedt's romanized edition of the text have little in common with the description of ceremony in the *Hikayat Deli*. Unlike the latter, the etiquette and sumptuary rules in the *Sejarah Melayu* do not form part of the narrative; they are simply listed and designated as the "approved ceremonial of the court" established by Sultan Muhammed Shah. Moreover, having cited these regulations, the *Sejarah Melayu* does not reiterate or illustrate them in the narrative. Audiences later take place or envoys arrive and depart, but we are told little more than that certain honours are conferred and that the procedures are "in accordance with ancient custom".[61] Thus, the *Sejarah Melayu*'s account of the departure of a war fleet differs greatly from that found in the *Hikayat Deli*. In the latter, each time a fleet departs from Aceh the ceremonies are detailed, the dignitaries who took part are recorded and the Sultan's speeches, though they do not vary, are always recorded. In the *Sejarah Melayu*, by contrast, when the Melaka Sultan orders a fleet to sail to Sumatra, the text records only the names of the commander and his companion.[62]

In some ways the *Hikayat Seri Rama*[63] and the *Hikayat Hang Tuah*,[64] referred to sometimes as Malay "romances",[65] are more reminiscent of the Deli text. They too, contain

much dialogue, and they occasionally pause to present a rather elaborate account of a wedding or a Raja's costume.[66] But in these two works one does not find the oft-repeated, conventionalized, speeches and the reiterated description, encountered in the *Hikayat Deli*. The *Hikayat Hang Tuah* and the *Hikayat Seri Rama* contain a stronger narrative line, and to the modern reader, the dialogue seems a little more naturalistic; in general, therefore, they appear less laboured than the Deli text.

It would be easy to assume that the repetitious description and the formulaic dialogue which characterize the *Hikayat Deli* were the products of an author who was inept in his handling of Malay. But these features may suggest a further, and for our purposes an especially important, function for which the text was designed. The *Hikayat Deli*, I believe, was a type of teaching manual.

No contemporary record exists of the text being used for didactic purposes in nineteenth-century East Sumatra. But today Deli Malays recall that, at least in court circles, men read aloud the *Hikayat Deli*, and those who listened learned to behave properly and acquired a knowledge of Malay culture (*kebudayan*).[67] That the *Hikayat* should have been used in this way in the nineteenth century is, for a number of reasons, highly probable.

The instructional aspect of some classical Malay literature has been remarked on for many years. In 1907, for instance, R.J. Wilkinson explained that the "long conventional dialogues" in certain stories "represent to Malay listeners the mirror of fashion and the pattern of good form." "We can easily understand" Wilkinson adds, "the eagerness of the audience to know how the hero will exactly express himself."[68] Similarly, a Malay author writing in more recent times has noted how children, in particular, listened to "wandering bards"[69] in order to improve their "manners and disposition".[70]

That such "royal texts" as the *Hikayat Deli* were utilized for didactic ends is to be expected. The educational role of Malay rulers is often referred to in the sources. We have seen, for instance, that in

the *Hikayat Pahang* Raja Bendahara Ali often studied law, and the text describes one of his speeches as "disseminating Islamic and customary law". The importance of the ruler's position in Malay Islam, particularly his part in the conversion process, is another indication of his function as a teacher. This importance is noted in both Malay and European sources. Thus, the *Sejarah Melayu* described the first Muslim ruler of Melaka "commanding" all his subjects to enter the faith.[71] And, according to the Portuguese writer, Tome Pires, Sultan Ala'u'd-Din of Melaka (1477-88)[72] "always had the kings of Pahang, Kampar and Indragiri, and their relatives, with him in Melaka, at court as it were, and he instructed them in the things of Mohammed, because he knew all about them".[73] But perhaps the best indication of the pedagogical role of the Raja is to be found in the early nineteenth-century Malay account of Bengal which is examined above in Chapter III. In his portrayal of an audience held at Government House, the writer, knowing no English, assumed that "papers" given by the Governor to certain young people present were "writings for the youths to learn against the next time the Rajah might call them together."

A contemporary report from early nineteenth-century East Sumatra indicates that the Sultan of Deli also had "papers" read to his people. John Anderson saw one of the "King's men reading with a loud voice, in a circle of about two hundred people, from a book containing the history of the exploits of Alexander the Great" (presumably the *Hikayat Iskandar*).[74] The Iskandar tale is unlikely to have been the only text read aloud at the behest of the Sultan. For Deli at this time instructional literature would have been of exceptional importance. A process of acculturation was underway there which must have intensified the demand for manuals of Malay custom and behaviour.

When Anderson came to East Sumatra in 1823 he found two peoples: the Muslim Malays, living close to the sea, and a "vast variety of (pagan) Battas" in the interior.[75] The latter, were much superior in numbers; they were counted in tens of thousands, while the coastal pockets of Malays were numbered in thousands and often hundreds.[76] In some regions, however, Bataks fell under Malay political control, and, if we look at European records of the nineteenth century, it becomes clear that the Malay sphere

was, in fact, expanding into the interior. Areas described as Batak in 1823, for instance, were called Malay by Dutch observers arriving in the 1860's and 1870's. Thus, Anderson reported that the inhabitants of Sunggal, about twelve miles from the coast, near present day Medan, were mostly Bataks;[77] but by 1872 Sunggal was termed a Malay *kampong*.[78]

The Malay advance up the rivers of Deli may have been partly due to a movement inland of Malays from the coast or from other areas of the Malay world.[79] But there is another explanation. At the end of the nineteenth century several European observers noted the existence in the region of a Malayization process, of a tendency among some Bataks to become Muslim Malays.[80] Indications of the presence of this Malayization process are to be found in reports from earlier in the century. The parents or grandparents of men who were identified as Malay by the 1860's and 1870's, for instance, were described as Batak in the early part of the century. Thus, the Muslim chiefs of the Sunggal district, who were *datus* in the Deli Sultanate by the mid-nineteenth century,[81] who held the noble Malay rank, *Orang Kaya Sri di Raja*,[82] and who intermarried with the Deli royal family,[83] were closely related to ruling families in the Karo Batak areas inland of Deli. The great grandfather of the chief reigning in Sunggal in the 1870's had become Malay, but the former's brother and his descendants remained pagan Bataks, and stayed in the interior.[84] The "Malay" rulers of another district, Bulu Cina, also claimed Batak ancestors, including the legendary Singa Maharaja of the Toba Batak regions of the southwest.[85] In addition, the father of the Bulu Cina chief whom Anderson met in the 1820's was installed by Batak headmen, whereas the son was appointed by the Sultan of Deli and held the Malay title, Panglima Setia Raja.[86] Perhaps with the acquiescence of many of his subjects, the Bulu Cina chief's authority by this time, therefore, was presented in Malay instead of, or as well as, Batak terms. He had become, in the Malay expression, a "pillar"[87] of the Sultanate of Deli. Anderson's description of this Bulu Cina chief suggests that he was a relatively fresh convert to Malay culture: Anderson notes that he behaved in a manner "quite contrary to Malayan etiquette" and had a "Javanese priest" as a tutor.[88]

Anderson and the Dutch writers provide several other glimpses of Bataks adopting Malay customs. Thus, we see a Batak man, employed by the Sultan of Deli, dressed like a Malay, in a *baju* (jacket) and trousers with a handkerchief on his head;[89] Anderson also quotes a coastal chief as declaring that when Bataks "come down among his civilised Malays, they leave off their bad practices. . ."[90] Finally, in the 1870's the people of Deli Tuah, some ten miles further inland than Sunggal, are said to speak and dress like Malays, though the fact that they were still keeping pigs indicated that, as yet, Islam played little part in their lives.[91]

In adopting Malay customs some, at least, of these Bataks were actually in the process of becoming Malay. European accounts of East Sumatra suggest why it was possible to become Malay in this fashion: Malays, it is explained, were distinguished not by physical characteristics but by behaviour and attitudes. Bataks dressed in "blue cloths", which they "threw over their shoulders like a scarf";[92] on their heads they wore a "small stripe of fine blue cloth".[93] Malays, as noted in regard to the Sultan's Batak described above, were attired in "bajoos or jackets of European chintz or white cloth",[94] with "serwahs or trousers",[95] a "*sarong* or tartan petticoat", and on their heads "a batiste or European handkerchief".[96] Malays were also distinguished, it was said, by the fact they held "their persons upright"[97] and walked "rather gracefully".[98] The Malays, of course, professed Islam, while, according to Anderson, the Bataks had "no religion at all".[99] But the different outlooks of the two people are perhaps best indicated by their geographic orientations: the Malay, unlike the Batak, considered that the right or left side of a river was determined by facing upstream rather than downstream.[100]

To be Malay, therefore, was to behave and to think in a particular way, that is, to participate in Malay culture. By adopting Malay culture, it was possible to become Malay. The *Hikayat Deli* itself indicates that change of race was understood by Malays in this way. When Melaka is attacked and defeated, the text explains that the Portuguese flee to the jungle where they change their customs, language and clothing (*adat dan bahasa dan pakain*) and become *Jakun*, or jungle aborigines.[101] Like the Portuguese, the Bataks would also not need to possess any particular ancestry or

physical characteristics. In learning the Malay language, in dressing and acting in a Malay style, they would eventually be considered Malays.[102]

The considerations which encouraged Bataks to enter the Malay world do not require analysis in this study. For the present purpose, the motives for assimilation are less important than an appreciation of how the new culture was acquired.[103] On this matter, the nineteenth century sources provide very little information. The comment of a coastal chief that Bataks gave up their "bad practices" when living "amongst us civilized Malays" suggests that Bataks possibly adopted Malay characteristics simply as a result of being in continual contact with Malays. But the work of an American scholar, H.H. Bartlett, in the twentieth century, indicates that the process may not always have been an informal one. Bartlett published a bilingual, Batak and Malay, chant which was led by Batak "magician priests" and "Muhammedan missionaries" and was "designed to instruct children in the essential folkways and, at the same time, to begin to convert them to Islam by teaching them to use Malay instead of the local Batak dialect which is associated with old pagan beliefs".[104] For those entering the Malay sphere such chants may have constituted a first step - a type of primer. They would be intended for people having only the most elementary acquaintance with matters Malay. Individuals in the position of the Bulu Cina chief whom Anderson had met, and who had assumed a Malay title and a position in the Deli Sultanate, would certainly require a more sophisticated manual. Men who were beginning to participate in Malay court life would not be satisfied with learning "essential folk ways".

Numerous Malay texts are known to have been in circulation in nineteenth-century Deli. Anderson noted the presence of the *Hikayat Iskandar* and the *Sjair Ken Tambuhan*,[105] for instance, and it is said today that the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* and the *Hikayat Seri Rama* were also popular.[106] Such tales as these would be used for instruction: as Wilkinson remarked, they might present a "mirror of fashion" and a "pattern of good form". The slow moving *Hikayat Deli*, however, would have been especially valuable. The very characteristics which make it unattractive to a modern reader, its repetition and detailed description, would have rendered the document

useful for didactic purposes. One can easily imagine that the King's servant, whom Anderson described as "reading aloud with a loud voice" from a "book containing the history of the exploits of Alexander the Great", would, on another occasion, relate the story of Mohammed Dalek. In the court, and probably elsewhere, the young Bulu Cina chief and others (whose education in Malay matters may have begun with the Batak-Malay chant) would listen and note the way men of different ranks addressed one another, the parts they played in royal ceremonies, and how they were attired; in particular those in the audience might hope to emulate the manners of such loyal subjects as Mohammed Dalek and the Selangor Raja.

Instruction in the *Hikayat Deli*, however, is not limited to matters of etiquette. The text contains information about what might be called Malay history and geography. Earlier in this chapter we noted the way a reader of the *Hikayat* is struck by the scant attention it devotes to Deli. The last few pages refer, of course, to the history and geography of Deli: Mohammed Dalek's arrival in the region and the reigns of his descendants are described briefly, and mention is made of some traditional population centres such as Kota Djawa and Pulau Berayan. But most of the *Hikayat Deli* is concerned with the world outside Deli, with India and with the Acehnese expeditions to places as distant as Cambodia and Sambas. These events and lands are part of Malay rather than Deli history and geography. Many of them would be familiar to a 'worldly' East Sumatran. We know, for example, that the seventeenth-century expansion of Iskandar Muda's Aceh was well remembered in Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula.[107] Even today the visitor to Deli, Asahan, and Perak may hear tales or be shown manuscripts relating to Iskandar's conquests.[108] On the other hand, there is documentary evidence of trading links and migratory movements which would have acquainted East Sumatran Malays with many of the countries in the *Hikayat*.[109]

To the Batak, unlike the young Malay, however, the history and geography of the *Hikayat Deli* would be relatively alien. Bataks would know little of the archipelago or Peninsular states. Their own traditional literature was concerned not with Pahang or Sambas but with the polities and peoples of the interior of Sumatra.[110] Nor were there numerous Batak traders,

who, in the manner of the Malay traders, might return home with tales of Timor or Cambodia.[111] In listening to the *Hikayat Deli*, therefore, a young chief of Batak background would be introduced to a very different world. And, on the rare occasions when Bataks are mentioned, he would find the references unflattering. The fact that Mohammed Dalek, the founder of the Deli dynasty, "orders" a Batak headman to extend his *dusun* (village)[112] suggests that Bataks were of subordinate status. Moreover, it has been seen that in a later incident the temporary government of a "Raja Karau" (presumably a Karo Batak Raja) is described as cruel (*zalim*).[113] Perhaps recalling the Batak reputation for cannibalism,[114] the *hikayat* relates that when the Raja Karau is captured and "executed" by the Malays, he takes the form of a crocodile which "catches and kills many Deli subjects".[115]

In contrast to the Batak world, the Malay World, with its courts, ceremonies, costumes, speeches, and wars is clearly portrayed as an object of admiration.

Although those listening to the *Hikayat Deli* would find the Malay states pictured in laudatory terms, they would obtain little specific data from the text concerning those places. Malay *hikayat*s are not generally concerned with descriptions of other lands, yet the *Malay Annals* from Melaka do outline, for instance, the ancestory of the rulers of Aru,[116] and the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* notes the time it took to travel around Istambul and says something of the local customs of the place.[117] The *Hikayat Deli*, on the other hand omits to record even details of this type. Although the greater part of the text is devoted to the world beyond East Sumatra, the listener would learn nothing of the size, customs, or historical background of any territory mentioned. The text also says little of the particular political and social arrangements in the various states, though it suggests that these differ from place to place: the Sultan of Aceh, for example, assures the Rajas who had submitted to him that their local customs will not be altered by the Acehnese. In general, however, political procedures in a state are merely noted as being *patut*, "proper" or "standardized"; thus, Mohammed Dalek's behaviour towards the people of the state of Pahang is *patut*, just as the arrangements at a Pahang reception for him are *patut*. Moreover, when procedures are described in detail the format is the same regardless

of the setting. A royal audience in Sambas is not dissimilar from one in Cambodia; a conquering general is received in the same manner in Pahang as in Siak; and the celebration of a Raja's homecoming is identical in Kedah, Perak, and other states. Evidently, it is not the purpose of the *Hikayat Deli* to explore differences between states. Rather, the way in which the individual countries are presented suggests to me that the text is concerned to offer an account of what the author considered to be standard or *patut* behaviour. To this end the author may have drawn not only from his own experience but also from other Malay writings which he had read. The extent to which the plot, the descriptive matter and the style of the *Hikayat Deli* is influenced by such works as the Acehnese *Hikayat Malem Degang*, the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* or the *Hikayat Seri Rama* must await further research.[118] What must be noted here is that the text appears to outline a generalized picture of social and political arrangements. Just as the listener would find speeches of the Raja of Bangkahulu or Mohammed Dalek "models of good form", so episodes set in Cambodia or Pahang might serve as parables to illustrate or inculcate some facet of Malay political procedure.

I shall suggest, however, that the generalized picture presented in the *Hikayat Deli* includes much more than ceremonial arrangements and etiquette. Written, at least in part, for those on the periphery of the Malay world, the text had to articulate certain critical assumptions that would have been taken for granted in the literary products of older-established Malay regions. These assumptions form the basis of Malay political action, not only in East Sumatra but in mid-nineteenth century Pahang. In particular, they provide the modern historian with a key to understanding the relationship between the ceremonial Malay Raja, whom we encountered in the last two chapters, and his subjects.

VI. THE MALAY RAJA

The *Hikayat Deli* enunciates two statements that determine much of the content of the text as well as its structure and style.

The first statement is that the Raja is the organizing principle in the Malay world, and it is expounded in several ways.

The most immediately apparent exposition of the centrality of the Raja is couched in negative terms, by means of descriptions of the Raja-less state. Just before the Raja of Kemuja is killed it is related that:

> The thunder sounds, rumbling and groaning, and hot rain descends, drizzling in ribbons; the wind rises, blowing gently, and all the leaves of the trees droop like dead princes. The chickens do not cluck, a sign that a great Raja is about to die.[1]

When the Raja of Bangkahulu is kidnapped by Mohammed Dalek a similar aura of disaster and dislocation pervades the text. Seeing that their Raja had been carried off, the people in the palace are

> stiff with fear, there is a din of cries and frightened shouting, a sound of wailing and weeping, all proclaiming that the Raja has been captured. The din is heard as far as the marketplace. Then all is in disturbance.[2]

The impression of dislocation is also conveyed when a subject leaves the service of his Raja. As Mohammed Dalek sails away from Aceh, having decided to work no longer for the Acehnese Sultan, the text tells us that

> the moon, spreading its light, illuminates all; a bird, with a voice full of melody, cries longingly at the moon, like a woman who is abandoned, mourning her love. Anyone who listens is sorrowful and feels compassion in his heart, while tears trickle from his eyes.[3]

The evocative tenor of these descriptive passages is rare in the text. It emphasizes the importance of these passages which communicate a sense of disorder and loss.

The text does not, however, illustrate the Raja's significance solely in negative terms. Just as his absence is presented as abnormal, in a variety of ways the essential concommitant of the polity is shown to be the Raja. When, for instance, Mohammed Dalek arrives in Percut, an area with which he is unacquainted, he asks the headman: "What is the settlement (*negeri*) called; who is its Raja?"[4] He clearly assumes that a *negeri* by nature has a Raja. Moreover, the despair portrayed at the time a Raja is lost is countered in the text by the joy expressed on the "recovery" of a ruler. Thus, when the different Rajas who sail with Mohammed Dalek return to their own countries "their chiefs and captains and ministers and subjects gather downstream, receiving the Rajas with lively crowds and music; the sound of the music is thunderous, delighting hearts which had been sad".[5] Finally, as the *Hikayat* portrays subjects as cherishing their Raja, so it, like the Malay texts discussed above in Chapter IV, makes the strongest possible injunctions against his removal. When Mohammed Dalek leaves the Sultan of Aceh's service after learning that the latter has behaved improperly toward his [Mohammed Dalek's] wife, he recalls the ruling of the elders that a Malay must not commit treason. The text emphasizes that Mohammed Dalek might destroy Aceh if he so desired, but it also reminds the reader no less than three times that Malays do not rebel against and, thereby, remove their Rajas.

That the Raja is an essential concomitant of the Malay polity, therefore, is evident to the casual reader or listener. But, as I have suggested, his significance is not merely asserted but expounded. The nature of the Raja's role is apparent on the first page of the text, where a short description of the kingdom of Mohammed Dalek's father, Deli Akbar, introduces themes which are

explored later in the *Hikayat*. The terms in which Deli Akbar is portrayed suggest that this kingdom is a perfect kingdom. The words of the Raja are described as stately (*indah*) and it is related that

> widespread were the reports of him. Moreover, exceedingly great was the *kerajaan* (kingdom or government) of that ruler. Many were the states which were subject and sent tribute to him. Now this ruler's origin was in the grandchildren of Sultan Iskandar Zulkarnain (Alexander the Great). When the ruler sat in state upon the throne of the *kerajaan*, executing his decrees, forty ministers were in attendance on the right and on the left, and one hundred strong and brave warriors and captains were in front of him, behind him, on the left of him and on the right of him; and one hundred learned men and theologians and many courtiers and people beyond counting (were in attendance). The king acted justly, fairly and liberally; [he was] meticulous in inquiry, and widespread were the reports of him in all lands (*negeri*) Many were the foreign wanderers who entered and traded in that land, so that it was crowded daily. Such was the justice and liberality of that ruler; no man's name (*nama*) was wronged.

The picture of Deli Akbar is a familiar one. It is not unlike that of Raja Sang Perba Dewa's heavenly kingdom or the Malay description of Bengal which we encountered in Chapter III. In the manner of those accounts, the portrayal of Deli Akbar is mainly concerned with ceremonial or customary arrangements, and the impression is conveyed that the Raja is the focus and organizing principle in these and other matters. As the *Hikayat Deli* proceeds, the special relationship between Malay Rajas and custom is frequently exhibited. In the negotiations following the conquest by Aceh of the various Malay states, the custom and ceremonial of the lands concerned are referred to as "the Raja's". At one stage customs, ceremonial, and law are stated as being "in the hands of" a Raja. When Pahang surrenders to the Acehnese forces, Mohammed Dalek informs the Pahang leaders of the generous conditions offered by the Acehnese:

> All matters in the state of Pahang, all the chieftainships, captainships, and ministerships and the law, customs and ceremonial (*hukum shara adat dan istiadat*) are to remain in the hands of (*ditangan*) the ruler; these matters will not be altered on Pahang's becoming a dependency of Aceh.[6]

The text, therefore, is making clear that the Raja is in some sense responsible for the various orders of officials in the state, as well as the general customary arrangements. Nowhere in the *Hikayat* is there an indication that he supervises the handling of day-to-day administrative affairs, but, as was the case in the *Hikayat Pahang*, the titles officials hold are in the Raja's charge. We will see that in the course of the narrative the *Hikayat* reveals a good deal regarding the significance of titles and the reasons for conferring them. For the present it is sufficient to note that two matters in particular are portrayed as lying within the Raja's province: customary arrangements and titles.

The importance in Malay government of custom and ceremony, and the bestowing of titles, and the fact that the Raja's role is largely concerned with these matters has been discussed in earlier chapters. The Deli text elaborates but does not contradict the picture presented in the other sources we examined. The Sultan of Aceh is presented as being engaged in such rites as the dispatching and reception of royal officials and armies, the life cycle events occurring in his own family, and the creation of a pleasure garden for his wife. The Aceh ruler's subjects, like those of the Rajas in the *Hikayat Pahang*, receive from their sovereign little more than titles, articles of attire, fine speeches, and a chance to participate in royal celebrations.

The *Hikayat Deli*, like the *Hikayat Pahang* and other texts, indicates that the Sultan gave gifts to his subjects. But again they are usually robes of honour (*persalinan*), and each man's gift is in accordance with his rank (*dengan taraf*). Thus, the Sultan of Aceh presents articles of attire to those embarking to conquer other lands on his behalf. Later, he bestows further robes of honour on Mohammed Dalek and those who accompany him on the mission to Bangkahulu. On another occasion garments are given to the Raja of Bangkahulu and his

followers, again according to rank. Other forms of royal bounty tend to be less substantial than the robes of honour. For example, the Sultan of Aceh sprinkles rice flour on his departing armies, and asks God to protect them. But, as we shall see, the Raja's gift which receives special emphasis in the text is the seemingly impalpable one of titles.

Subjects, therefore, according to the *Hikayat Deli*, received little material benefit from their Rajas: they gained in what appear to be insubstantial ways; they received titles and articles of attire rather than disposable wealth. The Raja, on the other hand, is presented as being involved not in day-to-day administration but in formal state occasions. Like the ruler portrayed in the *Hikayat Pahang*, he was valued more for his manners than his practical skills. Just as the "words" of Mohammed Dalek's father, the ruler of Deli Akbar, are described as "stately" at the opening of the *Hikayat Deli*, the Sultan of Aceh is praised in terms reminiscent of those used with regard to Ali or Ahmad in Pahang. On the return of Mohammed Dalek's fleet to Aceh, for example, he and the other leaders are "delighted to witness the King's behaviour (*tingkah laku*) and his excellent manners (*baik budi bahasanya*).[7] Later, when dispatching a force, the Sultan is said to address his men in a graceful (*manis*) voice.[8] But the association of good manners with Raja-hood is best seen in the early pages of the *Hikayat* when Mohammed Dalek is shipwrecked in Pasai. The local chiefs observe the way in which he eats and behaves and decide that he is "truly a Raja, not a common man, because his manner and his words are gentle (*lemah lembut*)."[9]

Not only is Rajahood associated with politeness, but all the ruler's actions are portrayed as illustrating propriety. He never seems to escape the grip of convention. Not only are the arrangements of ceremonies and audiences described as proper (*patut*) and in accordance with custom (*adat*), but when considering so important a question of state as the appointment of a man to act as the head of all the "captains, ministers, and chiefs", the Sultan seeks a decision which is *patut*.[10] Even in debating whether to attack another country, rulers and their councillors attempt to discover the proper (*patut*), rather than the sound, course of action. The Sultan of Aceh, for instance,

asks his chiefs, "What is your opinion regarding Bangkahulu? In the past it was attacked but was not defeated. Our opinion is that it would be proper (*patut*) to attack again. What is your opinion?" The chiefs reply: "Pardon, My Lord, long may you live;[11] our opinion is that it would be proper (*patut*) to attack again."[12]

Although the Raja was evidently expected to be the most refined or most cultured of men, he is not the only figure whose actions are formalized. A text with a stronger narrative line, such as the *Hikayat Pahang*, allows the modern reader to read into the work a suggestion of individuality; the didactic *Hikayat Deli*, which pauses to discuss the Raja's subjects in considerable detail permits no such inference. The *Hikayat* describes not only what Mohammed Dalek does, but the manner in which he does it. In this way the text emphasizes that the behaviour of men in general is conventionalised; that is, terms such as *patut* (proper or appropriate) are applied in reference to the actions of subjects as well as rulers. Whether Mohammed Dalek is fighting battles, carrying out negotiations, visiting distant lands, or making decisions regarding his own life, he is portrayed as acting "properly". His speeches and actions, as we have seen, are patterned, and the text presents his decisions in terms of their accordance with propriety.[13]

The *Hikayat* does not imply that men always act according to custom. But unconventional behaviour is portrayed as irrational and dangerous. Hence, the Sultan of Aceh's yearning for Mohammed Dalek's wife provokes disaster, in that Mohammed Dalek halts the war against Sambas and quits the Sultan's service. The implication is that individual action as opposed to action based on convention is never "considered" or purposeful action; nowhere in the *Hikayat* is there an indication that men act according to a private, individual set of values. As we have seen, even in discussions between Rajas and their advisers there is no exchange of individual viewpoints, but only a quest for a decision which all would agree is proper (*patut*).

Finally, there is no sign of any inner turmoil in what we would refer to as a personal crisis involving a conflict between social duty and personal convictions. Thus, after Mohammed Dalek learns that his wife is the object of the Sultan's affections, he is presented as

thinking: "If I wished to destroy this land of Aceh certainly I could do so; but it is not proper (*patut*) to commit treason to a Raja because the ruling of the elders is that if a Raja is unjust . . . leave him."[14] The only "rational" or "reasonable" behaviour, therefore, is that which accords with the prescriptions of custom. There is no indication in the *Hikayat* of any "reason" other than social reason.

While behaviour in general is presented as being governed by custom, the individual's behaviour depends upon his rank or title (*taraf, nama, pangkat, gelar*).[15] He acts and is treated in accordance with his rank. Time and again we encounter the expression "according to rank" (*dengan taraf*); it occurs whether men are taking their places at a court function, receiving gifts, or participating in a ceremonial procession. Even the costume a man wears exhibits his position. Every time Mohammed Dalek obtains a higher title, for example, he receives a new set of clothes as well.

The authority held by one individual over another, the Western reader discovers with little surprise, also appears to depend on their respective ranks. When Mohammed Dalek receives a new title, *Gochoh Pahlawan*, he simultaneously obtains a new position of authority. The Sultan of Aceh declares: "We will grant the Laksamana [Mohammed Dalek] a higher title; we shall make him head of all the captains, ministers, and chiefs."[16] One's rank therefore determines where one stands in court, what clothes one wears, what gifts one receives, and the authority one possesses.

Just as action is not intelligible or reasonable unless governed by custom, so men are characterized by their rank or title. I noted above that the *Hikayat* gives no hint of the existence of private scales of values; all thought is social thought. Similarly, men have only one kind of identity or personal worth, and that is a social one. No person in the *Hikayat Deli* receives more attention than Mohammed Dalek; yet when he is described it is only in terms of his qualities or attributes. His power, his cleverness, his bravery, and his "culturedness" are listed, as are his clothes, jewelry, and titles. But nothing is said of the interior of the man, of his views, or of his psychology. There is no evidence of any internal

development or evolution; he is first encountered as a child; he is educated and then said to be grown up (*sudah besar*). From this point onwards the only changes which occur to him are changes in title. In Aceh he is raised first to *Laksamana Kudbintan*, then to *Gochoh Pahlawan*, and finally to *Sri Paduka*. Moreover, he is never referred to as Mohammed Dalek again after receiving his first title but is known only by his current title or rank. Beneath this formal status and behind his formulaic speeches there is no suggestion of character, no developing self behind the changes in rank, not even a sense of an individual, unique entity which exists through time. This conventionalized dialogue and lack of characterization, evident not only in the *Hikayat Deli* but also in other *hikayat* literature,[17] reinforces the assumption that men are little more than their titles. No distinction is apparent between the private and the public self.

This is, of course, an important distinction in modern society. In a society of "public men",[18] what we might consider superficial issues must therefore be presumed to be of fundamental importance. To be called by the wrong title, to be seated in the wrong place, or to wear the wrong costume are not mere problems of decorum. In the absence of private values and thoughts, "personal" worth can only exist in social terms. If a man is defined entirely according to his status, to reduce that status by seating or addressing him incorrectly is to damage him in the most profound sense. In the *Hikayat Deli*, therefore, a man's identity is encapsulated in his *nama* and the behaviour which his rank requires is governed by custom (*adat*). Men's lives are indeed, in the Malay expression, "contained within custom".[19]

The significance of the statement that both titles and custom are in the hands of the Raja is now apparent. Not only is a man's code of behaviour defined in terms of the Raja, because custom is "in the Raja's hands", but his rank and thus his identity are dependent on the latter. The declaration that "no man's *nama* (name or title) was wronged", which concludes the description of Deli Akbar on the first page of the text, therefore is an important statement. No achievement of the Raja's can have been more significant to his subjects than the careful stewardship of their *nama*. And the Raja who acted appropriately and who possessed gracious manners would be best suited for such a task.

The pivotal role played by the Raja in Malay life is also made evident in the *Hikayat Deli*'s portrayal of the outside world and of the past. We have noted, for instance, that those who listened to the enumeration of foreign lands, and were thereby introduced to Malay geography, would find that they learnt little more than toponyms. In portraying the various states of the archipelago, the text says nothing of their size, the appearance of their cities, or the nature of their economies or customs. Furthermore, little or no account is given of their geographic location:[20] it is not clear, for example, that Sambas is located on an island or that Bangkahulu is in Sumatra. In one sense, however, the text gives all the states a location. Each of them is visited or mentioned in relation to Mohammed Dalek or his descendants. In this manner the lands beyond Deli are placed in perspective, in so far as those who listened to the text would perceive the outside world in terms of the Deli royal house.[21]

In the *Hikayat*'s view of the past the single organizing principle is also the Raja. As I have noted, the text has little in common with modern Western history. We have seen that, although it refers to numerous historical episodes which may have been remembered by the Malay community of East Sumatra, the *Hikayat* does not convey the atmosphere of an earlier age or the historical experience of the people it describes. It is not always accurate in its presentation of historical detail, and it provides a minimum of chronology. Moreover, there is no indication of the presence of historical processes: the tale is generally related in the narrative present, and there is little sense of the passage of time, of one event leading to another, in short, of progressive causality. (I have suggested in Chapter III that the paratactic structure of the Malay language discourages this style of history writing.) The various episodes of the *Hikayat* do not contribute, for instance, to a picture of the development of the Deli or Acehnese state. Yet although the *Hikayat* lacks the features encountered in modern history, it organizes the past in its own way. Alexander the Great, Muslim India, and the conquests of Iskandar Muda's Aceh are introduced into the text in connection with the story of Mohammed Dalek and his successors. In the *Hikayat*, therefore, not only events from Deli's history such as the period of Batak dominance but also occurrences in

the wider world are presented within the framework of the Deli ruling house. Genealogy, I would suggest, "proved [the ruler's] right to the throne" in the sense that rulers were expected to possess a genealogy which organized the past.

For those who heard the *Hikayat Deli*, therefore, images of the past, like knowledge of other lands, would be organized around the Raja. Indeed, knowledge in general is presented in the idiom of the Deli Raja. Thus, the tales of Aceh which serve to expound the format of Malay ceremonies and to inculcate models of Malay speech and behaviour are all introduced through the agency, or by means of, Mohammed Dalek. The whole Aceh interlude, with its descriptions of weddings, receptions, and court councils, appears in the text because Mohammed Dalek arrives accidentally in North Sumatra while on a journey to China. Similarly, Mohammed Dalek's flight to East Sumatra is the occasion for a description of the formalities which accompany the establishment of a settlement. In general, the reader gains the impression that nothing exists in the *Hikayat Deli* except in some relationship to the Deli royal house.

The fact that the text organizes knowledge around the Raja suggests that the role played by the ruler in the lives of his subjects was indeed a central one. Not only were personal status and behaviour defined in terms of the Raja, but he was the prism through which men became acquainted with the wider world. The relationship between the Raja and subject is therefore of the most intimate nature. In the absence of a private scale of values, of an interior self existing or developing through time, the subject could have no discrete individuality within which he might find refuge. His private self was his public self, and the society in which that public self was embedded existed only as a projection of the Raja.

The *Hikayat Deli*'s audience would have found Deli Akbar, described on the first page, an ideal kingdom, where different ranks had their fixed positions, some behind, some before, some to the left, some to the right of the Raja. In Sjaich Bahashed Matijoeddin's kingdom (like the "perfect" kingdoms described in other Malay texts and referred to at the end of Chapter III above) there is no hint of the social chaos which, as has been seen, was synonymous with personal chaos. For the

listener, the Raja-less state would stand in diametric opposition to Deli Akbar. The utter confusion, the sense of despair, the weeping and the wailing would create an effective contrast illustrating the centrality of the Raja. Such anarchy was the natural outcome of the disappearance of society's focal point. And when the text later makes strong injunctions against treason, they would not be understood simply as products of political propaganda designed for the protection of the ruler. To destroy one's Raja would imply the destruction of one's own integrity.

A state where treason is unthinkable, where social life, the past, and the outside world are comprehended only through the prism of the Raja, where every person has a fixed position understood only in relation to the Raja, provides us with a picture not only of a singularly absolute society but also of one which is inert. (To a late nineteenth-century mind Malays might well have appeared to live, as Sir Hugh Clifford expressed it, without "rights either of person or of property" under "absolute . . . autocracies".) If the *Hikayat* portrayed nothing but the actionless court of Deli Akbar, for instance, the Malay world would indeed appear to be held in a state of suspended motion. But the text suggests the presence of a genuine dynamic; it is provided by the concern of rajas and subjects alike for *nama*, and it constitutes the second and more specific message in the *Hikayat Deli*.

A man's *nama*, as we have seen, is his title, his rank, and his reputation. It indicates his position in life. But those hearing the *Hikayat Deli* would know that *nama* was not only important in this life; it determined one's fortunes in the world to come. Those who wish to enter heaven, explains the hero of another text, the *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, must die with a good name (*nama yang baik*).[22] The fact that *nama* determines death status is not a minor point, for status in the afterlife was a constant concern for Malays. The *Sejarah Melayu*, for instance, although it seldom discusses Islam, relates that the theological question which troubled Sultan Mansur Shah of Melaka was: "Do those in heaven abide there forever? And do those in hell abide there forever?"[23] Similarly, when a Christian missionary met the Sultan of Trengganu in 1823, the Sultan asked questions about "the judgement

day, and the world to come". The Chinese, explained the ruler, were "ignorant of such things".[24] Interest in death status was not passive. Indeed, the improvement of *nama* has been described as a preoccupation of Malays. A Malay author of the 1920's, for instance, explained that, while Chinese devoted their lives to industry, Malays were concerned with the search for *nama* (*menchari nama*).[25]

The second message of the *Hikayat Deli* offers a means of improving *nama*. Its purport is that the fluctuations of *nama* are a function of the interaction between Raja and subject. A subject improves his *nama* by working for a Raja, and a Raja improves his *nama* by having many loyal subjects. Nothing in the text is given greater emphasis than this statement. It is the theme on which is strung the narrative of Mohammed Dalek's adventures in Aceh. These adventures, as we have seen, make up the major part of the *Hikayat*.

When Mohammed Dalek arrives in Aceh, disguised as a poor wanderer, he hears that a powerful and invulnerable ascetic is murdering the inhabitants. The Sultan has directed that the man be slain, but no one has been able to carry out this order. Mohammed Dalek offers his services and is successful. The Sultan is so amazed and delighted that the strong and brave (*gagah berani*) Mohammed Dalek has prevented the murder and "ruination"[26] of his subjects that he declares: "It is proper (*patut*) that I bestow (*kurnia*) the title (called at various points *nama*, *pangkat*, and *gelar*) *Laksamana Kudbintan* (upon him); if I do not bestow a [title] on such men as these, then assuredly there will be no one who will carry out my orders and assuredly my name (*nama*) will not be good among other Rajas".[27] A promotion ceremony is held, and Mohammed Dalek is given the title and a new set of clothing appropriate to his rank. Soon afterward, the Sultan decides to test the strength and power (*gagah berani*) of his new servant by pitting him against an elephant. Mohammed Dalek grasps the tusks of the elephant and presses them into the earth. The Sultan is again amazed and grants Mohammed Dalek a higher title (*Gochoh Pahlawan*), declaring that he, the Sultan, hopes that by harbouring in his kingdom one who is strong, powerful and possessed of practical skill, he will himself obtain a good name (*nama*) among Rajas.[28] The Sultan then designates Mohammed Dalek the head of all the generals (*hulubalang*), ministers (*menteri*), and chiefs (*orang*

besar), noting that it is proper (*patut*) that Mohammed Dalek give orders (*memerentah*) in Aceh under himself, because, he, Mohammed Dalek, is strong and powerful (*gagah berani*), and his manner and disposition are good. On behalf of the Sultan, Mohammed Dalek now leads several successful expeditions against various states or Rajas in Southeast Asia. After conquering Melaka, his devoted service (*kebaktian*) is praised lavishly, his disposition is commended, his speech is described as sweet, and his skill, strength, and bravery are once again mentioned.[29] A new title, *Sri Paduka*, is bestowed upon him.

The pattern is clear. On the one hand, a Raja benefits by having under him loyal subjects: the Sultan of Aceh wanted men like Mohammed Dalek to serve him in order that his own name (*nama*) among other Rajas might be good. The Acehnese expeditions, which Mohammed Dalek led, also enhanced the Sultan's *nama*. They brought him new subjects, and when Mohammed Dalek leaves his service he recounts the work he has undertaken on the Sultan's behalf and declares that his actions have contributed to assuring the latter's fame among future generations. Similarly, following the great victory of Aceh at Kemuja, the Sultan declares it is indeed proper that he hold the lofty title, "*Sultan Mahkota Alam*" (Sultan, Crown of the World).[30] The acquisition of subjects by conquest clearly maintains and increases the Raja's *nama*.

The subject's *nama* also benefits from his service to a Raja. A man performs devoted service (*bakti*) for his Raja, and, in return, a title (*gelar, pangkat, nama*) is bestowed (*kurnia*) upon him. This is, moreover, the only type of individual advancement or promotion possible. Thus, the people of Bangkahulu are said to note of Mohammed Dalek that he does not magnify or elevate himself (*membesarkan diri*) but merely increases his name (*nama*) before, or in terms of, the Raja.[31] *Membesarkan diri* conveys the type of self-assertiveness we saw so strongly condemned in connection with Ahmad's rivals in the *Hikayat Pahang*.[32] It is related to lust (*hawa nafsu*) and arrogance (*sombong*).

As both Rajas and subjects seek to enhance their *nama*, so do they eschew its dishonour (*malu, aib* or *aniaya*). *Malu* has long been described as an important concept in Malay culture,[33] and we have seen above how

a late nineteenth-century Deli ruler felt shamed or dishonoured on hearing that certain of his subjects refused to respond to his summons. In the *Hikayat Deli*, dishonour is incurred if subjects are unable to carry out their Sultan's orders, in other words, if they are unable to serve him. Mohammed Dalek, for instance, implores Rajas whom he conquers to join him in the conquest of Melaka so that he can carry out the Sultan's orders and therefore avoid *malu*. On the other hand, Rajas incur *malu* if they lose or fail to obtain subjects. Thus, the Raja of Patani is told by his ministers, in their argument proposing surrender, that, if he fights the Acehnese forces, his subjects will be slain, his state taken from him, and he will be dishonoured.[34] In addition, when Mohammed Dalek asks those Rajas who have submitted to the Acehnese to fight for the Sultan, he asks some of them to do so in order that the Sultan's *nama* will not incur dishonour. The most serious threat to the Sultan's *nama* is implied rather than stated in the text. The Acehnese ruler, who has often declared that his own good *nama* requires his harbouring such men as Mohammed Dalek in his state, eventually treats his faithful subject improperly. Mohammed Dalek does not rebel. Rather he follows the judgement of the elders that if a Raja does not behave with propriety, if he is not just (*tiada adil*), then one should abandon that Raja. After Mohammed Dalek leaves the Sultan's service, Aceh is never mentioned again. But before his departure it is twice stated that if the other officers of the Sultan should learn of Mohammed Dalek's treatment they, too, would no longer serve such an unjust Raja. The suggestion is plain: after Mohammed Dalek publicly offers his wife as the Sultan's masseuse and himself leaves the court, the Sultan and his *nama* decline.

For both subjects and rulers who were preoccupied with the problem of *nama*, the *Hikayat*'s second statement, that is, that the fluctuation of *nama* is a function of the interaction between Raja and subject, would be of critical importance. But the text addresses itself in particular to the subject. It not only expounds the doctrine that service (*bakti*) to the Raja leads to the enhancement of *nama*, but, through the words of the Raja of Bangkahulu, it also reminds its audience that rank in this world "is honoured in the next".[35] Indeed, the *Hikayat* makes clear that there is no spiritual path other than that which runs through the Raja's domain. The text refers to Islam, but

there is no indication that the creed constitutes a separate system apart from that based upon the Raja. Muslim officials, such as the Imam and the Kadhi, are mentioned, but they are never discussed outside the context of the Raja. They enter the text only in connection with the life cycle ceremonies of the court or on the occasion of the Raja's dispatching or receiving fleets. In particular nothing is said of the relationship between Muslim officials and the common people. Similarly, Muslim or *shariah* law (*hukum shara*), which students of Islam describe as pervading almost every aspect of (Muslim) social life,[36] plays no such role in the *Hikayat Deli*. Just as in the case of custom and ceremonial (*adat istiadat*) it is described as being simply "in the hands" of the Raja. Allah, on the other hand, appears to exist outside the ken of the Raja. When Acehnese forces depart on their expeditions, the hope is expressed by the Raja that "Allah will put danger and peril" far from them.[37] Allah, it would appear, is given responsibility for the unknown; but just as men become acquainted with the outside world through the idiom of the Raja, so the Raja intercedes on their behalf with God. Thus, a supposedly Muslim[38] ceremony to insure good fortune in travel or war is presided over not, as might be expected, by an Islamic official but by the Raja; and the Sultan of Aceh is able to assure his subjects that their loyalty would be rewarded by God.[39]

As presented in the *Hikayat Deli*, therefore, the interaction between subject and Raja provides both participants with opportunities. The subject, like his ruler, is able to improve his *nama*, or his position in this world and the next. In Malay life, *nama* is the dynamic element that generates action. Those who listened to the *Hikayat Deli* would consequently obtain much more than a training in etiquette, geography, and history. They would not only be reminded in numerous ways of the central role played by the Raja in Malay life, but the story of Mohammed Dalek would illustrate the social and spiritual possibilities inherent in the Malay system. They would learn that fulfilment in this world and the next depended on the devoted service they offered their Raja. The young Bulu Cina chief, for instance, might hope to receive, as Mohammed Dalek had done, a rank which would be honoured in the world to come. And he would know that the real opportunities

inherent in the pepper boom in East Sumatra were not commercial or political in nature: the pepper profits would sustain a proliferation of titles, of insignia and of ceremonies; the profits would lead to an increase in Deli's population and allow both the Sultan and his subjects to enhance their *namas*.[40]

The *Hikayat Deli* is exceptional among Malay texts in expounding these matters. But the people of Deli could find its messages echoed in much of the Malay literature available to them. The messages are generally not so much emphasized and elaborated as implied. In the *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, for instance (which was almost certainly known in nineteenth-century Deli),[41] the hero remarks that: "we who live under Rajas do whatever work we have to do as diligently as possible, for as the old people say: 'it is good to die with a name (*nama*) which is good'".[42] And in the *Sejarah Melayu*, a Bendahara of Melaka implores his children not to forget the "world that endures after death". He advises them to give "devoted service" *(bakti)* to both God and the Raja for:

> the just Raja and the Prophet of God are like two jewels in one ring. Moreover, the Raja is the deputy (*ganti*) of God. When you do *bakti* for the Prophet of God it is as if you do it for God himself.[43]

Service to the Raja, it is implied in both texts, is rewarded in the afterlife. Similarly, an account in the *Hikayat Patani* of the period when that state "no longer had a Raja" is reminiscent of the Deli text's description of a Raja-less state. In Patani there is utter confusion (*sangatlah huru-haranya*); all the people suffer illness; customs and orders of procedure (*adat tertib*) no longer exist; and a later copyist of the text adds an important observation. "As for the tokens of a man's future", the copyist explains, "these are twofold: first, the good works[44] which he takes to his grave, and, secondly, a good name (*nama*) which he leaves behind in this world."[45] Without a Raja, the copyist emphasizes, there is not only chaos but good works are impossible, and so is a good name. The copyist, it is clear, is reminding his readers that the absence of a Raja has implications for the next as well as this world.[46]

In the above examples we see reflections of the messages expounded and illustrated in the *Hikayat Deli*.

These texts, however, were written for a more cultured audience than that of Deli. They were the products of older centres of Malay culture, and they were read by men well-acquainted with the principal concerns of our *Hikayat*. Intended for the relatively unsophisticated audience of East Sumatra, the *Hikayat Deli* provides us with an opportunity to speculate regarding assumptions behind nineteenth-century Malay political activity not only in East Sumatra but elsewhere.

In particular, the text offers an answer to the question provoked by our examination of mid-nineteenth-century Pahang: how do we explain that a ruler who could apparently offer his subjects little more than audiences and titles was able to play a critical part in the practical business of a civil war? As presented in the *Hikayat Deli*, the Raja's authority was not specifically political in nature. Titles and ceremonies were not subsidiary aspects of his "government". They were precisely the commodities a Malay subject sought from his Raja. Titles were not "empty" rewards, as Wilkinson suggested. The holding of apparently festive events was indeed a raja's "work", and good manners, the ability to treat subjects in the appropriate formal way, were inevitably his most valuable attribute.

The involvement of the Sultan of Lingga must indeed have been a turning point in the Pahang war. The state was without a Raja and the system was therefore in crisis. Ahmad's brother and rival, the Bendahara Mutahir, had rebelled against the Sultan, and the sagacious Ahmad understood the implications of his act. In the absence of a Raja, Pahang would be like the "Raja-less" Bangkahulu in the *Hikayat Deli*. It would fall into confusion (*gadohlah*) and men feared such an occurrence. In the manner of Patani, when it possessed no Raja, customs and orders or procedure could not exist, and men would be unable to enhance their *namas*. Ahmad therefore accused Mutahir of the heinous crime of treason and declared that Pahang would only "glitter" under the "true Sultan".

When the troubled people of Pahang heard Ahmad was acting for the Sultan of Lingga they would certainly have rejoiced, and when they saw Ahmad's refined manners and heard his "sweet words" they would expect Pahang to become again a well ordered kingdom, a place, like Deli

Akbar, in the *Hikayat Deli*, where "no man's *nama* would be wronged". Their hopes for this world and the next, therefore, lay not with Mutahir; Mahmud and his cultured "servant" Ahmad, in the words of the *Hikayat Pahang*, would "take their hearts" in the way that "chickens might be tethered without string".

CONCLUSION: THE KERAJAAN SYSTEM

The Malay model articulated in the *Hikayat Deli* provides an answer to our inquiries regarding Malay political motivation. It was necessary to rely upon a Malay text because of the limitations of the European evidence: Dutch and British writers acknowledged that the ceremonial ruler played the central role in Malay political life, but they did not explain why this was the case.

To lean heavily on Malay materials, and in particular on *hikayat* literature, involves obvious dangers. To what extent *hikayat*s, which were often written, copied and owned by members of the royal courts, reflect the political culture of the wider Malay community is impossible to determine with certainty. It is unlikely, however, that the categories of experience which I sought in the *Hikayat* (in the way that a student of myth seeks "mechanisms that mould . . . cognitive systems")[1] were the monopoly of an elite. Such a monopoly would entail a radical disjunction in Malay society.

No evidence exists that Malay society was divided dramatically in this way. On the contrary, European writings provide two indications that *hikayat* literature had significance beyond the royal court. First, if few men owned *hikayat*s, many listened to them: the Deli Sultan's official read the *Hikayat Iskandar* to a crowd of hundreds. Equally important, however, in evaluating *hikayat*s for the study of the Malay polity is the fact that, as we have seen, these texts do not so much contradict as place in context and explain the observations on political matters found in the non-Malay evidence.

It is in their disclosure of categories of experience that *hikayat*s, at first unattractive to the historian

accustomed to European materials, are most valuable for the study of Malay life. Through the examination of these Malay writings it is possible to impose a Malay perspective on the data gleaned from contemporary British and Dutch sources. We have seen that J.M. Gullick's *Indigenous Political Systems of Western Malaya* provides an alternative perspective on the European data, that of modern functionalist anthropology. Gullick viewed Malay political life in terms of a "working system of social control". The Raja, he concluded, was the "titular source of rank and authority" but the "key institution" in the system, the institution which possessed both administrative responsibility and "real power", was the district chief. But in analysing Malay political life in terms of such "hard facts" as "social control" and "real power", in seeking elements familiar to modern Western experience, Gullick distorts Malay political reality. Such an approach provides information regarding how men acted but disguises the motivation for action; in seeking structures of administration, it obscures structures of experience.

The Malay "working system" in the *Hikayat Deli* entails an understanding of political experience which does not fit comfortably into Western categories. The Deli text is not concerned, of course, with "social control" or the "essential functions of a political system". Neither Raja nor subject is shown to be motivated by power or wealth or any other "practical" objective. There is, as contemporary observers noted, a lack of political institutions, of legal structures, and of governments having concerns beyond "outward pomp". The Raja is not only the "key institution" but the only institution, and the role he plays in the lives of his subjects is as much moral and religious as political. Malays believed service to the ruler offered the opportunity for social and spiritual advancement. They understood that their position in this life and the next depended on the Raja; he was the bond holding men together, and the idiom through which the community experienced the world. Men were not so much subjects as extensions of the Raja: they were indeed the measure of his *nama*.

The exposition of the Malay polity presented is thus, in one important respect, equivalent to that found in contemporary European observations. In commenting on the dearth of political institutions in the Malay world, and

in portraying the Malay polity as coterminous with its Raja, nineteenth-century European visitors were echoing rather than contradicting the perceptions of Malays themselves. And when European lexicographers found it necessary to give to the word, *kerajaan*, a variety of meanings, translating it as "state", "kingdom", or "government", they came close to understanding that that word encapsulated Malay political experience. Political life could be subsumed under one term: men considered themselves to be living not in states or under governments, but in a *kerajaan*, in the "condition of having a raja".

This *kerajaan* system - activated by the quest for *nama* - I have suggested, throws light on political behaviour in certain parts of Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula; in particular, it permits a Malay interpretation of the developments which I have described in nineteenth-century Deli and Pahang. The extent to which the *kerajaan* system determined political action in other parts of the Malay world, or even in other regions of Southeast Asia, must await further research.[2] Equally, the present study has not been concerned with the way this system developed and changed. My analysis is synchronic, but other historians may ask, for instance, whether Malay kingship was influenced by Buddhist or Hindu concepts. The scant documentation from the early Malay empire of Srivijaya, contained in the seventeenth-century inscriptions of South Sumatra, reveals a *boddhisattva*-like ruler, a Buddhist leader offering his "loyal" subjects an "immaculate tantra" and "eternal peace".[3] The word translated as "loyal" is *bhakti*, devotion, and it suggests the devotion which Devotionalist Hindus (*Bhaktis*) expressed toward their teacher; he was, of course, no ordinary teacher but assumed a god-like position in the eyes of his followers. The manner of the *bhakti* teacher, like that of the Malay ruler and the *boddhisattva*, was often described as courteous or gentle and his words as "fragrant and beautiful"; moreover the *bhakti* teacher is able to bestow on his devotees *anugerah* or divine graciousness.[4] This Sanskrit word, *anugeraha*, is precisely the term used by Muslim Malays to describe the gift of a prince.[5]

The fortunes of the *kerajaan* system during and after the colonial period also deserve examination. The erosion of the Raja-based polity in the face of Western- and

Islamic-inspired changes may prove to be the dominant theme of twentieth-century Malay history. Even during the 1800's Islamic fundamentalists, who disapproved of Rajas who displayed spiritual pretensions, became increasingly influential in Malaya and elsewhere.[6] And by the middle of the century a European-influenced critique of the *kerajaan* system had been published in Malay. Munshi Abdullah, who worked closely with that enlightenment figure, Sir Stamford Raffles, viewed the world not in terms of the Raja but from the perspective of the individual.[7] Abdullah's interpretation of Malay government differs radically from the contemporary Malay perspective. He was impatient with the conventionalised Malay world which is portrayed in both Malay and European writings of that time: the Raja's predominantly ceremonial "work" could not continue to play a critical role in a community of private men. Abdullah complained of the Malay Raja's obsession with matters of etiquette and marvelled at the "stupid and useless" sumptuary laws[8] which, as we have seen, were intended to protect and display men's *nama*. The Malay ruler was described by Abdullah as greedy and tyrannical, for he prevented his subjects from accumulating wealth, and from dressing, travelling and thinking in whatever manner they chose.[9] Abdullah understood politics in terms with which we are familiar. The Raja's task, like that of any government, was not primarily to define men but to protect their rights as individuals.

To trace the roots and development of Malay political culture, however, will prove no more problematic than to describe that culture. Conclusions regarding categories of experience inevitably invite challenge, and many historians are reluctant to leave the relatively firm grounds of commercial and political history. But the attractions of cultural analysis are as powerful as the risks: the debate which it inspires sharpens our perceptions not only of alien categories, but of those employed in our own political thinking. Historians, anthropologists, and philologists will test my conclusions against new source materials and bring to bear on the texts I have examined new perspectives and methodologies. By reviving a dialogue with such works as the *Hikayat Deli* and the *Hikayat Pahang*, these scholars will encourage comparative research. They will discover Malay categories, and in doing so will convey a message for the modern man. The discovery of Malay concepts reminds us that categories

which we seldom question, but constantly depend upon, categories such as "political institution", "real power" and "individualism" are no less culture-bound than the *kerajaan* and *nama* which defined Malay "political" experience.

NOTES TO THE CHAPTERS

Notes to the Preface
Notes to pages *vii-xi*

1. (London, 1965), orig. publ. 1958. For examples of the influence of this work on the writing of Malay history see A.L. Reber, *The Sulu world in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: a historiographical problem in British writings on Malay piracy*, M.A. thesis, Cornell University, 1966; W.R. Roff, *The Origins of Malay Nationalism* (Kuala Lumpur, 1967), p.2 n.4; S. Ahmat, "The Political Structure of the State of Kedah 1879-1905", *JSEAH*, 12 September 1970, pp.115-128; D.J. Steinberg (ed.), *In Search of Southeast Asia* (New York, 1971), p.446; and J. Funston, *Malay Politics in Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur, 1980), p.37 n.2.
2. Gullick acknowledges a particular debt to R. Firth, *Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori* (London, 1929).
3. Gullick, *op.cit.*, p.113.
4. *Ibid.*, p.49.
5. *Ibid.*, p.1.
6. C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (London, 1973), p.364.
7. J. Crawfurd, *A Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands and Adjacent Countries* (London, 1856), p.250.
8. See for instance the discussion of the *Malay Annals* in the anonymous review of O.W. Wolters, *The Fall of Srivijava in Malay History* (Ithaca, 1970) in the *Times Literary Supplement*, 21 January 1972, p.69.
9. D.G.E. Hall (ed.), *Historians of South-East Asia* (London, 1963), p.6.
10. J. Bastin, "Problems of Personality in the Reinterpretation of Modern Malayan History", in J. Bustin & R. Roolvink (eds), *Malayan and Indonesian Studies: Essays Presented to Sir Richard Winstedt* (Oxford, 1967), p.152.
11. See, in particular, "Person, Time, and Conduct in Bali" in Geertz, *op.cit.*, pp.360-411.
12. See, in particular, B.R.O'G. Anderson, "The Idea of Power in Javanese Culture", in C. Holt (ed.), *Culture and Politics in Indonesia* (Ithaca and London, 1972), pp.1-69.
13. An important study of "political culture" based on historical data is O.W. Wolters, "Khmer 'Hinduism' in the Seventh Century", in R.B. Smith & W. Watson (eds), *Early South East Asia, Essays in Archaeology, History and Historical Geography* (New York and Kuala Lumpur, 1979), pp.427-441.
14. Geertz, *op.cit.*, p.5.

Notes to the Acknowledgments

1. M. Marayama, *Thought and Behaviour in Modern Japanese Politics* (London, 1969).
2. B.R.O'G. Anderson, "The Idea of Power in Javanese Culture", in C. Holt (ed.), *Culture and Politics in Indonesia* (Ithaca, 1972), pp.1-69.
3. O.W. Wolters, "Khmer 'Hinduism' in the Seventh Century", in R.B. Smith and W. Watson (eds), *Early South-East Asia: Essays in Archaeology, History and Historical Geography* (London, 1979).

Notes to Chapter I

1. P. Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese* (Kuala Lumpur, 1965), pp.63, 298. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The History of Śrivijaya* (Madras, 1949), p.90. On Srivijaya also see O.W. Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce* (Ithaca, 1967); and O.W. Wolters, *The Fall of Srivijaya in Malay History* (Ithaca, 1970).
2. T. Iskandar, "Three Malay Historical Writings in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century", *JMBRAS*, XXX, 2 (1967), p.53. The reference is to Iskandar Thani (1636-41).
3. See, for instance, A. Cortesao (ed.), *The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires* (London, 1944); on Pasai and Aru, see vol.1, pp.142-148; on Melaka, vol.2, pp.229-289.
4. R.O. Winstedt, "The Malay Annals; or Sejarah Melayu, etc.", *JMBRAS*, XVI, 3 (1938), p.125; C.C. Brown (ed.), "Sejarah Melayu or Malay Annals", *JMBRAS*, 2 and 3 (1952), p.58.
5. L.Y. Andaya, *The Kingdom of Johor* (Kuala Lumpur, 1975), pp.37, 148 and p.148 for lists of dependencies and some comparison with fifteenth-century Melaka.
6. M.E. Osborne, "The Vietnamese Perception of the Identity of the State: Absolute Ideals and the Necessity of Compromise", *Australian Outlook*, 23, 1 (1969), p.10.
7. See Winstedt, *Sejarah Melayu*, especially chs 1-3; A. Teeuw and D.K. Wyatt (eds), *Hikayat Patani* (The Hague, 1970), p.4; A. Hill, "The Hikayat Raja Raja Pasai", *JMBRAS*, XXXIII, 2 (1960), especially pp.46-74. Also, for Kedah see R. Bonney, *Kedah* (Kuala Lumpur, 1971), p.14; and for Kelantan, W.A. Graham, *Kelantan* (Glasgow, 1908), p.35.
8. A.B. Woodside, *Vietnam and the Chinese Model* (Harvard, 1971), p.20.
9. Osborne, *op.cit.*, p.12.
10. See the report of interviews with men accused of piracy, 20 October 1836, contained in *BC* 69433, pp.545-547. The latter described themselves as "a subject of the Raja of Lingga", or "a subject of the Sultan Muhammed of Lingga". See also, Dr Yvan's discussions with Malays two decades later; *Six Months among the Malays and a Year in China* (London, 1855), p.163.
11. The origin of the expression "the Malay world" is difficult to determine. E.C.G. Barrett describes it as a "translation of *alam Melayu*"; "Further Light on Sir Richard Winstedt's 'Undescribed Malay Version of the Ramayana'", *BSOAS*, XXVI, 3 (1963), p.531 n.2. I have not, however, encountered *alam Melayu* in classical Malay literature. By the early decades of the twentieth century it was certainly in currency; see, for instance, Abdul Hadi bin Haji Hasan, *Sejarah Alam Melayu*, vol.1 (Singapore, 1947), orig. pub., 1925. Abdul Hadi incorporates Java and Sumatra in the phrase, although for the period after the fifteenth century his main concern is the Peninsular states.
12. T.S. Raffles, "On the Melayu Nation with a Translation of the Maritime Institutions", *Asiatick Researches*, XII (1816), p.103.
13. G. Earl, *The Eastern Seas* (London, 1837), p.184. Earl's career is discussed by C.M. Turnbull in her introduction to the reprint (Singapore, 1971).
14. John Anderson, *Mission to the East Coast of Sumatra in 1823, etc.* (Edinburgh, 1826), pp.256-6. See also F. McNair, *Perak and the Malays* (London, 1878), p.144: "Probably in no country is the custom of keeping to the national costume more thoroughly adhered to than amongst the Malays".
15. *Ibid.*, p.265.
16. Isabella Bird, *The Golden Chersonese* (Kuala Lumpur, 1967), p.167.
17. See, for instance, T.J. Newbold, *British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca* (London, 1839), vol.2, pp.178-179; J. Cameron, *Our Tropical Possessions in Malayan India* (London, 1865), p.133; J.R. Logan, "The Manners and Customs of the Malays", *JIA*, III (1849), pp.274-276; I. Bird, *op.cit.*, pp.139 and 167; F. McNair, *op.cit.*, p.147; and G.F. de Bruijn Kops, "Schets van den Riouw-Lingga Archipel", *Natuurkundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indie*, IV, Nieuwe Serie, Deel 1, pp.78-9.
18. See W.E. Maxwell, "Penglipor Lara: The Soother of Cares", *JSBRAS*, DVII (1886), pp.93, 94 and 96.
19. Anderson, *op.cit.*, p.59.
20. See the extract from J. Pijnappel, "Beschrijving van het Westelijke gedeelte van de Zuid- en Ooster-afdeling van Borneo", in J. Ras, *Hikayat Bandjar* (The Hague, 1968), p.618.
21. W. Marsden, *A Grammar of the Malay Language* (London, 1812), pp.i-ii.
22. D.F.A. Hervey, "Valentijn's Description of Malacca", *JSBRAS*, XIII (1884), pp.52-53. See also J. Crawfurd, "On the Malayan and Polynesian Languages and Races", *JIA*, II (1848), p.218; W.E. Maxwell, *Manual of the Malay Language* (London, 1882), p.2; and T. Harrison, *The Malays of South-West Sarawak before Malaysia* (London, 1970), p.159. For the use of Malay in the pre-Spanish Philippines, see J. Wolff, "Malay Borrowings in Tagalog" in C.D. Cowan and O.W. Wolters, *Southeast Asian History and Historiography*, Essays presented to D.G.E. Hall (Ithaca, 1976), pp.345-368.
23. C.C. Brown, *Studies in Country Malay* (London, 1956), p.122.
24. R. Roolvink, "Dialek Melayu di Deli", *Bahasa dan Budaya*, 3, 1 (1953), p.3, explains that Deli, Langkat, Serdang and Asahan each had their own dialect.
25. Marsden, *op.cit.*, p.iii. For Marsden's career, see J. Bastin's introduction to Marsden's *A History of Sumatra* (Kuala Lumpur, 1970), orig. pub., 1811. Dr Roolvink makes a similar point regarding the Malay of the East Coast of Sumatra; *op.cit.*, p.4.
26. Ras, *op.cit.*, Appendix VI.
27. R.J. Wilkinson, "Romance, History and Poetry", *Papers on Malay Subjects*, First Series, Part I, p.29; see also Newbold, *op.cit.*, p.327.
28. W. Gibson, *The Prison of Weltevreden* (New York, 1855), p.170. See also the description by Maxwell in "Penglipor Lara", p.170.

29. W.E. Maxwell, "Penglipor Lara", p.88. See also Newbold, *op.cit.*, p.327; H. Clifford, *In Court and Kampong* (London, 1897), pp.153-154; and the collection *Selampit* (Kuala Lumpur, 1962).
30. W. Marsden, *History of Sumatra* (London, 1811), p.346.
31. de Bruijn Kops, *op.cit.*, p.337.
32. Ras, *op.cit.*, p.628 n.6. See also C. den Hamer, "De Sair Modi Kentjana", *TBG*, XXXIII (1890), p.534.
33. Maxwell, "Penglipor Lara", p.13. It also appears to have been known in Patani. See A. Teeuw and D.K. Wyatt, *The Story of Patani* (The Hague, 1970), p.186.
34. A. Sweeney, *The Ramayana and the Malay Shadow Play* (Kuala Lumpur, 1972), pp.75 and 256. On the *Wayang Siam*, see also M.C.ff. Sheppard, *Taman Indera* (Kuala Lumpur, 1972), ch.5.
35. See R.O. Winstedt, *A History of Classical Malay Literature* (Kuala Lumpur, 1969), p.93.
36. G.H. Werndly, *Maleische Spraakkunst* (Amsterdam, 1736), p.345.
37. Anderson, *op.cit.*, p.291.
38. C. Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines* (Quezon City, 1973), p.8.
39. Newbold, *op.cit.*, p.20.
40. Ras, *op.cit.*, pp.21 and 129.
41. Winstedt, *Sejarah Melayu*, ch.1.
42. The *Siak Chronicle* or *Hikayat Raja Akil*, p.12. Dr R. Roolvink kindly allowed me to examine a typed, romanized copy of this text which he has prepared. For a short description of the chronicle see Dr Roolvink's article, "The Variant Versions of the Malay Annals", in C.C. Brown, *Sejarah Melayu or Malay Annals* (Kuala Lumpur, Oxford reprint, 1970), p.xxiii.
43. *Hikayat Deli*, p.1. He is also mentioned in genealogies from Kota Pinang and Bila. See *Teromba Asal -oesoel ketoeroenan Radja negeri Kota Pinang*, Korn Archive, 242, kept at the Koninklijk Institute voor Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde, Leiden. The *Hikayat Deli* will be discussed in some detail in chapters
44. See, for instance, Werndly, *op.cit.*, p.352. It appears also to have been popular in East Sumatra; see, for instance, R. Roolvink, *Dialek Melayu*, p.16. Isabella Bird, *op.cit.*, p.19, noted that "parts" of the Hang Tuah "romance" were "frequently recited" in the villages of Perak. The *Hikayat Hang Tuah* also provides stories for the repertoire of the *Wayang kulit* (*Wayang Siam*) performances; Sweeney, *op.cit.*, p.75.
45. See Winstedt, *A History of Classical Malay Literature*, p.186; Newbold, *op.cit.*, p.348; Anderson, *op.cit.*, p.27; Marsden, *Grammar*, p.197, and den Hamer, *op.cit.*, p.533.
46. Ras, *op.cit.*, ch.4.
47. *Ibid.*, pp.21 and 129. See also H. Low, "Transcription and Translation of a Historic Tablet", *JSBRAS*, V (1880), p.33.
48. For Trengganu see Winstedt, *A History of Malaya* (Kuala Lumpur, 1962); for the Perak genealogy, *ibid*, Appendix H, p.77. See also *The Hikayat Patani*; the Jelai (Pahang) genealogy in W. Linehan, "A History of Pahang", *JMBRAS*, XIV, 2 (1936), Appendix III.
49. Winstedt, *Malay Literature*, p.167.
50. *Ibid.*, p.130.
51. R.O. Winstedt, "Old Malay Legal Digests and Malay Customary Law", *JRAS*, I & II (April 1945), p.20. See also M.B. Hooker, "A Note on the Malayan Legal Digests", *JMBRAS*, XLI, 1 (1968), pp.162-3. Liaw Yock Fang (ed.), *Undang Undang Melaka* (The Hague, 1976), p.1.
52. Newbold, *op.cit.*, vol.2, p.229.
53. McNair, *op.cit.*, pp.228-9.
54. R. Pringle, *Rajahs and Rebels* (Ithaca, 1970), p.62 n.1.

55. Anderson, *op.cit.*, p.278.
56. Marsden, *History*, p.42. Some evidence exists, however, that in this period one might be Malay without being Muslim. See, in particular, Wang Gungwu, "The Melayu in Hai-kuo wen chien lu" in *Journal of the Historical Society, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur*, II (1963-64), pp.5-6.
57. For Sarawak, see, for instance, R. Pringle, *op.cit.*, p.60; Bandjarmarsin: Pijnappel in Ras, *op.cit.*, p.618; Deli, East Sumatra: Anderson, *op.cit.*, pp.16, 263 and 292; Asahan: Van den Bor, "Bijdragen tot de kennis van Sumatra's Noord-Oost Kust", *TBG*, XVII (1869), p.394; Riau-Lingga: de Bruijn Kops, *op.cit.*, p.78; Pahang: F. Swettenham, "Journal kept during a journey across the Malay peninsula", *JSBRAS* (1885), p.33; and Trengganu: Newbold, *op.cit.*, p.62, and H. Clifford, "Expedition to Trengganu and Kelantan", *JMBRAS*, XXXIV, 1 (1961), pp.88 and 97.
58. Cameron, *op.cit.*, p.35. The absence of wealthy merchants is discussed below in Chapter II.
59. See Chapter II.
60. Francis Light, despatch 25 January 1794, quoted in E.G. Cullin and W.F. Zehnder, *The Early History of Penang* (Penang, 1905), p.10; see also de Bruijn Kops, *op.cit.*, p.78.
61. Clifford, *Expedition*, p.89.
62. *Op.cit.*, p.188.
63. W.E. Maxwell, "The Laws and Customs of the Malays with Reference to the tenure of Land", *JSBRAS*, XIII (1884), pp.77-8. See also F. Swettenham, *British Malaya* (London, 1908), p.156; and (in reference to East Sumatra) Circulaire van den Resident, Oostkust van Sumatra, 19 February 1907, *Adatrechtbundel* VII (Leiden, 1913), p.57.
64. "*Pulang belanja*"; *ibid*, p.121.
65. Anderson, *op.cit.*, p.166; W.H.M. Schadee, *Geschiedenis van Sumatra's Oostkust* (Amsterdam, 1918), p.78. In the 1840's, however, people migrated from Riau-Lingga to Siak; de Bruijn Kops, *op.cit.*, p.378.
66. C. Skinner, "A Kedah Letter of 1839" in J. Bastin and R. Roolvink, *Malayan and Indonesian Studies: Essays Presented to Sir Richard Winstedt on his Eighty-Fifty Birthday* (Oxford, 1964), p.160.
67. Teeuw and Wyatt, *op.cit.*, p.149.
68. See the comments of Sir Hugh Clifford quoted in Linehan, *op.cit.*, p.89 n.1. Examples of such population movements are plentiful. Regarding Batu Bara people in Perak and Selangor see, for instance, McNair, *op.cit.*, p.133 and L. de Scheemaker, "Nota betreffende het landschap Batoe Barah", *TBG*, XVII (1869), p.466. Kuantan in Pahang was settled by Malays from Kuantan, Sumatra; Haji Mohammed Sidin b. Haji Md. Resad, *Asal Usal Alam Melayu* (Penang, 1954), p.4. Palembang people were involved in the settlement of Besut in Trengganu; Nik Ahmad Tajuddin, "Sejarah Kota Palembang, Besut, Trengganu", *Karangan Sejarah Malaysia* (1975), p.59. A large part of Asahan's population came from Bandjarmasin; H.H. Bartlett, "Manufacture of Sugar from *Arenga saccharifera* in Asahan on the East Coast of Sumatra", *Annual Report of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts & Letters*, XXI, 1 (1923), p.156. Also, many Trengganu people were found on the East Coast of Sumatra; Anderson, *op.cit.*, p.209. The records often refer to Malays living or travelling far from their home state. Thus, a woman from Pontianak was prominent in the Selangor civil war; Khoo Kay Kim, *The Western Malay States* (Kuala Lumpur, 1972), p.158. Finally, chiefs fighting in the Perak uprising of the 1870's sought followers in Sumatra; *MR*, 759, 1875; *MR*, 313, 1876.

69. See, for instance, *Almayer's Folly* (New York, Signet, 1965) and *Outcast of the Islands* (London, Dent, 1949). Norman Sherry, *Conrad's Eastern World* (Cambridge, 1966), pp.140-141, suggests that Conrad was familiar with the writings of more scholarly commentators of the mid-nineteenth century. J.R. Logan's work may well have been an inspiration. See the latter's comments on Malay political fluctuations in "Traces of the Origin of the Malay Kingdom of Borneo Proper", *JIA*, II (1848), pp.513-514. See also, J. Barnes, *Joseph Conrad: A Critical Biography* (New York, McGraw Hill, 1967), p.254.
70. F.A. Swettenham, *The Real Malay* (London, 1901), p.70.
71. H. Clifford, *The Further Side of Silence* (New York, 1927), p.xi. See also Annual Report, Pahang, 1888, in *Parliamentary Papers*, C5884 of 1889, p.92. R.J. Wilkinson, "Malay Law", reprinted in M.B. Hooker, *Readings in Malay Adat Laws* (Singapore, 1970), p.35, orig. pub., 1908. On the Raja's "right to the soil" see n.63 above, and "Circulaire van den Resident der Oost Kust van Sumatra, 19 Feb 1907", pp.54-61. The so-called Malay legal digests, according to Sir Richard Winstedt, were easily adapted to the purposes of "despotic and autocratic rulers"; "Old Malay Legal Digests and Malay Customary Law", *JRAS*, 1 & 2 (1945), p.18.
72. Swettenham, *British Malaya*, p.141.
73. Hugh Clifford, "Report on certain matters related to the present state of Pahang and of its inhabitants", in Gov., Straits Settlements, to Sec. State, 3 August 1887, *CO* 273/146.
74. Clifford, *Further Side*, p.xi. See also the remarks of W.A. Graham on Trengganu, quoted and discussed in R. Emerson, *Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur, 1964), p.255.
75. *Singapore Daily Times*, 29 July 1875. On the vague notions which Malays held regarding borders, see also the comments of D.D. Daly, who crossed the Peninsula in 1875, "The First Crossing of Malaya", *British Malaya* (1929), pp.241-245; M.C. ff. Sheppard, "A Short History of Trengganu", *JMBRAS*, XXII, 3 (1949), p.58.
76. Winstedt, *Sejarah Melayu*, in particular Chs 23ff.
77. Report on piracy by Edward Presgrove, Register of Imports and Exports at Singapore, 5 December 1828, *BC* 69433, p.71.
78. Khoo Kay Kim, *op.cit.*, p.25. E. Netscher, "Togtjes in het Gebied van Riouw en Onderhoorigheiden", *TBG*, XII (1862), p.242, discusses why many Lingga people fled from their ruler.
79. *In Court and Campong* (London, 1897), p.4; see also Swettenham, *The Real Malay*, p.258. Eighteenth and nineteenth century Chinese accounts give a similar impression; see, J.W. Cushman and A.C. Milner (eds), "Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Chinese Accounts of the Malay Peninsula", *JMBRAS*, LII (1979), p.9.
80. For a discussion of the "ke . . . an" construction in Malay, see R.O. Winstedt, *Malay Grammar* (Oxford, 1957), pp.96-97. For definitions of *kerajaan*, see, in particular, T. Iskandar, *Kamus Dewan* (Kuala Lumpur, 1970); Gullick, *op.cit.*, p.44; see also F.A. Swettenham, *Vocabulary of the English and Malay Languages* (Shanghai, 1914), under "state" and "kingdom". "*Perentah*" was also translated as "government" in English-Malay dictionaries. But it was perhaps more exactly translated as "direction", "jurisdiction", or "order"; see, for instance, the dictionaries of Marsden and Wilkinson; and H.C. Klinkert, *Nieuw Maleisch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek* (Leiden, 1930). The absence in Malay of an exact equivalent to the expression "government" is emphasized by the tendency of Malay authors of the nineteenth century to use the English "government" rather than a Malay word when referring to the colonial government; see, for instance, A. Sweeney and N. Phillips, *The Voyages of Mohammed Ibrahim Munshi* (Kuala Lumpur, 1975), p.31; and *Hikayat Pahang*, p.157. "*Negeri*" is sometimes translated as "state". But A.H. Hill, the editor of the *Hikayat Raja Raja Pasai*, provides a more precise definition: *negeri* "denotes a fairly large community, centred usually on a river estuary, an entrepot for foreign merchants, with some political influence over the surrounding territory"; "Hikayat Raja Raja Pasai", *JMBRAS*, XXXIII, 2 (1960), p.173 n.2. Only in modern times has the term *negara* come to "express the western idea of 'state'"; J. Gonda, *Sanscrit in Indonesia* (New Delhi, 1973), p.629. The absence of "evidence for the existence of the state as a concept" in the *Tuhfat al-Nafis* is noted in V. Matheson, "Concepts of State in the Tuhfat al-Nafis", in A. Reid and L. Castles (eds), *Pre-colonial state systems in Southern Asia* (Kuala Lumpur, 1975), p.21.

81. Popular sayings, in fact, sometimes asserted the characteristics of individual regions: "Liars are the men of Trengganu", it is related, "thieves are the men of Kelantan, and arrogant are the men of Pahang"; Clifford, *In Court and Kampong*, p.17.
82. See, for instance, C.O. Blagden, "The name 'Melayu'", *JSBRAS*, XXXII (1899), pp.211-213; and the article under "Maleiers" in *ENI*. See also Wang Gungwu, "*The Melayu in Hai-Kuo wen-chien lu*", *Journal of the Historical Society, University of Malaya*, II (1963-4), pp.1-9, and V. Matheson, "Concept of Malay Ethos in Indigenous Malay Writings", *JSEAS*, X, 2, 1979, pp.351-371.
83. Cushman and Milner, *op.cit.*, p.8.
84. J.V.G. Mills (trans.), "Eredia's description of Malacca, Meridional India, and Cathay", *JMBRAS*, VIII, 1 (1930), p.30.
85. Hervey, *Valentijn's Description of Malacca*, pp.64-5. Regarding Haru (or 'Aru') see A.C. Milner, E. Edwards McKinnon and Tengku Luckman Sinar, "A Note on Aru and Kota Cina", *Indonesia*, 26 (1978), pp.1-42.
86. Ch'en Lun-chiung, *Hai-kuo wen chien lu* (A Record of things seen and heard among the maritime nations), 1 chüan, maps 1 chüan (Taipei, 1958), preface dated 1730, orig. pub. 1744. Also Wang Ta-hai, who wrote in the late eighteenth century, used "Malay" in reference to such places as Malacca, Kedah, Bencoolen in Sumatra, Bandjarm in Borneo, and Timor. See also Ong-Taw-Hae (or Wang Ta-hai), *The Chinamen Abroad: An Account of the Malayan Archipelago* (London, 1850), p.33. The author is grateful to Dr J.W. Cushman for a translation of relevant sections of the *Hai-kuo wen chien lu*.
87. *Hikayat Deli*, for example, pp.21 and 80.
88. The *Hikayat Pahang*, p.88. The recension of the *Hikayat Pahang* referred to here is a romanized manuscript kept at the Arkib Negara, Kuala Lumpur. On the *Hikayat Pahang*, see chapter III. The eighteenth-century text, *Misa Melayu*, written by Raja Chulan, also refers to the "customs of Malay Rajas" (*adat Raja Melayu*) and to the Malay race (*bangsa Melayu*) (Kuala Lumpur, 1962), pp.55, 67 and 79. For the use of "negeri Melayu" see J.E. Kempe and R.O. Winstedt (eds), "A Malay Legal Digest Compiled for 'Abd al-Ghafur Muhaiyu'ddin Shah, Sultan of Pahang, 1592-1612 A.D., etc.", *JMBRAS*, XXI, 1 (1948), p.30.
89. *Siak Chronicle*, p.36.
90. Anderson, *op.cit.*, p.70. In a rather similar way Malay people, even in Borneo and the Sulu islands, disapproved of the favouritism shown by the British to the upstart Temenggong of Johor. See Weld's reference to Sir Hugh Low's memory of the matter in Gov. Straits to Sec. State, 23 June 1882, *CO* 273/113.

91. Ibbetson, Resident of Singapore, to Sec. to Gov. Fort William, 3 May 1831, *Bengal Political Consultations*, range 125/vol. 29.
92. J. Crawfurd, *A Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands and Adjacent Countries* (London, 1856), p.249. See also A. Wallace, *The Malay Archipelago* (New York, 1962), orig. pub., 1862, p.446.
93. Reverend F. Favre, "An account of the wild tribes inhabiting the Malayan Peninsula, Sumatra and a few Neighbouring Islands", *JIA*, II (1848), pp.272-273. Also see W.W. Skeat and C.O. Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, vol.1 (New York, 1966), orig. pub., 1906, pp.15, 25 and 28; and Cameron, *op.cit.*, p.121. On Borneo, see Pringle, *op.cit.*, pp.11-59; Ras, *op.cit.*, p.618; and "Journal kept on board a cruiser in the Indian Archipelago", *JIA*, VIII (1845), p.197. The Bataks are discussed in some detail in the present study; chapter V.
94. J.R. Logan, "The Orang Binua of Johore", *JIA*, I (1847), p.249. See also Skeat and Blagden, *op.cit.*, vol.1, p.561.
95. See chapter V.
96. At least it is mentioned in the early pages of the *Sejarah Melayu*; Winstedt, *Sejarah Melayu*, p.42. Sir Richard Winstedt, *A History of Classical Malay Literature* (Oxford, 1969), pp.158-9, believes this text, the Raffles 18 recension, was written in the sixteenth-century and parts of it may have been written earlier. See also Roolvink, *Variant Versions*, pp.xv-xxvii, and Wolters, *Fall of Srivijaya*, Appendix B.
97. The *Hikayat Iskandar* was known to Werndly in 1736; *op.cit.*, p.xxix.
98. Winstedt, *Sejarah Melayu*, p.191; Brown, *Malay Annals*, p.168.
99. Anderson, *op.cit.*, p.291.
100. Sweeney, *op.cit.*, p.256.
101. A. Teeuw, *A Critical Survey of Studies on Malay and Bahasa Indonesia* (s-Gravenhage, 1961), p.9; E.D. Edwards and C.O. Blagden, "A Chinese Vocabulary of Malacca Malay Words and Phrases Collected between A.D. 1403 and 1511", *BSOAS*, VI (1930-2), pp.211-213; W.F. Stutterheim, "A Malay Sha'ir in Old Sumatran Characters of 1380 A.D.", *Acta Orientalia*, XIV (1936), pp.268-279; J.G. de Casparis, *Selected Inscriptions from the 7th to the 9th Century, A.D.* (Bandung, 1956), chs 1 and 2. See also J.V. Wolff, *op.cit.*, pp.345-346 regarding Pigafetta's word list.

Notes to Chapter II

1. The best introduction to East Sumatra is W.H.M. Schadee, *Geschiedenis van Sumatra's Oostkust*, 2 vols (Amsterdam, 1918). For further general references see *ENI* under "Oostkust van Sumatra", *Mededeelingen van het Bureau voor Bestuurszaken der Buitenbezittingen, bewerkt door Encyclopaedisch Bureau. De Buitenbezittingen: Oostkust van Sumatra*, Deel II, Aflevering 3, Eerste Stuk and Tengku Luckman Sinar SH, *Sari Sedjarah Serdang* (Medan, about 1971). A recent study of East Sumatra focused on the colonial period is K. Pelzer, *Planter and Peasant, Colonial Policy and the Agrarian Struggle in East Sumatra 1863-1947* ('s-Gravenhage, 1978).
2. *Singapore Daily Times*, 29 July 1875.
3. Swettenham in W.R. Roff, *Stories and Sketches by Sir Frank Swettenham* (Kuala Lumpur, 1967), p.75. See also F.A. Swettenham, *About Perak* (Singapore, 1893), p.4; and Khoo Kay Kim, *op.cit.*, especially p.226.

4. Anderson, *op.cit.*, p.192.
5. Resident Netscher, 27 September 1862, G.G. to Kol. 28 March 1863. *Kol. Op. Verb.*, No.3, 1344. See also Schadea, *op.cit.*, vol.1, p.18.
6. J.A.M. Cats, Baron de Raet, "Vergelijking van den vroegeren toestand van Deli, Serdang, en Langkat met den Tegenwoordigen", *TBG*, XXIII (1876), p.21. See also the picture of the coast at this time presented in Schadee, *op.cit.*, vol.1, pp.98-99.
7. See, in particular, Schadee, *op.cit.*, vol.1; C.A. Kroesen, "Geschiedenis van Asahan", *TBG*, XXXI (1886), pp.82-137; E. Netscher, "De Nederlanders in Djohor en Siak 1602 tot 1865", *VBG*, XXV (1830), chs 3-7; D. Lombard, *Le Sultanat d'Atjeh ou Temps d'Iskandar Muda 1607-1636* (Paris, 1967), ch.3. A fragmentary account of nineteenth-century East Sumatra is contained in the records of the British East India Company and India Office. The following categories are particularly important: *Boards Collections 1825-58*; *Collections to Political Dispatches to India*; and *Straits Settlements Factory Records*. Some records for the period between 1859 and 1867 are contained in the first sixteen volumes of the Colonial Office Series *CO* 273. The Dutch archival records for the 1860's deal occasionally with earlier decades. These archives are divided into four categories: *Openbare* (public), *Geheim* (secret), *Kabinet* and *Mail Rapporten*.
8. Anderson, *op.cit.*, p.198.
9. *Ibid.*, p.191. See also, p.204.
10. C.A. Fisher, *Southeast Asia* (London, 1964), pp.218-19. East Sumatra became, of course, a major plantation region (the *cultuur-gebied*) in the Netherlands East Indies; see, for instance, T. Volker, *From Primeval Forest to Cultivation* (Medan, 1928); R. Broersma, *Oostkust van Sumatra: De Ontluiking van Deli* (Batavia, 1919) and *Oostkust van Sumatra: De Ontwikkleling van het Gewest* (Deventer, 1922). For a recent study of the plantation industry in East Sumatra, see Pelzer, *op.cit.*
11. Anderson, *op.cit.*, p.204. Valuable products were exported from East Sumatra over many centuries. For Chinese sources, see in particular, W.P. Groenveldt, *Notes on the Malay Peninsula* (Batavia, 1876), pp.194-196; and J.V. Mills (trans., ed., annotator), *Ma Huan: Ying-Yai Sheng-Lan. 'The Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores'* (1433) (Cambridge, 1970), pp.111-115. For Portuguese sources, see Cortesao, *op.cit.*, vol.1, 5th book. Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce*, p.179, and O.W. Wolters, *Fall of Srivijaya*, pp.43-44 contain references to this coast in earlier sources. For some seventeenth-century Dutch references to trade in the region see *Dagh Register gehouden int Casteel Batavia* (Batavia, 1896-1931), October 1642, p.179; May 1644, pp.125-126; August 1648, p.135; February 1653, p.18; November 1677, p.415; June 1681, p.401; August 1680, p.575; July 1682, p.929. For a late eighteenth-century reference to exports from Langkat see, F. Light, "A Brief Account of the several countries surrounding Prince of Wales' Island with their production", *JMBRAS*, XVI, 1 (1938), p.124. Exports from East Sumatra were often not prised from the coastal region itself; they were imported from the interior of Sumatra. When the Dutch established themselves in East Sumatra during the 1860's, for instance, they found market places, situated a few day's journey inland from the coast, where Malays traded with people from the interior; see L. Scheemaker, "Reis naar de Market-plaats (Pedagangan) der Lima Laras", *TBG*, XVII (1869), p.412; and A.C. Van der Bor, "Bijdragen tot de kennis van Sumatra, Noord-Oostkust: 1. Rapport over eene reis van Tandjong Balei naar de Omstreken van Pasir Mendagei, Bovenlanden van Asahan", *TBG*, XVII (1869), pp.367-411.

12. Anderson, *op.cit.*, p.274. See also *ibid.*, p.95.
13. Deli will be discussed below in chapter V.
14. *Ibid.*, p.275.
15. See, for instance, Reid, *op.cit.*, pp.1-5; Milner et. al., *op.cit.*, pp.16-19; Lombard, *op.cit.*, ch.3; Kroesen, *op.cit.*, p.83.
16. James W. Gould, "Sumatra - - America's Pepperport", *Essex Institute, Historical Collections*, XCII (1956), p.209.
17. J. Anderson, *Acheen and the Ports on the North and East Coasts of Sumatra* (Kuala Lumpur, 1971). See the tables, pp.222-223. Also T. Puvanarajah and R. Suntharalingam, "The Acheh treaty of 1819", *JSEAH*, II-III (1961), p.37.
18. His relations with the British are discussed in my *The Malay Raja: A study of Malay political culture in East Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula in the early nineteenth century* (Ph.D. thesis, Cornwell University, 1977), pp.38-9.
19. *Ibid.*, p.40. The magnitude of pepper exports from Deli is indicated by the fact that the quantity was comparable to that exported by the Dutch from West Java in the eighteenth century and greater than that produced by Penang at the opening of the nineteenth century, when pepper was considered the island's "principal staple": J. Bastin, "The Changing Balance of the Southeast Asian Pepper Trade", in *Essays on Indonesian and Malayan History* (Singapore, 1961), pp.33, 47. A "pikul", according to R.O. Winstedt, *Unabridged Malay-English Dictionary* (Kuala Lumpur, 1967) is the equivalent of 133 1/3 pounds. The word was generally spelt "pecul" in British sources; see H. Yule and A.C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson* (New York), 1968), orig. pub., 1886.
20. Tuanku Sultan Panglima Mangidar Allum of Delly to Gov., Prince of Wales Island, 17 June 1819, *Letters from Native Rulers*, F2.
21. *Ibid.* For a discussion of the way in which Europeans and Malays tended to label the violence of their opponents as piracy, see N. Tarling, *Piracy and Politics in the Malay World* (Melbourne, 1963).
22. Anderson, *Mission*, p.244.
23. *Ibid.*, pp.259 and 275. See also a letter from the Governor of Prince of Wales Island to the Bulu China chief; 19 July 1824, *Letters to Native Rulers*, G2; Milner, *Malay Raja*, p.45-46.
24. Anderson, *Mission*, p.245.
25. See, for example, *ibid.*, p.303. See also Netscher's report on the slave trade in Asahan, included in Resident Riouw to G.G., 12 December 1865 in G.G. to Kol., 9 July 1866, W7/4, *Kol. Kab.*, 5985.
26. Resident Netscher, 27 September 1862, G.G. to Kol., 28 March 1863, *Kol. Op. Verb.*, No.3, 1344.
27. The Deli rulers were given considerable assistance in their military activities by Syed Akil, the son of Syed Hussain, a rich Penang trader who had been embroiled deeply in Acehnese politics. Syed Akil's role is discussed in my *Malay Raja*, pp.47-51. For a reference to Mangidar Alam's death see Osman's letter to the Governor of Penang, 22 March 1826, *Letters from Native Rulers*, F4.
28. The expansion and decline of Deli in the first half of the nineteenth century is discussed in Milner, *Malay Raja*, pp.45-55.
29. A. Cortesao, *The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires* (London, 1944), pp.284-285 and 251. Also, Abn Batuta encountered in China a junk belonging to the ruler of Pasai, in North Sumatra; M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofsz, *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1550 and about 1630* (The Hague, 1963), p.20.
30. Wolters, *Fall of Srivijava*, p.14; Meilink-Roelofsz, *op.cit.*, p.43.
31. D. Lewis, "The Growth of the Country Trade to the Straits of Malacca", *JMBRAS*, XLIII, 2 (1970), p.119; see also D.K. Bassett, "British Commercial and Strategic Interest in the Malay Peninsula during the Late Eighteenth Century" in Bastin and Roolvink, *Malayan and Indonesian Studies*, p.129. The Sultan of 1870 was sufficiently industrious to open a coffee plantation at Bukit Pinang: Sharom Ahmat, "The Structure and Economy of Kedah, 1874-1903", *JMBRAS*, XLIII, 2 (1970), p.7.

32. See Lieutenant Pottier de L'Harme's account of 1769 in J. Dunmore, "French Visitors to Trengganu in the Eighteenth Century", *JMBRAS*, XLVI, 1 (1973), p.153. See also the comments of Captain Labé; *ibid.*, p.148.
33. J.R. Logan, *The Sultan of Johore*, p.46.
34. Earl, *op.cit.*, p.185. See also Sultan Omar bin Sultan Ahmat to Resident Councillor Church, Singapore, 17 June 1851, in *BC* 140596, p.35. Also, the *Singapore Daily Times*, 29 July 1875, described the Sultan reigning at that time (Baginda Omar) as "the largest trader in the place". The Sultan reigning in Asahan when the Dutch arrived early in the 1860's was the principal slave trader in his state; report by E. Netscher, included in Res. Riouw to G.G., 12 December 1865, in G.G. to Kol., 9 July 1866, W7/4 *Kol. Kab.* 5985. Finally the Sultan of Serdang was described as a "great trader" who "owns a number of prows, which convey cargoes to Penang and other places"; Anderson, *Mission*, p.303.
35. Quoted in Pringle, *op.cit.*, p.63.
36. J.R. Logan, "Range of the Gutta Taban Collectors, and Present Amount of Imports into Singapore", *JIA*, II (1848), *passim.* "Gutta Taban", according to Thomas Oxley, was the proper term for "Gutta Percha", "Gutta Percha", *JIA*, I (1847), p.22. See also W.H.M. Read, *Play and Politics* (London, 1901), pp.13ff.; C.M. Turnbull, *The Straits Settlements* (London, 1972), pp.277-278; and R.O. Winstedt, "A History of Johore", *JMBRAS*, X, 3 (1932), pp.92ff. Dr C.A. Trocki examines in detail the development of the new Johor in *Prince of Pirates: the Temenggongs and the Development of Johor and Singapore, 1784-1885* (Singapore, 1979).
37. A. Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies* (Edinburgh, 1727), p.99. Also, the Singapore Chamber of Commerce in 1848 complained about the way the Temenggong of Johor monopolized the trade in *getah percha*; Winstedt, *History of Johore*, p.92.
38. J.R. Logan, "Traces of the Origin of the Malay Kingdom of Borneo Proper, etc.", *JIA*, II (1848), p.520.
39. S. Raffles, *Memoir of the Life and Services of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles* (London, 1830), p.81.
40. Raja of Kelantan to Sec. to Gov., Straits Settlements, 24 July 1865, in October 1865, *Indian Foreign Proceedings*, Range 204, vol.79.
41. See, Government of the Straits Foreign Department: narrative of the Proceedings of the Government of the Straits during the first quarter of 1859, no.65, of 1860, *CPD* 30.
42. See *Life of Commodore Henry James, R.N.* (London, 1899), p.265.
43. Quoted in Cullin and Zehnder, *op.cit.*, p.10.
44. Quoted in N. Tarling, *Piracy and Politics in the Malay World* (Melbourne, 1963), p.150.
45. Schadee, *op.cit.*, p.44. His father, Sultan Ahmad, also had a reputation for piracy; Sir Charles Hill, *Episodes of Piracy in the Eastern Seas* (Bombay, 1920), p.72.
46. Cortesao, *op.cit.*, p.147. Meilink-Roelofsz, *op.cit.*, pp.23 and 337, notes a Brunei ruler, who in the seventeenth century organised piracy and shared in the profits.
47. Examination of the men captured from the 'piractical' prows by H.M.S. Andremache, 31 May 1836, *BC* 69433, p.230.

48. H. Clifford, *Malayan Monochromes* (London, 1928), p.297. For a discussion of chiefs turning to "piracy" see also, G.W. Earl, *The Eastern Seas* (Singapore, 1871), orig. pub., 1837, p.384.
49. *Siak Chronicle*, p.30.
50. See Wilkinson's and Winstedt's Dictionaries.
51. *Hikayat Pahang*, p.51.
52. Anderson, *Mission*, p.227.
53. Milner, et. al., *op.cit.*, pp.41-42.
54. Read, *op.cit.*, p.13. Another Malay chief who apparently turned from piracy to trade was the Dato at Bedagai in East Sumatra; see Ludwig Martin, "Briefe aus Sumatra", *Daus Ausland*, 25 August 1884. (The author is grateful to F.R. Lublin for a translation of this article.) Also, in the early nineteenth century, the ex-pirate, Raja Akil, became ruler of Sukadana and a close friend of the Dutch; Sir Charles Hill, *Notes on Piracy* (Bombay, 1923), pp.200 and 204; see also *ENI*, under "Akil" and "Soekadana". Regarding the way in which Malay rulers might accuse their opponents of piracy, see n.21 above.
55. See Meilink-Roelofsz, *op.cit.*, p.58.
56. "Mandelslo's Travels into the Indies" in John Davies (trans.), *The Voyages and Travells of the Ambassadors sent by Frederik, Duke of Holstein* (London, 1669), p.107. See also the comments of Eredia in J.V. Mills, "Malacca, Meridional India and Cathay", *JMBRAS*, VIII, 1 (1930), p.232.
57. Cameron, *op.cit.*, p.135.
58. Note of 21 August 1823 in Cowan, *op.cit.*, p.141. Also, Anderson, *Mission*, p.422, notes that only prows came to Penang from East Sumatra. For the importance of local traders in the trade of Deli and its neighbours, particularly traders of Menangkabau stock based in Batu Bara, see also J. Anderson, *An Exposition of the Political and Commercial Relations . . . with the States on the East Coast of Sumatra etc.* (Prince of Wales Island, 1824), pp.22, 33, 37. Anderson noted that in Deli there were only "a very few Chinese"; *Mission*, p.296.
59. The *Prince of Wales Gazette* records that in 1825, two schooners and a brig went to Deli; see 19 January, 20 August and 8 October; in 1826 six visited Deli; 11 March, 13 May, 27 September, 14 October, 4 November and 25 November; and in 1829 six again; 14 March, 21 March, 23 June, 11 July and 19 September.
60. *Penang Argus and Mercantile Advertiser*, 31 October 1867. For the role of the Chinese in Asahan's trade see, for instance, Netscher to Sloet, 29 September 1865, G.G. to Kol., 25 January 1866, *Kol. Kab.* W/P 5981; Raja of Asahan to Resident Riouw, 13 July 1865, with Resident Councillor, Penang, to Deputy Sec. to Gov., 12 October 1865, no.33 of 1866, *CPD* 83. For the increase in the number of Chinese by this period see also A.J.S. Reid, "Early Chinese Migration into Sumatra", in J. Ch'en and N. Tarling (eds), *Studies in the Social History of China and South-East Asia: Essays in Memory of Victor Purcell* (Cambridge, 1970), p.291. A pioneering study of the Chinese in East Sumatra, A.G. de Bruin, *De Chineezen ter Oostkust van Sumatra* (Leiden, 1918) provides no information on their involvement in the region before Dutch control was established between 1858 and 1865. For notes on the Chinese after that time see pp.1, 80, 81 and Reid, "Chinese", pp.291-320.
61. V. Purcell, *The Chinese in Southeast Asia* (London, 1952), p.37; Lee Poh Ping, *Chinese Society in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Singapore* (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1974), pp.2-3.

62. Meilink-Roelofsz, *op.cit.*, p.163. See also C.R. Boxer, *Francisco Vieira de Figuerido* (The Hague, 1967), pp.28-29; C. Skinner, "Sj'air Perang Mengkasar", *VBG*, 40 (1963), p.20 n.104; and B. Schrieke, *Indonesian Sociological Studies* (The Hague, 1966), Part I, pp.61 and 71-72.
63. See, in particular, "A Madras Officer", "Three Months in Cambodia", *JIA*, VIII (1854), pp.293, 306 and 317-319. See also Marcel Ner, "Les Musulmans de l'Indochina", *BEFEO*, 41 (1941), p.182. They may also have been important in Thailand. See, for instance, D.K. Wyatt, "Family Politics in Nineteenth Century Thailand", *JSEAH*, 9 (1968), p.212.
64. Translation of an Engagement from the Sultan Panglima of Delli, 20 February 1823, in Anderson, *Acheen*, p.234. See also his statement to Anderson in *Mission*, p.249.
65. See, for example, Sultan of Deli to Gov., 26 March 1841, in *FO* 37/233.
66. See n.27 above.
67. Shahbandar Ahmad told the British Governor in Penang that "traders residing at Deli" and traders from Batu Bara had been plundered; 7 January 1828, *BC* 51421, pp.50-52. See also Four Datoes or chiefs of Batu Bhara to Gov., Prince of Wales Island, 22 April 1828, *BC* 51421, pp.57-60; and Shahbandar Ahmad to Gov., Prince of Wales Island, 17 May 1828, *SSFR* 144. Anderson noted that complaints about Syed Akil had also come from the "Chinese mercantile community" in Penang. Anderson did not say whether those Chinese who complained had suffered themselves at Syed Akil's hands, or whether they had been indirectly affected by the harassment of Malay traders; Anderson, Sec. to Gov., Prince of Wales Island, to Chief. Sec. Swinton, 21 July 1828, *BC* 51421.
68. Anderson, *Mission*, p.116.
69. *Ibid.*, p.117.
70. *Ibid.*, p.114.
71. See, for instance, Shahbandar of Delli to Gov., Prince of Wales Island, 22 April 1828, *loc. cit.*
72. Shahbandar Ahmad to Gov., Prince of Wales Island, 7 January 1828, *loc. cit.*
73. Anderson, *Mission*, p.276.
74. Sultan Osman Perkasa Alum Shah, Raja of Delli, to Gov., Prince of Wales Island, 28 July 1828 (14 Muharram 1244), *BC* 51421.
75. Shahbandar Ahmad to Gov., Prince of Wales Island, 17 May 1828 (2 Dzul-ka'edah 1243), *SSFR* 144.
76. Winstedt, *Sejarah Melayu*, ch.XXIII.
77. *Singapore Chronicle*, 17 February 1831, in *Asiatic Journal*, 6 (1831), p.129. See also the comments of Tome Pires in Cortesao, *op.cit.*, pp.158-159.
78. Kassim Ahmad, *Kisah Pelayaran Abdullah* (Kuala Lumpur, 1964), pp.44-45. See also Abdullah's comments on Trengganu; *ibid.*, p.155. Hugh Clifford, in the report of his expedition to Trengganu and Kelantan, notes that a "reputation for affluence is in itself a source of danger": *Expedition*, p.82. E. Netscher makes a similar point in his discussion of East Sumatra; Netscher to G.G., 27 September 1862, G.G. to Kol., 28 March 1863, *Kol. Op. Verb.*, no.3, 1344. See also F. Swettenham, *British Malaya*, p.137; J.T. Thompson, *Some Glimpses into Life in the Far East* (London, 1864), p.153; *Mededeelingen van het Bureau voor de Bestuurszaken der Buitenbezittingen*, p.145; and I.L. Bird, *The Golden Chersonese* (Kuala Lumpur, 1967), p.140. (I discuss Western influence on

Munshi Abdullah in "A Missionary Source for a Biography of Munshi Abdullah", *JMBRAS*, LIII, 1, 1980, pp.111-19.

79. T. Braddell, "Notes of a Trip to the Interior from Malacca", *JIA*, VII (1853), p.96. See also Swettenham, *British Malaya*, p.137.
80. Earl, *op.cit.*, pp.374-375. See also the comments of Mohammed Ibrahim Munshi, praising the Malays of Melaka for their industry in the 1870's; A. Sweeney and N. Phillips, *The Voyages of Mohammed Ibrahim Munshi* (Kuala Lumpur, 1975), p.28.
81. See, for instance, Meilink-Roelofsz, *op.cit.*, pp.8-9; Trocki, *op.cit.*, p.205.
82. See, for example, *Hikayat Pahang*, p.83; R.O. Winstedt and A.J. Sturrock (eds), *Hikayat Malim Deman* (Singapore, 1937), p.14; and Winstedt, *Sejarah Melayu*, p.88. The *Hikayat Deli*, p.1, when praising the kingdom of the founder of Deli's father, notes the vast number of foreigners (*dagang santeri*) who come to trade (*berniaga*) there. It does not mention local merchants.
83. Sultan of Deli to Gov., Prince of Wales Island, 26 March 1841, *FO* 37/233.
84. See, for instance, Raja of Kedah to Gov., Prince of Wales Island, 22 June 1816, quoted in Bonney, *op.cit.*, p.141. The *Hikayat Deli*, p.9, describes the Sultan of Aceh's concern at the killing of his subjects by an ascetic.
85. See, for instance, the letter from Bendahara Ahmad of Pahang, 1863, in Linehan, "History of Pahang", *JMBRAS*, XIV, 2 (1936), p.211; Iang de Pertuan Asahan to Gov., Penang, 24 August 1863, *FO* 37/421, p.164; Rajah of Trengganu to G.G. of Netherlands India, enclosed with Gov., Straits Settlements, to Sec. to Gov. India, 9 July 1850, *BC* 130455, p.11.
86. See, for example, Winstedt, *Sejarah Melayu*, pp.88, 92 and 150; *Hikayat Seri Rama*, pp.296-297; and *Hikayat Pahang*, p.87.
87. *Hikayat Pahang*, p.142.
88. *Ibid.*, p.40. For *belanja*, see also *ibid.*, pp.120, 176 and 142-143.
89. *Menambah belanja*, *ibid.*, p.51.
90. *Kerana anakda kurang belanja*, *Siak Chronicle*, p.50. See also pp.10, 44 and 46.
91. *A Dictionary of the Malay Language* (London, 1812). The Indic source of the word is discussed in J. Gonda, *Sanscrit in Indonesia* (New Delhi, 1973), pp.80-81.
92. Profit: *untang*; revenue: *hasil*; capital: *modal*.
93. "Malay Journalism in Malaya", *JMBRAS*, XIX, 2 (1941), p.249.
94. *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, p.70. Regarding the dating of this text see Winstedt, *Classical Malay Literature*, p.63.
95. Both Wilkinson's *Dictionary* and Gonda believe "power" is the older version of the word. In the Philippines the Tagalog word *"kāya"* also means power, and in the Northern Celebes *"kakaya"* suggests "magical power"; J. Gonda, *Aspects of Early Visnuism* (Utrecht, 1954), p.193.
96. There were *orang kaya*, for instance, in nineteenth-century Pahang and Deli.
97. H. Logen (trans.), *The Voyages and Adventures of Fernand Mendez Pinto* (London, 1969), pp.27-28.
98. Inche Wan Ahmad to Gov., Straits Settlements, no date, enclosed with a letter from the Bendahara of Pahang, 28 July 1861, in no.132 of 1862, in *CO* 273/5.
99. *Siak Chronicle*, p.32: "Maka kapal pun dapat dan dapati real lima puluh laksa lain dagangan. Maka baginda pun menjadi raja di Siantan." See also the story of Merah Silu in the *Hikayat Raja*^{2} *Pasai*; Hill, *op.cit.*, p.53. On the role of wealth in politics

also see the Telaga Batu inscription from seventh-century Palembang; J.G. de Casparis, *Prasasti, II* (Bandung, 1956), pp.39-40; and Wolters, *Fall of Srivijaya*, p.13.

100. A note by the first Malay State Commissioner, Kemaman, 1924, quoted in M.C.ff. Sheppard, "A Short History of Trengganu", *JMBRAS*, III (1949), p.58.
101. Clifford, *Malayan Monochromes*, pp.151-52. A comment on p.157 suggests it is a Pahang story.
102. Anderson, *Mission*, pp.61 and 268. Also, Cameron, in 1865, noted: "Unlike the Malays (the Chinese) are ambitious and become rich"; *op.cit.*, p.139. On the different attitudes to money of Malays and Chinese, see K.O.L. Burridge, "Racial Relations in Johore", *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, II, 2 (1957), pp.163-164. On the tendency among Malays not to accumulate savings, see J. Djamour, *Malay Kinship and Marriage in Singapore* (London, 1965), pp.38-39.
103. *Hikayat Pahang*, p.160. The Jawi recension, p.50, clarifies a misspelt word (*suka*) in this passage.
104. Indonesian translation of a report of the period from April 1864 to March 1865 by J.A.M. Cats, Baron de Raet, in the possession of Tengku Luckman Sinar, S.H., p.25. Another Dutch report also records that the Sultan of Deli was "*malu*" in 1882 when the district of Denai, formally under his authority, was transferred to Serdang; Resident, Oostkust van Sumatra, to G.G., 6 May 1882, *MR* 473, 1882. On the Raja's efforts to obtain as "Many subjects as possible", see Circulaire van den Resident der Costkust van Sumatra, 19 February 1907, in *Adatrechtbundel*, VII, p.57. For a reference to the Kelantan ruler's sorrow at losing subjects in 1909, see J. de V. Allen, "The Kelantan Uprising of 1915", *JSEAH*, IX, 2 (1968), pp.64-65.
105. Hugh Clifford, *In Court and Kampong* (London, 1897), p.116. Dutch reports from East Sumatra suggest that in that region, too, wars were not expected to involve large numbers of casualities. See, for instance, the report of a military expedition to Deli, 24 May to 14 July 1872, *MR* 542.
106. Winstedt, *Sejarah Melayu*, p.117; Brown, *op.cit.*, p.70. See also the text's assumption that the Portuguese were interested in Melaka because of its large population; Winstedt, p.182, and Brown, pp.157-158. States were often praised for being "*ramai*" which means "populous" or "crowded", or "*maamur*", a term combining the notions "populous" and "prosperous"; see, for instance, Winstedt, *Sejarah Melayu*, p.182; Teeuw and Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani*, p.154; *Hikayat Pahang*, pp.7-8; *Hikayat Raja*^{2} *Pasai*, p.102; and *Hikayat Deli*, p.138.
107. *Mission*, p.268. See also the comments of Francis Light in Cullin and Zehnder, *op.cit.*, p.10. The idea was not only relevant to political situations. A. Sweeney notes that the "gaining of pupils" is a source of prestige for a shadow play *dalang* or puppeteer; *The Ramayana and the Malay Shadow Play*, p.44. Even authors appear to be judged at least partly in terms of the size of their personal followings of proteges (*pengikut--pengikutnya*); Zakry Abadi, "Hugo orang Melayu", *MASTIKA*, Mei 1973, p.19.
108. De Raet, *Deli, Serdang en Langkat*, p.28.

Notes to Chapter III

1. W. Linehan's "A History of Pahang", *JMBRAS*, XIV, 2 (1936) is the standard reference for Pahang history, and one of the best "state" histories written in the colonial period. It contains much interesting material, including extensive excerpts from the private correspondence of the Maharaja Perba of Jelai and from the Malay *Hikayat Pahang*. R.G. Cant's *An Historical Geography of Pahang*, Monograph of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, No.4 (1973) is also a useful general reference.
2. P. Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese* (Kuala Lumpur, 1966), p.288, notes a mention of "Panhang" in an Arabic source of the tenth century. For Chinese sources, see W.P. Groeneveldt, *Notes on the Malay Peninsula* (Djakarta, 1960), pp.136-139. For Chinese accounts of another toponym, "Tan-ma-ling", which may also have been associated with Pahang, see, for instance, Wheatley, *op.cit.*, pp.66 and 77.
3. Bendahara is defined in Wilkinson's *Dictionary* as "First Lord of the Treasury. Prime Minister (in an old Peninsula state)".
4. Newbold, *op.cit.*, vol.2, p.55.
5. See, for instance, E.G. de Eredia, "Report on the golden Khersonese or Peninsula, 1599-1600", *JMBRAS*, VIII, I (1930), p.233.
6. See the map of mining areas of Pahang, figure 17; Cant, *op.cit.* See also C. Gray's "Journal of a Route Overland from Malacca to Pahang across the Malayan Peninsula", *JIA* (VI (1852), p.372; and Newbold, in J.T. Moor, *Notices of the Indian Archipelago and Adjacent Countries* (Singapore, 1887), part 1, p.81. For indications of gold working in ancient times, see Linehan, "A History of Pahang", p.3.
7. Kassim Ahmad, *Kisah Pelayaran Abdullah*, p.34.
8. *Annual Report*, Pahang, 1891. This population distribution was not a recent development. See, for instance, the comment of a Dutch envoy to Pahang in 1758; B.W. Andaya, *Perak: The Abode of Grace* (Ph.D. diss., Cornell, 1975), p.42 n.62. Indeed, archaeological work suggests the interior of Pahang had been an area of settlement and trade for many centuries. See, for instance, G. de G. Sieveking, "Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Malaya", *JMBRAS*, XXVIII, 1 (1955), pp.216-217, where mention is made of finds, in the Ulu Tembeling area, of porcelain which may date back to the twelfth century. Cant, *op.cit.*, p.16, is a helpful introduction to discoveries, in the same area, of stone and bronze objects of a much earlier date.
9. Hugh Clifford, *The Further Side of Silence* (New York, 1927), p.234. See also his report enclosed with Governor Smith's instructions to Rodger, in Gov., Straits Settlements, to Sec. State, 15 October 1889, *CO* 273/161. Clifford was closely associated with Pahang during the 1880's and 1890's; for a short note regarding his career see W.R. Roff's introduction to *Stories by Sir Hugh Clifford* (Kuala Lumpur, 1966).
10. Quoted in Linehan, *op.cit.*, p.196.
11. This was the opinion of L. Fraser, who had an intimate knowledge of Pahang affairs; *Straits Times*, 28 April 1892. See also the article on Pahang in the *Daily News*, 24 May 1892, enclosed in Admiralty to Colonial Office, 19 May 1892, *CO* 273/184. On the origins and role of the Jelai chiefs, see Linehan, *op.cit.*, pp.191, 201-202.

12. Newbold, *op.cit.*, vol.2, p.57; even in 1892 one reads of the To Raja's relatives' dealing in cattle in Perak; *Penang Gazette*, 12 January 1892. For discussions of the early history of the overland route to Melaka, see P. Wheatley, "Panarikan", *Journal of the South Seas Society* 10 (1954), pp.1-16; see Khoo Kay Kim, *op.cit.*, p.49; and a note in *JSBRAS* III (1879), pp.132-133.
13. H. Clifford, *Studies in Brown Humanity* (London, 1898), p.173.
14. H. Malcolm, *Travels in South Eastern Asia* (Boston, 1839), vol.2, p.101.
15. Linehan, *op.cit.*, p.73.
16. See, for instance, Clifford, *In Court and Kampong*, p.115.
17. Abu Bakar bin Seman, "A Note on the Origins of a Malay Kampong on the Pahang River", *MHJ*, 1 (1954), pp.49-50.
18. H. Clifford, *Malayan Monochromes* (London, 1928), p.284. The people of the interior probably differed from those of the coast in a number of ways. Many of the former appear to have been of Menangkabau descent; W. Linehan, *op.cit.*, Appendix 3. Furthermore, there must always have been a distinction between court people and those who lived more simply, and who probably worked harder, in the interior; Clifford, *In Court and Kampong*, pp.28-29. For a brief discussion of the Rawa in Malaya, see my "A Note on 'The Rawa'", *JMBRAS*, LI (December 1978), pp.143-148.
19. Newbold, *op.cit.*, vol.2, p.56.
20. E.A. Blundell, quoted in L.A. Mills, "British Malaya 1824-67", *JMBRAS*, XXXIII, 3 (1960), p.205. The *Hikayat Pahang*, p.8, also notes the large amount of trade and cheap foodstuffs at this time.
21. Congalton to Butterworth, 10 October 1845, enclosed in Butterworth to Sec., Govt. India, 17 January 1846, in *BC* 105676, p.17.
22. See, for example, the report of June 1853, included in B. Buckley, *An Anecdotal History of Old Times in Singapore* (Singapore, 1912), p.576.
23. T. Church, Resident Councillor, Singapore, to Sec. to Gov., Straits Settlements, 26 September 1854, in *BC* 164938, p.1.
24. Ahmad was not consistent in his expressed aims. In mid-1861 he told the Governor in Singapore that he had "no desire to become Bendahara". His father, he said, had given him the rivers Endow and Kuantan; Mutahir was attempting to cheat him of this inheritance. His only hope now, explains Ahmad, was to "keep what my father has given me in his life time". But in the same letter Ahmad noted: "I entered Pahang with the pleasure of all the chiefs, as I was the proper person to rule"; the letter has no date, but is included with a letter from Bendahara Mutahir, 28 July 1861, in no.132 of 1862, *CO* 10273/5. Also, a seal of Ahmad's, dated 1858, used the title "Dato Bendahara Sewa Raja Pahang"; W. Linehan, "A Chap Pekak", *JMBRAS*, IV, 2 (1926), p.184. Finally, the *Hikayat Pahang*, p.17, states that Ahmad was proclaimed Bendahara by his supporters at the time of his first attack on Pahang, in 1858. The occasional page references to the *Hikayat Pahang* in this study refer to the *Rumi* (romanized) type manuscript kept at the Arkib Negara, Kuala Lumpur. This and another recension of the text will be discussed later in the chapter.
25. Linehan, *A History*, ch.VII.
26. The *Hikayat Pahang*, pp.12-13, relates that Ahmad attempted to meet in audience with his brother at Gantang, but mischief makers prevented his going upstream. He therefore went to Singapore, and, hearing nothing from his brother, eventually engaged in attacks on Pahang.

27. On Ali, see C.M. Turnbull, *The Straits Settlements 1826-67* (London, 1972), ch.VIII.
28. *Hikayat Pahang*, p.28.
29. Pahang's former boundary was the Sedili River. See Tarling, *British Policy*, p.68, n.268. See also Linehan, *op.cit.*, p.74.
30. *Hikayat Pahang*, p.40.
31. Wilkinson's *Dictionary* explains that "Orang Rawa" was a "name given loosely to non-Menangkabau immigrants from Central Sumatra". But the *Hikayat Pahang*, pp.114, 116 and 121, also mentions the Mandailing people of Central Sumatra, which suggests "Rawa" may have had a more precise meaning in nineteenth-century Malaya. People from Rawa , located north of Menangkabau and behind Tapanuli, certainly emigrated to the Peninsula in the mid-1800's. R. Macpherson, Resident Councillor, Malacca, to Gov., Straits Settlements, 14 December 1859, no.2 of 1861, *CPD* 40. On the Rawa, see n.18 above.
32. *Hikayat Pahang*, p.49.
33. See Tarling, *British Policy*, p.72.
34. *Hikayat Pahang*, p.65.
35. *Ibid.*, p.77.
36. Linehan, *A History*, p.72.
37. See, for instance, Turnbull, *op.cit.*, ch.VIII, especially p.282. The rise of the Temenggong is discussed briefly in chapter of the present study.
38. Inchi Wan Ahmad to Gov., no date, in no.132 in 1862, *loc.cit.* The *Hikayat Pahang*, p.93, tells how at a later date Ahmad feared conflict with the British; see also *Hikayat Pahang*, p.113.
39. This point is evident from an incomplete manuscript of a memorial from Sultan Abu Bakar of Johor to Sir H. C. Robinson, Gov., Straits Settlements, dated May 1878, and located among the British Association of Malaya Papers at the Royal Commonwealth Society.
40. K. Murchison, writing in 1826, quoted in Tarling, *British Policy*, p.56. The situation had not changed greatly in 1849; see Rev. Favre, "A Journey in Johore", *JIA*, III (1849), p.50. The Sultan of Lingga's relationship with the Peninsular states will be discussed in the next chapter.
41. Netscher, *Nederlanders*, esp. chs IX-XIV.
42. On Lingga see entries under "Lingga" and "Riouw en Onderhoorigheden" in the *Encyclopoedia van Nederlandsch-Indie* ('s-Gravenhage, 1919). Mahmud is discussed in V. Matheson, "Mahmud, Sultan of Riau and Lingga (1823-1864)", *Indonesia*, 13 (1972), pp.119-146. He will be examined in greater detail in chapter IV of the present study.
43. On the Anglo-Dutch Treaty, see Tarling, *British Policy*, pp.21-25.
44. Linehan, *A History*, p.66. See also p.210.
45. On Pahang's importance to Singapore from a commercial point of view, see Governor Cavenagh, to Sec., Govt. India, 22 August 1861, no.133 of 1862, in *CO* 273/5, and Secretary, Chamber of Commerce to Deputy Sec., Gov., 31 October 1862, no.25 of 1864, *CPD* 71. Wong Lin Ken, "The Trade of Singapore 1819-69", *JMBRAS*, XXXIII, 4 (1960), pp.79-80, discusses the importance of East Peninsular trade in general. H. Malcolm, *op.cit.*, p.105, noted a "constant intercourse" between Pahang and Singapore in 1839, and figures for 1835-36 suggest many more trading boats came to Singapore from Pahang than from any other East Peninsula state; Proceedings of Commissioners, Chads & Bonham, 14 July 1836, *BC* 69433. Among the products obtained at Pahang were gold, tin, buffalo hides, "gutta", and betal nut; see, for instance, the report of a trader to Pahang in Resident Councillor, Singapore to Sec. to Gov., Straits Settlements, 26 September 1854, in *BC* 164938.

46. Governor Cavenagh's bombardment of Trengganu, however, did provoke inquiries. See, for instance, Wood to Viceroy, 25 July, no.52, 1863, Pol.6; Wood to Viceroy, 25 May, no.25, 1864, Pol.7. Cavenagh defended his decision in *Reminiscences of an India Official* (London, 1864) and *Report on the Progress of the Straits Settlements, 1859/60 to 1866/67* (Singapore, 1867). See also Gov., Straits Settlements to Sec. to Govt. India, 31 October 1863, no.25 of 1864, *CPD* 71; and Cavenagh to Wood, 21 June 1864 and 5 October 1864, *Wood Collection*.
47. The author has examined two recensions of the *Hikayat Pahang*: a typed Rumi (romanized) text of 217 pages, kept at the Arkib Negara, Kuala Lumpur, and a 71 page Jawi text on microfilm at the University of Malaya library. The texts differ in several respects. The Jawi manuscript makes a brief mention of events up to 1932; and the last pages of the Rumi text mention the return to Europe of W.H. Treacher, Resident General of the Federated Malay States, who retired in 1904; E. Sadka, *The Protected Malay States, 1874-1895* (Kuala Lumpur, 1968), p.39. The text also differs in the attention given to events. Particularly in the early chapters, or stories (*chertera*), the Jawi text is more brief, and, in particular, is less concerned to record the names and titles of individuals involved. Differences in emphasis of course, may involve different interpretations; but at times the two recensions are more obvious in their disagreement. The Rumi version, for instance, gives more praise to British officials; compare, for instance, p.217 of the Rumi text with p.70 of the Jawi; and the Jawi does not use the word *derhaka* (traitor) in reference to the warrior, Bahman, one of the principal figures in the later chapters: p.172 Rumi, p.55 Jawi. Linehan appears to have made use of the Rumi text. He refers to a "typed document of over 200 sheets" in the possession of Dr Winstedt, which may be the same text now deposited in the Arkib Negara. Certainly Linehan's quotations follow closely the latter recension. But he also appears to have encountered a third manuscript -- a "copy" in the possession of the Tengku Besar of Pahang; the first fifty pages of this text were "unfortunately missing". Linehan was not able to discover who wrote these texts; W. Linehan, "The Bendaharas of Pahang", *JMBRAS*, IV (1926), p.338 n.2. J.C. Bottoms, "Some Malay Historic Sources" in Soedjatmoko (ed.), *An Introduction to Indonesian Historiography* (Ithaca, 1968), p.172 n.54, makes no distinction between a romanized (Rumi) version held at that time by Dr C. Gibson Hill, and the Jawi microfilm in the University of Malaya library.
48. Linehan, *A History*, p.55.
49. For a discussion of Sultan Muhammed's promotion of his som Mahmud about 1834, see V. Matheson, "Mahmud, Sultan of Riau and Lingga (1823-1864)", *Indonesia*, 13 (1972), p.123.
50. Two important discussions of the development and varieties of modern history are R.G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (Oxford, 1963) and Hayden White, *Metahistory - the Historical imagination in 19th-century Europe* (Baltimore, 1973).
51. R.O. Winstedt, "Malay Chronicles from Sumatra and Malaya" in D.G.E. Hall, *Historians of South East Asia* (London, 1961), p.28.
52. Ahmad's role as a source of unity in the *Hikayat* is particularly apparent, for instance, in the manner in which the text describes events occurring in the period between the two phases of the Pahang rebellion in the early 1890's; see pp.100-102.
53. See, in particular, Wilkinson's *Dictionary*.
54. Kassim Ahmad (ed.), *Hikayat Hang Tuah* (Kuala Lumpur, 1968), p.461. See also the use of the term in the *Hikayat Seri Rama*, pp.272 and 287, and T. Hadidjaja, *Adat Raja-Raja Melayu* (Kuala Lumpur, 1964), p.2.

55. In 1973 I enjoyed this experience in Batu Bara and Asahan, on the East Coast of Sumatra.
56. F. Valentijn, "Description of Malacca", *JMBRAS*, XIII (1884), p.62.
57. W.W. Skeat, "The Cambridge University Expedition 1899-1900", *JMBRAS*, XXVI, 4 (1953), p.126, in reference to Kedah.
58. See, for instance, Anderson, *Mission*, p.42.
59. For a discussion of this point, see chapter
60. W.E. Maxwell, "Notes on Two Perak Manuscripts", *JSBRAS*, II (1878), p.184. For a discussion of this Perak Text, see R. Roolvink, "The Variant Versions of the Malay Annals", in C.C. Brown, "*Sejarah Melayu*" *or Malay Annals* (Kuala Lumpur, 1970), pp.xx-xxi.
61. J. Crawfurd, *A Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands and Adjacent Countries* (London, 1856), p.250. See also p.362.
62. L.F. Brakel, "Persian Influence on Malay Literature", *Abr-Nahrain*, IX (1969-70), p.6.
63. P.E. de Josselin de Jong, "The Character of the Malay Annals" in Bastin and Roolvink, *op.cit.*, p.241.
64. Teeuw and Wyatt, *op.cit.*, p.294.
65. J.J. Ras, *Hikayat Bandjar: A Study in Malay Historiography* (The Hague, 1968), p.200.
66. "*Aman*" and "*maamur*".
67. *Hikayat Pahang*, p.8.
68. See H. Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* (Wiesbaden, 1966), p.596. I acknowledge a debt to Ayed Amri, Imam at Cornell University, for his assistance regarding this Arabic word.
69. *Hikayat Pahang*, p.8.
70. Apart from Wilkinson and Winstedt, see H. von de Wall, *Maleisch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek* (Batavia, 1884), and W. Marsden, *A Dictionary of the Malay Language* (London, 1812). Ayed Amri explains that " " suggests "generosity" or "hospitality" in Arabic. It was, he adds, a quality attributed to pre-Islamic Arabic rulers.
71. See the examples in Marsden's *Dictionary* under "murah", and Teeuw and Wyatt, *op.cit.*, p.78.
72. *Hikayat Pahang*, p.83.
73. Winstedt, *Sejarah Melayu*, p.88. See also *Hikayat Seri Rama*, p.267.
74. Teeuw and Wyatt, *op.cit.*, p.78.
75. See n.84 regarding the translation of qualities such as "*elok*".
76. *Hikayat Pahang*, p.3.
77. *Ibid.*, p.7.
78. *Ibid.*, p.14. See also the description of his success in Kelantan; *ibid.*, p.40.
79. *Ibid.*, p.23.
80. *Ibid.*, pp.50-51.
81. *Ibid.*, p.73.
82. *Ibid.*, p.87.
83. C. Skinner, "The influence of Arabic upon Modern Malay", *INTISARI*, 21, 1 (1973), pp.39-40. See also Sir R. Winstedt, *Malay Grammar* (Oxford, 1957), p.148.
84. In seeking English equivalents for these words a number of dictionaries have been used; they include those of W. Marsden, H. von de Wall, R.J. Wilkinson, R.O. Winstedt, and T. Iskandar. J. Gonda, *Sanscrit in Indonesia* (New Delhi, 1973) is often helpful regarding the definitions of Malay terms. I am grateful to Mr Mathew Charles for his assistance regarding etymological matters.
85. *Hikayat Pahang*, p.27. The text also criticizes the disposition of the Temenggong of Johor's supporters, who helped Mutahir's cause; p.77. On "*sombong*", see Wilkinson's *Dictionary*.

86. *Ibid.*, p.55.
87. *Ibid.*, pp.34-35.
88. See Winstedt, *Sejarah Melayu*, p.145, for Bendahara Paduka Raja's advice to Sultan Ala'u'd-din. For definitions of *hawa hafsu*, see in particular, the dictionaries of Marsden and Wilkinson.
89. *Hikayat Pahang*, p.58.
90. See, in particular, Winstedt's *Dictionary*.
91. C. Flood, *The Dynastic Chronicles, Bangkok Era: The Fourth Reign* (Tokyo, 1965), vol.1, p.232. By contrast, a *Singapore Free Press* report of June 1853 noted that the people of Pahang were already discontented with Mutahir, who had taken over much of the government of the state by that time; quoted in Buckley, *op.cit.*, p.574.
92. Tunku Syed, quoted by General Sir Orfeur Cavenagh, *Reminiscences of an Indian Official* (London, 1884), p.304.
93. Inche Wan Ahmad to Gov., Straits Settlements, no date, but enclosed with a letter of 28 July 1861, no.132 of 1862, *CO* 273/5.
94. Hugh Clifford, *In a Corner of Asia* (London, 1925), p.62.
95. Report on Pahang by H. Clifford, enclosed in Gov., Straits Settlements, to Sec. State, 15 October 1887, *CO* 273/148. See also the comments of Frank Swettenham, "Journal kept during a journey across the Malay Peninsula", *JMBRAS*, XV (1888), p.30; and J.R. Rodger, First Resident of Pahang, to Colonial Sec., 13 October 1888, in Gov., Straits Settlements to Sec. State, 15 October 1888, *CO* 273/155.
96. *Lemah lembut*; letter, no.1 in C. Skinner, *The Civil War in Kelantan in 1839* (Singapore, 1965), p.101.
97. Published in William Marsden, *A Grammar of the Malayan Language* (London, 1812), p.137. According to the Kedah Laws the first attribute of a Raja was "courtesy of manners", or, more literally, a "sweet face (*manis muka*) while giving orders"; R.O. Winstedt (ed.), "Kedah Laws", *JMBRAS*, VI, 2 (1928), pp.10 and 34.
98. For a short note on my interviews with East Sumatran Malays, see chapter V n.106. The same qualities of gentleness and refined behaviour were mentioned as requirements of a Malay leader in 1951, at the time the United Malay National Organization was seeking a leader to replace Dato Ohn; see Shahba, "Pemimpin dan yang di pimpin", *MAJLIS* (4 July 1951). I have discussed this reference with Lt. Col. Shaharbi, formerly a postgraduate student at the University of Kent in Canterbury.
99. See, for instance, *Hikayat Pahang*, p.81.
100. *Ibid.*, p.101.
101. *Ibid.*, p.102. "*Kerja*" is used in the text in reference to an ear-boring ceremony; *ibid.*, p.102; and also to the "practical" task of drawing up a pension list; pp.167-168. For the Indic origins of the word and its use in other Indonesian languages, see Gonda, *Sanscrit*, under "*kerja*". M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanscrit-English Dictionary* (Oxford, 1956), p.320, notes the religious connotations of the Sanscrit "*kriyā*".
102. *Hikayat Pahang*, p.170.
103. *Ibid.*, pp.106-107.
104. *Ibid.*, p.103.
105. *Ibid.*, p.78. For another example of titles bestowed on loyal subjects, see *ibid.*, p.42.
106. *Ibid.*, p.99.
107. *Ibid.*, p.83.
108. *Ibid.*, p.72. The Rumi (romanized) text has "*kotak tembaga*", but reference to the Jawi, p.21, suggests the name might also be "*kutok tembaga*". "*Kotak*" is translated as "locker, drawer, compartment";

"*kutok*" as "a curse". The "brass one" is perhaps an adequate translation under the circumstances.

109. *Ibid.*, pp.71-72. Ahmad's contribution to the war is no less practical a one than that of his opponent, Mutahir. At one stage, when the latter's forces are sorely pressed, he is described as "opening up several boxes of jackets, short light Bugis trousers, rich cloth, bandoliers, waistcloths and bandanas". These raiments, we are told, he bestows on all the captains and warriors who resist the enemy in Gonchong; *ibid.*, p.16. At another time, Mutahir bestows titles on certain of his men. His duties do not seem generally to extend beyond the ceremonial; see, for example, *ibid.*, p.21.
110. *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, p.1.
111. But see n.113.
112. A *bentara* is a court herald.
113. Contained in Maria Graham, *Journal of a Residence in India* (Edinburgh 1812), pp.197-203. Mrs Graham explains that it was written by "Ibrahim, the son of Candu" and translated by Dr John Leyden. In a recent article, Professor C. Skinner has suggested reasons for believing that Ibrahim was known by another name, 'Ahmad Rijaluddin ibn Hakim Long Fakir Kandu. The latter was the author of a "Hikayat Perintah Negeri Benggala". One manuscript of this work, catalogued Add. 12386, is in the British Library; M.C. Ricklefs and P. Voorhoeve, *Indonesian Manuscripts in Great Britain* (Oxford, 1977), p.108. Professor Skinner's article does not compare the 97 pages *Hikayat* with the translation of the other Malay account in Graham; C. Skinner, "The Author of the 'Hikayat Perintah Negeri Benggala'", *BKI*, 132, 2 & 3 (1976), pp.195-206. For a further Malay description of a kingdom see *Hikayat Seri Rama*, p.266. The Malay portrayal of the reign of Sultan Iskandar Syah of Perak (1752-1765), found in the *Misa Melayu*, is examined in B.W. Andaya, *Perak: The Abode of Grace* (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1975), ch.IV. The giving of titles is discussed on p.276.
114. Kassim Ahmad, *Kisah*, p.125; see also p.46. Regarding Abdullah see above, ch.II, n.78.
115. See, for instance, J.E. Kempe and R.O. Winstedt, "A Malay Legal Digest compiled for 'Abd-al-Ghafur Muhaiyu'ddin Shah, Sultan of Pahang 1592-1614 A.D.", *JMBRAS*, XXI (1948), p.30; and also Sir R. Winstedt's comments on the *Undang Undang Melaka* in "Old Malay Legal Digests and Malay Customary Laws", *JRAS* (1945), p.18. On sumptuary laws see also, T. Hadidja, *Adat Raja - Raja Melayu* (Kuala Lumpur, 1964), p.79.
116. For similar comments on Aceh, see J. O'Kane (trans.), *The Ship of Sulaimān* (London, 1972), p.176; and C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese* (Leiden/London, 1906), vol.1, p.4.
117. H. Clifford, *Studies in Brown Humanity* (London, 1898), p.176. Mr A. Godman suggests that the Malay word for work, *kerja*, be compared to *main*, often translated as "play". *Kerja* implies doing something with a purpose, *main* implies doing something without a purpose.
118. "Journal kept on board a Cruiser in the Indian Archipelago", *JIA*, VIII (1854), p.170.
119. *Singapore Daily Times*, 29 July 1875. I found a similar pre-occupation with orderliness and rank at the banquet celebrating the birthday of Sultan Abu Bakar of Pahang in 1973. Only the Europeans, Chinese, Indians, and Arabs mingled together at the bar. For other descriptions of Malay audiences see *Life of Commodore Henry James*, p.278; W.H. Read, *Play and Politics:*

Recollections of Malaya (London, 1901), p.35; and *Singapore Free Press*, 25 July 1893.
120. Andaya, *Perak*, p.132.
121. *Ibid.*
122. Clifford, *Studies*, p.176.
123. *Hikayat Pahang*, p.3.
124. See above, p.
125. *Ibid.*, p.78.
126. *Ibid.*, p.213.
127. Gullick, *op.cit.*
128. *Ibid.*, p.46.
129. *Ibid.*, p.54.
130. *Ibid.*, p.21.
131. *Ibid.*, p.22.
132. *Ibid.*,
133. *Ibid.*, p.95.
134. Reverend P. Favre, "A Journey in Johore", *JIA*, III (1849), p.51.
135. R.J. Wilkinson, "Notes on Negri Sembilan", in R.J. Wilkinson (ed.), *Papers on Malay Subjects* (Kuala Lumpur, 1971), p.304. "Notes on the Negri Sembilan" was first published in 1911.

Notes to Chapter IV

1. Linehan, *History*, p.73.
2. The official British records are contained in both the India Office and Colonial Office files. The India Office "Collections to political dispatches to India" and the early volumes of the Colonial Office *CO* 273 series are especially important.
3. The Siamese reports of events consulted for this chapter are contained, first, in *The Dynastic Chronicles Bangkok Era: The Fourth Reign* (Tokyo, 1965) which have been translated into English by Chadin Flood; and, secondly, in letters written by the Siamese King, Rama IV, and the Foreign Minister (the *Phrakhlang*) and kept in the British Archives noted above.
4. Even less is said about Mahmud in the Jawi than in the Rumi (romanized) text. See, for instance, "story 9"; Jawi, p.10; Rumi, pp.28ff.
5. *Hikayat Pahang*, pp.1-6.
6. See R.J. Wilkinson, "Notes on Malay Letter-Writing", in R.O. Winstedt, *Malay Grammar* (Oxford, 1957), pp.183-205, for a discussion of the significance attached to "praise" or compliments in Malay letter writing.
7. This title is also given to the Sultan of Lingga, and on the same page. For the title "*Yang Maha Mulia*", see Wilkinson, *Dictionary*, under "*mulia*".
8. On "*daulat*" see Wilkinson, *Dictionary*.
9. *Hikayat Pahang*, pp.28ff.
10. It is also mentioned that Sultan Mahmud marries, but the name of the bride is not given, and the wedding is said not to be a large affair (*tiada kerja besar*); *ibid.*, p.28.
11. Wilkinson's *Dictionary* describes "*patek*" as "A self-deprecatory pronoun of the first person used by subjects when addressing their sovereign".
12. *Hikayat Pahang*, p.84.
13. Winstedt, *A History of Malaya*, p.159. On Johor, see E. Netscher, *De Nederlanders in Djohor en Siak 1602 tot 1865* (Batavia, 1870);

R.O. Winstedt, "A History of Johore, 1865-1895 A.D.", *JMBRAS*, X, 3 (1932); and Andaya, *Johor*. N. Tarling, *British Policy*, especially ch.I, and C.M. Turnbull, *The Straits Settlements 1826-67* (London, 1972), ch.VIII, are useful for the first half of the nineteenth century. See also ch.III n.36.

14. Wolters, *Fall of Srivijaya*, *passim*.
15. This point is discussed later in the chapter.
16. *ENI*, under "Riouw en Onderhoorigheden".
17. This was the view of the Secretary of the Singapore Chamber of Commerce, A. Logan; Logan to Deputy Sec., Gov., Straits Settlements 31 October 1862 with Gov., Straits Settlements, to Sec. to Gov. India, 31 October 1863, no.25 of 1864, *CPD* 71. Mahmud was well known among the European commercial community in Singapore; Turnbull, *op.cit.*, p.280. He expressed his claims to Johor and Pahang in, Ex Sultan of Lingga to Gov. Cavenagh, 30 September 1862, in no.133 of 1862, *CO* 273/5.
18. *Bijdragen tot de kennis*, p.412.
19. Netscher, *Nederlanders*, p.299.
20. Letter from the King of Thailand to the Sultan of Trengganu, quoted in a despatch from H.M. Consul at Bangkok, 8 October 1862, in no.25 of 1864, *CPD* 71. See also Mongkut's comments in a letter to his Agent in Singapore, 20 November 1863, no.33 of 1864, *CPD* 72. For one of his "thoughtless" ventures see Netscher, *Nederlanders*, p.299.
21. Netscher also noted: "He fancied himself before long as being as good and powerful as the distinguished monarch who at one time had occupied the Johor throne, and he also worked to exercise influence on all those parts of the Johor empire which existed before the division of 1824"; *Nederlanders*, p.300. For recent discussions of Mahmud's life and career see Virginia Matheson, "Mahmud, Sultan of Riau and Lingga (1823-1864)", *Indonesia*, 13 (1972), pp.119-146; and Turnbull, *Straits Settlements*, ch.VIII.
22. Netscher, *Nederlanders*, p.299.
23. *Bijdragen tot de kennis*, p.413.
24. E. Netscher, "Togtjes in het Gebied van Riouw en Onderhoorigheden", *TBG*, XII (1862), p.243.
25. V. Matheson, *op.cit.*, p.129; Netscher, *Nederlanders*, p.299; also see Netscher's "Beschrijving van een gedelte der Residentie Riouw", *TBG*, II (1854), p.269. The hostility existing between Mahmud and the Bugis is evident in the work of Raja Ali Haji bin Raja Ahmad, a Riau prince of Bugis origin; see his *Tuhfat al-Nafis* (Singapore, 1965), p.340.
26. T. Church, Resident Councillor, Singapore, to Acting Gov., Straits Settlements, 11 February 1852, *BC* 140602, p.5; see also Tarling, *British Policy*, ch.II; Turnbull, *Straits Settlements*, p.281.
27. See Narrative of the Proceedings of the Straits Government for the second quarter of 1852, and the correspondence which follows, in *BC* 141301.
28. Church to Acting Gov., 11 February 1852, *loc.cit.* A *Singapore Free Press* report of June 1853 in C.B. Buckley, *op.cit.*, p.574. See also Netscher, *Nederlanders*, p.300.
29. See the letter from the Sultan of Trengganu to the Governor in Singapore, discussed in Netscher, *Nederlanders*, p.300; *Singapore Free Press*, 20 November 1862, enclosed in no.52 of 1863, *CO* 273/5.
30. Netscher, *Nederlanders*, ch.XIV; also see *ENI* under "Riouw en Onderhoorigheden" and "Reteh". The Dutch installed as Sultan, Mahmud's uncle, Tengku Suleiman; Netscher, *Nederlanders*, p.306.
31. Sultan Mohammed was conversant with all that the Malay language has to boast of in the shape of literature, and was otherwise intelligent and of an inquiring nature"; *Singapore Free Press*, 5 August 1841, quoted in Asiatic Intelligence, December 1841, *Asiatic Journal* (1841), p.354.
32. Winstedt, *Sejarah Melayu*, p.212.
33. Netscher, *Nederlanders*, p.307.
34. Turnbull, *Straits Settlements*, pp.279-280.
35. See *ENI* under "Riouw en Onderhoorigheden" and "Reteh"; Netscher, *Nederlanders*, pp.307-8 and ch.XV; Tuhfat Al-Nafis, pp.365-378. On the Sulu establishment at Retah, see Tarling, *Piracy and Politics*, pp.28, 41, 89 and 206.
36. T. Church, Resident Councillor, Singapore, to Acting Gov., Straits Settlements, 11 February 1852, *BC* 140602, p.5.
37. *Ibid*.
38. *Singapore Free Press* report of June 1853, quoted in Buckley, *Anecdotal History*, p.574.
39. See, for instance, *Nederlanders*, p.308.
40. Linehan, *History*, p.72. See also V. Matheson, *op.cit.*, p.124.
41. The exact date of Mahmud's departure from Pahang is uncertain. On 13 October 1859 he wrote from Pahang a letter of congratulations to Cavenagh on the latter's appointment as Governor of the Straits Settlements; no.2 of 1861, *CPD* 40. In August 1860 he was described as having "been residing with" the Sultan of Trengganu; H. Man, Resident Councillor, Singapore, to Sec. to Gov., 30 August 1860, no.152 of 1860, *CO* 273/5. Ahmad therefore appears to have left Pahang late in 1859 or early 1860.
42. M.C.ff. Sheppard, "A Short History of Trengganu", *JMBRAS*, XXII, 3 (1849), pp.27 and 31. This is discussed in the *Tuhfat al-Nafis* (Singapore, 1865), p.326.
43. Sultan Homar bin Sultan Ahmad Almarhoem to Gov. Cavenagh, 13 October 1860, in no.152 of 1860, *CO* 273/5.
44. *Ibid*.
45. The relationship between the Lingga Sultans and the Bendaharas of Pahang is discussed in some detail later in this chapter. For a reference to the Lingga/Johor Sultans' role in the installation of the ruler (*Yang di-Pertuan*) of Kelantan in the late eighteenth century, see H. Marriott, "A Fragment of the History of Trengganu and Kelantan", *JSBRAS*, LXXII (1916), p.8.
46. H. Man, Resident Councillor, Singapore, to Sec. to Gov., 30 August 1860, no.152 of 1860, *CO* 273/5.
47. This document is romanized and translated into English, in Linehan, *History*, pp.208-210.
48. Resident Councillor, Singapore, to Sec. to Gov., 30 August 1860, in no.152 of 1860 in *CO* 273/5. Yet at about this time, either Mutahir or his sons may have been making use of the Sultan's patronage in another way. A rebellion occurred in the interior of Pahang, led by the eldest son of the Jelai chief. The *Hikayat Pahang* provides many details concerning the affair, and suggests that Mutahir's sons were responsible for subduing the rebels. Clifford adds that those who joined the rebellion were unhappy to be fighting the "Khalifah", the leader of the Islamic community. "Khalifah" was not a term used to describe the Bandaharas but was often applied to Sultans. It is possible, therefore, that Mutahir was enlisting Mahmud's name on his own behalf in suppressing the rising; Clifford, *In Court and Kampong*, p.116. The *Hikayat Pahang* says nothing about Mahmud's role in Koris's appointment; see p.13.
49. Flood, *Dynastic Chronicles*, vol.1, pp.231-232.
50. King Mongkut, in his broken English, explained that Mahmud believed Ahmud "was most faithful to him"; King Mongkut of Siam to

Honorable Tan Kim Ching, Agent of the Siamese Crown at Singapore, 20 November 1863, in no.33 of 1864, *CPD* 72.

51. Flood, *op.cit.*, vol.1, pp.242-243.
52. *Hikayat Pahang*, p.31. The Thai ruler is described as "Hindu". The Sultan is said to have been mistaken (*khilap*), and his advisers stupid (*bebal*), in having agreed to the Thai king's suggestion that he marry the latter's sister.
53. 23 August 1862, in no.133 of 1862, *CO* 273/5.
54. The Siamese role, however, is difficult to analyze in any detail. According to the Thai chronicles, the King "declared that since Pahang was now under the protection of Britain it would not be appropriate to scheme to bring it under Bangkok as a vassal city, for Siam and Britain maintained close and friendly relations with each other"; Flood, *Dynastic Chronicles*, vol.1, p.232. But the Siamese, who had for centuries attempted to maintain and expand their influence in the Malay states, are likely to have hoped for the victory of a Sultan as friendly as Mahmud. They may even have been willing to assist him in ways which would not arouse British anger. Thus, only in August 1862, after the Sultan of Lingga had already become deeply involved in Pahang affairs,did they warn the Sultan of Trengganu to keep Mahmud away from the war; Kralahom to Raja Trengganu, 11 August 1862, in no.133 of 1862, *CO* 273/5. Furthermore, the Siamese government may have had plans to establish Mahmud in Trengganu, a Malay state which they considered to be in their sphere of influence. The Dutch Resident of Riouw, Netscher, told the Straits Settlements Governor of rumours that Bangkok was intending to make Mahmud Sultan of Trengganu; 16 July 1861, in no.133 of 1862, *CO* 273/5. A report from the British consul in Bangkok to the Governor of Singapore suggests there was some basis to the rumour. He was told that "if, after the present Raja [of Trengganu] dies, the peoples wish to elect Sultan Mahmud, His Majesty [the King of Thailand] would not interfere"; 1 July 1862, in no.133 of 1862, *CO* 273/5. Mahmud may have received some material assistance for his journeys to the Pahang border. The Malay text, the *Tuhfat al-Nafis*, p.377, notes that the King of Siam gave him a *chop*, and permitted him to collect supplies in Singgora.
55. Inche Wan Ahmad to Gov., Straits Settlements, no date, but included with letter from Mutahir of 28 July 1861, no.132 of 1862, *CO* 273/5.
56. Flood, *op.cit.*, vol.1, p.286.
57. Mutahir to Gov., Straits Settlements, 21 July 1862, in no.133 of 1862, *CO* 273/5.
58. Mutahir to Gov., Straits Settlements, 19 August 1862, *CO* 273/5.
59. 11 August 1862, in no.133 of 1862, *CO* 273/5.
60. 30 September 1862, no.133 of 1862, *CO* 273/5.
61. 13 October 1862, no.133 of 1862, *CO* 273/5.
62. Messrs Paterson, Simons and Company to Sec. to Gov., 23 October 1862, no.11 of 4 February 1863, *CO* 273/6.
63. Secretary, Chamber of Commerce, Singapore, to Deputy Sec., Gov., Straits Settlements, 31 October 1862, with Gov., Straits Settlements, to Govt. India, 31 October 1863, in no.25 of 1864, *CPD* 71. See also the extract from the *Singapore Free Press*, 20 November 1862, with Wood to Viceroy, 25 July, no.52, 1863, *Pol.* 6. A. Logan was the proprietory editor of the *Singapore Free Press*; Turnbull, *op.cit.*, p.25.
64. Cavenagh, *Reminiscences of an Indian Official*, p.306. For the Sultan of Trengganu's description of the bombardment see his letter to Gov. Cavenagh, 27 January 1863, no.52 of 1863, *CPD* 67. Rapid action was especially necessary because the annual monsoon prevented contact by sea with settlements of the East Coast for much of the period from November to March.

65. Bendahara of Pahang to Gov., Straits Settlements, 18 May 1863, no.33 of 1864, *CPD* 72. For a report on the military situation later in May, see Commander of "Pluto" to Deputy Sec., Gov., Straits Settlements, 25 May 1863, no.33 of 1864, *CPD* 72.
66. Temenggong of Johor to Sec. to Gov., Straits Settlements, 14 May 1863, no.33 of 1864, *CPD* 72. See also the Temenggong's letter of 10 December 1863 in *ibid.*
67. Gov., Straits Settlements, to Sec. to Govt. India, 15 August 1863, no.33 of 1864, *CPD* 72.
68. Written 20 Rabilakhir 1280 (4 October 1863) enclosed with Gov., Straits Settlements, to Sec. to Govt. India, 3 December 1863, no.33 of 1864, *CPD* 72.
69. Linehan, *History*, pp.213-214.
70. Temenggong of Johor to Sec. to Gov., Straits Settlements, 14 December, no.33 of 1864, *CPD* 72.
71. Flood, *op.cit.*, vol.2, p.322.
72. *Ibid.* In a letter to Sir Charles Wood, the Secretary of State for India, written on 3 November 1864, Governor Cavenagh remarked that Mahmud's death had "removed the principal cause of the uneasiness that has so long existed amongst the neighbouring Native States". *Wood Collection.*
73. See n.55
74. Linehan, *History*, p.213. See also the letter of appointment quoted in n.68 above. When Hugh Clifford visited Pahang in the later 1880's, he was told that in the 1860's Ahmad was commonly referred to by the epithet "Underneath the Foot"; *Malayan Monochromes*, p.296.
75. Sultan Suleiman reigned from 1859 to 1883. See the *ENI*, under "Riouw en Onderhoorigheden".
76. See, for instance, the "*Chop Pekak*", published by W. Linehan, *JMBRAS*, IV (1926), p.184.
77. *Ibid.*, p.184.
78. Sultan Ahmad Almeratham Shah of Pahang to Gov., Straits Settlements, 26 October 1881, with Gov., Straits Settlements to Sec. State, 23 June 1882, *CO* 273/113. Linehan notes that it was only in 1884 that he was "formally proclaimed Sultan by his chiefs"; *History*, p.104. This change in title is reflected in other documents of the time. In 1882, for instance, the chief of Jelai struck a seal declaring himself the "Representative of Sultan Ahmad Mu'azzam Shah"; Linehan, *History*, p.104. On 30 March 1883 he issued a document with the seal "Sultan Ahmad al-Mu'azam Shah"; *ibid.*, p.217. It is also, at about this time, so one is told in Pahang, that many articles of the state regalia were fashioned and seem to have been modelled on those of Lingga. For information on the Pahang regalia I am grateful to Haji Mohammed Ali bin Mohammed, Secretary to the Sultan of Pahang; see also Tengku Ibrahim Ibni Al-Sultan Abu Bakar (et.al.), *Peratoran adat istiadat Raja² negeri Pahang* (Kuantan, 1971), p.27. A picture of the Pahang *chogan*, a lance, is contained in Mochtar Daud, *Singgahsana Negeri Pahang* (Pekan, 1957), frontispiece. On the Lingga regalia see de Bruijn Kops, *op.cit.*, p.349.
79. *Hikayat Pahang*, p.148.
80. I do not recall this type of reference to an earlier "story" in the traditional Malay literature. It may be an indication of a modern element in the text: it also suggests that by the early twentieth century, texts were not listened to but read. I am grateful to Dr R.A. Jones for discussing this point with me.

81. *Hikayat Pahang*, p.148.
82. *Ibid.*, p.213.
83. *Ibid.*, p.1. Also Ahmad's grandfather, Korish, is called "Yang dipertuan Pahang". For the "kingly" nature of these titles see Wilkinson's *Dictionary*. Also, Ahmad's father, Ali, is praised more lavishly in the text than is the Sultan himself; *Hikayat Pahang*, p.3.
84. See chapter III, n.52.
85. See chapter III.
86. Clifford, *Malayan Monochromes*, p.204. Clifford also describes Ahmad's assumption of the Sultanship in the 1880's as the time when the latter "threw off his allegiance to the Sultan of Pahang"; "Expedition to Trengganu and Kelantan", *JMBRAS*, XXXIV, 1 (1961), p.63.
87. See, in particular, Andaya, *Johor*, ch.VIII-X. See also n.94.
88. In the view of some Malays all those rulers who were descended from Bendahara Abdul Jalil, who became Sultan after Mahmud's assassination, were to be held in contempt. See, for instance, *Siak Chronicle*, p.63.
89. The *Hikayat Pahang* itself may have been altered in accordance with changing political conditions. The later, Jawi, manuscript, for instance, says even less about Sultan Mahmud than does the Rumi (romanized) version, and the two recensions do not agree in their treatment of the colonial period; see chapter III, n.47. For a discussion of the copyist's role in emending texts, see P. Voorhoeve, "A Malay Scriptorium", in Bastin and Roolvink, *op.cit.*, pp.256-266.
90. R.J. Wilkinson, "Notes on the Negri Sembilan", orig. publ., 1911, and included in Wilkinson, *Papers on Malay Subjects*, pp.280-281.
91. J.T. Thompson, *Some Glimpses into Life in the Far East* (London, 1864), p.167.
92. Wilkinson, *Papers on Malay Subjects*, p.281. For a discussion of the way in which the Perak text, the *Misa Melayu*, omits material which would displease the author's patron, see Andaya, *Perak*, p.254.
93. The Pahang flag also emphasizes the slightness of the step from the position of Bendahara to that of Sultan. The Pahang flag consists of two horizontal stripes, one black, one white. According to the Secretary to the Sultan, Haji Mohammed Ali bin Mohammed, the black represents the office of Bendahara, the white, the office of Sultan. The juxtaposition of the two colours indicates the close relationship between the two offices.
94. Sultan Ahmad Almeratham Shah of Pahang to Gov., Straits Settlements, 26 October 1881, enclosed with Gov., to Sec. State, 23 June 1882, *CO* 273/113. Ahmad also notes that he was a descendant of Sultan Abdul Jalil of Johor "who was Bendahara before he became Sultan". Abdul Jalil became ruler of Johor after the assassination of Sultan Mahmud in 1699. As we have seen, the Lingga rulers, like the British sponsored Sultan of Johor, the Temenggongs and the Bendaharas traced their descent from this Sultan Abdul Jalil. Ahmad's letter contains a genealogy. The brief *Hikayat Johor serta Pahang*, which appears to have been written in Pahang early in the twentieth century, also commences with an account of Sultan Mahmud and his replacement by Bendahara Abdul Jalil. Dr B.W. Andaya and Dr L.Y. Andaya kindly showed me a copy of this MS. It is described in R.O. Winstedt, "Abdu'l-Jalil, Sultan of Johore (1699-1719)...", *JMBRAS*, XI, 2 (1933), pp.161-165.
95. *Bijdragen tot de kennis*, p.415. On the treaty of 1830 see Netscher, *Nederlanders*, pp.290-293. Lingga island is described in *ENI*.

96. For example, Sultans Abdu'l-Rahman (1812-30) and Muhammed (1830-41) made extended visits to Pahang and Trengganu; Sheppard, *Trengganu*, pp.24-25; C. von Angelbeek, "Korte schets van het Eiland Lingga, en deszelfs Bewoners", *VBG*, II (1826), p.46; *Tuhfat al-Nafis*, p.325; Netscher, *Nederlanders*, p.300. Sultan Abu'l-Rahman would have been encouraged by the fact that even in the 1820's, the Dutch referred to him as the "Sultan of Johor, Pahang, Lingga, Riau and dependencies"; *Bijdragen tot de kennis*, p.212.
97. Both Sultan Abdu'l-Rahman and Sultan Muhammed married Trengganu princesses; Sheppard, *Trengganu*, pp.24-26; and Bendahara Mutahir married one of Sultan Mohammed's daughters; Linehan, *History*, p.60.
98. J. Prince, Resident Councillor, Singapore, to Sec. to Gov., Straits Settlements, 15 October 1827, *SSFR* 142.
99. *Singapore Chronicle*, 28 June 1832, in *Asiatic Journal*, 10 (1833), p.29. *Tuhfat al-Nafis*, p.323; Netscher, *Nederlanders*, p.288. A British royal naval captain, M. Zuin, noted on 1 September 1836, the presence of Omar of Trengganu at the Lingga court; *BC* 69433, p.426.
100. *Singapore Free Press*, no date, in *Asiatic Journal*, March 1838, p.160.
101. *Tuhfat al-Nafis*, p.325. Also, Sultan Muhammed travelled with fifty prows when he accompanied the Dutch forces on an anti-piracy expedition on the East Coast of Sumatra; Netscher, *Beschrijving*, p.262.
102. *Bijdragen tot de kennis*, p.413; de Bruijn Kops, *op.cit.*, p.67.
103. Angelbeek, *op.cit.*, p.13.
104. *Ibid.*, p.40; Netscher, *Beschrijving*, p.131. See also de Bruijn Kops, *op.cit.*, p.334.
105. Lingga does not appear to have been inferior to Kelantan or Trengganu in this regard. M. Sheppard, *Taman Indera* (Kuala Lumpur, 1972), p.15, suggests that the widest range of "traditional Malay decorative arts" on the Peninsula in the mid-nineteenth century was to be found in these East Peninsular states.
106. Report by Captain Zuin, 1 September 1836, *BC* 69433, pp.426-427.
107. de Bruijn Kops, *op.cit.*, p.349, describes Lingga's regalia. For a general discussion of regalia in Malay states, see W.W. Skeat, *Malay Magic* (New York, 1867), pp.24-33; and Mubin Sheppard, *Taman Indera*, ch.I.
108. *Singapore Free Press*, 5 August 1841, quoted in *Asiatic Journal* (1841) p.354. See also the *Hikayat Johor serta Pahang*, p.19, for a description of the way Bendahara Ali refused to acknowledge Hussain, whom the British supported as Sultan, but continued to offer obeisance (*menyembah*) to Daik (*Lingga*). This *Hikayat* is discussed briefly in n.94 above.
109. *Singapore Free Press*, 5 August 1841, quoted in *Asiatic Journal* (1841) p.354.
110. Note of 2 June 1837, *BC* 69433, p.337. On the Sultan of Trengganu's attitude see Netscher, *Nederlanders*, p.300.
111. P. Favre, "A Journey in Johore", *JIA*, III (1849), p.50. See also Angelbeek, *op.cit.*, p.53.
112. Dato Bendahara of Pahang to Tuan Raja Thyssen, Gov., Malacca, about 5 March 1819, in "The Founding of Singapore", "Notes and Queries", No.4, issued with *JSBRAS*, XVII (1887), p.111.
113. For a romanized version of the *chop*, or warrant, see Linehan, *Chop Pekak*, pp.186-187.
114. The decree is romanized and published by Linehan; *History*, pp.208-209. Koris, one of Mutahir's sons, is referred to as Mahmud's deputy or representative (*wakil*).

115. Clifford, *Malayan Monochromes*, p.284. It is also significant that when Munshi Abdullah visited Pahang in the 1830's the people (*orang^2 dalam negeri ini*) told him that the customs could not be changed; to do so, they explained, might incur the wrath of dead Sultans; Kassim Ahmad, *Kisah*, p.40. That the Lingga court made a deep impression on Pahang Malays is also suggested by the fact that it became a model for the new Pahang court of the 1880's. As we have seen, the new regalia which gave prominence to the state emblem, the *chogan*, a broad bladed lance, appears to have been based on that of Lingga; see n.78 above. The court dances and the wedding head-dresses of the new royal family were also based on those of Lingga; Sheppard, *Taman Indera*, pp.93 and 112.
116. Hill, *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*, p.86.
117. "*Adat Raja Melayu tiada pernah derhaka*"; Winstedt, *Sejarah Melayu*, p.187. For another reference to the Sri Tri Buana agreement, see *ibid.*, p.134.
118. Gullick, *op.cit.*, p.48.
119. See *ibid.*, p.54.

Notes to Chapter V

1. The letter, dated 19 December 1923, is from T. Volker to Andrae. Volker included with this letter, and one of 22 December, two instalments of a summary in Dutch of the *Hikayat Deli*. "Andrae" is probably "Gesine Andrae" who wrote "Een Bezoek bij een Sultan van Deli" in *Eigen Haard* (Amsterdam, 1920), pp.668-669. The full title of the *Hikayat Deli* is *Hikajat Ketoeroenan Radja Negeri Deli*. The original is in the possession of the Instituut voor de Tropen, Amsterdam. It was discovered, uncatalogued, among the papers of the Oostkust van Sumatra Instituut, deposited in the Instituut voor de Tropen.
2. The outline of the tale is recorded in Mohammed Said, *Seli Dahoeloe dan Sekarang* (Medan, 1937), pp.12ff.; Tengku Fachruddin, "Riwajat Keradjaan Serdang", *Mahkota Courant* (an article in the possession of Tengku Luckman Sinar S.H.); and Tengku Luckman Sinar, S.H., *Sari Sedjarah Serdang* (Medan, n.d.), pp.30-34. Tengku Luckman informs me that a "*Kisah Turunan Radja^2 Deli dan Serdang serta Kepala^2, Daerah Pertjust Denai dan Mabar*", by Tengku Penglima Besar Deli, contains a similar tale to that in the *Hikayat Deli*. Tengku Luckman believes, however, that there is no extant manuscript of the text. In July 1978, in Medan, I discussed Deli history with the present Sultan of Deli. The Sultan's brief account of his ancestor, Mohammed Dalek, who will be discussed below, appeared to follow closely that presented in the *Hikayat Deli*: the Sultan explained that he had been told the story as a child.
3. On the social revolution see C. Cunningham, *Post-War Migration of the Toba Bataks to East Sumatra* (New Haven, 1958); Muhammed Radjab, *Tjatatan di Sumatra* (Djakarta, 1949); and H. Mohammed Said, "What Was the 'Social Revolution of 1946" in East Sumatra?" *Indonesia*, 15 (1973), pp.145-186; A.J.S. Reid, *The Indonesian National Revolution, 1945-1950* (Hawthorn, 1974), in particular pp.66-68.
4. Like many historians I have been encouraged by the work of the structuralists, in particular that of C. Levi Strauss, to respond to the text as well as to the data which it contains. I am suspicious, however, of the theoretical rigidity of structuralism and agree with P. Ricoeur that the interpretation of a text must not concentrate solely on its structure; P. Ricoeur, "What is a text? Explanation and Interpretation" in D.M. Rasmussene, *Mythic-symbolic Language and Philosophical Anthropology* (The Hague, 1971), p.141. In considering the style of the *Hikayat* I have gained much from Eric Auerbach, *Mimesis: the Representation of Reality in Western Literature* (Princeton, 1971).

5. *Hikayat Deli*, p.11. "Laksamana": "Admiral". The author has been unable to discover the meaning of "Koedbintan". On "Laksamana" see Gonda, *op.cit.*, pp.507 and 509 n.9.
6. "Pangkat" is also used in the text for "title". On the relationship between *pangkat*, *nama*, and *gelar*, see chapter V
7. *Ibid.*, p.17. "Gochoh" : "pummel with closed fists"; "Pahlawan": "hero", "champion".
8. *Ibid.*, p.16.
9. *Ibid.*, p.22.
10. *Ibid.*, p.35. "*Seri*": "illustrious"; "*Pakuka*": "foot". On *Paduka* as a royal title see Gonda, *Sanscrit*, p.505. See also *ibid.*, p.236 n.17 for the suggestion that "*Sripada*" may mean "Visnu's holy footprint".
11. *Ibid.*, p.35.
12. *Ibid.*, p.45.
13. *Ibid.*, p.54.
14. "Kemoedja" or Cambodia was hardly a Malay land. But a Chinese author of the early eighteenth century refers to Cambodians as "White-head Melayu"; Wang Gungwu, "The Melayu in *Hai-kuo wen-chien lu*", *Journal of the Historical Society*, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, II (1963-64), p.5. Also, Werndly mentions an "*Hikayat Radja Kambawdya*" which was a "history" of the kings of "Kambodia"; *Maleische Spraakkunst*, p.349. On Malays in Cambodia, see M. Ner, "*Les Musulmans de L'Indochina Francaise*", pp.165-179; B.P. Groslier, *Angkor et Le Cambodge au XVI^e Siecle D'apres Les Sources Portugaises et Espagnoles* (Paris, 1958), esp. pp.31 and 41. See also chapter II n.63.
15. *Hikayat Deli*, p.99.
16. *Ibid.*, p.106.
17. "*Patoetlah soedah dengan namanya jang berpangkat Sultan Mahkota Alam*"; *ibid.*, p.108.
18. *Ibid.*, p.112. On the title, *Sri Paduka*, see n.10.
19. *Ibid.*, p.123.
20. "*Shah*": "King", "ruler"; derived from the Persian word.
21. "*Kita maksoedi mengikoet dibawah perentah kita sahadja*"; *Hikayat Deli*, p.125.
22. *Ibid.*, p.129.
23. "*Tiadalah sekali-kali haroes memboeat keba'tian lagi kepada Radjaradja kemoedian hari*"; *ibid.*, p.164.
24. *Ibid.*, p.166-167.
25. *Ibid.*, p.167. Located just to the south of Belawan Deli. There is ceramic evidence there of settlement in Ming times (1368-1644). For a brief discussion of the archaeological work which has been undertaken in the Deli region of East Sumatra, see Milner, et.al, *op.cit.*, pp.20-30.
26. According to J.H. Neumann the title "*Kedjoeroen*" is used in Deli, Langkat and the Alas lands; *Karo-Batak Nederlandsch Woordenboek* (Medan, 1951). C. Snouck Hurgronje notes that Gayo chiefs obtained the title from the ruler of Aceh; *Het Gajoland en Zijne Bewoners* (Batavia, 1903), p.93. On the use of "*Kedjoeroen*" among the Acehnese, see C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese* (Leiden/London, 1906), vol.1, p.92; and Loeb, *op.cit.*, p.252. "*Hitam*" means "very

dark in colour". Wilkinson's *Dictionary* notes that it is also "a familiar name for a ninth or tenth child". "*Tengku*", Wilkinson also explains, is used in reference to princes or princesses: "It came into prominence about 1700 A.D. when it was taken by the princes of the new Johor dynasty". In Aceh "*Tengku*" is "a humble distinction".

27. *Hikayat Deli*, p.172. Kota Djawa and Pulau Berayan are mentioned by Anderson as lying between Labuhan Deli and Medan; *Mission*, pp.272-273. At Kota Djawa there are the remains of an old fortification; *ibid.*, p.272. Kota Rantang is a little to the northwest of Hamperan Perak, on a tributary of the Bulu Cina river, an area where considerable fifteenth- and sixteenth-century ceramic material has been found. Kampong Kesawan is now the centre of Medan.
28. I am unable to locate Gunong Kelaus, but the place is clearly upstream from Percut; see n.25.
29. "*Menambahi memboeat doesoen*"; *Hikayat Deli*, p.183. On the use of "*dusun*" to describe Batak settlements, see C. de Haar, "Verslag van eene reis in de Battaklanden", *VBG*, XXXVIII (1875), p.2. The *Hikayat Deli* explains that the expansion of settlement downstream (presumably the expansion of the *kampong* rather than of the Batak *dusun*) was necessary in order that people would not be afraid to travel between Gunong Kelaus and Percut; *ibid.*, p.183.
30. "*Unggang-unggit*" is "see-saw motion". Wilkinson's *Dictionary* explains that "*unggit-unggit*" is "used of sexual intercourse" in Menangkabau.
31. "*Maka soedahlah chatam segala warta dari pada hikajat ini . . .*"; *Hikayat Deli*, pp.191-192.
32. Wilkinson says the title "*Penglima*" is not generally "held in special favour", but he adds that it is used in the *Bustan al-Salatin* in reference to the Acehnese generals who attacked Melaka.
33. The title "Sultan" is discussed in Wilkinson's *Dictionary*. It is Arabic in origin and did not always indicate "independent ruler" in the Middle East. According to the *Sejarah Melayu*, when the Raja of Melaka (Raja Tengah) adopted Islam he took the title (*gelar*), "Sultan Muhammed Shah"; Winstedt, "Sejarah Melayu", p.84. In Menangkabau it is an "honorific or title pronounced *sutan* or *selutan* and does not imply sovereign authority". I discuss the proliferation of grandiose Muslim titles in the Malay World in my "Islam and Malay Kingship".
34. "*Adap*" or "*adab*" suggests "breeding", "culture", "courtesy". His career suggests that it would not be inappropriate if he were known as "the one with breeding".
35. "Sultan Ma'amoer al Rasjid Perkasa Alam Sjah" died in 1924 after a reign of forty-seven years; *Sumatra Post*, 10 September 1924. An excerpt from this paper is contained in the papers of the Oostkust van Sumatra Instituut, kept at the Instituut voor de Tropen, Amsterdam.
36. For a discussion of Aceh's conquests on the Peninsula and in Sumatra see Lombard, *op.cit.*, in particular ch.3; and Milner, et.al., *op.cit.* pp.16-22.
37. Letter of 5 October 1667 in W. Ph. Coolhaas, *Generale Missiven van Gouverneurs-General en Raden aan Heren XVII Der Verengde Oostindimsche Compagnie* ('s-Gravenhage, 1964), vol.3, p.585.
38. The state of Deli appears to have emerged early in the seventeenth century in the region once associated with the kingdom of Aru. Aru was conquered by the Acehnese at the opening of the sixteenth century; see Milner, et.al., *op.cit.*, pp.18-19. In the mid-1660's Deli was a lively entrepot; for some published sources see the references from *Dagh Register*, in ch.II n.11 above. In the eighteenth century Deli

can have been of little economic or political importance for it is seldom mentioned. The inhabitants of the Deli region, in the 1720's, were "said to be cannibals"; A. Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies* (London, 1930), vol.2, p.67. Is this the period when, according to the *Hikayat Deli*'s account, Deli was ruled by a Raja Karau? Some reports note that Deli was conquered by Siak in the latter part of the century; see, for instance, Schadee, *op.cit.*, vol.1, p.104; S. Netscher, "Togtjes en het Gebied van Riouw en Onderhoorigheden - Het Landschap Deli", *TBG*, XIV (1864), p.349. Deli is not mentioned in several brief accounts of the East Coast of Sumatra from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; see for example, F. Light, "A Brief Account of the Several Countries Surrounding Prince of Wales' Island with their Production", *JMBRAS*, XVI, 1 (1938), pp.123-126; J. de Hullu (ed.), "A.E. van Braam Houckgeest's Memorie over Malakka en den Tinhandel aldaar (1790), *BKI*, 76 (1920), p.299; W. Milburn, *Oriental Commerce* (London, 1813), vol.2; J. Horsburgh, *India Directory* (London, 1817). Also, a Dutch report of 10 February 1777 which mentioned both Batu Bara and Asahan, says nothing of Deli; Jan Crans' Memorie to P.G. de Bruijn (*Nederburgh Archives*, 419). (Dr Barbara Andaya kindly showed me her research notes for this reference.) Finally a table of British opium exports, compiled in 1813, includes "Assahan", "Batta Barra" and "Langkeeh", but not "Deli"; "Raffles and the Indian Archipelago", *JIA*, New Series, vol.1 (1856), p.271.

39. Lombard, *op.cit.*, ch.3.
40. See n.47.
41. *Hikayat* literature is compared to modern history in ch.III above. For the difficulty of discovering an analogue to modern historical writing in *hikayat*s see also S. Errington, "Some Comments on Style in the Meanings of the Past", *Journal of Asian Studies*, XXXVIII, 2 (February 1979), pp.232ff.
42. One Laksamana of Aceh, however, certainly had a reputation for military prowess; see, for example, H. Logan (trans.), *The Voyages and Adventures of Fernand Mendez Pinto* (London, 1969), p.38; Lombard, *op.cit.*, pp.81, 93 and 200; and Djajadiningrat, *op.cit.*, p.181. Also, the *Hikayat Malem Dagang* refers to a warrior chief known as "*Koedja Bintan*"; H.J.K. Cowan, *De "Hikayat Malem Dagang"* (Leiden, 1937), p.97.
43. See chapter III n.65.
44. I hope that philologists will be able to throw further light on the dating of the Deli text. For the present purposes, however, precise dating is not essential. Little damage would be done to the general thrust of the argument contained in this chapter and chapter VI if the text were written some decades before or after the reigns of Mangidar Alam and Osman.
45. I have been fortunate in being able to discuss various forms of narrative with Mr M. Charles and Dr S. Errington.
46. These are the reign dates given by Lombard, *op.cit.*
47. R.O. Winstedt, "A History of Selangor", *JMBRAS*, XII, 3 (1934), pp.1-9. See also B.W. Andaya, "The Installation of the First Sultan of Selangor in 1766", *JMBRAS*, XLVII, 1 (1974), p.41. Dr Andaya has suggested to the author that Selangor history provides another reason for placing the *Hikayat Deli* at the opening of the nineteenth century; toward the end of the previous century an alliance was formed between Selangor and Aceh, an event which appears to be reflected in the text.
48. See, in particular, Linehan, *History*, ch.5. Winstedt, *Selangor*, p.9, notes the Sultan of Selangor's reference, about 1800, to a "Raja

Bendahara, who is at Pahang". The *Tuhfat al-Nafis* refers to the "Dato Bendahara Pahang" in the time of Sultan Mahmud of Johor (1761-1812); *op.cit.*, p.189.

49. See, for instance, the comment of Francis Light in 1789; "A Brief Account of the Several Countries Surrounding Prince of Wales's Island with their Productions", *JMBRAS*, XVI, 1 (1938), p.124. For evidence of Johor's prominence in the early eighteenth century, see L.Y. Andaya, *Johor*, Appendix F. On Johor history, see ch.IV n.13. It is also significant that Sambas enjoyed prominence in the late eighteenth century and declined in the nineteenth century; G. Irwin, *Nineteenth Century Borneo* (Singapore, 1967), p.24.
50. Anderson was told that the Deli ruler acquired the new title in Siak in about 1814; *Mission*, p.273. Anderson's account agrees with that of the *Hikayat Deli* in noting that the ruler's name had been "Tuanko Amal"; *Mission*, p.274. The *Riwayat Hamperan Perak*, p.11 (a typed *MS* in the possession of Tengku Luckman Sinar, S.H.) calls him "Amaluddin". Regarding the *Riwayat*, see n.85 below. For a note on the title "Sultan" see n.33 in this chapter.
51. Newbold, *op.cit.*, vol.2, p.323.
52. I was shown such a text, the *Teromba Langkat*, in Setabat, Langkat, in 1973. It was in the possession of Tengku Sulong Chalizar.
53. See chapter I above.
54. Winstedt, *Sejarah Melayu*, ch.2.
55. R.O. Winstedt, "The Kedah Annals", *JMBRAS*, XVI, 2 (1938), p.31; *Hikayat Merang Mahawangse* (Kuala Lumpur, 1973), p.4.
56. H. Low, "Transcription and Translation of a Historic Tablet", *JSBRAS*, V (1880), p.33.
57. *Asahan*, p.1. *Asahan* is a 15-page, typed, Malay *MS* regarding Asahan history. It appears to date from the early twentieth century and is in the possession of Tengku Luckman Sinar, S.H., Medan.
58. A.H. Hill, "Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai", *JMBRAS*, XXXIII, 2 (1960), pp.61-62.
59. Winstedt, *Sejarah Melayu*, p:58.
60. *Ibid.*, pp.84-88.
61. "*Saperti adat-nya dahulu*"; *ibid.*, p.168.
62. *Ibid.*, p.148.
63. A romanized version of the Laud manuscript (printed in 1915 with an introduction by W.C. Shellabear) is published as *Hikayat Seri Rama* (Singapore, 1964).
64. Kassim Ahmad, *Hikayat Hang Tuah* (Kuala Lumpur, 1968).
65. Winstedt, *Classical Malay Literature*, p.62 refers to the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* as a "romance"; the *Hikayat Seri Rama* is discussed under the heading "epics" (see p.35).
66. See *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, pp.143-144, for a description of the Raja Melaka's wedding to the daughter of Batara of Majapahit; W.E. Maxwell illustrates the care given to the description of Rama's Malay costume in the *Hikayat Seri Rama*; *Penglipor Lara*, pp.93-96.
67. The author is particularly grateful to Tengku Luckman Sinar, S.H., who delved into his own memories and recalled the comments of others in order to answer many queries regarding the courts of Deli and Serdang.
68. R.J. Wilkinson, "Romance, History and Poetry", in *Papers on Malay Subjects*, First Series, Part I (Kuala Lumpur, 1907), p.14.
69. Clifford, *In Court and Kampong*, p.153, uses this expression.
70. Samad Ahmad writing in *Selampit* (Kuala Lumpur, 1962), p.xvii. The *Hikayat Pahang* notes the instructional aspects of the *Sejarah Melayu*, when it describes the Bendahara's wife as learning the customs of Malay rajas (*adat Raja Melayu*) as a result of reading the *Sejarah Melayu*; *Hikayat Pahang* (Jawi recension), p.26. The Rumi text

excludes the word, "*Melayu*"; p.88. Professor P. de Josselin de Jong informed me in January 1980 that in July 1953 he and A. Hill were told by a Tengku in Kelantan that the heir-apparent to the Sultanate had to read *hikayats* "as part of his education". Professor de Josselin de Jong's account of his enquiries into the location and significance of *hikayats* (carried out on behalf of the University of Malaya) is published in the *Indonesian Circle*, 21, March 1980, pp. 24-31.

71. "Suroh"; Winstedt, *Sejarah Melayu*, p.84.
72. For the reign dates see Winstedt, *Malaya*, p.276.
73. Cortesao, *op.cit.*, p.251; for the role of the Sultan in the Islamization process see also R. Jones, "Ten Conversion Myths from Indonesia", in N. Levtzion (ed.), *Conversion to Islam* (New York, 1979), pp.129-158, and Milner, "Islam and Malay Kingship".
74. Anderson, *Mission*, p.42.
75. The Bataks with whom Anderson came into contact in the Deli region were primarily Karo; *Mission*, p.266. In 1916, the Karo were said by the Dutch to number some 120,000 and lived on the "Karo plateau" to the north of Lake Toba, and in the inland regions of Langkat, Deli and Serdang; *ENI*, vol.1, p.177. On Bataks in general, see Marsden, *History*, pp.365-396; the articles on "Bataklanden" and "Bataks" in the *ENI*; E.M. Loeb, *Sumatra* (Kuala Lumpur, 1972), ch.I; Toenggoel P. Siagian, "Bibliography on the Batak Peoples", *Indonesia*, 11 (1966), pp.161-184; A.C. Viner, "The Changing Batak", *JMBRAS*, LII, 2 (1979), pp.84-112; J.V. Vergouwen, *The Social Organization and Customary Law of the Toba-Batak of Northern Sumatra* (The Hague, 1964); P.B. Pedersen, *Batak Blood and Protestant Soul* (Michigan, 1970). Regarding the Karo Bataks see Masri Singarimbun, *Kinship Descent and Alliance among the Karo Batak* Berkeley, 1975); W. Middendorp, "The Administration of the Outer Provinces of the Netherlands Indies", in B. Schrieke (ed.), *The Effect of Western Influence on Native Civilizations in Malay Archipelago* (Batavia, 1929), pp.50-54. J.A.M. van Cats Baron de Raet visited the Batak area in the interior of Deli in 1866-67; see his "Reize in de Battaklanden", *TBG*, XXII (1875), pp.164-219. See also C.J. Westenberg, "Adatrechtspraak en adatrechtpleging der Karo Bataks", *BKI* (1914), pp.453-600; and W.B. Hollman,"Inlandsche Rechtgemeenschappen en Inheemsche Rechitspraak in de Deli-en Serdang Doesoen", *Adatrechtbundels*, XXXVIII (1936), pp.369-394. An introduction to the scholarly literature relating to Batak languages is to be found in P. Voorhoeve, *Critical Survey of Studies on the Languages of Sumatra* (The Hague, 1955).
76. Anderson, *Mission*, p.209. The term "Malays" appears to have included people of Menangkabau, Javanese, Acehnese, Chinese and Trengganu ancestry.
77. *Ibid.*, p.68.
78. Rapport . . . expeditionaire Kolonne van Riouw in het Rijk van Deli, 15 May to 14 July, *MR* 542, 1872. A similar development may be discerned in Asahan. Compare Anderson's description of Passir Mendogei in *Mission*, pp.143-144, with that of A.C. Van den Bor; "Rapport over eene reis van Tandjong Balei naar de omstreken van Pasir Mendagei, Bovenlanden van Asahan", *TBG*, XVII (1864), pp.394-396.
79. Anderson, *Mission*, p.209, noted Trengganu immigrants in the East Sumatran region; Van den Bor, *op.cit.*, pp.394-396, noted West Coast of Sumatra Malays in Asahan; in the early decades of the twentieth century H.H. Bartlett remarked on the presence of numerous Bandjarmarsin Malays in the same region; "The Manufacture of Sugar from *Arenga saccharifera* in Asahan, on the East Coast of Sumatra",

Annual Report of the Michigan Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters, XXI, 1 (1923), p.156.

80. See, for instance, C.J. Westenberg, "Aanteekeningen omtrent de Godsdienstige begrippen der Karo-Bataks", *BKI*, V, 7 (1892), pp.208 and 211; C.J. Westenberg, "Adatrechtspraak en adatrechtpleging der Karo Bataks", *BKI*, (1914), p.458; W.B. Hollman, *op.cit.*, p.378; "Aanvullings-Nota van Toelichting betreffende het Landschap Asahan", *TBG*, LIII (1911), p.387; R.W.E. Eastwick, "Deli, in Sumatra", *Fortnightly Review*, 54 (1893), p.644; see also H.H. Bartlett, "A Batak and Malay Chant on Rice Cultivation, with Introductory notes in Bilingualism and Acculturation in Indonesia", *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 196, 6 (1952), p.630; and Pelzer, *Planter*, pp.3, 142 n.5.
81. The districts of Deli are discussed in E.A. Halewijn, "Geographisch en Ethnographische gegevens betreffende het rijk van Deli", *TBG*, XXIII (1876), p.148; and H.A. Hijmans van Amrooij, "De Grenzen van de Residentie Sumatra's Oostkust", *TNAG* (1884), pp.318ff.
82. Halewijn, *op.cit.*, p.148.
83. Luckman, *op.cit.*, p.119.
84. See the report of an interview with a Sunggal chief in Kontroleur Kroesen to Resident Riouw, 14 November 1872, *MR* 818.
85. *Riwajat Hamperan Perak*, a typed, romanized MS of 55 pages kindly lent to the author by Tengku Luckman Sinar, S.H. Page one discusses the origins of the Bulu Cina ruling family. In the introductory passages of the text it is stated that the *Riwajat* is a translation from a Batak manuscript, carried out in 1274 (1857 A.D.). The *Riwajat*, p.6, also discusses the Batak origins of the chief of Suka Piring.
86. *Ibid.*, p.11. On the Batak background of the Bulu Cina chiefs, see also M. Joustra, "Karo-Bataksche Vertellingen", *VBG*, LVI, 1 (1907), p.90. Regarding intermarriage between the Bulu Cina family and the Deli royal family see Luckman, *op.cit.*, p.120. For a further note on the Batak origins of Deli chiefs see "Brief van den Controleur der Deli en Serdang doesoens, etc., 11 February 1911", *Adatrechtbundel VI* ('s-Gravenhage, 1912), p.325.
87. "*Tiang keradjaan*". The expression is used in the *Hikayat Deli*, p.195.
88. Anderson, *Mission*, p.59. See also p.259.
89. *Ibid.*, p.34.
90. The chief added, however, that when the Bataks returned upcountry they took up again their "bad practices"; Anderson, *Mission*, pp.84-85.
91. Van Cats Baron de Raet, *Reize in de Battaklanden*, p.175. I am grateful to Bob Griffen for informing me that Deli Tua remained under the authority of a Karo *penghulu*; see also "Adatrechts bedeeling onder de doesoen Bataks van het rijk Deli (1890 of 1891)", *Adatrechtbundels X*, 1915, pp.71-88.
92. Anderson, *Mission*, p.266.
93. *Ibid.*
94. *Ibid.*, p.265.
95. *Ibid.*
96. *Ibid.*
97. *Ibid.*, p.264.
98. *Ibid.*
99. *Ibid.*, p.68. Later observers did not, however, agree that the Bataks possessed "no religion"; for an introduction see Loeb, *op.cit.*, pp.74-96; Pedersen, *op.cit.*, pp.20-31.

100. Resident Riouw to G.G., 19 July 1873, *MR*, 31, 1874. Anderson's one suggestion that the physical characteristics of the Malay and the Batak differed is extremely vague. He describes the Malays as having "a dark yellowish complexion" (p.264), whereas the Bataks were a "dark ill-featured race"; *Mission*, p.266.
101. *Hikayat Deli*, p.92. See also the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*'s handling of people who resisted Islam and became known as "Gayo"; *op.cit.*, p.59. Bartlett also noted the presence of Batak influence in the Malay grave posts of Asahan; "The Grave Post (Anisan) of the Batak of Asahan", *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Sciences and Letters* (1921), Plate XXII, figure 2 and n.58.
102. The "Malayization" process was probably an ancient one: in the early sixteenth century Tome Pires remarked of the coastal people of Sumatra that "those who are not yet Moors, are being made so every day"; Gortesao, *op.cit.*, p.143. Barros noted that the "heathen" in the region "spoke Malay as well as their own language"; M. Dion, "Sumatra through Portuguese Eyes: Excerpts from Joao de Barros' Decadas da Asia", *Indonesia*, 9 (1970), p.143. Milner, et. al., *op.cit.*, pp.13-15 translates a statement in the *Sejarah Melayu* as declaring that the ruler of Malayo-Muslim Aru "traced his origins to Bataks". The Malayization process probably also worked in reverse; see J.A. van Rijn van Alkemade, "Een Bezoek aan de Aroe-Baai", *BKI* (1884), p.60 for a discussion of the local belief that, after the fall of Aru in the early seventeenth century, many Aru people moved into the interior. Evidently Aru Muslims would have become "pagan" Bataks. Westenberg, "Aanteekeningen", p.211 indicates that converted Bataks were returning to their "heathen" beliefs at the end of the nineteenth century. In 1973 the author was told by a former East Sumatran Sultan that people who were once his Malay subjects, had begun to quote Batak *Marga* (clan) names when questioned about their identity. For the presence of Malayization in Borneo, see John Crawfurd, *Dictionary*, p.134, and Ras, *op.cit.*, p.8; and for its existence on the Peninsula, W.W. Skeat and C.O. Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula* (New York, 1966), vol.1, p.529.
103. An analysis of Batak perspectives would require a careful examination of Batak culture or cultures. For a brief introduction to the literature on the Bataks see n.75 above. Assimilation would have been encouraged by marriage between Malays and Bataks. Anderson remarked how women in the coastal areas were often "of Batta extraction"; *Mission*, p.19. Fear may have played a part in "conversion" to Islam and to Malay culture. The *Riwajat Hamperan Perak*, p.4, implies that Bataks feared that if they did not adopt the pattern of life of Malays they would lose their land to the latter. Westenberg indicates that some Bataks converted to Islam in order to gain support of the Malays in internal Karo quarrels; "Adatrechtspraak", p.458.
104. H.H. Bartlett, *A Batak and Malay Chant*, p.637.
105. Anderson, *Mission*, p.291.
106. In 1973, I was able to speak to men who had been associated with the courts of Langkat, Deli, Serdang, Asahan, and Batu Bara. For arranging many of these interviews I owe thanks to Tengku Luckman Simar, S.H.
107. He plays an important part in the "History" of the Asahan ruling house; G. Kroesen, "Geschiedenis van Asahan", *TBG*, XXXI (1886), p.83; see also the MS, *Asahan* discussed in n.57. I was told tales of Acehnese conquests in a house near the remains of the old palace in Tandjong Balei, Asahan. A conquering Raja of Aceh, possibly

Iskandar Muda, is recalled in the tale of *Puteri Hijau*, which describes the conquest of a great state based at Deli Tuah, in the interior of Deli, see A. Rahman, *Sjair Puteri Hijau* (Medan, 1962), pp.4-8; and W. Middendorp, "Oude verhalen, een nieuwe geschiedbrom" *Feestbundel Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenshappen*, Deel II (1929), pp.158-181.

108. This was my experience in Asahan and Deli; Dr B. Andaya has described to me her similar experience in Perak.
109. Anderson, *Mission*, pp.205-206, noted commercial links between East Sumatra and Selangor, Perak and Trengganu; he also reported that Indians and Chinese traded in Deli. In 1678 the Governor of Melaka, Balthasar Bort, explained that Bengkalis, near Siak, was visited by traders from Kedah, Perak, Kelang (in Selangor), Johor, Pahang, Patani, Siam, and "Kambodja"; Netscher, Nederlanders, p.41. For a note on the presence of Malay traders in Cambodia, see chapter II n.63. At one point the text also mentions a "Timoer Koepang"; the *ENI* notes that Malay was spoken at "Koepaan" on the island of Timor; see under "Timoer", p.346. A. Wallace spoke Malay at Timor "Coupang" in the late 1850s and he noted a Malay community there; *The Malay Archipelago* (New York, 1962), p.142.
110. See, for instance, Joustra, *op.cit.*, pp.1, 2, 41, 46, 104 and 107 for examples of toponyms appearing in Batak tales.
111. For Malay traders in Timor and Cambodia see n.109.
112. *Hikayat Deli*, p.183.
113. *Ibid.*, p.192.
114. The Karos, however, claim they do not eat human flesh; Loeb, *op.cit.* p.34. But see the comments of a Dutch official, in October 1642; *Dagh Register*, p.179. For a recent discussion of the presence or absence of cannibalism among the Batak see R. Needham, "Chewing on the Cannibals", in *Times Literary Supplement* (25 January 1980), pp.75-76.
115. *Hikayat Deli*, p.194.
116. Winstedt, *Sejarah Melayu*, ch.XV.
117. *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, p.456.
118. I am grateful to Dr R. Roolvink for his suggestion that the author of the *Hikayat Deli* may have been influenced by the *Hikayat Malem Dagang*.

Notes to Chapter VI

1. *Hikayat Deli*, p.99.
2. *Ibid.*, p.123.
3. *Ibid.*, pp.166-167.
4. *Ibid.*, p.167.
5. *Ibid.*, p.74.
6. *Ibid.*, p.45.
7. *Ibid.*, p.53.
8. *Ibid.*, p.76.
9. *Ibid.*, p.7.
10. *Ibid.*, p.16.
11. "*Daulat*".
12. *Hikayat Deli*, p.119.
13. Then he declares, for example, that he does not wish to marry one of the daughters of the Raja Pahang, Mohammed Dalek explains that it would not be proper (*patut*) to do so; it would not, he adds, be in accordance with *adat* (custom); *ibid*, p.56.

14. *Ibid.*, p.166.
15. The three words appear to be used interchangeably; see, for instance, *ibid.*, pp.11, 17 and 108. I am grateful to Dr R.A. Jones and Mr A. Godman for discussing with me the word *nama*. In thanking them I do not intend to imply that they would support all my conclusions regarding the importance of the word.
16. *Hikayat Deli*, p.16.
17. This lack of a "personality base", as we have seen, has been described as a characteristic encountered generally in *hikayat* literature: some years ago Dr J.S. Bastin observed that chronicles provided "no real idea of what (the individuals they describe) thought as distinct historical beings"; Bastin, *op.cit.*, pp.151-155. Shelly Errington discusses the way formulaic speeches are characteristic of *hikayat* style and reveal the lack of "individuated identity"; *op.cit.*, p.237. See also D.E. Brown, "The Coronation of Sultan Mohammed Jamalul Alam, 1918", *BMJ*, 2, 3 (1971), pp.74-80. In 1941, the Malay scholar, Zainal-Abidin bin Ahmad remarked on the "impossibility of finding exact Malay equivalents" for such English words as "personal" and "personality"; *Malay Journalism*, p.249.
18. I have found helpful R. Sennett's *The Fall of Public Man* (Cambridge, 1977), parts 1 & 2 and Godfrey Lienhardt, *Divinity and Experience, The Religion of the Dinka* (Oxford, 1961), ch.IV.
19. Mahathir bin Mohamed, "Interaction and Integration", *INTISARI*, I 3 (n.d.), p.44.
20. It is true that the Acehnese fleet generally visits the Peninsular states in geographical order around the coast. After calling at Kedah, the fleet continues to Perak, Selangor, and Johor and Pahang. Curiously, however, Kelantan is visited before Trengganu.
21. Professor J.T. Siegel has drawn the author's attention to the manner in which the *Hikayat Raja Raja Pasai* outlines the geography of the Pasai region by describing the travels and conquests of Merah Silu, the founder of Pasai; see Hill, *op.cit.*, pp.52-55.
22. *Op.cit.*, p.319. See also the *Hikayat Seri Rama*, p.297, where Seri Rama reminds his son that life is temporary and advises him to obtain a good *nama* (*nama yang baik*).
23. Winstedt, *Sejarah Melayu*, p.121; Brown, *Malay Annals*, p.150. See also the comments of Sultan Maliku'l Saleh of Pasai as reported in Hill, *op.cit.*, p.66. A Palembang version of the *Sejarah Melayu* states that the inhabitants of Melaka had "a genuine interest in metaphysical speculations about after-life"; R. Roolvink, "The Answer of Pasai", *JMBRAS*, XXXII, 2 (1965), pp.135, 138.
24. W. Medhurst, "Journal of a Voyage to the East Coast of the Malayan Peninsula", *Quarterly Chronicle of Transactions of the London Missionary Society* (July 1830), p.155. See also the *Indo-Chinese Gleaner*, 1 (1817), p.103.
25. Abdullah Hadi bin Haji Hasan, *Sejarah "Alam Melayu"* (Singapore, 1948) vol.3, p.6, orig. pub. 1929. See also Mahathir bin Mohammed, *The Malay Dilemma* (Singapore, 1970), p.157: for the Malay "Life is transient and is a time when one prepares for the hereafter"; see also p.160.
26. "*Roesak*"; *Hikayat Deli*, p.11.
27. *Ibid.*, p.11.
28. *Ibid.*, p.16.
29. *Ibid.*, p.118.
30. *Ibid.*, p.108.
31. *Ibid.*, p.129.
32. See chapter III.

33. See, for instance, P.E. Josselin de Jong, "The Character of the *Malay Annals*" in Bastin and Roolvink, *op.cit.*, p.240.
34. *Hikayat Deli*, p.86.
35. *Ibid.*, p.129.
36. See, for instance, H.A.R. Gibb, *Mohammedism* (New York, 1964), pp.104-106.
37. *Hikayat Deli*, p.20.
38. A "*kandoori dan tahlil serta membacha doa selamat*"; *ibid.*, p.20.
39. *Ibid.*, p.54. The central role played by the Sultan in the conversion process and in the teaching of Islam is discussed in chapter IV. The Sultan's function as head of both church and state was often noted by European observers. See, for instance, R.J. Wilkinson, "Malay Customs and Beliefs", *JMBRAS*, XXX, 4 (1947), p.6, orig. pub. 1906; and H.A. Hijmans van Amrooij, "Nota omtrent het rijk van Siak", *TBG*, XXX (1885), p.280. I have discussed the ruler's position in relation to Islam in my "Islam and Malay Kingship".
40. The Batak response to the *Hikayat Deli* is not, of course, a concern of this book. That it might be a fruitful subject for study is suggested, for instance, by Vergouwen's observation that the spiritual power of a Toba Batak ruler was linked to the size of his lineage; *op.cit.*, pp.130-132.
41. See, for instance, the pantun quoted in Roolvink, *Dialek Deli*, p.16.
42. *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, p.319.
43. Winstedt, *Sejarah Melayu*, p.144. The prologomena to "A Malay legal text compiled for 'Abd al-Ghafur Muhaiyu'd-din Shah, Sultan of Pahang 1592-1614 A.D." makes a similar statement; Kempe and Winstedt, *op.cit.*, p.26. The seventeenth-century text, *Taj us-salatin*, also invokes the "two jewels in one ring" formula to explain the position of the Raja; Khalid Hussain (ed.), *Taj us-salatin* (Kuala Lumpur, 1966), p.49. And in the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*, Beraim Bapa links the fact that he will not commit *derhaka* to his hopes for the afterlife; Hill, *op.cit.*, p.86.
44. "*amal yang baik*"; Teeuw and Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani*, p.131.
45. *Ibid.*
46. *Ibid.* In the published text the copyist's reminder is in brackets. The editors suggest that this sentence "seems to have strayed in from a moralistic kind of text"; p.201. But in the light of our examination of the *Hikayat Deli* it does not appear out of place. For the central importance of title-giving in preventing turmoil (*huru hara*) see also R.O. Winstedt (ed.), *Misa Melayu* (Singapore, 1919), p.12.

Conclusion

1. P. Maranda, *Mythology* (Harmondsworth, 1972), p.8.
2. In asking to what extent the kerajaan system was present in other parts of Southeast Asia, some important similarities are suggested by the work of O.W. Wolters on Cambodia; "Khmer 'Hinduism' in the Seventh Century" in *Early South-East Asia: Essays in Archaeology, History and Historical Geography*, eds R.B. Smith and W. Watson (Oxford, 1979), pp.427-442. Thailand might also bear comparison with the Malay situation. It was said of the court of seventeenth-century Siam that "one neither walks, speaks, drinks, eats nor wakes without some kind of ceremony"; N. Gervaise, quoted in J. Kemp, *Aspects of Siamese Kingship in the Seventeenth Century* (Bangkok, 1969), p.30. And a Persian visitor remarked that little more occurred in the court other than the pronouncing of names; J.O. Kane, *The Ship of Sulaiman* (London, 1972), p.144. In the same century, according to J. van Vliet, Thais attributed both their religion and their laws to their first ruler; "Description of the Kingdom of Siam", *JSS*, VII, 1 (1910), pp.8-9. And an oath of allegiance contained in H.G. Quaritch Wales, *Siamese State Ceremonies* (London, 1931), p.195, indicates that loyalty to the Thai king was rewarded in the world to come.
3. The "Telaga Batu" inscription, lines 25 and 26 in J.G. de Casparis, *Prasasti Indonesia II* (Bandung, 1956), pp.36, 45-46. See also the Talang Tuwo inscription in G. Coedes, "Les Inscriptions Malaises de Crivijaya", *BEFEO*, XXX (1930), pp.38-42. The pre-Islamic founder of Melaka is portrayed in the *Malay Annals* as a *boddhisattva*; Wolters, *Fall of Srivijaya*, ch.8.
4. M. Dhavamony, *Love of God, according to Saiva Siddhanta* (Oxford, 1971), p.23.
5. Wilkinson, *Dictionary*. O.W. Wolters discusses the importance of Bhakti ideas in relation to Khmer Kingship in "Khmer 'Hinduism'", pp.427-442.
6. I have examined this development in "Islam and Malay Kingship", *JRAS*, 1, 1981, pp.46-70.
7. Unlike earlier Malay authors, Abdullah was concerned with intelligence (*akal*) and thought (*pikiran*), qualities which, he argued might grow and "bear fruit"; R.A. Datoek Besar and R. Roolvink, *Hikayat Abdullah* (Djakarta, 1953), pp.429 and 425. It is also significant that Abdullah, unlike earlier Malay authors, wrote in the first person. He even described one of his books as an "*hikayat* of myself" (*hikayat diriku*); *ibid.*, p.4. For a discussion of the influences which may have encouraged Abdullah's preoccupation with individualism, see my "A Missionary Source for a Biography of Munshi Abdullah", *JMBRAS*, LIII, 1, 1980, pp.111-119.
8. Kassim Ahmad, *Kisah*, p.47; Datoek Besar and Roolvink, *op.cit.*, p.422.
9. See, in particular, Datoek Besar and Roolvink, *op.cit.*, pp.418-429.

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Dr A.J.S. Reid provides an introduction to the Dutch colonial archives in *Contest*, pp. 299-300.

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1863: 1344
1867: 1856
Kabinets-archief
1865: 5980
1866: 5981
5985
Mail Rapporten
1872: 494
542
569
652
818
1874: 31
1875: 759
1876: 313

2. *India Office Library*, London. Records of the East India Company and India Office. Introductions to these records may be found in Tarling, *British Policy*, pp. 215-18; and Turnbull, *Writings*, pp. 329-31.

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Boards Collections
51421
69433
105676
130455
140602
141301
164938

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Straits Settlements Factory Records
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INDEX