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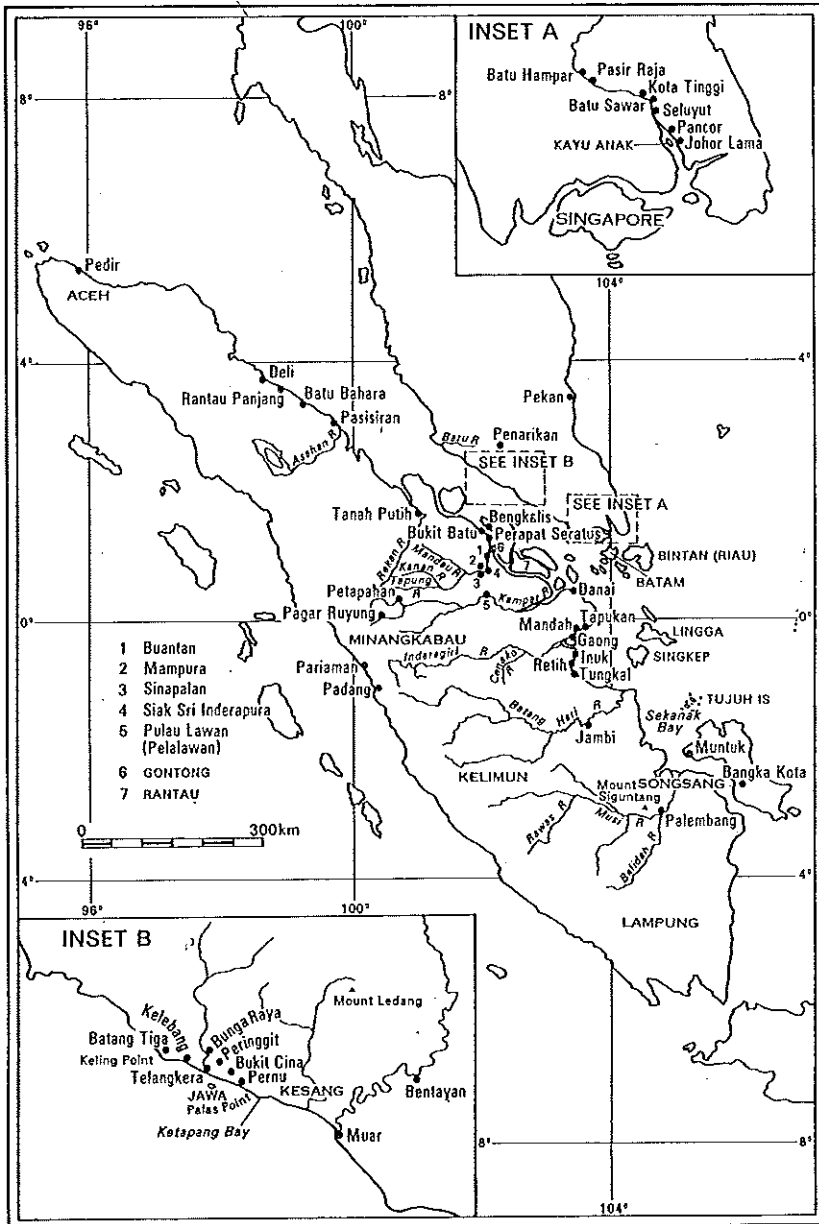
THE PRECIOUS GIFT

(*Tuhfat al-Nafis*)

RAJA ALI HAJI IBN AHMAD

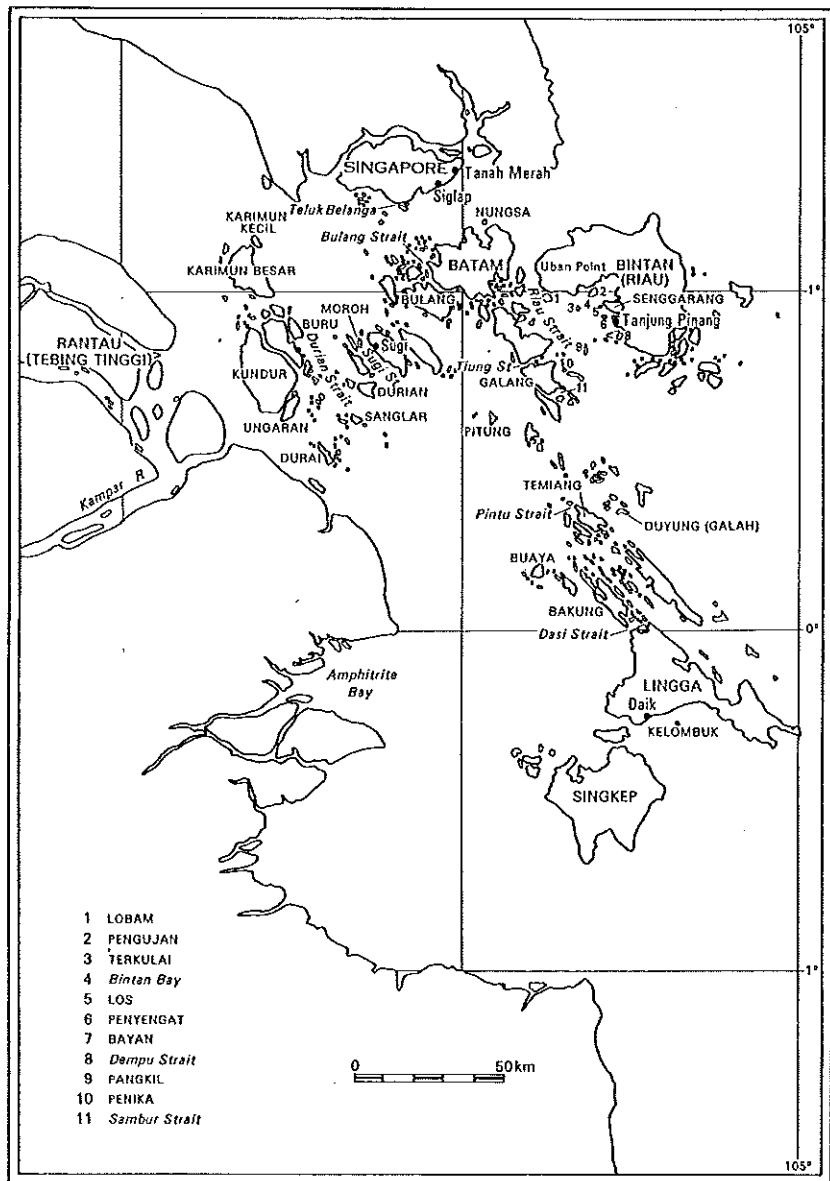
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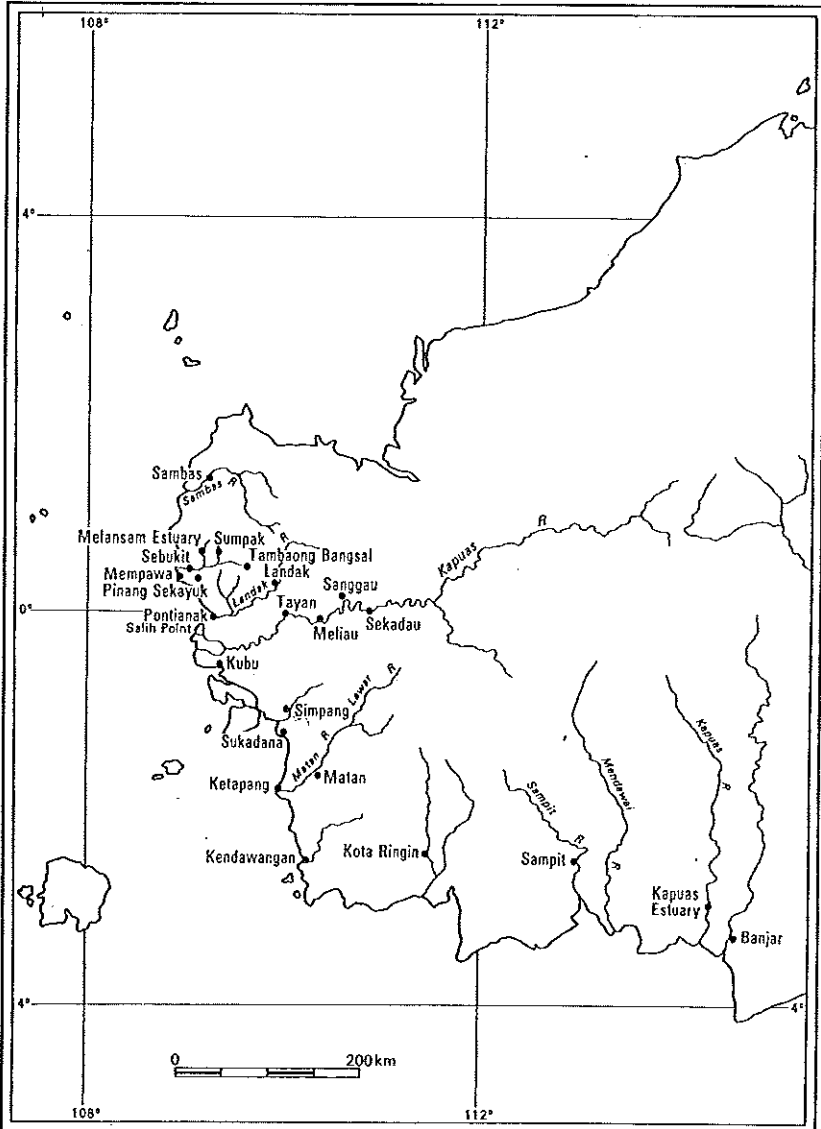


- 1 Buntan
- 2 Mampura
- 3 Sinapalan
- 4 Siak Sri Inderapura
- 5 Pulau Lawan (Pelalawan)
- 6 GONTONG
- 7 RANTAU

2 Sumatra, Malacca, and Johor



3 Riau-Lingga archipelago



4 South-west Kalimantan

III

TRANSLATION

THE PRECIOUS GIFT

- 1:1 . . . That is,¹ all praise to Allah who has created this world and the world to come through His power and His will, and has created Man, the most wondrous of His works and His wisdom. . . . Blessings and peace then be upon our Lord Muhammad, *Lord of human beings and the most perfect of the complete creation, may Allah bless him and grant him peace* . . . and may blessings and peace be on his family and Companions, may they be favoured by Allah above all other people.
- 1:11 . . . That is, following on from that, it was the year one thousand two hundred and eighty-two after the hijra of the Prophet (*may Allah bless him and grant him peace*), on the third day of Syaban the Majestic,² that my heart was roused to produce this book, a compendium which would set out the genealogies, the expeditions, the dates, in fact all the information . . . of the narrative of the Malay and Bugis kings and of all their children. . . . And I am calling this book, which will set out the interaction between the Malay and Bugis kings, *The Precious Gift*. . . . Verily I hope that Allah will forgive my inadvertent errors, of dates or fact. Oh my Lord, look with favour on your servant's request. And thus I conclude.

The First Part of their Genealogy

- 2:1 In this part, which has several sections, I will set out their genealogies; the stories will come later. The first section sets out an abbreviated account of the descent of the Malay kings. It begins here with the original Malay king, named Raja Seri Teri Buana. The progenitor of the Malay kings, he descended from Siguntang Hill, going to Palembang, then to Bintan, and later established a kingdom in Singapore.¹ This story is told at length in the histories and chronicles of the Malays. In this book, however, it is not my intention to give an extended account because there are already many such accounts, both handwritten and printed,² composed by people who lived long before me. What I want to do is to set out the pattern of events which concerned both Malay and Bugis kings

during the times of the Kings of Johor, and those of the Bugis areas, and the island of Perca,³ so that the way their lines mingled and the reasons for this may be understood. The words and style are succinct in order that anyone wishing to understand them will be able to memorize and comprehend them easily.

2:11

When Raja Seri Teri Buana set up a kingdom in Singapore, he had a minister named Demang Lebar Daun who had accompanied him from Palembang. Demang Lebar Daun, the King of Palembang, had become Raja Seri Teri Buana's father-in-law.⁴ Raja Seri Teri Buana adopted Wan Seri Beni,⁵ the Queen of Bintan, as his mother. After Raja Seri Teri Buana established a settlement on Singapore, Wan Seri Beni moved there. Originally Singapore was called Temasik, but when Raja Seri Teri Buana was clearing it, an animal called a *singa* [lion] appeared, and then suddenly vanished. The king therefore bestowed on the settlement the title Singapura-pura,⁶ as recounted in the detailed stories.

According to the story, Raja Seri Teri Buana had not been ruling in Singapore long when Wan Seri Beni passed away. Demang Lebar Daun and his minister Ria Buah Pala also passed away, departing from this world. About two years later His Majesty Seri Teri Buana likewise died, and was buried on Singapore Hill, not far from the grave of Wan Seri Beni.

3:1

After Raja Seri Teri Buana had passed away, he was succeeded by his son, Seri Pikrama Wira, who appointed one of his relatives, Raja Keciik Muda, as the highest minister with the title Bendahara and the official name of Tun Permatamah Permuka Berjajar. It was this king who first appointed the Bendahara the person in charge of all ministers subject to royal sovereignty.¹

When Raja Pikrama Wira died, he was succeeded by his son, the Raja Muda, who was entitled Seri Ratna Wikrama. His Bendahara was the son of Tun Permatamah Muka Berjajar. It was during his reign that one of the sea-people, Badang, who was exceptionally strong, was able to uproot trees two or three spans wide because, it was said, he had eaten the vomit of a spirit.

3:11

When Seri Ratna Wikrama died, he was succeeded by his son, Damiya Raja, who was then entitled Paduka Seri Maharaja. The story goes that in his reign a disaster befell Singapore which was attacked by swordfish, because the king had killed one of Allah's religious teachers, Lord Zain al-Khatib. His death brought retribution from Allah Almighty—swordfish emerged from the sea, stabbing the people, many of whom died. The story is told in detail in the long Malay histories.

When Paduka Seri Maharaja died, he was succeeded by his son, Raja Iskandar Syah. During his reign Singapore was defeated by the King

4:1

of Majapahit because Raja Iskandar Syah had taken a daughter of his own minister, Sang Rajuna Tapa, entitled Penghulu Bendahari, as a secondary wife. One of Raja Iskandar Syah's other secondary wives spread the false rumour that the Penghulu Bendahari's daughter had committed adultery. Raja Iskandar Syah was furious with his secondary wife, the daughter of the Penghulu Bendahari, and ordered her to be killed. Without investigating properly, he then commanded that she be beheaded at Hujung Pasir.

4:11 When her father learnt of what had been done to his daughter, he was humiliated and said, 'If she was in fact guilty, she should have been killed secretly. Since she'd already been made important, she should not have been placed in the centre of the town for all to see her disgrace'.¹ The fire of anger rose in his heart, consuming his reason, and he sent a letter to the King of Majapahit, because at that time the King of Majapahit was hostile towards Raja Paduka Iskandar Syah. When the Penghulu Bendahari had taken this course of action, some Singapore people deserted.

The King of Majapahit came to attack Singapore and it was defeated because the Jayanese army of about 200,000 was too large. Raja Iskandar Syah escaped and fled to Malacca and when he had left Singapore, Sang Rajuna Tapa went into a rice granary. The granary, with Sang Rajuna Tapa inside, tumbled into a ditch and he was killed. It is said that his wife and children were turned to stone.

5:1 His Majesty took up residence in Malacca and established a settlement there. According to those who specialize in dates, he had reigned in Singapore for about thirty years and in Malacca for about three years. Five generations of Malay kings had reigned in Singapore.

A new section follows.

When Raja Iskandar died, he was succeeded by his son, Raja Besar Muda. This king introduced and established the four ministers and the four heralds standing at the royal threshold to convey orders from the king, and to convey to the king requests that should be made known to him. He also introduced and established the custom of the betel set being brought into the audience hall.

5:11 When Raja Besar Muda died, he was succeeded by his son, Raja Tengah. When Raja Tengah died, he was succeeded by his son, Raja Kecil Besar. According to the story, this was a period of just and wise kingship and he was the first Malay king to adopt Islam. While he was sleeping he dreamt that he was in the presence of our Prophet Muhammad (*may Allah bless him and grant him peace*) who taught him to recite the statement of the confession of faith: 'I testify that there is no god but Allah and that Muhammad is His prophet.' Having recited this, he start-

ed up from his sleep and saw that he had been circumcised.

Early in the morning he went to the beach where he saw a ship that had come from Jedda. A man disembarked and began to pray on the shore, and the king saw that this was exactly like his dream. He made his elephant kneel and took the man who was praying on to the elephant with him. He then took this man, who was called Sheikh Makhdum, into his fort and studied Islam with him. The dignitaries and all the people of Malacca adopted Islam, and His Majesty was entitled Sultan Muhammad Syah.

His Majesty Sultan Muhammad Syah was the Malay king who first instituted Malay customs, like the specification of yellow for kings, with the exception of jackets, sarongs, and headcloths, which were permitted. It was also forbidden to build pavilions, or have wooden house posts on brick foundations so that they did not touch the earth, and houses with an audience hall or front balcony. Certain boats were also forbidden, such as those with port holes and reception cabins. It was likewise forbidden to wear anklets of gold, and those with an upper part of silver were also forbidden for commoners, even if they were very wealthy, unless the king had permitted it. There were other customs limited to kings and royal princes. If the king were giving an audience in the audience hall, the Raja Muda sat in a place of honour, as did the Bendahara, the Temenggung, the Indera Bungsu, and all the ministers and princes. Further customs and traditions are mentioned in the long chronicles.

6:1

Sultan Muhammad Syah's reign was extremely just and peaceful, and Malacca prospered. He reigned for sixty-seven years and when he died he was succeeded by his son Raja Ibrahim, who was entitled Sultan Abu Syahid Syah. His Majesty had another son, Raja Kasim, whose mother Tun Ratna Wati, was the daughter of Mani Perindam. Raja Ibrahim's mother was the daughter of the King of Rokan.¹ The outcome of the affair was that Raja Kasim became king, and the King of Rokan was killed together with Sultan Abu Syahid Syah. This was because in the confusion, when people were trying to stab the King of Rokan, the latter stabbed Sultan Abu Syahid. Thus the two of them died because of the nature of greatness and the nature of this world.

6:11

Sultan Abu Syahid was king for a year and five months, and then he was succeeded by his brother Raja Kasim, who was entitled Sultan Muzaffar Syah. He was the king who introduced and established the Malay laws whereby the kingdom could be governed justly.

When His Majesty died he was succeeded by his son Raja Abdullah, who was entitled Sultan Mansur Syah. The Bendahara was entitled Paduka Raja. During the reign of Sultan Mansur Syah an envoy was sent

7:1 to the land of the Bugis, to the King of Goa, bearing a letter and gift. The King of Goa replied by sending back a prince named Daeng Me-pawah from a minor state.¹ He was the one who was later to be entitled Laksamana Hang Tuah, famous in Malacca as a courageous warrior. It was also he who killed Hang Jebat, who had committed treason by adultery with a secondary wife of the king. Hang Jebat ran amuck on the king's palace, but the king escaped. Not one of the King of Malacca's ministers or warriors would confront Hang Jebat, and only Hang Tuah was brave enough to gain entry to the palace and kill him. The story is told in detail in the long chronicles.

7:11 His Majesty Sultan Mansur Syah left for Java to marry the daughter of the Emperor of Majapahit. He brought her back to Malacca, and the Emperor of Majapahit gave the Tujuh Islands² in the China Sea to his son-in-law, the King of Malacca. The story of Sultan Mansur Syah is extremely long as told in the chronicles, and only an outline is attempted here.

When Sultan Mansur Syah died, he was succeeded by his son, Sultan Ala al-Din Riayat Syah. This king liked to patrol the town at night with himself and on several occasions he killed robbers and thieves with his own hands. He sentenced them justly but abhorred evil doers, and protected personal property.

8:1 When he died he was succeeded by his son, Raja Mahmud, entitled Sultan Mahmud Syah. During this reign His Majesty killed his brother Raja Zainal, because the latter, who was very handsome and charming, aroused the passion of any woman who saw him. Many of Malacca's young women desired him, and countless wives and daughters courted him with bouquets of flowers and shoots of betel leaves. Those that caught his fancy he took and those which did not he gave to his pages. The people of Malacca were disgusted by this affair, and Sultan Mahmud ordered one of his servants to stab his brother Raja Zainal in bed at night-time. Raja Zainal was killed, but the affair caused a commotion among the populace; it was said that Raja Zainal had been stabbed by a thief.

It was this Sultan Mahmud who ordered Hang Nadim to abduct Teja, who was betrothed to the King of Pahang, and then took her himself. His Majesty Sultan Mahmud wanted to propose to the princess Mount Ledang, but she wanted the white blood of his son, so Sultan Mahmud's proposal of marriage came to nought.¹

8:11 His Majesty Sultan Mahmud enjoyed having affairs with the wives of his ministers. On one occasion he was having an affair with the wife of Tun Biajit, the son of Laksamana Hang Tuah. Sultan Mahmud encountered Tun Biajit along the road and the latter, balancing his spear in

hand, said, 'Were I not afraid of committing treason, to-morrow even Sultan Mahmud's name would not exist'. When Sultan Mahmud heard this he gave a secondary wife, whom he loved, to Tun Biajit who divorced his own wife. And it was this Sultan Mahmud who had his Bendahara Seri Maharaja killed, because His Majesty desired the Bendahara's daughter Tun Fatimah, Tun Ali's wife. When Bendahara Seri Maharaja and his son-in-law Tun Ali were dead, His Majesty took Tun Fatimah as his wife. He had taken this course of action because of malicious rumours spread by a locally-born Keling man,² Kitul, and Raja Mendeliar. Kitul and Raja Mendeliar were later put to death because the rumour had been unfounded.

According to the story, when His Majesty Sultan Mahmud killed Bendahara Seri Maharaja without just cause, by the decree of Allah Almighty the Portuguese came and attacked Malacca.³ By that time Sultan Mahmud had abdicated and had made his son Raja Ahmad king with the title Sultan Ahmad Syah.

At the time of the Portuguese attack on Malacca, Sultan Mahmud Syah resisted strongly. The Portuguese put troops ashore and fighting broke out, but it was not long before Sultan Mahmud was defeated and withdrew to Batu Hampar. Sultan Ahmad Syah then built a fort at Bentayan, but the Portuguese attacked again and he fled once more to the upper reaches of the Muar River, and then via the Penarikan¹ he went on foot to the upper Pahang River, and into Pahang itself. The Sultan of Pahang at that time, Sultan Mansur Syah, was a close relative of His Majesty. The latter did not stay long in Pahang before he moved again to Johor where he established a settlement.

9:1

His son, Sultan Ahmad Syah, had a generous nature but no regard for the elders and he humiliated the dignitaries, treating them in a totally improper manner. Sultan Mahmud, furious, had his son poisoned, and so Sultan Ahmad Syah died. There were thus six generations of Malay kings who reigned in Malacca.

9:11

A move was made to Johor, and from Johor back to Bintan again. Once more the Portuguese attacked, Bintan fell, and His Majesty fled again to Kampar. Here in Kampar both His Majesty Sultan Mahmud Syah and his wife died. He was succeeded by his son, Sultan Ala al-Din Riayat Syah, who left Kampar and went to Pahang. From Pahang he went to Johor.²

A new section follows.

In the Johor period the Malay kings were, in succession: first, Sultan Ala al-Din Riayat Syah,³ the son of the Sultan Mahmud who has already been mentioned. When His Majesty Sultan Ala al-Din Riayat Syah had gone to Pahang, he had married the daughter of Sultan Mansur Syah,

10:1 Raja Kesuma Dewi. Later, when he left Pahang and went to Johor, he brought with him a fleet of several hundred vessels. His Laksamana Hang Nadim, became Prince of the Seas.⁴ His boat, a *dendang*, was 13 spans long, equipped with 2 cannon at the bow, 10 swivel guns at each side, and 2 at the topmast stay. The Laksamana's deputy, Seri Bija Diraja, had a *junung*, 11 spans long, also with 2 cannon at the bow and 8 swivel guns along each side and 2 at the topmast stay. According to the story, there were 80 cannon and 300 swivel guns of various kinds left after the Portuguese had defeated Kupuk.¹ His Majesty established himself in Johor,² and on several occasions he sent his raiders to attack Malacca, where they captured a number of Portuguese *lanca*.³ The leader of the raiders was Laksamana Hang Nadim.

10:11 When Sultan Ala al-Din Riayat Syah died, he was succeeded by his son, entitled Sultan Muzaffar Syah, who was 19 years of age when he became king.⁴ His Majesty was courteous to the elders and did not speak on any matter unless he had already discussed it with the Datuk Bendahara, the Seri Nara Diraja, the Temenggung Sidewa Raja, and all the elders. In his reign the Portuguese could no longer put to sea in small numbers without being captured by Johor raiders. During his reign Sultan Muzaffar Syah built a stockade at Seluyut and also established a settlement there.⁵

When Sultan Muzaffar Syah died, he was succeeded by his son who was entitled Sultan Abd al-Jalil Syah.⁶ During his reign the Portuguese attacked Seluyut,⁷ but they were defeated and returned to Malacca. His Majesty moved from Seluyut and built a settlement on the upper reaches of the Damar River, a tributary of the Batu Sawar River. He entitled the settlement Makam Tawhid, and there he remained.⁸

11:1 According to the story, His Majesty had three sons by secondary wives. The first was Raja Hasan, the second was Raja Husain, and the third was Raja Mahmud. His Majesty made Raja Hasan King of Siak, Raja Husain King of Kelantan,⁹ and Raja Mahmud King of Kampar, because during the Johor period all Malay kings were ranked below Johor. His Majesty's sons of fully royal birth, Raja Mansur and Raja Abdullah both remained in Johor.

When Sultan Abd al-Jalil died, he was succeeded by Raja Mansur, who was entitled Sultan Ala al-Din Riayat Syah.¹ However, His Majesty did not concern himself with government but occupied himself purely with amusements. Raja Abdullah, together with the Bendahara, was Regent in His Majesty's kingdom, exactly as if Raja Abdullah ruled Johor. Afterwards His Majesty moved again, building a settlement on the Rayun River.² It was named Pasir Raja, and here he remained.

Not long afterwards, Sultan Ala al-Din Riayat Syah died, and Raja

Abdullah ruled Johor, with the title Sultan Hemat Syah. According to some stories, it was during his reign that the King of Aceh attacked Johor, and Johor was defeated.³ His Majesty retreated to Lingga, but it was not long before he left for Tambelan Island, where he died soon after his arrival.⁴ 11:11

After his death he was succeeded by his son, who was named Sultan Abd al-Jalil Syah.⁵ The latter's brother became Yang Dipertuan Muda, but resided in Pahang. The Laksamana was commanded to establish a settlement on Riau, on the Carang River, and to make ready a fleet to attack the Portuguese should they come. At this time Johor was defeated by Jambi,⁶ after which the ruler posthumously entitled the Young One died in Pahang; later Sultan Abd al-Jalil also died.

When Sultan Abd al-Jalil died, Raja Ibrahim, son of the ruler posthumously entitled the Young One, became king. His Bendahara was Tun Pikrama Tun Habib,⁷ entitled Bendahara Seri Maharaja. The late ruler entitled the Young One died in Pahang in the year of the hijra of the Prophet (*may Allah bless him and grant him peace*) one thousand and eighty-seven, the Muslim year 1087.¹ Sultan Abd al-Jalil died in the year of the hijra of the Prophet (*may Allah bless him and grant him peace*) one thousand and eighty-eight, the Muslim year Dal-akhir 1088.² Then Sultan Ibrahim moved to Riau and later defeated Jambi and Siak.³ 12:1

When Sultan Ibrahim died he was succeeded by his son, named Sultan Mahmud Syah.⁴ His Majesty moved back to Johor and there he remained. Datuk Bendahara Tun Pikrama Tun Habib Bendahara Seri Maharaja also died, in the year of the hijra of the Prophet (*may Allah bless him and grant him peace*) one thousand one hundred and nine, in the Muslim year Dal, on Thursday night, 7 Muharram.⁵ He was succeeded by his son, who became Bendahara of Johor.

Then Sultan Mahmud also died, killed at Kota Tinggi in the year of the hijra one thousand one hundred and eleven, in the Muslim year Wau, 1111.⁶ He was succeeded by the Bendahara, the son of Datuk Bendahara Tun Pikrama Tun Habib Bendahara Seri Maharaja, who ascended the throne in the same hijra year on Thursday, 8 Rabi al-awal, at the time of the midday prayer.⁷ At this time he was entitled Sultan Abd al-Jalil Syah, and according to the story it was also at this time that his son Raja Sulaiman was born. Sultan Mahmud Syah was killed by one of his military officers, Megat Seri Rama, because the Sultan had killed Megat Seri Rama's wife when she ate a piece of jackfruit while the king was sleeping. Sultan Mahmud was killed in Kota Tinggi at Makam Tawhid, as it was called, in Johor. His story will come later. 12:11

Sultan Abd al-Jalil had several children of fully royal birth and some

13:1 who were not, that is, his children by a secondary wife called Encik Nusamah, who was the daughter of an Acehnese. The children of full royal¹ birth, born when their father was still Bendahara, were resentful of Raja Sulaiman. Raja Sulaiman was indeed the son of a secondary wife, but he was born after his father became king. Because of this, the eldest son became Bendahara, another became Temenggung, the third brother became Raja Muda and according to some accounts another son became Indera Bungsu.² However, it was the king's intention that Raja Sulaiman should succeed him.

The story goes on to say that Raja Sulaiman had sixteen brothers and sisters, but only the following will be mentioned in this genealogy. First, Raja Sulaiman; second, Tengku Tengah; third, Tengku Kamariah, generally known as Tengku Puan; fourth, Tengku Mandak. It was Raja Sulaiman who became king, raised up by the Bugis princes, that is, the five Opu who were brothers. Their story will come later in this chronicle.

13:11

Tengku Tengah became the wife of Opu Daeng Parani, and gave birth to Raja Maimunah, who married the Temenggung of Johor,³ giving birth to Daeng Cellak, Daeng Kecik and the Engku Muda. Daeng Cellak died in a gunpowder explosion on a *keci* which he had attacked. Daeng Kecik begot Temenggung Abd al-Rahman, who begot Daeng Ronggik and Daeng Abdullah. Both of these had several children. Daeng Ronggik became Temenggung in Singapore and his son, named Tun Abu Bakar, is now, as this genealogy is being compiled, Temenggung in Johor with the title Temenggung Seri Maharaja Raja Johor.

Tengku Kamariah married Raja Kecik of Siak and gave birth to Raja Mahmud, generally known as Raja Buang.

Tengku Mandak married Opu Daeng Cellak and had two daughters, one named Tengku Putih and the other Tengku Hitam.

14:1 These are some of the daughters of Sultan Abd al-Jalil whose lines were mingled with the Bugis and Siak princes. Their story will come later in this chronicle, but will be abbreviated.

The descendants on the male side became kings in Riau and Lingga and their subject territories. Here I will set out the genealogies of some which are known to me. Sultan Sulaiman Badr al-Alam Syah was the son of Sultan Abd al-Jalil, born after his father had become King of Johor. He and another son, called Raja Abd al-Rahman,¹ were the children of Encik Nusamah. There were thus two sons and fourteen daughters.

By Encik Puan Perak, Sultan Sulaiman had a fully royal son, the Raja di Baruh, named Raja Abd al-Jalil. His other sons were Raja Uthman, Raja Ismail, Raja Ahmad, and the father of Tengku Panglima Besar. I

had a daughter, Raja Bulang, as well as several other children, both sons and daughters. 14:11

Sultan Abd al-Jalil married Tengku Putih, daughter of Opu Daeng Cellak, and begot Sultan Mahmud, posthumously known as the Ruler buried at Lingga. Sultan Mahmud had two sons, one named Tengku Lung, who was made King of Singapore by the English, with the title of Sultan Husain Syah, and another named Tengku Abd al-Rahman, generally known as Tengku Jumat. He was entitled Sultan Abd al-Rahman and posthumously known as the Ruler buried at Cengkih Hill on Lingga. He had a son, Sultan Muhammad of Lingga, who was posthumously entitled the Ruler buried in the Kraton on Lingga. Sultan Muhammad had a son, Sultan Mahmud, who was deposed by the Dutch Government and died in Pahang. When he was deposed he was succeeded by his uncle, entitled Sultan Sulaiman Badr al-Alam Syah,¹ who was the son of the late Sultan Abd al-Rahman Syah, posthumously entitled the Ruler buried at Cengkih Hill. The latter had both sons and daughters. The sons were Sultan Muhammad, of fully royal birth, posthumously entitled the Ruler buried in the Kraton; second, Sultan Sulaiman Badr al-Alam Syah, who was mentioned earlier; third, Raja Daud.² The first of his daughters was Tengku Tengah, who became the wife of Raja Abdullah, the son of the late [Yang Dipertuan] Muda Raja Jafar, of Bugis origin. The second, Tengku Kecil,³ became the wife of the Bendahara of Pahang, named Tun Mutahir. The third, Tengku Andak, became the wife of Temenggung Ibrahim who lived at Teluk Belanga.⁴ The fourth, Tengku Hitam, did not marry and died a virgin. 15:1

Sultan Muhamamad who was just mentioned, the son of Sultan Abd al-Rahman, had several sons and daughters. Sultan Mahmud who was mentioned earlier and his sister Tengku Dalam had the same mother, a princess from Trengganu named Tengku Tih.⁵ His other sons were Tengku Said, Tengku Andut, and Tengku Ibrahim,⁶ and his daughters were Tengku Hamidah, Tengku Safiah, Tengku Mariam, and Tengku Salma. 15:11

Tengku Dalam married a prince from Trengganu,⁷ Tengku Hamidah married a son of the Bendahara of Pahang and Tengku Mariam married Raja Yahya, son of Raja Abdullah. The latter was son of Raja Ahmad Haji, who was the brother of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar and son of the ruler of Bugis descent posthumously entitled He who died at Ketapang Bay. Tengku Salma married Raja Mansur, son of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abdullah, the son of the late Raja Jafar who was just mentioned. Tengku Safiah married a Siamese prince.¹ 16:1

Sultan Mahmud, the son of Sultan Muhammad, the Ruler buried in the Kraton, had a daughter named Tengku Ambung who married Raja Muhammad Yusuf, the son of the late Raja Ali, the son of the late Raja

Jafar who has already been mentioned. Raja Muhammad Yusuf was the tenth Bugis prince to become Yang Dipertuan Muda. He had several sons and daughters at the time of compiling this genealogy.²

16:11 Sultan Husain in Singapore had several sons and daughters. The eldest of his sons was Tengku Besar, the second was Tengku Ali, the third was Tengku Jafar, and there were two daughters. These were of fully royal birth. Apart from these there was Tengku Abd al-Jalil.³ All of them had children, some living at the time of compiling this genealogy, and some dead. The majority of Sultan Husain's descendants are in Singapore and elsewhere, but I will not elaborate. I have just given a summary since at the time of compiling this genealogy many of them are living in Singapore and are well known to the ordinary people.

This section sets out the genealogy of the Malay kings of Siak.

17:1 The Malay king of Siak during the reign of the late Abd al-Jalil, the King of Johor descended from Bendahara Tun Habib, was originally named Raja Kecik. His title of Yang Dipertuan Kecik came from Pagar Ruyung.⁴ There are many discrepancies and mistakes among the genealogies and chronicles concerning Raja Kecik's origins.⁵ According to the Siak Chronicle,⁶ Raja Kecik was the son of the Ruler who died being borne aloft, who was killed at Kota Tinggi by Megat Seri Rama. His mother was Encik Pung, the daughter of the Laksamana. Just before His Majesty died, it is said Encik Pung ate his semen. While His Majesty lustered after his fairy wife, his semen flowed out, and he ordered Encik Pung to eat it. Thus, so it is said, Encik Pung became pregnant.

Some of the histories say that when His Majesty died, his penis stood erect and no one dared to bury him. All the dignitaries were consulted as to the reason for this strange occurrence. The palace residents said that His Majesty had desired Encik Pung as he died. The dignitaries interpreted this as signifying that His Majesty was afraid he would not leave behind any descendants of his own line, so it is said that at that very moment they ordered Encik Pung to have sexual intercourse with His Majesty. Only when this was finished did His Majesty's penis relax. Encik Pung then became pregnant. Another history, that from Trengganu,¹ mentions that Encik Pung was said to be already pregnant when His Majesty had her.

17:11 When His Majesty died there was an outcry and Encik Pung was helped to escape by a person named Panglima Bebas and taken to Puteri Janilan² in Pagar Ruyung. There Encik Pung gave birth to her child, a son, whom Puteri Janilan adopted. When he grew up she allowed him to travel to Palembang, Johor, Bangka Kota, Siantan, Batu Bahara, Buku Batu in Siak, and to trade in Malacca and other places.³ While he was wandering he was called Tun Bujang, and when he was at Pagar Ruyung

young as Puteri Janilan's adopted son, she called him Buyung. When he returned from his wanderings, Puteri Janilan entitled him Raja Ber-alih.

Finally, it is said, Puteri Janilan and the Yamtuan Sakti had him installed to the beat of the royal drums. He was ordered to stand against a pillar made of stinging nettles while the crown was placed on his head. It was said that if nothing happened this was the test that he was the true son of the Ruler who died being borne aloft.⁴ The Yamtuan Sakti then gave him the name 'Raja Kecil' and ordered him to go down to Pasisiran Laut, to Bengkalis and Bukit Batu. He was given the sword of state, called Sapu Rajab,¹ as well as a seal on which, it is said, there was proof that he was the son of the Ruler who died being borne aloft. All the Minangkabau from Pasisiran Laut, like the people of Bengkalis, Siak, Batu Bahara and elsewhere, followed him.² As soon as he had sufficient support, he attacked Johor and that story will be told in part two, which contains a full account of the Malay kings of Johor and Siak, and the Bugis kings. And thus I conclude. 18:1

When Yang Dipertuan Raja Kecil was ruling in Siak, he had two sons. The eldest was named Raja Alam and his mother was the daughter of the Dipati of Batu Kucing.³ While he was travelling, Raja Alam was born, and some of the histories refer to him as Raja Rabb al-Alam. The second son, named Tengku Mahmud,⁴ was generally known as Tengku Buang. His mother, whom Raja Kecil had married after his defeat of Johor, was Tengku Kamariah, the daughter of the late ruler, Abd al-Jalil. Raja Kecil made his son Raja Alam Raja Muda, while Tengku Mahmud was designated his successor. But later a war broke out between the two brothers and after Raja Kecil's death sovereignty alternated between his descendants as they wrestled for power. And thus, in brief, I conclude. 18:11

Tengku Mahmud Raja Buang, who was entitled Sultan Mahmud Syah, married the daughter of Daeng Mattekuh.⁵ He had one son, Raja Ismail, and another, Raja Daud, who were both of fully royal birth. He also had other sons; the first was Raja Abdullah, the second Raja Abd al-Rahman, the third Raja Musa, the fourth Raja Kamat, the fifth Raja Baki, the sixth Raja Husain, the seventh Raja Yusuf, the eighth Raja Muhammad, the ninth Raja Busu, the tenth Raja Hasan, the eleventh Raja Taib, and the twelfth Raja Yasin. His daughters were first, Tengku Ambung; second, Tengku Salihah; third, Tengku Cakera; fourth, Tengku Hitam; fifth, Tengku Halimah. This is the information I have found in several histories and chronicles.

Raja Ismail, the son of Sultan Mahmud, begot Tengku Yahya, generally known as Tengku Sulung; second was Tengku Abd al-Rahman 19:1

and third, Tengku Salih. His first daughter was Tengku Sadiyah, the second Tengku Aisyah, the third Tengku Bijah, the fourth Tengku Badariah, the fifth Tengku Kamariah, the sixth Tengku Safiah, the seventh Tengku Zainah, and the eighth Tengku Puteri, who was his child by the King of Trengganu's daughter.¹

19:11 Raja Alam, Raja Kecil's eldest son who was made Yang Dipertuan Muda during his father's lifetime, had several children. His wife was Daeng Khadijah from Siantan, the daughter of the Bugis prince Opu Daeng Parani. Their first child was Tengku Badariah, who married Sayid Uthman of the people of Syahab. They had Sayid Ali, who became the last Yang Dipertuan of Siak, when there were no more descendants of the Malay kings in Siak because they had been defeated and were scattered throughout other countries. Yamtuan Muda Raja Alam's second child was Tengku Hawa, the third Tengku Sukma and the fourth Tengku Emas Ayu. Raja Alam had other children besides these, the first son being Muhammad Ali, who became the second Yamtuan Muda of Siak and the second Raja Akil, who was killed by the sea-people² of the Batak Strait during the reign of Sultan Mahmud Raja Buang, Raja Alam's brother. And thus I conclude.

According to the story, the first person to become king in Siak was Raja Kecil. When he died he was succeeded by his son Sultan Mahmud Raja Buang. During the latter's reign the country of Siak was occupied by the Dutch who established a post on Gontong Island. Sultan Mahmud then left Siak to go raiding, waylaying ships coming to trade in Sanglar.³ This infuriated the Dutch, who attacked Siak once more. Sultan Mahmud tricked the Dutch and routed them. Defeated, they returned to Malacca.

20:1 Not long afterwards, Sultan Mahmud died in Siak, being succeeded by his son Raja Ismail, whose Yang Dipertuan Muda was Raja Muhammad Ali, Raja Alam's son. Raja Alam had left to travel and seek support because he had been defeated in the war with his brother Sultan Mahmud, while Raja Kecil was still alive. Fighting was renewed after Raja Kecil's death, and his brother Sultan Mahmud was again defeated and withdrew to Riau to ask Sultan Sulaiman's help, because the latter was his uncle. With the assistance of Sultan Sulaiman, he defeated Raja Alam once more and Raja Alam left to travel through other countries until he reached Matan.¹ After Raja Alam's brother (that is, Sultan Mahmud Syah) died he was succeeded by his son Yamtuan Raja Ismail.

20:11 On hearing that his nephew had become king, Raja Alam arrived to attack Siak, accompanied by the Dutch from Malacca. Yamtuan Raja Ismail was defeated and left Siak, wandering through other countries: Palembang, Siantan, Mempawah and Trengganu—seeking support.² Ra

Alam became king in Siak and his son Yamtuan Muda Muhammad Ali became Yamtuan Muda again. Not long afterwards Yang Dipertuan Raja Alam died in Siak.

According to the story, when Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail heard the news that his uncle had passed away, he returned to Siak and attacked it. Siak fell and Yamtuan Raja Ismail became king there. He died not long afterwards and was succeeded by his son, Raja Yahya, who was generally known as Tengku Sulung. Yamtuan Muda Muhammad Ali was not dismissed but became simply the Raja Tua-tua³ at that time, as was fitting. Raja Yahya made his brother Yang Dipertuan Muda. In this matter Yamtuan Raja Yahya was deceived by Sayid Ali, son of Uthman, of the people of Syahab, the grandson of Raja Alam and son of Tengku Badariah, who had attacked Siak. Yamtuan Raja Yahya was again defeated and he fled Siak in disarray with his family, his Raja Muda, and those princes who held him dear. He then went to Lingga, to His Majesty Sultan Mahmud, the son of the late Ruler Abd al-Jalil, the son of the late Ruler Sultan Sulaiman Badr al-Alam, to ask for assistance. Since there was no response from Sultan Mahmud, Yamtuan Yahya stayed in Lingga for some time with all his family and relatives.

21:1

Not long afterwards he left with them to wander aimlessly through other countries. The relatives who originally set out with him scattered, some staying with him, some being left behind on Lingga, and some on Belitung, while others went to Mempawah and Pontianak. Yamtuan Raja Yahya himself went to Trengganu and then to Kemaman,¹ but he had not been there long before he died. And thus the sovereignty of the Siak kings who were descended from the Malay kings finally ended. Sovereignty in Siak then passed to Arab people who were descendants of Syahab, and Kuraish Sayids,² that is, to Sayid Ali, who was only connected with Yamtuan Raja Kecil on his mother's side. Sayid Ali's descendants have continued to rule Siak up to the time of compiling this genealogy and chronicle. And thus I conclude.

21:11

A new section follows, which sets out the genealogy of the Bugis kings who came to the western lands, to Johor, and who became closely related to the Malay kings because the two sides intermarried. Now listen closely.

The Bugis kings who journeyed to the west from the Bugis lands originated from Sitti Mallangkik, Queen of a country called Luwu.³ Some Bugis traditions allege that she was descended from Puteri Balkis, but only Allah (*may He be praised and exalted*) knows the truth of this, because Balkis¹ was from Sheba, part of the Yeman. The daughter of a genie king, she married Allah's prophet Sulaiman, *on whom be peace*. In fact, this is an extremely long way from the Bugis lands, so I do not

22:1

know whether this Bugis tradition is true or not; only Allah Almighty knows. However, be that as it may, Puteri Balkis bore Allah's prophet Sulaiman sons, who in turn had many descendants, and it is not too much to believe that they could have reached the Bugis lands. It is really quite reasonable, as is shown by the many Arab Sayids who have come to the lands below the winds² and have been dispersed throughout these countries, leaving numerous descendants.³ So if it is plausible and credible for the descendants of Allah's prophet (*may Allah bless him and grant him peace*) to have reached the lands below the winds and to have left many descendants, then the descendants of Allah's Prophet Sulaiman (*on whom be peace*) could also have come to the Bugis lands. *In brief*, we cannot deny every phenomenon which we are unable to verify; since the evidence exists, we must accept it.

22:11

Sitti Mallangkik became Queen of Selangi⁴ and she married the great Bugis King of Luwu. She gave birth to Datuk Palingik, who begot Patok,⁵ who begot Batara Guru, who begot Batara Lattuk, who begot Paduka Sawerigading, who begot La Galigo.⁶ His Highness Sawerigading had two children, one of whom was La Galigo. This is a well known episode in several Bugis and Malay stories because His Highness Sawerigading travelled widely, enjoying himself and journeying westwards until he reached Malacca and other places. At that time no prince could match him in greatness and courage.

23:1

La Galigo begot His Highness Saung ri Warik,¹ who begot Lassala, who begot Siallajangnge Kurinna, who begot Batari Toja Mallajangnge Lopi Bali, who begot To Tendrialak Mallajangnge ri Ulerenna, who begot La Rumapak Matindro ri Warik, who begot La Sessung ri Wuk Matindro ri Larompong, who begot Batara Tungkik Matindro ri Mallangkik, who begot La Paknyyiwi Mallopi ri Alik, who begot Sessung ri W Nannuk ri Peretiwi, who begot To Akkasauk Matindro ri Usuk, who begot Batara Tungkik Matindro ri Mallangkik, who begot Sessung ri W Matindro ri Larompong, who begot To Appamadeng Matindro ri Napak, who begot To Allaik Matindro ri Tanatekko, who begot Setti ri W Matindro ri Cabbettikka, who begot La Wewang Langik Matindro Langkanana, who begot Makkarumapak Matindro ri Tompottikkal, who begot La Mappapulung Luppik ri Mata-bessi, who begot To Temmu ri Pasitunu-sulo-cakna, who begot To ri Abusungengnge Siallajangnge langkanana, who begot Tendriuweng Matindro ri Larukodona, who begot Tendro ri Balusue Mallajangnge ri Kalakkakna, who begot Kurilang Matindro ri Cendrana, who begot La Tendriampak, who begot Mappaling Matindro ri Salekona, who begot La Tuandak Matindro ri Kannara, who begot La Tendriupik, who begot Randreng ri Taluk Tendreng, who begot La Maddulisa. Raja Opu La Maddusilat³ was the first Bugis k

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to embrace Islam, the faith of our Prophet Muhammad (*may Allah bless him and grant him peace*).

By removing the final 't', some Bugis language experts translate La Maddusila as 'the Famous One'.⁴ He was descended from all the Datu of Luwu, the Datu of Soppeng, and the Arung of Butung.⁵ Opu La Maddusilat had three sons; the first was called Pajung,⁶ and he ruled in Luwu. The second was Opu Daeng Biasa, who became head of all the Bugis in Java, where he had become a victorious hero. Towards the end of his life he obtained the title Major⁷ and was appointed by a Dutch General to govern all the Bugis in Batavia and Java. The third son, Opu Tendriburang Daeng Rilaga, left the land of the Bugis to travel to the west. 24:1

Opu Tendriburang Daeng Rilaga had five sons, who had the same mother. The first, Opu Daeng Parani,¹ was the eldest of all the brothers. The second was Opu Daeng Menambun,² the third was Opu Daeng Marewah,³ the fourth was Opu Daeng Cellak,⁴ and the fifth was Opu Daeng Kemasi. He also had a daughter, the Datu of Watu, by his wife the Queen of Pammana.⁵ Bugis tradition has it that this female Datu was Engku Karaeng's grandmother—so the story goes.

Daeng Parani and his brothers became mighty victorious warriors, supreme over their enemies, heroes in the western lands, renowned from the Bugis lands to Johor and all its subject territories. Their story will come later in part two of this book. 24:11

Opu Daeng Menambun became King of Mempawah, with the title Pangeran Mas Seri Negara. For successive generations his descendants continued to govern in Mempawah.

Opu Daeng Marewah became Yang Dipertuan Muda in Riau and all its subject territories. He was entitled Kelana Jaya Putera,⁶ and it was he who defeated Raja Kecil, the Yamtuan of Siak, taking Riau and all its subject territories from his hands and giving them to Raja Sulaiman. He then installed Raja Sulaiman as King of Johor and all its subject territories.

Opu Daeng Cellak became the second Yang Dipertuan Muda in Riau and its subject territories. With him the sovereignty of the Raja Muda became permanent in Riau, being passed through his descendants right up to the time of compiling this genealogy, that is, the hijra year 1288.⁷ The line has remained unbroken.

Opu Daeng Kemasi became Pangeran Mangkubumi, governing the kingdom of Sambas⁸ with all its subject territories. The story of the princes' wanderings will come in part two of this book, Allah Almighty willing. 25:1

Now I will set out the genealogies of the five princely brothers.

This section sets out the descendants of Opu Daeng Parani. In Sian-

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25:1

Now I will set out the genealogies of the five princely brothers.

This section sets out the descendants of Opu Daeng Parani. In Sian-

tan he married the daughter¹ of a Bugis man called Nakhoda Alang and had two children, a son and a daughter. The son, Daeng Kamboja, became the third Yang Dipertuan in Riau and its subject territories. Later Opu Daeng Parani had a daughter, Daeng Khadijah, who eventually became the wife of Raja Alam, the son of Raja Kecik of Siak. From them Yang Dipertuan Sayid Ali, son of Sayid Uthman, son of Syahab, was descended; his descendants have governed Siak up to the time of compiling this genealogy.

25:11 Later Opu Daeng Parani also married the sister of Sultan Sulaiman Badr al-Alam Syah. Called Tengku Tengah, she was generally known as Tengku Irang, and they had one daughter, Raja Maimunah. In Selangor he married again, the daughter of the King of Selangor, and again had a daughter. Later, in Kedah, Opu Daeng Parani married once more, the younger sister of the Yamtuan of Kedah, and he had yet another daughter. His son, Daeng Kamboja, married a cousin called Raja Fatimah, the daughter of the Yang Dipertuan Muda of Riau, Opu Kelana Jaya Putera Daeng Marewah. Raja Fatimah's mother was Tun Encik Ayu. By Raja Fatimah Daeng Kamboja had nine children. The first, a daughter, was called Raja Perak and she became the wife of the Ruler who died at Ketapang Bay, the son of the late Opu Daeng Cellak, the second Yang Dipertuan Muda. The second daughter was called Raja Khadijah, and the third Raja Andak. Raja Andak married the Yamtuan of Selangor, Raja Ibrahim, the son of Raja Lumu posthumously entitled the Pious One, who was the brother of Raja Haji the Ruler who died at Ketapang Bay. Opu Daeng Kamboja's fourth child was a son, Raja Sayid; the fifth was Raja Aisyah, generally known as Daeng Uti; the sixth, a son, was Raja Andut; the seventh, Raja Ali, became the fifth Raja Muda of Riau; the eighth was Raja Abd al-Samad, and the ninth was Raja Usuh.

26:1 Raja Maimunah, the daughter of Opu Daeng Parani by Tengku Tengah, married the Temenggung of Johor. Their children were Daeng Cellak, second Daeng Kecik, and third Engku Muda. Daeng Kecik begot Temenggung Abd al-Rahman, who begot Temenggung Ibrahim, who begot Temenggung Abu Bakar of Teluk Belanga in Singapore. At the time of compiling this genealogy, Temenggung Abu Bakar is still living.¹

Daeng Khadijah, Daeng Kamboja's sister, married Raja Alam and gave birth to Tengku Badariah, who became the wife of Sayid Uthman. They had Sayid Ali, the Yamtuan of Siak, whose descendants are ruling Siak at the time of compiling this genealogy.²

26:11 This section sets out the genealogy of the descendants of the second son of Opu Tendriburang Daeng Rilaga, that is, Opu Daeng Menambun. He married Puteri Kesumba, the daughter of Sultan Muhammad Zain al-Din, the King of Matan, by his wife Puteri Emas Inderawati, who was

the daughter of the King of Sanggau.³ Puteri Kesumba had ten children by Opu Daeng Menambun—six sons and four daughters. The first son was Gusti Jameril, the second Gusti Jamadin, the third Gusti Jalderi, the fourth Gusti Jalma, the fifth Gusti Sina and the sixth Ratu Suria Kesukma. The first daughter was Utin Dewaman, the second Utin Candra Sari, the third Utin Candra Midi and the fourth Utin Nawang.⁴

Gusti Jalderi had seven offspring. The first son was Gusti Urip, the second Gusti Ismail, and the third Gusti Kasim. The first daughter was Utin Inderawati, the second Utin Belalang, the third Utin Fatimah and the fourth Utin Simpang.

Gusti Jalma, entitled Gusti Panglima, had two daughters, the first being Utin Ratna Sari and the second Utin Ratna Wilis.

27:1

Gusti Sina had three daughters, the first being Utin Selamah, who became the wife of Raja Ali, the fifth Yang Dipertuan Muda descended from Opu Daeng Parani. They had three children, one of them a son called Gusti Husain. Gusti Sina's second daughter was Emas Upam and the third was Emas Sitti.

Utin Dewaman married the King of Landak,¹ Ratu Bagus, and they had four children. The first was Utin Nit, the second Utin Sadiyah, the third Pangeran Emas Suta, and the fourth Utin Selamah.

Utin Candra Sari was entitled Queen of Simpang² but at the time of compiling this genealogy I have been unable to find the names of her husband and children. I hope, however, that in the future my descendants will add to my work if they can.

Utin Candra Midi married Pangeran Sharif Abd al-Rahman, whom Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Haji appointed Sultan of Pontianak. They had two children, one son and one daughter. Their son was Pangeran Sharif Kasim, who became the second Sultan of Pontianak, and their daughter was Sharifah Aisyah, who married Sayid Sheikh, son of Hamid Babud.

27:11

Utin Nawang married Pangeran Abd al-Ghafur, the King of Brunei and they had one son named Gusti Putil. This is the extent of my knowledge about the genealogy of Opu Daeng Menambun's descendants in the east, that is, Mempawah, Pontianak, Matan and Brunei.³

The genealogy of Opu Daeng Kemasi's descendants will be given later, since I will first set out those of his elder brothers.

This section sets out the genealogy and descendants of Opu Kelana Jaya Putera, that is, Opu Daeng Marewah, the first of Opu Tendriburang Daeng Rilaga's sons to become Yang Dipertuan Muda in Riau. He was the middle one of the five Bugis brothers, and it was he who originated and established the path of loyalty between the Malays and

28:1 Bugis. Opu Daeng Marewah married a Malay princess, Tun Encik Ayu, the daughter of the Temenggung of Johor, Abd al-Jamal.

Encik Ayu lived at Perapat Seratus,¹ and though she was the widow of the Ruler who died being borne aloft, she had never slept with him because she was still too young. By her Opu Daeng Marewah had three children. The first was a son named La M-p-â' Unuk, whom people called Kelana Encik Unuk,² the second was Raja Sayid and the third was a daughter, Raja Fatimah, who married Opu Daeng Parani's son, Daeng Kamboja. Most of Daeng Marewah's descendants are in Selangor because his son Encik Unuk married there and had a daughter called Encik Aisyah.³ And thus I conclude.

28:11 This section sets out the genealogy and descendants of Opu Daeng Cellak who was known as Opu Daeng Pali in Johor and Riau. He was the second Bugis Yang Dipertuan Muda, and he married the daughter of the Malay king Sultan Abd al-Jalil. His wife was thus the sister of Sultan Sulaiman Badr al-Alam Syah, for they had the same father and mother. She was called Tengku Mandak, but when Yang Dipertuan Muda Opu Daeng Cellak became Raja Muda, he bestowed on her the title Tengku Puan. By her Daeng Cellak had two daughters, the first being Tengku Putih and the second Tengku Hitam.

29:1 Tengku Putih became the wife of the late Ruler Abd al-Jalil Raja di Baruh, who was the son of the late Ruler Sultan Sulaiman Badr al-Alam Syah. They had two sons, the first being Tengku Ahmad and the second Tengku Mahmud. Tengku Ahmad died when he was still young but after he had been made king by the late Ruler Opu Daeng Kamboja. The latter then installed Tengku Ahmad's brother, Tengku Mahmud with the title Sultan Mahmud Syah. When he died, he left two sons, the first being Tengku Husain, that is, Sultan Husain of Singapore, and the second Tengku Jumat, that is, Sultan Abd al-Rahman, the Ruler buried at Cengkih Hill.

Sultan Abd al-Rahman had one son, Sultan Muhammad, who was of fully royal birth, and two sons who were not. The first was Tengku Sulaiman, generally known as Tengku Muda, and the second was Tengku Daud, generally known as Tengku Wuk. His first daughter was Tengku Tengah, the second was Tengku Kecil and the third was Tengku Andak. Sultan Muhammad, son of Sultan Abd al-Rahman, had a son, Sultan Mahmud, who was deposed by the Dutch. He was replaced by his uncle, Tengku Sulaiman, who, as mentioned earlier, was entitled Sultan Sulaiman Badr al-Alam Syah.

Tengku Putih's sister, Tengku Hitam, married a Lord Sayid, a descendant of the people of Yahya, named Sayid Husain son of Sheikh. They had a daughter named Sharifah Halimah, who married Engku

Sayid Muhammad Zain al-Kudsi al-Husni, and had six children. The first was Sharifah Zubaidah, generally known as Tengku Andak, and the second was Sharifah Mariam, generally known as Tengku Ni. Their first son was Sayid Abdullah, generally known as Engku Ngah; the second was Sayid Husain, generally known as Tengku Irang; the third was Sayid Ahmad, generally known as Tengku Wuk; and the fourth was Sayid Hasyim, generally known as Tengku Nung. 29:11

Sayid Abdullah married Raja Salihah, the daughter of Raja Ahmad son of the late Ruler Raja Haji who died at Ketapang Bay. They had three children, the first being Sayid Uthman, the second a daughter, Sharifah Rakiah, and the third Sayid Sheikh.

Sayid Husain married Raja Maimunah, the daughter of the late Ruler Raja Jafar. They had three children, the first being Sayid Mahmud, the second Sayid Alwi¹ and the third Sharifah Halimah. Sayid Husain also had many other children who were not of fully royal birth. Sayid Hasyim likewise had several children who were not of fully royal birth.

Besides Tengku Hitam and Tengku Putih, Opu Daeng Cellak had four sons and two daughters. The first was Raja Haji, who became Yang Dipertuan Muda *the deceased, the warrior, who exerted himself in fulfilment of Allah's highest command, a martyr in Allah's path; may Allah revive him through the sustenance of the pleasures in the Garden of Paradise, as He hath spoken, 'Do not reckon those who have been killed in Allah's path dead; indeed, they are alive, sustained by their Lord'*.¹ Opu Daeng Cellak's second son was Raja Lumu, who became King of Selangor, posthumously entitled the Pious One. There were two daughters, the first being Raja Aminah and the second Raja Halimah, generally known as Tengku Kecil. She became the wife of the Sultan of Jambi,² while Raja Aminah married a Bugis prince called Arung Lenga, father of Encik Engku Raja Sulaiman. The latter, by Raja Buntit, had two daughters. The first was Engku Dalam,³ who became the wife of Sultan Abd al-Rahman Syah, that is, the Ruler buried at Cengkih Hill. They had a son, Tengku Muhammad, the Tengku Besar, who eventually succeeded his father with the title Sultan Muhammad Syah and was posthumously known as the Ruler buried in the Kraton. The second daughter of Encik Engku Raja Sulaiman and Raja Buntit was Engku Wuk, who became the wife of Temenggung Abd al-Rahman and had two daughters, the first called Raja Lung and the second Raja Cik. Both of them became wives of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali, the son of the late Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar. 30:1

The late Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Haji *who died a witness to the way of Allah*, had both sons and daughters. The first son was Yang Di-

pertuan Muda Raja Jafar,⁴ the second was Raja Idris, the third was Raja Pahang,⁵ the fourth was Raja Ahmad⁶ and the fifth was Raja Kasim. The first daughter was Raja Selamah, generally known as Engku Talluk, whose mother was the daughter of the King of Asahan.⁷ The second was Raja Hamidah and the third Raja Sitti, the mother of both being Raja Perak, daughter of Yang Dipertuan Muda Daeng Kamboja. The fourth was Raja Buntit and the fifth Engku Tengah, the mother of both being the daughter of the Sultan of Inderagiri.⁸ The sixth was Raja Aminah and the seventh was Raja Pasir. Raja Selamah became the wife of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Nala, a son of the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor, posthumously entitled the Pious One. The eighth was Raja Hamidah (that is, Engku Puteri), who became the wife of Sultan Mahmud, posthumously entitled the Great Ruler of Lingga. The ninth was Raja Sitti, who became the wife of the Bugis prince Karaeng Talibak, a descendant of the Datu of Watu⁹ and the tenth was Raja Buntit, who became the wife of Encik Engku Raja Sulaiman, the son of the Bugis prince Arung Lenga. The eleventh was Engku Tengah,¹ who became the wife of the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor, Raja Ibrahim, the son of the King of Selangor Raja Lumu, posthumously entitled the Pious One. The twelfth was Raja Aminah, who did not marry and the thirteenth was Raja Pasir,² who became the wife of the Yang Dipertuan Besar of Inderagiri, Raja Sayid, son of Sultan Ibrahim.

Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar had both sons and daughters. He married Raja Lebar, the daughter of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali, the son of Yang Dipertuan Muda Daeng Kamboja, and they had three sons and one daughter. The first son was Raja Abd al-Rahman, who became the seventh Yang Dipertuan Muda, the second was Raja Ali, who became the eighth Yang Dipertuan Muda, and the third was Raja Abdullah who became the ninth Yang Dipertuan Muda of Riau descended from the Bugis princes. The daughter was Raja Maimunah, who became the wife of Sayid Husain, that is, Tengku Irang.

Besides these, Raja Jafar's sons were first Raja Jumat, second Raja Muhammad, third Raja Mahmud, fourth Raja Kasim, fifth Raja Sulaiman, sixth Raja Husain, seventh Raja Yusuf, eighth Raja Hasan and ninth Raja Abbas. At the time of compiling this genealogy, of the princes just mentioned only Raja Muhammad and Raja Husain are still living.

Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar's first daughter was Raja Khadijah, who became the wife of Raja Abdullah and had a son named Raja Basuk.³ The second was Raja Saudah, the third Raja Salihah, the fourth Raja Mariam, the fifth Raja Halimah, the sixth Raja Fatimah,⁴ the seventh Raja Nur, the eighth Raja Zubaidah, the ninth Raja Sitti, who became the wife of Raja Hasan, the son of the Ruler buried on Bayan

Island, the tenth Raja Hamidah, who became the wife of Raja Ibrahim,⁵ the eleventh Raja Alwiah, the twelfth Raja Safiah, the thirteenth Raja Habibah and the fourteenth Raja Salma, who became the wife of Raja Abd al-Hamid, son of Raja Ahmad who was mentioned earlier.

Raja Khadijah's second husband was a prince from Inderagiri, Raja Umar. Raja Saudah became the wife of Raja Jafar,⁶ a son of Yang Dipertuan Raja Ali. Raja Halijah¹ became the wife of a son of the King of Inderagiri named Raja Husain and gave birth to Raja Abd al-Jalil and Raja Kecik, a daughter. Raja Mariam became the wife of Sayid Mustafa,² and later married Raja Jumat, a grandson of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali. Raja Halimah became the wife of Raja Ali Haji the son of Raja Ahmad the son of the late Ruler Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Haji *who died a witness to the way of Allah*. They had a son, Raja Hasan,³ and several daughters. Raja Nur became the wife of Raja Abd al-Rahman Haji, the son of Raja Idris the son of the late Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Haji *who died in Allah's cause*, and they had a son named Raja Sulaiman. Raja Zubaidah became the wife of Raja Abdullah, a son of Raja Ahmad who was mentioned earlier. They had sons, the first being Raja Yahya, the second Raja Ishak, the third Raja Muhammad, the fourth Raja Abd al-Rahman, and the fifth Raja Abu Bakar. The sixth was a daughter, Raja Sitti. Raja Hamidah became the wife of Raja Ibrahim the son of Raja Idris who was mentioned earlier. They had both sons and daughters, the first son being Raja Uthman, the second Raja Basuk, the third Raja Musa, the fourth Raja Abbas and the fifth Raja Abdullah. The daughters were Raja Tipah and Raja Halimah. Raja Alwiah became the wife of Raja Andut the son of Raja Ahmad who was mentioned earlier. They had two sons, the first being Raja Yunus and the second Raja Alias. Raja Safiah became the wife of Raja Ali Haji who was also the son of Raja Ahmad, mentioned earlier. They had two children, a son named Raja Husain and a daughter named Raja Salihah. Raja Habibah became the wife of Raja Abd al-Ghani, the son of Raja Idris who was mentioned earlier. They had four sons and one daughter, the first being Raja Abd al-Rahman, the second a daughter, Raja Kecik, the third Raja Jafar, the fourth Raja Hasan, and the fifth Raja Husain.

Each of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar's sons had sons and daughters, except those who died before reaching adulthood. Raja Jumat had several sons, such as Raja Abdullah, Raja Abu Bakar, Raja Ibrahim, and Raja Ali, and daughters such as Raja Antiah, Raja Aminah, and Raja Nikmah. Raja Muhammad also had several sons and daughters, such as Raja Uthman, Raja Idris, Raja Ibrahim, Raja Kecut, Raja Ismail, Raja Hasan, Raja Abu Bakar, Raja Haji, and Raja Umar. He had daugh-

ters such as Raja Hawa, Raja Maimunah, Raja Saudah, and Raja Lenah. Raja Mahmud also had sons and daughters, and there is a daughter called Raja Zainab on Penyengat Island.¹ Raja Kasim also had sons such as Raja Baigab and daughters, Raja Kandung and Raja Zainab. Raja Husain married a daughter of the Bugis prince Arung Belawah and had sons and daughters such as Raja Ibrahim, Raja Uthman, Raja Rapak, Raja Abd al-Samad, Raja Daud and Raja Umar. His daughters were Raja Lebar, Raja Maimunah, Raja Ampa, and Raja Rafiah, while there were other children who took to the seas and are not mentioned here. Raja Yusuf had several sons such as Raja Hasan, Raja Muhammad, Raja Haji, and Raja Ahmad and daughters such as Raja Hawa and Raja Khatijah.

33:11

Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar's children by Raja Lebar, daughter of the late Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali of Bayan Island were firstly, Raja Abd al-Rahman, the seventh Yang Dipertuan Muda of princely Bugis origin and a descendant of Opu Daeng Cellak. Raja Abd al-Rahman married the daughter of his uncle, Raja Idris the son of the late Raja Haji, the Yang Dipertuan Muda who died at Ketapang Bay, *a witness to the way of Allah*. She was called Raja Fatimah and by her Raja Abd al-Rahman had both sons and daughters.² One daughter, Raja Antiah,³ became the wife of Sayid Mahmud son of Sayid Husain Tengku Irang. The second child was a son, Raja Idris Haji, and the third was another daughter, Raja Andak, who became the wife of her cousin, Raja Mansur, a son of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali. Raja Mansur died in *Mecca the Exalted*.⁴ The fourth was also a son, Raja Jafar⁵ and the fifth was a daughter, Raja Maimunah, who became the wife of Sultan Mahmud the son of Sultan Muhammad Syah of Lingga.⁶ The sixth was a son, Raja Muhammad. There were also other children by secondary wives who have not been mentioned here.

34:1

Yang Dipertuan Raja Jafar's second son by Raja Lebar was Raja Ali, the eighth Yang Dipertuan Muda of princely Bugis origin, and a descendant of Opu Daeng Cellak. Raja Ali married his cousin Raja Sitti, the daughter of his uncle Raja Idris who has been mentioned, and they had both sons and daughters.¹ The first son was Raja Mansur, the second Raja Andut, the third Raja Muhammad Yusuf, the tenth Yang Dipertuan Muda. He married the daughter of Sultan Mahmud Syah, Tengku Ambung, and they also had children. The fourth son was Raja Abd al-Samad, the fifth Raja Marewah, the sixth Raja Sulaiman, and the seventh Raja Awang.² The first daughter was Raja Perak, who became the wife of Raja Idris, the son of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abd al-Rahman; later she became the wife of Sultan Sulaiman Badr al-Alam Syah, who succeeded his nephew Sultan Mahmud as ruler. The second

daughter was Raja Safiah, who became the wife of Raja Muhammad the son of the Yang Dipertuan [Muda] Raja Abd al-Rahman and the third was Raja Selamah who became the wife of Raja Muhammad Tengku Nung, the son of Yang Dipertuan [Muda] Raja Abdullah, posthumously entitled the Master,³ the ninth Yang Dipertuan Muda of Bugis origin and a descendant of Opu Daeng Cellak. The fourth daughter was Raja Hamidah and the fifth was Raja Busu who, after her sister Raja Selamah had passed away, became the wife of Raja Muhammad Haji who was just mentioned. The late Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali also had other children whom I have not mentioned here.⁴ And thus I conclude. 34:11

Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar's third son by Raja Lebar was Raja Abdullah, the ninth Yang Dipertuan Muda of Bugis origin and a descendant of Opu Daeng Cellak. He married the daughter of Sultan Abd al-Rahman Syah, the Yang Dipertuan Besar in Lingga who was the son of the late Ruler Sultan Mahmud Syah. By his wife Tengku Tengah Raja Abdullah had four sons. The first was Raja Mansur, generally known as Tengku Lung, the second was Raja Muhammad, generally known as Tengku Nung, the third was Raja Uthman, generally known as Tengku Hitam, and the fourth was Raja Jumat, generally known as Tengku Busu. After Tengku Tengah had passed away, Raja Abdullah married his cousin, Raja Hawa, the daughter of Raja Ahmad the son of the late Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Haji, *a witness to the way of Allah*. They had both sons and daughters, the first being Raja Maimunah who became the wife of Raja Hasan, the son of Raja Ali Haji and Raja Halimah the daughter of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar. Raja Ali Haji was the son of Raja Ahmad who has been mentioned, the brother of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar. The second child was Raja Muhammad Tahir and the third Raja Puteri. Raja Abdullah also had other children by his secondary wives but they have not been mentioned here because in the interests of brevity, I wish to be concise. 35:1

Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar's fourth child by Raja Lebar was Raja Maimunah, who became the wife of her second cousin Sayid Husain Tengku Irang the son of Sayid Muhammad Zain al-Kudsi. They had both sons and daughters; the sons were Sayid Mahmud and second Sayid Alwi; and the third was Sharifah Halimah. Sayid Alwi is deceased at the time of compiling this genealogy.

Raja Idris, the brother of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar, son of the late Yang Dipertuan [Muda] Raja Haji who died at Ketapang Bay *a witness to the way of Allah*, married Raja Safiah, the daughter of the late Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali, son of Yang Dipertuan Muda Daeng Kamboja. By this wife Raja Idris had two daughters, first Raja 35:11

Fatimah who became the wife of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abd al-Rahman, and second Raja Sitti who became the wife of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali, the son of the late Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar. Both these daughters had children as already mentioned above. Raja Idris had other children besides those by his wife Raja Safiah.¹ First Raja Habibah, second Raja Halinah, third Raja Halijah, fourth Raja Aisyah, fifth Raja Selamah and sixth Raja Aminah. His sons were first Raja Basuk, second Raja Abd al-Rahman Haji, third Raja Ibrahim and fourth Raja Abd al-Ghani. The latter three became sons-in-law of the late Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar. After his wife Raja Nur passed away, Raja Abd al-Rahman married another cousin, Raja Mariam, a daughter of Raja Ahmad. They had one son who is already deceased and a daughter who is alive at the time of compiling this genealogy. Her name is Raja Safiah and she is about three or four years old.

36:1 Raja Ahmad Engku Haji Tua, a brother of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar and a son of the late Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Haji *a witness to the way of Allah*, had several sons and daughters. In Selangor he married Encik Hamidah, the daughter of Panglima Perang Malik. They had four children. The first, Raja Salihah,¹ became the wife of Sayid Abdullah, generally known as Tengku Ngah, who was the son of Engku Sayid Kuning and Sharifah Halimah, daughter of Tengku Hitam the sister of the late Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Haji *a witness to the way of Allah*. Raja Salihah and Sayid Abdullah had three children. The first was Sayid Uthman, generally known as Engku Ambung, who married his first cousin on his mother's side, that is, Raja Kalthum, Raja Ali
36:11 Haji's daughter. The second was Sharifah Rakhiah, who died in childhood and the third was Sayid Sheikh who married his first cousin Tengku Sharifah, the daughter of Sayid Husain Tengku Irang and Raja Maimunah, daughter of the late Yang Dipertuan Muda Jafar. They also had sons and daughters, but at the time of compiling this genealogy Sayid Sheikh had already returned to the mercy of Allah Almighty on Penyengat Island in Riau.

Raja Ahmad's second child by Encik Hamidah was Raja Ali who, at the age of 19, went to *Mecca the Exalted* with his father Raja Ahmad to make the pilgrimage and visit the holy places. He had several sons and daughters, beginning with his children by a woman called Sulung. Their son, Raja Muhammad, was so called because that was the name she was instructed to give him at the time Raja Ali made the pilgrimage. After his birth Raja Muhammad was generally called Raja Bih² because he had an extra finger, and afterwards his grandfather, Engku Haji Tua Raja Ahmad, changed his name to Raja Sulaiman. The latter had two sisters born of the same mother; Raja Fatimah, who became the wife of

Raja Uthman the son of Raja Muhammad the grandson of the late Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar; and Raja Halijah.

Later Raja Ali Haji also married the daughter of the late Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar.¹ They had eight children. The first was Raja Kalthum² who became the wife of Sayid Uthman, the son of Raja Salihah who has just been mentioned. The second was Raja Sharifah who is deceased at the time of compiling this genealogy, the third was Raja Hamidah and the fourth was Raja Selamah who became the wife of her first cousin Raja Mansur, the son of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abdullah. The fifth was Raja Aminah who became the wife of her first cousin, that is, Raja Basuk the son of Raja Ibrahim, son of Raja Idris who was also a brother of Raja Ahmad. The sixth was Raja Hasan who³ married his first cousin Raja Maimunah, the daughter of Raja Abdullah the ruler posthumously entitled the Master, the ninth Yang Dipertuan Muda of Bugis origin and a descendant of Opu Daeng Cellak. The seventh was Raja Maimunah and the eighth was Raja Juriyah.⁴

Afterwards Raja Ali took another wife, also a first cousin, that is, Raja Safiah, the daughter of the late Ruler Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar. They had a daughter, Raja Salihah, and a son, Raja Husain. Later he took another wife, Daeng Cahaya, the daughter of a Bugis named Daeng Menaruh, and they had five children. The first was a daughter, Raja Siah, and the second a son, Raja Muhammad Ali, generally known as Daeng Menambun.⁵ There are many other sons and daughters by secondary wives who have not been mentioned here.⁶

The third child of Raja Ahmad Engku Haji Tua, by Encik Hamidah, was Raja Cik. She became the wife of Daeng Abdullah,⁷ the son of Temenggung Abd al-Rahman who died at Teluk Belanga. At the time of compiling this genealogy they are both deceased.

Later Raja Ahmad took another wife, Raja Hawa, the daughter of the late Yang Dipertuan Raja Ali buried on Bayan Island. They had one daughter named Raja Aisyah.¹

After this Raja Ahmad married Encik Halijah, daughter of the Suli-watang of Lingga.² They had three sons. The first was Raja Abdullah, who married Raja Zubaidah daughter of the late Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar, and they had six sons and one daughter. The first was Raja Yahya, who married Tengku Mariam, daughter of Sultan Muhammad Syah the Ruler buried in the Kraton; the second was Raja Ishak who married his first cousin Raja Rakiah; the third was Raja Muhammad who married his first cousin Raja Irang, daughter of Raja Kecik, the brother of Raja Abdullah; the fourth was Raja Abd al-Rahman who married his first cousin Raja Siah, the daughter of Raja Hamid the son of Raja Ahmad Engku Haji Tua; the fifth was Raja Abu Bakar and the

38:11 sixth Raja Sitti. Raja Ahmad's second son by Encik Halijah was Raja Andut, who married Raja Alwiah daughter of the late Ruler Jafar. They had two sons, first Raja Yunus and second Raja Alias. Raja Andut then took another wife, his first cousin Raja Halijah, daughter of Raja Idris, Raja Ahmad Engku Haji Tua's brother. They also had four children, two sons and two daughters, first Raja Hasan, second Raja Husain, third Raja Hitam and fourth Raja Hafsah. Raja Ahmad Engku Haji Tua's third son by Encik Halijah, Raja Uthman, married Raja Lung, daughter of the Yang Dipertuan of Perak. They had children in Perak.³

Afterwards, by Encik Aisyah, daughter of the Temenggung of Inderagiri, Raja Ahmad Engku Haji Tua begot Raja Fatimah and Raja Maimunah. Both became wives of Engku Busu, son of the Sultan of Inderagiri, and Raja Maimunah had a son called Raja Hasan.

Raja Ahmad also married Raja Ampuk, a daughter of the Yang Dipertuan of Inderagiri. They had a son, Raja Muhammad, who passed
39:1 away from an illness while returning from Batavia.⁴

Raja Ahmad later had children by Encik Fatimah, a son named Raja Daud and daughters, one of whom, Raja Hawa, is already deceased. She was the wife of Raja Abdullah, posthumously entitled the Master, the ninth Yang Dipertuan Muda, as has been already mentioned above in the late Raja Jafar's genealogy. Another daughter was Raja Mariam, who became the wife of Raja Abd al-Rahman Haji. Later Raja Ahmad¹ had several other sons and daughters who have as yet no issue. Up to this point I have just recorded those who are directly descended from Opu Daeng Cellak and who are of the same line as the late Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Haji *who died a witness to the way of Allah*.

Now I am going to set out in order the line of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali and his brothers. He has been placed last because as the youngest child of Raja Haji *who died a witness to the way of Allah*, it is fitting that he should come at the end. The late Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali, the Ruler buried on Bayan Island, was the fifth Yang Dipertuan Muda of Bugis origin and a descendant of Opu Daeng Parani. He had several sons and daughters. The first son was Raja Isa,² who begot Raja Yakub and his brothers. Their mother was Raja Wuk. Raja Isa also had another child, Raja Idris, who likewise had sons and daughters. Some are living and some are dead at the time of compiling this genealogy, and most of their descendants are around the Nungsa River.³
39:11

The second was Raja Ismail who married Raja Sitti,⁴ the daughter of Raja Abd al-Samad. They had several sons and daughters, first Raja Muhammad Haji, second Raja Mahmud and third Raja Sulaiman. There were also other children by women of lesser rank, and most of

Raja Ismail's descendants are in the area of the Heads of the Six Clans, that is, in Manda and Gaong.⁵

The third son of the Ruler buried at Bayan Island was Raja Basuk, who married Raja Sharifah, the daughter of Raja Musa the son of Raja Andut the brother of Yang Dipertuan Raja Ali the Ruler buried at Bayan Island. They had a son, Raja Sulung,⁶ who is deceased at the time of compiling this genealogy.

The fourth was Raja Yunus, who married Raja Habibah the daughter of Raja Idris brother of the late Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar. He had a son named Raja Haji and daughters named Raja Tipah and Raja Kecik. The fifth was Gusti Husain, who had descendants in Mempawah but none in Riau. The sixth was Raja Hasan who married Raja Sani, a daughter of the late Ruler Raja Jafar, and is now deceased. The seventh was Raja Jafar, who married Raja Saudah, the daughter of the late Ruler Raja Jafar, and they had no children. However, Raja Jafar had several children by commoners, such as Raja Husain, Raja Jumat, Raja Abdullah, Raja Muhammad and other sons and daughters, most of whom are from the Lukut area.¹ The eighth son was Raja Kasim, who married Raja Habibah, the widow of his brother Raja Yunus. 40:1

The daughters of the Ruler buried at Bayan Island were first, Raja Safiah, who became the wife of Raja Idris the brother of the late Ruler Raja Jafar, as has already been mentioned. The second was Raja Khadijah, who became the wife of Raja Umar, son of Raja Abd al-Samad the brother of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali, the Ruler buried at Bayan Island. They had a son and a daughter, the son being Raja Zainal and the daughter Raja Bahiah, the wife of Raja Yakub, the son of Raja Isa. The third was Raja Lebar, who became the wife of the late Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar, as mentioned earlier. The fourth was Raja Hawa, who became the wife of Raja Ahmad, brother of the late Ruler, Raja Jafar. They had one daughter, as has already been mentioned. The fifth was Raja Siah, who became the wife of the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor, Raja Muhammad,² son of the late ruler of Selangor, Raja Ibrahim. The sixth was Raja Jamilah, who became the wife of Raja Kasim, the son of the late Ruler Raja Jafar. The seventh was Raja Sharifah, who became the wife of a Bugis prince, Arung Belawah. The eighth was Raja Aminah who has not married and who, although old, is still alive at the time of compiling this genealogy. 40:11

Raja Abd al-Samad, brother of the Ruler buried at Bayan Island, begot Raja Umar and Raja Haji. His daughters were Raja Sani, who became the wife of Raja Ismail, and second Raja Halimah, who became the wife of Daeng Ahmad, the son of Daeng Madik, and gave birth to Raja Selamah.

41:1 Raja Andut, the brother of the Ruler buried at Bayan Island, had two sons, the first being Raja Musa who married Encik Fatimah,¹ a descendant of the Forty Bugis.² They had a daughter called Raja Maimunah. The second son was Raja Muhamnad, who married Raja Buruk, the daughter of Raja Usuh the son of Yang Dipertuan Muda Daeng Kamboja. They had Raja Fatimah, Raja Husain,³ Raja Ali, Raja Salih, Raja Sharifah and Raja Hawa.⁴ Raja Fatimah became the wife of Raja Jumat, the son of Yang Dipertuan Raja Jafar; Raja Sharifah⁵ became the wife of Raja Basuk, the son of Raja Idris, brother of the late Ruler Jafar; Raja Hawa became the wife of a prince from Trengganu, who had already made the pilgrimage.

41:11 Then again there were Raja Johor and Raja Hitam, the children of Raja Usuh and Encik Puan Bendaraja. Raja Johor begot Raja Andut, Raja Said, Raja Perang, Raja Abd al-Samad and several daughters as well. Raja Said married the daughter of Temenggung Abd al-Rahman, and they had sons—Raja Kecil, then Raja Andut. Raja Said had several other children, sons and daughters, by commoners, as did Raja Perang. They have not been mentioned in this summary.

Raja Lumu, a brother of the late Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Haji *who died in Allah's cause*, became Yang Dipertuan Besar of Selangor, and when he died he was entitled the Pious One. He had several sons and daughters, the first son being Raja Ibrahim, the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor, and the second Raja Nala, the Yang Dipertuan Muda of Selangor. The third child was Raja Penuh, who married a prince from Kedah. She later married Arung To Mojong, the son of a Bugis prince, and they had Raja Bisik.⁶ Raja Penuh had the same mother as Raja Ibrahim, the second Yang Dipertuan of Selangor, and Raja Nala. The mother of all three was the daughter of the late Ruler Opu Daeng Marewah Kelana Jaya Putera, the first Yang Dipertuan Muda in Riau. The fourth child of Raja Lumu was Raja Perak, whose mother was a commoner. She married Sayid Muhammad Jambul of the people of Yahya, and they had one daughter. The fifth was Raja Sharifah who married a prince from Perak, but they had no children. Afterwards she married the Pangeran Raja of Banjar,⁷ and is still living but divorced.

42:1 The Yang Dipertuan of Selangor, Raja Ibrahim, had several sons and daughters, the first being Raja Ismail, whose mother was a princess from Kedah called Cucik, and the second Raja Said, whose mother was Raja Fatimah,¹ daughter of the late Yang Dipertuan Daeng Kamboja, posthumously entitled the Bearded One. The third was Raja Muhamnad, whose foster mother was a woman of good birth descended from the Forty Bugis, and he eventually became the third Yang Dipertuan of Selangor.² The fourth was Raja Abdullah, who married his second cous-

in, Raja Khadijah, daughter of the late Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar. The fifth was Raja Ahmad, who became the son-in-law of Panglima Perang Malik.³ The sixth was Raja Usuh, the seventh Raja Hasan, the eighth Raja Husain, the ninth Raja Yusuf, and the tenth Raja Salih. The first daughter was Raja Fatimah, the second Raja Maimunah, the third Raja Khadijah, the fourth Raja Aminah, the fifth Raja Aisyah, the sixth Raja Sitti, the seventh Raja Mariam and the eighth Raja Hamidah. Some of these princesses married and some did not, but those who remained in Selangor and had children have descendants there at the present time.

42:11

This section sets out the genealogy of Opu Daeng Kemasi, who obtained his title of Pangeran Mangkubumi in Sambas. It is said that his first wife was the younger sister of the Sultan of Sambas, Sultan Adil. This sister's name was Raden Tengah and she married Opu Daeng Kemasi. They had four children, three daughters and one son. The first daughter was Emas Sani, the second Emas Saja and the third Daeng Utih. The son was Daeng Bukak. At the present time their descendants are in Sambas; that is the situation.

The genealogy of the five princely brothers has now been completed. I will go on to set out concisely and succinctly the chronicle of their journeys. Therefore, listen carefully. And thus I conclude.

Part Two of Their Saga

Part two will set out the journeys and adventures of all the princes who have already been mentioned. To make it easier for those who wish to memorize it, the style will be brief and concise.

43:1

This is the account of the reasons why the sovereignty of the Kings of Malacca passed to their Bendaharas. According to the story, the last descendant of Seri Teri Buana and the Kings of the Singapore, Malacca and Johor periods was Sultan Mahnud, a Johor king. It is said that he took a *peri*, a type of genie, as his wife, and so had no desire for marriage with a human spouse.¹ Once, when the ruler was sleeping, someone brought him a ripe jackfruit as a gift, which the palace steward kept until the king should wake. By chance, Megat Seri Rama's pregnant wife came by. She had a craving for jackfruit, and begged the steward for a slice. He gave one to her, and she went away.

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When the king awoke, he wished to eat the jackfruit, so the steward brought it to him, and said, 'Something unfortunate has happened; I have just given some to Megat Seri Rama's wife, rather than turn her away'. On hearing this, His Majesty was furious and ordered Megat Seri

Rama's wife to be summoned. He then ripped open her belly and pulled the child from her womb. Thus Megat Seri Rama's wife died.

When the news reached her husband, Megat Seri Rama, he wept and anger overcame his sense of reason. He then sought out the Datuk Bendahara and informed him that he intended to avenge his wife's death, saying, 'If you wish to become king, this is the time. I am going to commit treason; there is no alternative.' Now Megat Seri Rama was considered to be one of those warriors who is invulnerable,² and he had a large following and considerable power. The Datuk Bendahara therefore conferred with his brothers, the Temenggung and the Indera Bungsu, 44:1 about Megat Seri Rama's intention. They were unanimous in their support for Megat Seri Rama, because many of the dignitaries in the state favoured the Bendahara as king. They said, 'This time it's only affected Megat Seri Rama, but eventually we'll all be treated the same way'. And they were resolutely agreed.¹

One night His Majesty desired his fairy wife, so it is said, and he ejaculated, his semen flowing out over his sleeping mat. He ordered his concubine, Encik Pung, the Laksamana's daughter, to swallow it and it is said she became pregnant.

There are three conflicting accounts concerning this matter which have already been mentioned [in part one]. A warrior called Seri Bija Wangsa, the most daring, strong and brave in the country, was inseparable from His Majesty, so the Datuk Bendahara lured him away and had him killed, because if he had been alive it would have been difficult for 44:11 Megat Seri Rama to have carried out his plan.² Then, as His Majesty was being borne on his retainers' shoulders to the Friday prayers, Megat Seri Rama struck off his head, killing him. Megat Seri Rama also died because His Majesty had hurled a kris at him.³

After His Majesty's death, all the dignitaries in Johor appointed the Datuk Bendahara as Johor's king. The date of His Majesty's death was a Friday, in the hijra year 1111 (one thousand one hundred and eleven), in the month of Safar,⁴ and he was succeeded by the Bendahara, son of Bendahara Tun Habib, on Thursday, 8 Rabi al-awal, at the time of the midday prayer.⁵ At this time Raja Sulaiman was born.

Not long after this the pregnant Encik Pung gave birth to a son. Encik Pung's father, the Laksamana, had him escorted to the Raja Negara⁶ and the Temenggung of Muar. Later he was returned to Johor.

When Encik Pung's son was older, he was given the name Tuan Bujang and entrusted by the Laksamana to Nakhoda Malim of Pagar Ruyung. They sailed to Jambi and then Nakhoda Malim took Tuan Bujang 45:1 to Pagar Ruyung, and presented him to the king, Yamtuan Sakti. His Majesty's mother was called Puteri Janilan, and it was she who reared

Tuan Bujang, adopting him and naming him Buyung. When he reached adulthood, he was renamed Raja Beralih. In another historical chronicle¹ it is mentioned that after the death of the Ruler who died being borne aloft, a man called Panglima Bebas helped Encik Pung to escape and took her to Pagar Ruyung, while she was still pregnant. She gave birth at Pagar Ruyung, and revealed that her child was the son of the Ruler who died being borne aloft. This was the reason that the King of Pagar Ruyung reared him so carefully until he reached adulthood.² I do not know which of these two accounts is the more factual, *but Allah knows the truth.*

As for Sultan Abd al-Jalil, when he was secure in the kingdom, he appointed his brother the Temenggung as Raja Muda to administer Johor. According to some accounts, cited in other historical chronicles, it was the Raja Indera Bungsu who was made Raja Muda. Sultan Abd al-Jalil's eldest son, born while his father was Bendahara, was appointed Bendahara, his middle son became Temenggung, and the youngest became the Raja Indera Bungsu.³ Secure in his kingdom of Johor with its subject territories, Sultan Abd al-Jalil moved to Pancor⁴ and built a settlement there, together with a most beautiful palace. It was thirty arm-spans long, incised with liquid gold paint, the roof being of wood; the walls were likewise painted and decorated. Eventually, this palace caught fire and the king therefore moved back to Riau, and resumed residence there.⁵ During this period the king had many enemies amongst the Bugis, Minangkabau, and the people of Patani.⁶ Later the Yang Dipertuan Muda waged war against Batu Bahara and Deli in the hijra year 1122, and afterwards went to war against Inderagiri as well, in the hijra year 1126.⁷ Then there was a move back to Johor, to the settlement at Makam Tawhid.⁸ Next the Datuk Temenggung declared war on Linggi, that is, in the hijra year 1128.⁹ After this His Majesty's kingdom was secure, with its Temenggung, Bendahara and dignitaries. The state of Johor prospered and was famed not only for the refinement of its customs, but also for its culture. Sultan Abd al-Jalil reigned for twenty years and there was peace in the kingdom for nineteen of those years; that is how it was.¹

This is the story of a Bugis ruler, a great king in Luwu. His Majesty's name was Opu La Maddusilat. According to some Bugis sources, La Maddusilat had three sons, the eldest being Pajung, the second Opu Tendriburang Daeng Rilaga and the youngest Opu Daeng Biasa, all of whom were exceptional in behaviour and appearance. When His Majesty their father died, the eldest son, Pajung, succeeded him. He had intended to appoint his two brothers as chief ministers, but they requested time to travel first on a pleasure trip to see the sights in foreign coun-

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46:1

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tries. Their brother agreed, so they both set out. The youngest brother, Opu Daeng Biasa, was appointed Kelana in Java when he joined the Dutch in their attack on Java. The Dutch then appointed him Raja to govern all the Bugis in Batavia and elsewhere, and so he stayed in Batavia. As for Opu Tendriburang Daeng Rilaga, middle brother to Pajung of Luwu, he had five sons, born of the same mother and the same womb. According to one account, Opu Daeng Cellak was of a different mother, a Bugis princess called Datu Puak, and Opu Tendriburang Daeng Rilaga took her on the voyage with him to the western lands. There Daeng Cellak was known as Daeng Pali and in brief, that is how it was.

47:1 The eldest son was Opu Daeng Parani, then came his younger brother Opu Daeng Menambun, his middle brother Opu Daeng Marewah, his second youngest brother Opu Daeng Cellak, and the youngest Opu Daeng Kemasi. These five princes were all of a marriageable age, excepting Opu Daeng Cellak and Opu Daeng Kemasi, who were still very young. However, because their father loved them deeply, they were taken wherever the others went. The five sons were exceptionally good looking, with fine bearing and heroic qualities, but Opu Daeng Cellak was the most handsome, arousing desire— so the story goes—in any woman who saw him.

47:11 According to the story, the moment had come for the wisdom of Allah Almighty to come into effect and work its purpose on His servants. Opu Tendriburang Daeng Rilaga was moved by the desire to visit the state of To Pammana, because the Datu there was no stranger but a close relative.¹ So His Majesty set out for that state, together with his ministers and attendants. When he arrived, he was received by the dignitaries of To Pammana and brought to meet the Datu Perempuan. She received him ceremonially, according to the customs traditional when rulers meet each other, and he was entertained and given a fitting residence. Shortly afterwards the dignitaries of To Pammana reached agreement that the two rulers should be united as man and wife, because the Datu of To Pammana was a woman, young and ready for marriage. The two rulers accepted the wishes of the dignitaries, who formally married them according to the customs traditional at a royal wedding. They loved each other, as is usual for a husband and wife. About a year later
48:1 they had a daughter, who was entitled the Datu of Watu. The dignitaries and all the people in the state agreed that she would succeed her mother, and so the matter was settled.

According to the story, while Opu Tendriburang Daeng Rilaga was in To Pammana, a buffalo herdsman found a piece of iron embedded in the trunk of a *simpur* tree.¹ He extracted it because it was so potent

that buffaloes which had touched it died and their hides peeled off.² The buffalo herdsman brought it to Opu Tendriburang Daeng Rilaga, who ordered that it be fashioned by a smith into a dagger, with a hilt of cat's ivory. A small piece which was left over was made into a pair of cock spurs, and named Taji Kerami.³ So great was their potency that no one in the state of To Panmana would dare engage in a cock fight against a bird wearing the Taji Kerami. Soon afterwards Opu Tendriburang Daeng Rilaga went to Bone, because he had not yet met his relative there.⁴ He was ceremonially received according to the proper customs, and entertained daily with feasts and amusements. On one occasion the Arung of Bone left for Macassar, taking Opu Tendriburang Daeng Rilaga and his five sons with him. When they reached Macassar, the Arung of Bone married a Macassarese princess. Returning to Bone, he set himself up in the meeting house called Rumpai Gading. He gave Opu Tendriburang Daeng Rilaga a kris, called Tanjung Lada, which was worn by his eldest son, Opu Daeng Parani, as he was already mature and astute.

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When the Arung of Bone returned to Bone, he had left Opu Tendriburang Daeng Rilaga in Macassar to watch over his bride until she could be brought to Bone or wherever else he might settle. Then, by the decree of Allah Almighty, the Arung of Bone's bride committed an offence against religious law and tradition by having an affair with a Macassarese prince. Discovering this, Opu Daeng Parani stabbed the prince with his kris, Tanjung Lada, which he had been given by the Arung of Bone. The Macassarese prince died, and the people of Macassar dared not make the affair public. Afterwards Opu Tendriburang Daeng Rilaga and his five sons returned to Bone, where they asked leave of His Majesty the Arung of Bone to embark on a journey to the west.¹ The Arung gave permission, and Opu Tendriburang Daeng Rilaga left for Macassar, sailing then to Java and to Batavia to meet his brother Opu Daeng Biasa. He was accompanied by forty men from noble families, sons of Daengs, as well as commanders and officers. When he met his brother they feasted and enjoyed themselves.

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Soon afterwards he wanted to leave on his travels, and his brother gave him a *penalang*, armed and complete with cargo. He set sail from Batavia for Siantan, and when he arrived he married Opu Daeng Parani to the daughter of Nakhoda Alang, a Macassarese.² They had not been in Siantan long when they set sail for Johor and Malacca, to enjoy themselves and to see the country of the Malays. Then they sailed to Cambodia³ where they were ceremonially received by the king, given a house and entertained and feasted according to the customs traditional among great kings. At that time a Minangkabau prince called Raja Culan was also visiting Cambodia to cockfight, but it is said that no one

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in Cambodia dared challenge his bird because of its magic power. Furthermore, the stake was too high, comprising, it is said, a *keci* and all its contents. Then Opu Tendriburang Daeng Rilaga accepted the challenge and won because of the potency of the spurs called Taji Kerami. Thus Raja Culan's cock was defeated and the Bugis prince Opu Tendriburang Daeng Rilaga, victorious, won the *keci*.¹ He returned to Siantan and when he arrived he had the *keci* converted into a war *penjabab*. On their return from Cambodia, Opu Daeng Parani learned that he had had a son, and gave him the name Daeng Kamboja.² Then followed a daughter, who was called Daeng Khadijah. Daeng Kamboja eventually became the third Yang Dipertuan Muda of Riau, and Daeng Khadijah became the wife of Raja Alam, son of Yang Dipertuan Raja Kecik of Siak. She was the maternal grandmother of Yang Dipertuan Sayid Ali.

According to the story, not long after his return from Cambodia, Opu Tendriburang Daeng Rilaga died, returning to the mercy of Allah Almighty leaving this temporal state for the eternal. *Verily we belong to Allah and to Him we return.*³ His five sons stayed on Siantan Island. There are conflicting accounts as to the location of Opu Tendriburang Daeng Rilaga's grave. According to one account, he was returned to the Bugis lands; *Allah knows the truth.*

As for the five princely brothers, the eldest son, Opu Daeng Parani, took his father's place in caring for his four younger brothers, particularly Opu Daeng Cellak and Opu Daeng Kemasi, whom he disciplined until they reached adulthood. Opu Daeng Parani constructed six cannon-bearing *penjabab*, complete with weapons and manned by Bugis with their forty attendants from noble Bugis families, daring in both battle and hand to hand combat, and devoted to the Opus. There was one commander, To Sakuni,⁴ and two other officers, La Maluk and To J-r-p-a'. When preparations were complete, he discussed his intention of going to Johor and Malacca and travelling in those areas, because he had received an omen as they were leaving the Bugis lands. Opu Daeng Menambun had dreamt that the penis of his brother, Opu Daeng Cellak, had stretched out and become a serpent, whose head reared up towards the west and Johor. It was interpreted as meaning that his descendants would acquire lasting sovereignty in Johor and Riau. When the discussion was concluded, they set out on their journey to the west, seeing the various sights, travelling from one place to another.

To return to the story of Sultan Abd al-Jalil in Johor. For nineteen years his reign was tranquil and prosperous. Then in His profound wisdom, Allah (*may He be praised and exalted*) brought about the following *fateful events and changed circumstances*, through several means. The first of these was Raja Kecik of Siak, who was in Pagar Ruyung,

the adopted child of Puteri Janilan. According to the story, she had cared for Encik Pung's son until he had reached adulthood and had named him Raja Beralih. He asked Puteri Janilan whether he might travel to observe other places, and she had agreed. So Raja Beralih left, joining company with a Minangkabau itinerant trader going to Tambang and to the Kelimun and Batang Hari areas. Then he continued on to Rawas,¹ upriver from Palembang, where he met Sultan Lambayang and offered him his services. Sultan Lambayang made him his betel attendant.²

When Sultan Lambayang quarrelled with his brother Sultan Anum and with his uncle Sultan Agung, he left and sailed to Johor, taking Tuan Bujang with him as betel attendant.³ Arriving in Johor, Sultan Lambayang was honoured by Sultan Abd al-Jalil and feasted according to the customs traditional when kings meet. One day Sultan Lambayang was presenting himself before Sultan Abd al-Jalil in the audience hall when, without restraining himself, he broke wind, and said, 'We Palembang men are not embarrassed to break wind, because the gas has to escape'. Sultan Abd al-Jalil just smiled. Two or three days later, Sultan Lambayang asked Sultan Abd al-Jalil for the hand of one of his daughters, but Sultan Abd al-Jalil refused to give his consent. So Sultan Lambayang set sail from Johor, calling in at Siantan, where he married Yang Mariam, the daughter of a Lord Haji. It was there that Tuan Bujang was circumcised. Shortly afterwards, Sultan Lambayang left for Bangka Kota and stayed there, intending to launch an attack on Palembang. He began preparations, laying plans and soliciting support.

According to the story, it was at this time that the Bugis princes left Siantan and sailed to Bangka Kota. Here they became friendly and on familiar terms with Sultan Lambayang, who requested their aid to attack Palembang. He also requested aid from the Dutch, who did give him assistance, and Palembang was defeated. Sultan Anum was banished to Belidah.¹ As for the five Bugis brothers, one of them, Opu Daeng Marewah, who was entitled Kelana Jaya Putera, set out to travel. According to some accounts, he obtained the title Kelana Jaya Putera in Java, because, it is said, he had helped the Dutch to attack Pariman.²

As for Tuan Bujang, after Sultan Lambayang was installed as king, he asked leave of Sultan Lambayang to return to Pagar Ruyung. Journeying to Rawas, he married the daughter of the Dipati of Batu Kucing, and had a son whom he named Raja Rabb al-Alam. After this he left and went to Jambi, where he offered his services to the Sultan of Jambi, Sultan Maharaja. The latter was at war with another king, and so Tuan Bujang joined the fighting, but was wounded in the thigh. When he recovered, he returned to Pagar Ruyung and was received by Yamtuan

Sakti and Puteri Janilan, who bestowed on him the name Yamtuan Raja Kecik. According to some sources, he was tested, the royal drum was beaten, and he was ordered to stand against a pillar made of stinging nettles, wearing the crown. It is said that he came through unscathed. Then, it is said, he was given a sword of state, named Sapu Rajab, together with a seal giving him authority to govern the Minangkabau of Pasisir Laut.¹

53:11 Equipped with this authority and the insignia, he left Pagar Ruyung and went down to Siak, to Bukit Batu, not yet revealing his authority, identity, or the seal given to him by Yamtuan Sakti. He set himself up as a trader, buying and selling *terubuk* roe.² Once he infringed the harbour regulations at Bukit Batu and was fined 20 reals, which filled him with resentment. Operating on borrowed capital, he worked Nakhoda Penangkuk's boat, plying to and from Malacca. When he had finished with this enterprise, he went to Bengkalis and only then did he reveal his identity, authority, and seal. All the Minangkabau of Bengkalis followed him.³ Next he went to Batu Bahara and governed it. It soon became widely known that he had become a king, and he built fortifications and appointed dignitaries, ministers, and military officers. Then he prepared a war fleet of *penjajab*. In the midst of these preparations for battle, the five princely Bugis brothers reached Bengkalis on their travels, and met Raja Kecik. He invited them to attack Johor, and they considered it, but felt it would not have been right. They were therefore unwilling, and to evade the issue they went to Langat, to confer with the Bugis there. There was thus no co-operation between them.¹

54:1

When Raja Kecik's fleet was ready, he sent a messenger to the Johor estuary and to Singapore, one of his ministers who was an expert in cajolery and deception. He was to gain the confidence of the sea-people there with sweet words, announcing that here was the true son of the Ruler who died being borne aloft. Now he would be coming to Johor to claim his inheritance and become king. Those who would not follow him would be struck down by the sovereign power of the Ruler who died being borne aloft, and even their descendants would not be safe. But Raja Kecik, the son of the Ruler who died being borne aloft, would reward those who joined him, for he had come with bolts of excellent cloth as gifts for the local headmen and chiefs, as well as for the Raja Negara. According to the story, when the sea-people had listened to the words of Raja Kecik's messenger, they were willing to support Raja Kecik. They responded, 'Let Raja Kecik come to Johor; we will all go with him'.² Next the messenger went to the Laksamana, Encik Pung's father, taking a letter from Raja Kecik, and the Laksamana too was willing to desert.³

54:11

When the conspiracy had been set in motion, Raja Kecik came with several vessels to attack Johor, and the Johor sea-people did not warn the capital or His Majesty,⁴ so the vessels took Johor unawares. The population within the capital panicked, saying, 'An enemy is attacking!' The Yang Dipertuan Muda was informed, but paid no attention, as he was engrossed in a chess game. Several times he was respectfully approached, but he still took no notice. Raja Kecik and the Minangkabau reached Pangkalan Rama⁵ and took the pier, while his fighting men, officers and ministers fired their matchlocks and muskets. The Johor people resisted, fighting wherever they could, and the killing went on for days. Many Johor people deserted to the Minangkabau, because the Laksamana, their commander, had already done so. The Raja Muda ran amuck,¹ killing his wives, and then emerged fighting recklessly because, he reasoned, it would be better for his wives to die rather than be taken as secondary wives by the Minangkabau. He fought wildly, hurling himself at Raja Kecik's men, engaging them in a running battle until they reached a place called Kayu Anak.² There the Yang Dipertuan Muda was killed in the confusion of a furious attack.

55:1

After the Yang Dipertuan Muda's death, Johor was defeated.³ His Majesty Sultan Abd al-Jalil remained, but he left his fort to go to a village elsewhere. There he conferred about whether he should make an attack or surrender. The ministers advised the latter, so Sultan Abd al-Jalil went unarmed to Raja Kecik and surrendered. Raja Kecik took no action against Sultan Abd al-Jalil, but treated him well, saying, 'I wish to appoint you as Bendahara again'.⁴

55:11

Soon afterwards Raja Kecik was betrothed to Sultan Abd al-Jalil's daughter, Tengku Tengah. But when Sultan Abd al-Jalil came with his sons to pay his respects to Raja Kecik on Hari Raya,⁵ he took along one of his daughters, Tengku Kamariah, as well. Raja Kecik, catching a glimpse of her beauty, desired her. After Sultan Abd al-Jalil had left, he asked for the hand of Tengku Kamariah, and his engagement with Tengku Tengah was broken. Needless to say, Sultan Abd al-Jalil could do nothing, because he had been vanquished. Tengku Kamariah was married to Raja Kecik according to the customs traditional at a royal wedding, and that was the situation. Raja Kecik stayed in Johor, and at that time it was just as though the state had two kings.

56:1

To return to the story of the Bugis princes who were going to Langat. When they arrived they conferred with all the Bugis there¹ about making preparations for war. But it was still not certain whom they would help, since they wanted to assist whoever was in the right. At this point they heard that Sultan Abd al-Jalil of Johor was already at war with Raja Kecik, so they immediately went to Johor with their fleet and

commanders, officers and attendants. They arrived to find Johor had already been defeated, and Raja Kecil had become Sultan Abd al-Jalil's son-in-law. They were amazed and said, 'How could such a great state fall so easily?' They met Raja Kecil, and he entertained them according to the customs traditional at royal entertainments.² Later they returned to their *perahu*. His Majesty, Sultan Abd al-Jalil, his Bendahara, and his son Raja Sulaiman lived in grief and anguish, humiliated by Raja Kecil as well as by the announcement that His Majesty would be demoted to his former position of Bendahara. This inflamed the hearts of his children, and when Raja Abd al-Jalil's sons were made to bear the betel equipment on ceremonial days, their resentment against Raja Kecil was greater than ever. This applied particularly to Raja Sulaiman, who was young and impulsive. He conferred with his sister Tengku Tengah about marrying her to the Bugis prince Opu Daeng Parani. By this means he hoped to find some way of avenging their humiliation. Tengku Tengah agreed to become the Opu's wife. The Siak Chronicle mentions¹ that it was Tengku Tengah who was intent on avenging their humiliation, and it was she who conferred with Raja Sulaiman.² Then they invited the Opu to dine, and afterwards Tengku Tengah stood at the entrance to the guests gallery, opened the screen and threw down her ear stud, saying, 'Oh, Bugis princes, if you are truly brave, avenge the shame of our family! When that is done, I shall willingly be your slave, and even if you ordered me to cook your rice, I would do it'.

When Opu Daeng Parani heard her words, he replied, 'Allah willing, I will do my utmost to help, and I will avenge your shame and that of every single member of your family'. Then Raja Sulaiman promised the Opu that if they succeeded in their purpose, one of them would be appointed Yang Dipertuan Muda, and the office would pass to his descendants. When this was agreed, Raja Sulaiman presented himself before his royal father to convey to him their intentions, and his father approved the decision. Then Raja Sulaiman married his sister, Tengku Tengah, to Opu Daeng Parani, following the customs traditional at a royal wedding. And he and Tengku Tengah loved each other, as is customary between man and wife; that was the situation.

Raja Kecil was uneasy and distrustful of the Bugis as long as they remained in Johor. After his marriage, Opu Daeng Parani asked his father-in-law Sultan Abd al-Jalil if he could now go briefly to Siantan to see his children.³ Should there be any trouble, they had only to send him a message and he would come. Sultan Abd al-Jalil gave his permission, so Opu Daeng Parani left Johor and sailed to Siantan. Here he remained, preparing a war fleet consisting of seven large *perahu* equipped with cannon; he assembled his Bugis men and organized his attendants

and their leaders, as well as his commanders and officers. And thus I conclude.

Let us now turn to the story of the kings of Matan, that is, to Pangeran Agung, who was a son of Sultan Muhammad Safi al-Din. When this Sultan Muhammad Safi al-Din died, he was succeeded by his eldest son, who was entitled Sultan Muhammad Zain al-Din.¹ His brother, Pangeran Agung, was extremely desirous of becoming King of Matan. He could not refrain from the pleasures of this world and so when the conditions were favourable and he had the power, he seized his brother's kingdom, attacking the royal compound at night. Sultan Muhammad Zain al-Din was defeated and left the capital with his family, going with them to Banjar. He requested aid from the Sultan of Banjar to regain his kingdom from his younger brother, Pangeran Agung. The Sultan of Banjar agreed to help, and summoned the people of Banjar, Sampit, Mendawai, and Kota Ringin.² Leaving his family at Banjar, Sultan Muhammad Zain al-Din set out to attack Matan, accompanied by one of the King of Banjar's military captains called Panglima Pantas. On their arrival they went to war, but by the decree of Allah (*may He be praised and exalted*) Panglima Pantas was killed in the battle. When the men of Mendawai, Sampit, and Kota Ringin saw that their leader was dead, they all fled, leaving Sultan Muhammad Zain al-Din trapped in Matan. Sultan Muhammad Zain al-Din entered the mosque and bolted the door, so Sultan Agung sent several of his officers to guard it. Thus Sultan Muhammad Zain al-Din was locked up in the mosque at Matan. However, before he had become trapped, he had managed to get a messenger out with a letter to the five Opus in Siantan. After the messenger had left, Sultan Muhammad Zain al-Din shut himself up in the mosque. Soon afterwards the messenger reached Siantan.

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59:1

According to the story, when the messenger arrived, he went ashore and presented himself before Opu Daeng Parani, respectfully offering Sultan Muhammad Zain al-Din's letter to him, as the eldest of the Opus. When Opu Daeng Parani had read the letter, he conferred with his brothers, commanders, and officers about whether they should help Sultan Muhammad Zain al-Din. They were unanimous in their agreement to go. When the time was right they set out for Matan with six *perahu*. On their arrival they went to meet Pangeran Agung to ask him to forgive and pardon his brother and encourage him to find a suitable way of administering his state and of consulting with his people. But Pangeran Agung would not accept their views, and so the Opus went to the mosque, took Sultan Muhammad Zain al-Din, and brought him to Pangeran Agung. The latter was furious with the Opus, and ordered that the gates of the fort be bolted and that the Opus be driven out of Matan

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that very day. The Opus left and sailed to Banjar to find the Sultan of Banjar, because they wanted to fetch Sultan Muhammad Zain al-Din's family.

Now Pangeran Agung had taken as sons-in-law a Bugis prince named Daeng Mattekuh,¹ as well as a certain Haji Hafiz, whom he expected to act as his officers. When the Opus had met the Sultan of Banjar, they sailed back, bringing Sultan Muhammad Zain al-Din and his wives and children with them to Matan. When they arrived, they stopped at the estuary of the Kandang Kerbau River,² where they built some huts and gathered around them any Matan people in the vicinity. Sultan Muhammad Zain al-Din married Opu Daeng Menambun to his daughter, Puteri Kesumba.

60:1 After the wedding Sultan Muhammad Zain al-Din requested that they attack Pangeran Agung, so the Opus went upstream with this intention. Receiving news of this, Pangeran Agung ordered his sons-in-law, Daeng Mattekuh and Haji Hafiz, to resist the Opus by opposing them in battle or in single combat. When Daeng Mattekuh and Haji Hafiz encountered the Opus, they prevented them from entering the Ratu Agung's palace compound. The Opus were angry, and challenged Daeng Mattekuh to single combat. Haji Hafiz, however, advised him, 'Don't stand up to these Opus, because they are great princes and Bugis people like us'. Daeng Mattekuh followed the Haji's advice and, taking one of the Opu's *perahu*, he left Matan and sailed westwards to Siak carrying with him a brass cannon called 'Kedah'. After Daeng Mattekuh had gone, the five princely brothers gained entry to Pangeran Agung's palace compound, 60:11 captured him, and took him to the Kandang Kerbau River, where he was handed over to his brother Sultan Muhammad Zain al-Din. The latter was extremely pleased, and very grateful. Pangeran Agung was imprisoned in a small fort which was nailed up from the outside. Thirty women were put in with him and several officers were posted on guard outside the fort until Pangeran Agung should die. Eventually, he had the thirty women as secondary wives, and that is the reason why Pangeran Agung had so many children. When everything had been concluded, Sultan Muhammad Zain al-Din became King of Matan, and presented Mempawah¹ and its subject territories to the Opus. However, they asked whether they might first return to the west so that the married ones might visit their wives and children. Sultan Muhammad Zain al-Din remained in Matan.

61:1 To return to the story of Sultan Abd al-Jalil in Johor. After the Opus had left Johor, there were many slanderous rumours circulating because in effect the state had two kings. The people were divided, some siding with Raja Kecil, others siding with Sultan Abd al-Jalil. Every day the

rumours grew worse, eventually raging like a fire that blazes out of control. The flames spread when, because of the three conflicting accounts just mentioned, people said that Raja Kecil was not definitely the son of the Ruler who died being borne aloft. When news of this reached Raja Kecil he was furious, but managed to control himself. Tengku Tengah was influenced by the rumours, and liked Raja Kecil even less. When Tengku Kamariah heard, she hated him and would not see to his food and drink. In these circumstances, Tengku Tengah came to Raja Kecil's palace and removed Tengku Kamariah, taking her home while Raja Kecil was praying. The reader knows what women will do; when they are angry or full of hatred they act rashly, heedless of the consequences.

61:11

Then Raja Kecil was indeed angered, and sent people to bring his wife back, but Tengku Tengah would not give her up and a quarrel developed. Raja Kecil went to attack Sultan Abd al-Jalil, who built a stockade at Seluyut. Thus once again war broke out between the Minangkabau and Johor. After some fighting, the stockade at Seluyut fell to a fierce attack by Raja Kecil, and Sultan Abd al-Jalil retreated to Trengganu.¹ Several of the Johor princes moved to Malacca.²

When he had been in Trengganu for about three years, Sultan Abd al-Jalil left and made a settlement at the Pahang estuary.³ The Raja Indera Bungsu moved there from Malacca bringing with him the other princes who had gone to Malacca.⁴ After Sultan Abd al-Jalil had left Johor, Raja Kecil announced to his ministers, 'This land is cursed; we shall move to Riau'. They moved to Riau⁵ and there built a palace decorated with gold mace flowers. Raja Kecil ruled over Riau and some of the sea-people; the others were ruled by Sultan Abd al-Jalil. There was great confusion in the kingdom of Johor at that time, and much uncertainty.

62:1

According to the story, when Raja Kecil heard that Sultan Abd al-Jalil had settled at the estuary of the Pahang River, he sent off several war ships under the command of Laksamana Nakhoda Sekam with orders to invite Sultan Abd al-Jalil to return to Riau.¹ Should he refuse, the Laksamana was to do battle with him. Nakhoda Sekam and his force set out, and when he reached the Pahang estuary, he had Raja Kecil's orders conveyed to Sultan Abd al-Jalil. The latter refused to comply, and so a battle broke out. Nakhoda Sekam launched an attack on the Pahang estuary, and in a few days it was defeated. However, he did not dare take any action against Sultan Abd al-Jalil. He presented himself before Sultan Abd al-Jalil and respectfully said, 'Forgive me, my Lord, I beg you to return to Riau, because Raja Kecil, who is like your royal son, ordered me to invite you back. In my humble opinion it

62:11

would be best to go to Riau because then no one could come between my Lord and his royal son. Allow me to make ready two *gurab* to accommodate Your Highness and your family'. Sultan Abd al-Jalil replied, 'If it is your opinion, Laksamana, that we should return to Riau, then we shall return'. Then Sultan Abd al-Jalil went aboard the bigger *gurab*, with all the royal children—two sons, Raja Sulaiman and Raja Abd al-Rahman, and his daughters, Tengku Tengah, Tengku Kamariah (whom he had brought with him when he left Johor) and Tengku Mandak. The children of the Ruler who died at Kayu Anak, one boy and seven girls, were also there. His Majesty made preparations for the voyage to Riau, while in the other *gurab* Tun Narawangsa, also a royal son, did likewise. According to the story, while this was happening another messenger, Mas Raden, arrived from Raja Kecik with a letter for Laksamana Nakhoda Sekam. It read: 'Do not bring Sultan Abd al-Jalil back to Riau: kill him at once—we want him dead'. After Nakhoda Sekam had heard Raja Kecik's letter, he silently considered it, because those were not his original orders. He was shocked and did not wish to act on them, yet he was afraid of doing wrong because the letter bore the royal seal. After thinking it out, he sent four captains in chain-mail and several other men to attack His Majesty's vessel. At the very time that the Minangkabau made their attack, His Majesty was praying on his mat. He had just completed the dawn prayer and was reciting sections of the Koran,¹ when the Minangkabau captains boarded. His Majesty's attendants thought the captains had actually come to seek an audience and so they disregarded them. But a moment later the Minangkabau struck at His Majesty's head with machetes. He was taken by surprise, but then seized one of the captain's swords and fought back fiercely. The Siak Chronicle mentions that His Majesty killed eight of the captains before he collapsed and died.²

When Tengku Tengah heard that her father was dead, she came on deck with a sword and hacked at the remaining Minangkabau. Laksamana Nakhoda Sekam screamed to the Minangkabau, 'Do not harm her, or His Majesty Raja Kecik will have you all killed and will confiscate your property and families'. When the Minangkabau heard him, they jumped overboard into the sea. The princesses who had remained inside the cabin of the *gurab* came out and embraced Tengku Tengah and Raja Sulaiman, taking them below again. Later Laksamana Nakhoda Sekam presented himself before the princesses and, weeping, asked permission to bathe His Majesty's body and bury it. Then he was buried at the Pahang estuary at Kandang Bay, which is well known even now, and his posthumous name was the Ruler who died at the Pahang estuary.¹

After Laksamana Nakhoda Sekam had buried the late king, he sailed

to Riau bringing all the royal children to Raja Kecik. When they berthed at Riau, Raja Kecik came aboard the *gurab* to fetch his wife and all the princes and princesses. He took them ashore and saw that they were cared for as befitted them, and were given a palace. The princes and princesses passed their days in sorrow because of the death of His Majesty Sultan Abd al-Jalil.

Raja Sulaiman could not be content; it was as though his heart burned, day after day. His thoughts dwelt continuously on the Bugis princes, and when he could contain himself no longer he conferred with the Datuk Bendahara² about composing a letter to the five Bugis brothers. When it was completed they ordered a trustworthy page to take it to the Opus, wherever they were. The messenger received word that the Opus were in Matan, so he set sail. When he reached Matan, he met the Opus and respectfully gave Raja Sulaiman's letter to Opu Daeng Parani. When the latter had heard the letter from Raja Sulaiman, excitement flared within him, like a fire blazing. He showed it to Kelana Jaya Putera and his other brothers, and they all leapt up, unsheathed their krises, swore allegiance on their weapons, and performed a Bugis dance of loyalty.³ Then Kelana Jaya Putera said, 'May I never again set foot on Bugis soil until I have restored Riau and its subject territories to Sultan Sulaiman, else may I die!'

64:11

It is said that when they had finished declaring their allegiance, they sacrificed a buffalo and smeared their weapons with blood⁴ because that was the Bugis custom, that is, they made obeisance to their weapons. Then the brothers conferred with their commanders and ministers, that is, Daeng Ménampuk,⁵ Daeng Massuro,⁶ and Daeng Mangngatuk. Opu Daeng Parani appointed his brother Opu Daeng Marewah, entitled Kelana Jaya Putera, as commander-in-chief to be like a ruler in the battle. Opu Daeng Cellak would be the chief captain, and Opu Daeng Menambun and Opu Daeng Kemasi would be the captains of the left and right. The Raja Tua was appointed senior officer to be a source of advice for all the princes. Daeng Massuro and Daeng Ménampuk were in charge of the Bugis officers. When the battle order had been determined, they set sail for Riau with a fleet consisting of seven large vessels, a *keci* which had been converted to a *penjajab*, and several Bugis vessels, like *pintak* and *kura-kura*, as well as a number of small *sampan*. There were about 1,000 Bugis men and their attendants, descendants of the noble Forty, under two leaders, firstly Indera Guru¹ La Maluku, and secondly Indera Guru To J-r-p-a'.

65:1

65:11

They soon reached Riau, where they stopped at the island of Pengujan,² drew up their battle lines, and organized their war fleet. When all was ready, they sent a messenger up the Riau River³ to order Raja

Kecik to come out and do battle if he was really a man, rather than fight within the city and endanger the inhabitants.⁴ The arrival of the messenger caused an uproar in Riau, for it was said that the Bugis princes had come to attack. Raja Kecik prepared several vessels, and commanded the people of Riau to guard their city. He then embarked with his fleet, accompanied by large gongs, drums, flutes, and signal gongs. At Pengujan⁵ they started firing, and the noise of the cannon exchanges was deafening, with clouds of smoke billowing into the air. During the fighting the Bugis transferred to *sampan*, with their rifles and muskets. Then they intercepted the Minangkabau *perahu* amidships and closed in. 66:1 The Minangkabau were unable to resist because they no longer had time to load the cannon, and many were killed. After about a day and a night Raja Kecik's fleet disengaged battle and scattered, fleeing in disarray under the pressure of the close range of the Bugis rifles and muskets. They drifted in disorder, offering resistance as they fled. The Bugis pursued them, firing with cannon, swivel guns, and muskets. Raja Kecik's fleet withdrew to the island of Bayan and those that sank were left drifting in the sea. At Bayan¹ Raja Kecik went ashore, because he already had fortifications there, and all his *perahu* encircled the island, with some of the men putting ashore.

When the Opus saw what was happening, they divided their forces. One section was to land, seize Tanjung Pinang, and erect a stockade there to fire on Bayan, while the other was to row up the Riau River, 66:11 regardless of any firing from Bayan Island. When they were up the river, they were to turn their bows downstream to attack the *perahu* at Bayan. These were the Opus' orders, and the Bugis did as they were commanded.²

According to the story, Raja Kecik's fleet was outmanoeuvred; nevertheless, he again ordered his men back to their *perahu* to resist any Bugis vessels which approached. When the Bugis saw there was no one on Bayan Island because the Minangkabau had boarded their *perahu*, they tried to take it. There was a fierce battle, and the people on Bayan leapt into the sea. Raja Kecik embarked to go upstream, but was fired on by the Bugis *perahu* which were positioned upriver, with their bows facing the estuary. Raja Kecik was thus prevented from going upstream, and he then approached Ungkat Point, intending to land there. Some of his men who attempted to flee upriver jumped aboard their *perahu* when they were intercepted by the Bugis on the shore firing muskets and rifles.

67:1 Raja Kecik's vessel retreated to Penyengat Island, leaving his men and their captains stranded on the shore because they were unable to embark. Then it began to pour with rain, causing great confusion.¹ The

Minangkabau fought fiercely with the Bugis on land, the Minangkabau with swords and the Bugis in chain-mail, with muskets, spears and lances. The Minangkabau fled to the shore, and when the Bugis saw them there they beached their *perahu* and landed. All the Minangkabau were annihilated and some were beheaded. Thus Bayan Island was taken in an offensive launched by the Bugis from Tanjung Pinang. Then the Opu embarked in their *gurab* to pursue Raja Kecik who had fled to Penyengat Island. When Raja Kecik saw the Bugis *perahu* heading for Penyengat, he hoisted sail, and with his men rowing, made towards Lingga. Then the Bugis set up a great shout, for the Malay prince from Minangkabau had been defeated in battle by the Bugis prince Kelana Jaya Putera. Riau was in a great uproar, with people saying the Minangkabau had all been killed, that Raja Kecik had fled to Lingga and that Riau was now in the hands of the Bugis. Many Minangkabau Malays were taken prisoner by the Bugis, whoever had supported Raja Kecik, the only exceptions being those in Raja Kecik's palace. The battle had lasted two days in the hijra year 1134.²

67:11

After the battle the Opu went upstream to meet Raja Sulaiman and the Datuk Bendahara, and Opu Daeng Parani went ashore to the residence of his wife Tengku Tengah. The Opu conferred with Raja Sulaiman and the Datuk Bendahara about future encounters with Raja Kecik. Opu Kelana Jaya Putera asked leave of Sultan Sulaiman to go to the Bugis in Selangor and Langat and seek their support.³ At that time a large number of Bugis traders had settled in Selangor and Langat, because the proximity to Malacca made round trips easier, and many of them became rich. When the Opu arrived in Selangor and Langat, the Bugis there greeted them with honour, because they were aware that the Opu were sons of a great ruler, and their leaders. Besides, although they had brought with them their warriors, ministers, commanders, officers, attendants, and fighting men, the Opu had not come to cause trouble, but rather for a visit. All the Bugis in Selangor and Langat hoped that the Opu would achieve fame and a position in the lands of the west which would last for generations. Because this was their view, they immediately helped the Opu as best they could with either money or weapons or men. And this was the reason that the Opu had wished to come to Selangor first, to build up their resources for battle, because they reasoned that the war with Raja Kecik would be prolonged.

68:1

According to the story, when Raja Sulaiman had listened to the Opu's advice he approved, and himself wished to go to Pahang to solicit funds and equipment from Bendahara Pekuk there.¹ After the conference both parties set out, the Opu sailing to Selangor and Raja Sulaiman to Pahang, leaving only the old people in Riau. The Opu had given

68:11

orders to some of the Bugis to pursue Raja Kecik when he fled to Lingga, so a force of three groups left Riau, each sailing with its purpose.

69:1 When the Opus had reached Selangor, they had thirty *gurab* constructed as war *perahu* and outfitted them with firearms and ammunition. When Raja Sulaiman reached Pahang, he was assisted by the Bendahara there with finance and ships. The Bugis pursuing Raja Kecik to Lingga caught up with him and engaged him in battle. Raja Kecik was defeated but escaped from Lingga, using the straits and channels where the Bugis were unable to follow further, because as yet they had no knowledge of the straits on the Lingga side.² The Bugis conferred together and then set out to find the Opus in Selangor and tell them that they had lost Raja Kecik because they had no knowledge of the straits.

69:11 In fact, Raja Kecik was making for Riau, but on the way he had come across three merchant Bugis *pedewakan*. With several of his war vessels, Raja Kecik fired on the *pedewakan* and defeated all three, ransacking their cargo. The Siak Chronicle¹ records that capital worth thousands was tied up in those three vessels. Then Raja Kecik entered Riau and treated the people there well, because he hoped that they would side with him. He fortified Riau, constructing stockades in suitable places and deploying his war *penjabab* in areas where he feared the enemy might attack. And that was the situation, day after day. Life for the Bendahara's supporters and the people of Riau was very difficult.²

To return to the story of Opu Kelana Jaya Putera, Opu Daeng Parani, Opu Daeng Cellak and all the others in Selangor who were preparing their war fleet. They had about thirty *gurab* equipped with cannon and ammunition, as well as several scores of guns, muskets, and rifles. They were ready, only waiting for a conference to decide on the correct course of action amongst themselves, and their relatives, their officers, and ministers.

70:1 According to the story,³ it is said that at the estuary of the Linggi River some Selangor Bugis were in the process of setting their fish traps when a messenger arrived from the chief of Linggi requesting a percentage of their catch. The Bugis retorted, 'No toll is ever taken any day at this spot, because our business is not in Linggi. Ocean fish are our living, wherever they may be, if they go into our traps; if they don't, they are free'. The messenger returned to report to his chief. The chief of Linggi was furious and said, 'Those Bugis are really arrogant.' Then he sent several of his attendants to use force to take the Bugis prisoner. The Bugis resisted and fighting broke out with stabbings on both sides. The messengers withdrew to request help from their chief. After they had gone, the Bugis returned to Selangor. The messengers of the chief of Linggi, reinforced by some of their friends, returned to the estuary.

They saw that the Bugis had gone but that their traps were still there, so they took them and brought them to the chief. He ordered that the traps be chopped to pieces and sent to Kelana Jaya Putera and his brothers in Selangor.

When the chief of Linggi's messenger reached the Opus with the fragments of fish trap, they were angered by the arrogance of the Linggi chief. After his messenger returned, the chief of Linggi organized his followers to erect two or three stockades because at that time, so the story is told, Linggi was under the rule of Raja Kecik. Kelana Jaya Putera, his brothers the Opus, and their ministers and officers left for Linggi with their fleet. They entered the Linggi River and orders were given to attack the stockades, and one was soon taken with ease. When the chief of Linggi saw what had happened, he said to his followers, 'This is not something we can deal with. We should sue for a temporary truce with the Bugis and then inform our king, Raja Kecik. If we ourselves put up a fight as we have to-day, all going well, we might win, but if we lost it would be our own responsibility.' The chief's followers agreed with him so he sent a messenger asking the Opus for a truce so that Raja Kecik in Riau could be informed. When the Opus had heard the chief of Linggi's request, they laughed and said, 'Go quickly and summon your lord Raja Kecik'. So the chief of Linggi sent a letter to Raja Kecik in Riau asking for his assistance. 'If you do not come at once, we will be subjugated by the Bugis.'

When he heard this letter Raja Kecik immediately prepared his fleet to leave and attack Linggi. As soon as he arrived he engaged the Bugis prince (that is, Opu Kelana Jaya Putera) in battle. During the course of the battle, Raja Kecik had his men make their *sampan* ready in case the Bugis intercepted them amidships. However, Raja Kecik's *perahu* all ran aground with their bows facing the Bugis *perahu*. The Bugis cast off from their *perahu* in their *sampan* and when Raja Kecik's *sampan* approached, the Bugis attacked them. Then the Bugis *sampan* slowly retreated, pursued by the Minangkabau, who thought the Bugis were yielding. When the Bugis *sampan* were alongside their big *perahu*, they took cover behind them, and because they were not aground the big Bugis *perahu* were able to bear down on the Minangkabau *sampan*. The big *perahu* fired cannon, swivel guns, and grape shot, and many of Raja Kecik's *sampan* were destroyed, because they were fighting cannon with rifles. When Raja Kecik's larger *perahu* saw their *sampan* battling against the big Bugis *perahu* they fired their cannon, but they hit their own comrades who were right in the middle. Raja Kecik's *sampan* were all lost, and many of his captains and men were killed. Thus Raja Kecik was worsted in that day's fighting.

On another occasion, Kelana Jaya Putera divided his forces in battle. Twenty of his *gurab* retreated downstream to the estuary as though they were yielding and kept it up until almost nightfall. Another ten were also divided, six vessels launching an attack on the Linggi stockade while the other four lay in wait until it was dark. Some of the Opus were with the group of twenty *gurab* (that is, Opu Kelana Jaya Putera, Opu Daeng Parani, Opu Daeng Cellak, Opu Daeng Menambun and Opu Daeng Menampuk) and some were waiting for Raja Kecik to follow the boats to the estuary. Raja Kecik engaged battle with the twenty *gurab*, who continued their tactics of retreating until dark. Then those *gurab* slipped out of the estuary and sailed to Riau. The remaining Bugis *perahu* attacked the Linggi stockade and took it, because Raja Kecik had already embarked in his *perahu*. Under cover of darkness the group of ten Bugis *gurab* proceeded downstream to the estuary to attack Raja Kecik from the rear. When Raja Kecik heard the firing, he immediately tried to reverse his *perahu*, but was caught in the fire of the ten *gurab* behind him. Raja Kecik's fleet suffered badly, trapped also by the Linggi stockade which had them under fire because it was held by the Bugis.

72:11 Raja Kecik panicked, thinking that the chief of Linggi had deserted him and had gone over to the Bugis, so he rowed to the estuary, under continual fire from the Bugis behind him. The Bugis shouted to him, 'Our lords the Opus have already taken Riau!' When Raja Kecik heard this he left Linggi and headed for the open sea, under sail and with oarsmen. Once there, he conferred with his principal chiefs, saying, 'Should we follow the Opus to Riau, or would it be better to return to Siak and solicit more support?' His ministers replied, 'If you go to Riau, my Lord the Opus are certain to be there already, and if you attack them and they feel pressed, they will certainly attack your wife and family, my Lord. What use would our victory be then, if our families were lost? One further point, the Opus are sure to have arranged with your royal brother-in-law Raja Sulaiman to increase their strength and add to the fleet. Bendahara Pekuk will be sure to aid Raja Sulaiman because the two are related. Could we stand up to such a combined fleet? We were harassed at times by just one Bugis force; how much worse would it be against two?'

73:1 According to the story, after Raja Kecik had listened to the chief's reasoned submission, he agreed, and set sail for Siak. When he reached Bukit Batu the harbour master there fled to Ketapung Kanan,¹ because he was afraid that Raja Kecik had come to avenge the fine of twenty reals levied on him when he had been a ship's captain sailing to Malacca.² Raja Kecik entered Siak and built a settlement and stockade Buantan.³ He deployed his *penjabab* against an attack by the Op

According to some sources, Raja Kecik sent several vessels to make a reconnaissance around Riau.

At that time the Opus had already organized their forty attendants, all of noble birth, and had given each of them a *sampan*, with drums and signal gongs, and orders to light beacons and patrol the sea at night from Lobam to Terkulai and from Terkulai to Penyengat.⁴ When Raja Kecik's messengers saw what was being done, they returned to Siak again to inform Raja Kecik that the seas around Riau were swarming with about forty *penjajab*. Hearing this news, Raja Kecik fell silent.

73:11

According to the story, the Opus' forty Bugis attendants were all of the Daeng class and Bugis nobles. The majority of the descendants of locally born Bugis in Selangor and Riau are derived from these forty Bugis. When the Opus reached Riau, they met Raja Sulaiman in Riau waters with several vessels, and then entered Riau together. Thus, for the second time, Riau was taken by the Bugis, that is, by Opu Daeng Kelana Jaya Putera.⁵

When the chief of Linggi saw that Raja Kecik's fleet had left for Siak, he capitulated to the Bugis, and Linggi fell into the hands of the Opus. The chief of Linggi swore his allegiance to the Bugis princes and promised that he would never commit treason against the Opus or betray them in the future. That is what the old people say. It was apparently about this war that the people of Riau made a *pantun*:

74:1

Catfish and snapper
*Ketiau*¹ oil on the end of the fish trap pole
 You may go home Raja Kecik
 Linggi has surrendered and Riau is defeated.

There is another version:

The *sembilang*² fish feed in all directions
 The boy prowls round with the fish trap pole
 You may go home Raja Kecik
 Linggi has surrendered and Riau is defeated.

When Their Majesties, that is, Raja Sulaiman and the Opus, Daeng Parani, Kelana Jaya Putera and his brothers, had greeted each other, they came into Riau for consultations concerning their plan to install Raja Sulaiman as King of Johor and its subject territories. They conferred with the Bendahara, Temenggung, and Indera Bungsu, but there remained one obstacle—the Johor regalia, which consisted of a betel set, sword of state, and other things, like the *lela majnun*,³ the long kris, and more besides. All these had fallen into Raja Kecik's hands earlier, at

74:11

75:1 the time of his installation in Riau. The Opus and their relatives then discussed how they could retrieve the regalia from Raja Kecik in Siak. After the discussions, Kelana Jaya Putera and his brothers set out for Siak with several vessels. When they reached Siak they sailed upriver to Buntan and from there sent a message to Raja Kecik requesting the regalia. However, Raja Kecik did not wish to return it. This angered Opu Kelana Jaya Putera, and he launched an attack on Siak and there was heavy fighting between Minangkabau and Bugis.

75:11 The Bugis who traded in Siak sided with Kelana Jaya Putera, increasing the intensity of the battle on both sides. Soon afterwards Buntan was defeated. Raja Kecik escaped with his men upriver, and was pursued by the Bugis to a place called Sinapalan.¹ There Raja Kecik landed, followed by the Bugis, and fierce fighting broke out. Raja Kecik was surrounded and on the point of defeat, when he sued for peace and returned all the regalia of Raja Sulaiman.² According to the story, after Raja Kecik had returned the Johor regalia, Kelana Jaya Putera and his brothers the Opus returned to Riau. On their arrival, they were greeted by Raja Sulaiman, together with all the dignitaries, that is, the Temenggung and the Bendahara, who received them with considerable ceremony, and the chest containing the regalia was carried in procession to the audience hall and then deposited in Raja Sulaiman's palace.

76:1 Not long afterwards, Kelana Jaya Putera, his brothers Daeng Parani, Opu Daeng Cellak and Daeng Menampuk wanted to install Raja Sulaiman as successor to his father, Sultan Abd al-Jalil who died at the Pahang estuary. Then Raja Sulaiman was installed with the title Sultan Sulaiman Badr al-Alam Syah. All the Bugis and the Malay groups assembled for the installation of Raja Sulaiman, as is the custom when great kings are installed. The investment of sovereignty was proclaimed by Kelana Jaya Putera who rose, unsheathed his sword, and announced, 'May it be known to all Bugis and Malays that on this day Raja Sulaiman received the title Sultan Sulaiman Badr al-Alam Syah and became Raja Yang Dipertuan Besar, ruling Johor, Riau and Pahang together with their subject territories and dependencies'. All the people, high and low, responded, 'May his sovereign power increase'.¹ Then the heralds were sent to summon all the princes and dignitaries to pay homage according to the customs traditional at a royal installation. When they had finished, there was a feast for all the people of Riau. After the Opus had completed the installation and drumming in of Sultan Sulaiman Badr al-Alam Syah, he conferred with the Datuk Bendahara named Tun Abbas (who had become Bendahara Seri Maharaja)² about repaying the Bugis princes for their faithful service. Sultan Sulaiman Badr al-Alam Syah requested the Opus, 'Please do not return to

the Bugis lands before I have asked one of you five brothers to become Yang Dipertuan Muda to rule the kingdom of Riau, Johor and Pahang, together with the subject territories'.

Opu Daeng Parani replied; 'Speaking for all my brothers, we will accept whoever Your Majesty deems suitable, but speaking personally I do not want to become king, because as the eldest I only wish to see my four brothers all settled'. Then Opu Daeng Menambun spoke, 'I would be unable to become Yang Dipertuan Muda in the western lands, because I have already promised the Sultan of Matan to take care of Mempawah. I do not want to offend my father-in-law'. Next Opu Daeng Cellak spoke, 'As far as I am concerned, as long as I have an older brother, Kelana Jaya Putera, I have no desire to become Yang Dipertuan Muda'. Opu Daeng Kemasi also replied, 'I do not want to become Yang Dipertuan here in Riau, because it is so far from the Bugis lands. It would be different if my brothers decided on Matan or Sambas, or somewhere else'. Opu Kelana Jaya Putera spoke again, 'If it means separation from my brothers, I have no desire to become Yang Dipertuan Muda here in the western lands'. This is how the Opus replied.

76:11

77:1

According to the story, after His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman had heard what the Opus had to say, he fell silent for a moment, and all the dignitaries were quiet. There was complete silence; they just sat looking at each other, unable to think what to do, and it seemed as though Sultan Sulaiman's plan would not be workable. Then Daeng Menampuk spoke again, in Buginese, 'It is not right for us to obstruct Sultan Sulaiman's plans, because we raised him up and installed him, so we must execute his commands'. Opu Daeng Parani spoke to Kelana Jaya Putera, 'There is no problem about your reluctance to be separated from us. If you accept a position here in the western lands, none of us will leave before your office is firm and secure. How could we leave you, especially since at the moment there are disturbances every day?' His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman spoke again, 'As for myself, if you leave me now, I will not be capable of continuing as king. You shall all hold the same positions here as you held in your Bugis homeland'. Daeng Menampuk responded, 'When we have finished our work here, Daeng Menambun and Opu Daeng Kemasi can return to Matan, because they already have positions there, but Opu Daeng Cellak should not be separated from Opu Kelana Jaya Putera'. His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman spoke, 'I intend to make Opu Daeng Cellak, who is already my brother, a brother twice over by marrying him to my youngest sister, Tengku Mandak'.

77:11

According to the story, as a result of His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman's discussions with Kelana Jaya Putera and all the Opus, Kelana Jaya Putera was confirmed in his appointment as Yang Dipertuan Muda, because he

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had no commitments or ties, and Opu Daeng Cellak was to be married to Tengku Mandak. When all the princes were of the same mind, His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman began preparations to install the Yang Dipertuan Muda and to marry Opu Daeng Cellak to his sister Tengku Mandak.

When the time was right Sultan Sulaiman installed Opu Kelana Jaya Putera as Yang Dipertuan Muda to govern the kingdom of Johor and Pahang and Riau and all the subject territories with absolute authority.¹ The installation followed the customs traditional for installing a Yang Dipertuan Muda, that is, he was dressed in state robes, taken in procession around the capital, and then led to the upper tier of the audience hall. There he performed the Bugis ceremony of loyalty, swearing an oath before the Yang Dipertuan Besar. Translated into Malay from Bugis, it went, 'Be assured, Sultan Sulaiman Badr al-Alam Syah, that I the Yang Dipertuan Muda shall govern your kingdom. If what is lengthways before you is not to your liking, I shall lay it crossways, and if what lies crossways before you is not to your liking, I shall lay it lengthways. Whatever is overgrown and thorny in your path, I will clear'. This was his pledge. After Kelana Jaya Putera had made his oath to His Majesty the Yang Dipertuan Besar, everyone else performed a Bugis dance of loyalty and swore an oath to the Yang Dipertuan Muda. His brothers went first, followed by the Daengs, and lastly the Bugis commoners, each with his own words. Afterwards they entered the palace for a banquet. That marked the end of the ceremonies for the Yang Dipertuan Muda. Later the Yang Dipertuan Muda's brother, Daeng Cellak, was married to Sultan Sulaiman's sister, Tengku Mandak, following the customs traditional at a royal wedding. There were the ceremonies of applying henna,² of the wedding procession, of publicly sitting together and of lustration. After the ceremonies were completed, there was harmony between them as is customary with a loving couple, and Tengku Mandak received the title of Tengku Empuan.

According to the story, this Bugis prince Opu Daeng Cellak was handsome, with the bearing and appearance of a leader. After his marriage to Tengku Mandak, Sultan Sulaiman married his aunt, Tun Tipah, to Daeng Menampuk. Daeng Massuro was married to Tun Kecik, His Majesty's cousin. Daeng Mangngatuk was married to Tun Inah, another of Sultan Sulaiman's cousins, the daughter of the late Raja Muda who died at Kay Anak. The Yang Dipertuan Muda Kelana Jaya Putera left for Perapat Seratus, with orders from His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman to fetch Tengku Encik Ayu, the virgin widow of the Ruler who died being borne alone. Encik Ayu was only a child at the time of her marriage and it is said that the marriage had not been consummated. When the Yang Dipertuan Muda reached Perapat Seratus, he made Encik Ayu his wife and returned

with her to Riau, where she became the principal wife of the Yang Dipertuan Muda, and that was the situation.

Not long after this, the Yang Dipertuan Muda and His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman bestowed the title of Raja Tua on Daeng Menampuk, that is, the elder who administers affairs under the Yang Dipertuan Muda, not to be confused with the Sultan Tua, or the Yang Dipertuan Tua, for 'Sultan' refers to the Yang Dipertuan Besar or Yang Dipertuan Muda.¹ The latter has the title Sultan Ala al-Din Syah ibn Opu, which is inscribed on his seal. The appointment of a Bugis prince, Opu Kelana Jaya Putera, as the Yang Dipertuan Muda marked the beginning of the Bugis-Malay oath of loyalty which is recorded in the documents of loyalty.² So His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman was established as Yang Dipertuan Besar and likewise Opu Kelana Jaya Putera was established as Yang Dipertuan Muda. They set about restoring and strengthening the state, and making Riau more populous.

80:1

According to the story, two years passed and by that time each of the Opus had had children, some boys and some girls, as has already been recorded in part one, which set out the descendants of the Opus as well as those of His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman.

Shortly after this, Opu Daeng Parani asked leave of Sultan Sulaiman and the Yang Dipertuan Muda to go to Selangor. They both agreed, so Opu Daeng Parani set sail with his brothers, Opu Daeng Menambun and Opu Daeng Kemasi, each in his own *perahu*. When they reached Selangor, Opu Daeng Parani married the daughter of the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor. They had one daughter. Meanwhile, a letter came for Opu Daeng Parani from the King of Kedah, asking for help because his younger brother had seized the throne which was properly his because he was the eldest. Opu Daeng Parani replied to the King of Kedah's letter, requesting time to return to Riau and consult first with his brothers and with His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman. Then Opu Daeng Parani set sail for Riau with his two oldest brothers, and when he arrived he respectfully informed His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman and his two brothers, the Yang Dipertuan Muda and Opu Daeng Cellak of the request from Kedah. They were all pleased and agreed unanimously. So the Yang Dipertuan Muda and the Opus asked leave of Sultan Sulaiman and then set sail for Kedah.¹

80:11

When they arrived, they met the King of Kedah, the elder brother, who made an agreement with the Opus that if they were successful in their venture he would give them a gift of fifteen *bahara*² of dollars. The Opus replied, 'Whatever you wish, because we came here only to help you'. Then they assembled all the Bugis who were already living in Kedah and put the question to them, 'Who would you side with,¹ if we went to war against the younger prince of Kedah?' They replied, 'All of

81:1

us feel that we have no other lords but you and your brothers'. The Opus said, 'Very well, we will install the elder prince of Kedah as Yang Dipertuan of Kedah'. This was done on the following day.

81:11 According to the story, when the younger prince of Kedah learnt that his elder brother had been installed by the Yang Dipertuan Muda of Riau and the Bugis Opus, he was furious. He assembled his warriors and his ministers, together with his fighting men. When they had gathered, he set out to attack the fort of the elder Kedah prince. There followed a fierce battle with the Yang Dipertuan Muda of Riau and his brothers; each side had large numbers and the thunderous uproar from cannon and musket fire mingled with the noise of shouts and screams. There were fatalities on both sides. After about a month of fighting, the younger prince of Kedah was worsted and disengaged battle, because many of his captains had been beheaded and killed. Defeated, he withdrew from Kedah, going to a distant place. The Bugis and men from Riau who had accompanied the Yang Dipertuan Muda entered the palace compound of the younger Yang Dipertuan of Kedah and ransacked it. When the fighting had ceased, the Yang Dipertuan Muda and his brothers the Opus met the Yang Dipertuan of Kedah to request that they might leave, since the situation was now secure. So the Yang Dipertuan of Kedah paid them three *bahara* of dollars² and asked that the balance be deferred. When all was settled, the Yang Dipertuan Muda and his brothers set sail for Riau. There the Yang Dipertuan Muda presented himself before Sultan Sulaiman and told him of their victory in Kedah. According to some accounts, Opu Daeng Parani had been married to the sister¹ of the Yang Dipertuan of Kedah, and had had a daughter.

82:1 Some time later, Opu Daeng Menambun and Opu Daeng Kemasi asked leave of their brother the Yang Dipertuan Muda and His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman to return to Matan. When the Yang Dipertuan Muda and Sultan Sulaiman had granted permission, Opu Daeng Menambun returned to Matan with Opu Daeng Kemasi because the King of Sambas, Sultan Adil, had sent a message to the Yang Dipertuan Muda and his brothers inviting them to Sambas. He planned to marry his sister to one of the five Bugis princes. Now all the five brothers had positions except 82:11 Opu Daeng Kemasi, who alone was not yet settled and had no wife and family. For that reason Opu Daeng Menambun was taking his brother back with him to the east; that is how the story goes.

According to the story, Opu Daeng Menambun had not been at sea long when they reached Sambas and entered the estuary. The dignitaries sent by the King of Sambas came on board to greet them. Then Opu Daeng Menambun and his brother met Sultan Adil who received them with honour and entertained them as is customary when kings meet

each other. Later the Sultan of Sambas married Opu Daeng Kemasi to his sister Raden Tengah, following the customs traditional at a royal wedding. Then Sultan Adil gave Opu Daeng Kemasi the title Pangeran Mangkubumi with authority to administer Sambas under the Sultan; and that was the situation.

As for Daeng Menambun, after his brother's wedding ceremonies and investiture had been completed, he asked leave of the King of Sambas to return to Matan. Then he set sail, and when he reached Matan Sultan Muhammad Zain al-Din sent people to welcome his son-in-law, Opu Daeng Menambun. When Opu Daeng Menambun met his father-in-law, he was given the title Pangeran Emas Seri Negara and his wife, Puteri Kesumba, received the title Ratu Agung Sinuhan. Pangeran Emas Seri Negara then became King of Mempawah, and was established in that position.¹

83:1

To return to the story of the younger Kedah prince at war with his elder brother, who had been aided by the Yang Dipertuan Muda of Riau and his brothers the Opus. Dissatisfied, the younger prince set about obtaining further support to campaign against his elder brother. He sent a messenger to Siak, requesting aid from Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Kecil. The latter went to Kedah to aid the younger prince² who gave Raja Kecil his sister in marriage. So Raja Kecil was married to the sister of the younger prince of Kedah following the customs traditional at a royal wedding. When the elder ruler of Kedah learnt of this, he sent a messenger to Riau requesting the Yang Dipertuan Muda of Riau and his brothers the Opus to help him. So the Yang Dipertuan Muda and his brothers left for Kedah.³

83:11

According to the story, after the Yang Dipertuan Muda had left for Kedah, Sultan Sulaiman had a disagreement with the Bugis in Riau, and His Majesty left for Bulang.⁴ He was not there long before he left again for Kampar, where he settled.

In Kedah, the Yang Dipertuan Muda and his brothers discussed their desire to reconcile the two Kedah princes, because they were, after all, brothers, and they invited Raja Kecil to participate in the discussion. But he did not respond, being still intent on creating dissension. This angered the Yang Dipertuan Muda, with the result that war broke out between Raja Kecil and the Yang Dipertuan Muda of Riau, each competing in the erection of fortifications. The two sides clashed, vying for possession of the other's stockades. In a short space of time a Siak stockade had been taken by the Bugis, after Opu Daeng Parani and his followers had gained entry and made a furious attack.¹ Together with his Panglima Dalam, Raja Kecil was forced to jump down from his stockade into the moat which surrounded it. With his Panglima Dalam

84:1

84:11 supporting him, he swam the moat and gained a stockade on the other side. There Raja Kecik conferred with one of his officers, a Macassarese called Panglima Yahya. When it was dark Panglima Yahya stole out, entered the Bugis stockade, and started attacking. The Bugis were caught offguard, taken by surprise, and they retaliated, but many were killed or wounded, and so Raja Kecik's stockade was retaken.

Soon afterwards, the Yang Dipertuan Muda and the Opu took their vessels upriver, intending to attack Raja Kecik's stockade upstream from his settlement. When they had reached their upriver fort, they launched a fierce offensive, the thunderous uproar from cannon and swivel guns mingling with the shouting and screaming. Then by the decree of Allah Almighty, and because his hour had come, Opu Daeng Parani was struck in the chest by a cannon ball. He died like a man on the deck of his *gurab*, because during the worst of the offensive he had been walking around on deck directing his men.²

85:1 When the Yang Dipertuan Muda and Opu Daeng Cellak saw that their brother had been killed, they went ashore with the Raja Tua, Daeng Menampuk, to attack the positions of Raja Kecik and the young prince of Kedah and Raja Kecik's settlements. There was a desperate onslaught, with fatalities on both sides. After some time, Raja Kecik's side weakened, because many of his captains had been killed. He retreated and a number of his settlements were completely destroyed. Raja Kecik returned immediately to Siak. After Raja Kecik had been defeated, the Yang Dipertuan Muda and the Raja Tua Daeng Menampuk buried Opu Daeng Parani according to the customs traditional at a royal funeral.

85:11 Now that the war was over, the Yang Dipertuan Muda asked leave of the Yang Dipertuan of Kedah to return to Riau.¹ He set sail for Riau with his brother Opu Daeng Cellak. During the voyage, the Yang Dipertuan Muda received the news that His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman was in Kampar, so he called in there to fetch His Majesty and take him back to Riau. When the three of them reached Riau, they stayed there, daily discussing ways of making Riau more populous by attracting trade and strengthening the defences with stockades and a fleet of warships, to be equipped with crews and ammunition. This last Kedah war occurred in the hijra year 1136.²

According to the story, about a year after the war in Kedah, Raja Kecik came again to attack Riau, that is, in the hijra year 1137, on 29 Syaban,³ and battle commenced early in the morning. The Riau men did battle with the Siak men every day,⁴ fighting for a time, pausing for a time. Occasionally Raja Kecik went up the river to meet his wife Tengku Kamariah, and if he happened to meet Opu Daeng Cellak they would eat together and then return to their stockades and resume the

battle, and so it continued right up to 20 Zulhijjah.⁵ This caused hardship for the people in the state and therefore the elders and dignitaries begged the Yang Dipertuan Muda and Raja Kecil to call a truce. So hostilities ceased, and both sides made peace. Raja Kecil asked leave of His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman and the Yang Dipertuan Muda to return to Siak. After making his farewells, Raja Kecil left.¹ When he arrived in Siak, he began preparing a war fleet of *penjabab*, working on it every day, and he saw to it that every *penjabab* in the Siak River was equipped with ammunition.²

86:1

According to the story, it was in the hijra year 1138³ that Sultan Muhammad Syah Khalifat Allah went down to Kampar and was party to an oath of loyalty between the rulers of Pagar Ruyung, Johor, and the Minangkabau of Pasisir Laut.⁴ The oath went thus:

All Minangkabau held in Johor must abide by the administration of Johor. Whosoever does not, will be smitten by the power of the *besi kawi*; even their grandchildren and great grandchildren will not go unscathed, and their aspirations will be cursed by Allah Almighty.⁵

Three copies were made of the oath, one for His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman Badr al-Alam Syah, one for the Yang Dipertuan Muda Sultan Ala al-Din Syah ibn Opu and one for the Chief,⁶ that is, the Raja Tua, Daeng Menampuk. After the Minangkabau of Pasisir Laut had sworn the oath with the Yang Dipertuan Muda, Raja Kecil went to Riau without his war fleet. He entered Riau to present himself to His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman and met the Yang Dipertuan Muda and Raja Tua requesting that he be allowed to take his wife, Tengku Kamariah, (the mother of Raja Buang, who became Sultan Mahmud of Siak) back to Siak.⁷ He also let it be known that he intended no further harm to His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman or the Yang Dipertuan Muda of Riau and he would return Johor's sea-people and those from Johor's outer territories. Both Sultan Sulaiman and the Yang Dipertuan Muda agreed to this, and they invited him to swear an oath in the mosque, which he did. The oath went thus: if he intended any further harm or quarrelled with His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman and the Yang Dipertuan Muda, he would never again be secure as long as he lived, and this would apply to his descendants, and to the sovereign power of his realm, which would be completely destroyed like a smashed *nipah* fruit and he would be smitten by the *besi kawi*.¹

86:11

87:1

After taking the oath, Raja Kecil asked leave to go home to Siak, taking with him his wife Tengku Kamariah. When they arrived, his wife went to the palace and she stayed in Siak. It was not long after this, in the hijra year 1139,² the year Jim, that he broke his oath, because he

had calculated that he could defeat Riau. He had vessels prepared and set sail. He launched an offensive and was able to erect a fort on Bayan Island, and his vessels entered the Riau River with their bows pointing upstream. The Yang Dipertuan Muda ordered his *penjajab* which were at the ready in the river to go downstream and engage Raja Kecik in battle. He ordered several Bugis *sampan* to slip out through the Terusan³ and skirt behind the Riau estuary to launch an attack from the rear. 87:11 Both sides joined battle. After about two days Raja Kecik weakened and then was defeated, because he had lost many men, intercepted by the Bugis *sampan* in an attack from the rear at night. Uncertain of what to do in the dark he escaped back to Siak. At this time rice became expensive in Riau, six *cupak* costing one *emas*,⁴ because the state was in confusion.

According to the story, after this battle His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman and the Yang Dipertuan Muda sent the Raja Tua to Trengganu to install Tun Zain al-Abidin as king, with the title Sultan Zain al-Abidin, King of Trengganu.⁵ When this had been done, the Raja Tua, Daeng Menampak, returned to Riau.

This is the story of Opu Daeng Biasa, the youngest brother of Opu Tendriburang Daeng Rilaga. He had been appointed Major in Batavia to administer all the Bugis there, because he had helped the Dutch Company to attack Susunan Kuning II,⁶ and helped them in battle again 88:1 when Batavia had been attacked by Kapitan Panjang.⁷ During General Imhoff's term as Governor-General,¹ Opu Daeng Biasa acquired an excellent reputation. He had a son, Opu Daeng Kelola, who had three wives, one of them a Macassarese princess. She bore him a daughter called Daeng Muda (who later became the mother of Sultan Muhammad Zain al-Abidin, grandchild of Opu Daeng Menambun, who had become Sultan of Mempawah). Then as a secondary wife he took a locally born Chinese who had a daughter called Daeng Nyonyah, eventually to be the mother of Pangeran Marta. The third wife was Muradiyya, the daughter of a noble of Mandar.² She bore him three children: the eldest was a son called Daeng M-m-p-a', the second son was called Daeng Cacau, and the third was a daughter called Daeng Lela (she later became the mother of Pangeran Perabu Anum and Penembahan Adi Nata Kerama Umar Kamar al-Din). All these princes were Bugis who were locally born in the state of Mempawah.

88:11 One day Opu Daeng Biasa spoke to his son Opu Daeng Kelola saying, 'My son, I think you should go and see your cousins, children of my elder brother Opu Tendriburang Daeng Rilaga, and find out what they are doing, because I have heard that all five of them have obtained positions. The report is that one is Yang Dipertuan Muda in Riau, one Pe-

nembahan in Mempawah, one has been made Pangeran Mangkubumi in Sambas, and another is the brother-in-law of the King of Johor, Pahang and Riau. Go and see, my son, whether there is any truth in the reports coming from the west, which say that your cousins are involved in a war against the Malay princes from Minangkabau, because they are supporting their brother-in-law Sultan Sulaiman Badr al-Alam Syah. Is there substance in these reports or not? You had better go and see. Furthermore, bring back with you one of their sons who could be married to your daughter and my granddaughter, Daeng Muda, because she is now grown up and there is no one I think suitable for her here in Batavia'. After Opu Daeng Kelola had listened to what his father had to say, he replied, 'I will do whatever my noble father says'.

89:1

Having discussed it with his daughter, Opu Daeng Kelola prepared a large *pencalang* for the voyage. When all was ready and when the time was right, Opu Daeng Kelola set sail from Batavia, intending to go first to Riau. But he was blown by a direct westerly wind until he made landfall at Mempawah. There he went straight to present himself to Pangeran Emas Seri Negara, that is, to Opu Daeng Menambun. The latter was extremely pleased to see his cousin, inviting him to stay in the palace where he entertained him with feasting and jollity, as is customary among relatives.

When Opu Daeng Kelola had been in Mempawah for about a month, and all his merchandise had been sold, he asked leave to return to Batavia. He also asked his cousin Pangeran Emas Seri Negara for permission to take Gusti Jameril, his son by Puteri Kesumba, back to Batavia to marry his own daughter Daeng Muda.¹ Pangeran Emas Seri Negara consented to all his cousin's requests, and when everything was settled Opu Daeng Kelola returned to Batavia.

89:11

When he arrived he brought his cousin's son, Gusti Jameril, to be presented to his noble father. Opu Daeng Biasa was very pleased and Gusti Jameril was also taken to meet Governor-General Imhoff. It was explained that he was the son of the King of Mempawah, the future son-in-law of Opu Daeng Kelola, and Governor-General Imhoff was pleased to learn of it. A few days later, Opu Daeng Biasa began preparations for the marriage of his brother's grandson to his own granddaughter. Governor-General Imhoff helped Opu Daeng Biasa in a number of ways with money and goods appropriate to the occasion. When the time was right, Gusti Jameril was married to Daeng Muda. They formed a procession of carriages and horses, together with Dutch, Malay, Bugis, and Chinese dignitaries who all came along on the day of the procession. As they passed Kota Intan,¹ the cannon were fired and the Company soldiers came out to join the procession as far as Kampung Baru.² There

90:1

the bridal couple were received and taken inside the palace for the ceremonies of publicly sitting together and feeding each other yellow rice,³ following the customs traditional for a princely bridal couple. Then the old women led them to the bridal chamber where the marriage was consummated. The Major entertained the Dutch dignitaries with a banquet, music, and other amusements. He did the same for other notables, like the adjutants, lieutenants, *bebek*,⁴ and heads of villages, as well as all the Chinese and their Captains. The Arabs, the Indian merchants, and the Keling Captain were all fed and entertained by His Majesty the Major. When the guests had finished they all went home, and so the wedding celebrations concluded. Three days later the bridal couple were bathed following the customs traditional for a royal lustration, and that completed the ceremonies.

90:11

According to the story, after Gusti Jameril had been in Batavia about five months and there was harmony and love between him and his wife, he asked leave of his noble grandfather, His Majesty the Major, to return to Mempawah. He proposed that his wife Daeng Muda should stay behind until he had prepared a household in Mempawah, when he would return to fetch her. His Majesty the Major agreed, and when the time was right Gusti Jameril sailed from Batavia accompanied by a relative called Daeng Lolo, with a *pencalang* carrying a cargo of Batavian merchandise, some of good quality and some of lesser worth.⁵ When he reached Mempawah, he went up the river to Sebukit⁶ to present himself to his parents. They were very pleased to see him and their joy increased because he had married their niece Daeng Muda.

91:1

After a while Gusti Jameril asked leave of his father, Pangeran Emas Seri Negara, to go further upriver with the merchandise he had brought from Batavia. Pangeran Emas Seri Negara said, 'When you go upriver, my son, you may meet your maternal relative, the Pangeran Dipati of Pinang Sekayuk,¹ who is the first cousin of the Penembahan of Sanggau, Emas Indera Wati, your mother Puteri Kesumba's mother'.

91:11

Gusti Jameril went up the Mempawah River to Pangkalan Salih.² There the Dayak chiefs and their families came aboard to buy the cargo, half of which was sold and some supplied on credit to the Dayaks and their elders. Then a messenger from Pangeran Dipati came to welcome Gusti Jameril and invite him downriver because Pangeran Dipati was waiting to meet him. So Gusti Jameril went downriver and met Pangeran Dipati who was very pleased because until then he had not met any of his maternal relatives. Pangeran Dipati insisted that he sleep two nights in the palace, and they dined together. Then Pangeran Dipati asked, 'My grandson, have you studied Arabic inflection and grammar?' To which Gusti Jameril replied, 'I have'. Then Pangeran Dipati asked

him to take the glorious Koran, read it, and explain the meaning of what he read. Gusti Jameril did so, and Pangeran Dipati was pleased with what he saw.

Now Pangeran Dipati had three children, a son named Raden Jaga and two daughters, Emas Seri Sangka and Emas Candi. Pangeran Dipati said to Gusti Jameril, 'My grandson, I would like to have you as my son-in-law. Please choose which of my daughters you would like'. Gusti Jameril replied, 'Grandfather, I am unable to do anything definite about your proposal until I have asked the permission of my noble father, Pangeran Emas Seri Negara. If he approves, then we may go ahead; if not, then it cannot be. I hope you will forgive me, for you know that I could not deceive you'. Pangeran Dipati replied, 'Very well'. 92:1

Then Gusti Jameril asked leave to go upriver to Pangkalan Salih to see to his cargo in the large *perahu*, which had been left there in charge of his three agents, Encik Abd al-Wahab (the son of the Lord Imam of Sebukit), Encik S-b-h, and Panglima Maluku. Pangeran Dipati said, 'I would like to come along too, we could amuse ourselves eating fruit, for it's the season now'. Pangeran Dipati sent his son Raden Jaga to prepare the *sampan*, and when they were ready, they accompanied Gusti Jameril upriver. Pangeran Dipati had brought his two daughters with him, and had outfitted them in the most beautiful clothes, with gold, silver, and diamonds. They were attended by several young girls. When they drew level with Gusti Jameril's *sampan*, they invited him to join them. Gusti Jameril matched his paddling with that of Pangeran Dipati's *sampan* and they started racing each other. When they reached Balai Lama, they went ashore to eat fruit—durian, mango, jackfruit, rambutan, and more. Afterwards they returned home to Pinang Sekayuk, where Pangeran Dipati wanted to marry Gusti Jameril to his daughter Emas Seri Sangka. Gusti Jameril again asked leave to go downriver to Sebukit to inform his father first. Pangeran Dipati replied, 'Very well, if you only wish to inform your father, take a *sampan* down the river, but come back quickly and leave the big *perahu* to continue trading at Pangkalan Salih'. 92:11

So Gusti Jameril went down the river to Sebukit and when he arrived, told his noble father about Pangeran Dipati's intention. His Majesty said, 'It's all very well for Pangeran Dipati to want you as a son-in-law, but just consider; aren't you already married to your cousin in Batavia, and weren't you going to bring her here? Your father-in-law, Opu Daeng Kelola, has already agreed that his daughter be brought here. When he suddenly hears you have married again, perhaps he won't want her to come here. Won't that end any hopes I have of establishing a good relationship with my relatives, and prevent my cousin and the 93:1

93:11 Major entrusting their child to me? Please consider it carefully'. Gusti Jameril replied, 'I would never presume to go against your wishes'. When His Majesty heard this, he sent Demang Rilaka upriver to fetch the three *perahu* at Pangkalan Salih and deliver a letter to Pangeran Dipati. He paddled upriver and when he reached Pinang Sekayuk, he presented himself before Pangeran Dipati to whom he gave the letter, which Pangeran Dipati read. It continued after the salutations as follows:

94:1 . . . Next, your son wishes to tell his noble father that he is sending his old servant Demang Rilaka to fetch the *perahu* at Pangkalan Salih immediately, because he wishes to send his son Jameril back to Batavia straight away. He is to repay all the money to the merchants in Batavia before the creditors start pressing him because the due date is past. If the creditors come and Jameril has just gone, what will that do to his reputation? Eventually no one will trust him, and the Major will be humiliated. If the Major is dishonoured, this reflects on you too, even though it involves only one investment. Wanting to take Jameril into your family is all very fine, but the rights of others should be settled first. Later, when he gets back, we will talk again but if you proceed now it will surely be said that you have taken money from a great many people. Further, would it not be wrong if he married again and his relatives in Batavia were held responsible for the debts? That is what I have to tell you. I am anxious that you should urge the Dayaks to pay their debts, so that there will be no further delays. That is the situation.¹

94:11 After Pangeran Dipati had heard the letter from Sebukit, he fell silent for a while, then handed the letter to his son Raden Jaga, saying, 'Send Demang Rilaka upriver to collect the Dayaks' debts'. Raden Jaga replied, 'That will be difficult'. Then he said to Demang Rilaka, 'Go upriver and collect the debts'. So Demang Rilaka went upstream and when he reached Pangkalan Salih, he presented the bills to the [Pangkalan] Salih Dayak chiefs. They wanted an extension of a further three months, but Demang Rilaka told them, 'We have not got that long; what can we do if we don't get either the money or the goods?' When the Dayak chiefs heard Demang Rilaka's words, one of them, called Pak Senti, went to find Raden Jaga and fabricated the story that Demang Rilaka had been using force at Pangkalan Salih in order to seize the goods of people who owed him money.

When Raden Jaga heard this, he did not investigate further, but when it was dark he assembled the Muslims of Pinang Sekayuk and several hundred Dayaks, then attacked the three *perahu* from Sebukit. Demang Rilaka was caught unawares, but struggled to load the cannon and muskets as best he could. They did battle but the three *perahu* were surrounded by the people of Pinang Sekayuk. Demang Rilaka trans-

ferred to his *sampan* and, firing his muskets and rifles port and starboard, retreated by paddling downstream. He was unable to salvage anything and left the big *perahu* to be seized by Raden Jaga. Demang Rilaka continued paddling downstream till he was level with Pinang Sekayuk, then he shouted: 'Eventually we will be the ones to prosper and you will get your just deserts'. He continued paddling until he reached Sebukit, where he presented himself before Pangeran Mas Seri Negara. When Pangeran Emas heard the news he was furious, and gave orders to prepare weapons and vessels to go upstream and attack Pangeran Dipati at Pinang Sekayuk, and he sent a messenger to inform his younger brother, Pangeran Mangkubumi at Sambas.

95:1

As for Raden Jaga, after Demang Rilaka had gone downstream, he built several stockades along the river to withstand an attack from Sebukit. Just as Pangeran Emas Seri Negara was about to leave, his younger brother, Pangeran Mangkubumi, arrived at Sebukit from Sambas. Then Pangeran Mangkubumi sent Indera Guru La Maluk to Riau with a letter for his brother, His Majesty the Yang Dipertuan Muda Opu Kelana Jaya Putera. Indera Guru La Maluk left for Riau, and after he had gone Pangeran Emas Seri Negara sailed upriver to Pinang Sekayuk accompanied by his younger brother Pangeran Mangkubumi and his sons Gusti Jameril, Gusti Jamadin and Gusti Panglima, as well as Indera Guru To J-r-p-a', the religious leaders and all the captains in Sebukit and some Batavians under Daeng Lolo. In all, about fifty vessels of various sizes set out. They progressed upstream skirmishing along the way, firing port and starboard at Raden Jaga's stockades. When the Bugis landed they took these stockades because the Dayaks were not familiar with firearms, let alone cannon and the various kinds of swivel guns. And so it continued until they reached the Melansam estuary,¹ where Pangeran Emas ordered the Bugis to build a stockade and Pangeran Dipati constructed his stockade on the other bank, directly opposite. Meanwhile, many of the Dayaks at the Melansam estuary decided to support Pangeran Mas Seri Negara, because they knew that his wife, Puteri Kesumba, was a daughter of Emas Indera Wati, herself a daughter of the Penembahan of Sanggau.

95:11

To return to the story of Riau and the Yang Dipertuan Muda, that is, Opu Daeng Marewah Kelana Jaya Putera, his younger brother Opu Daeng Cellak and His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman Badr al-Alam Syah. After Raja Kecil had returned to Siak, they conferred about reorganizing the capital and all the outer territories of Johor, which had been restored earlier by Raja Kecil when he swore the oath in the mosque. It was decided that the Yang Dipertuan Muda would go and inspect those subject territories, and he began to prepare vessels for the voyage. In

96:1

96:11 the midst of these preparations, Indera Guru La Maluku arrived with his letter. When the Yang Dipertuan Muda and Opu Daeng Cellak had read it, they both understood that their brother Opu Daeng Menambun was at war with Pangeran Dipati of Pinang Sekayuk. The Yang Dipertuan Muda consulted his younger brother, His Majesty Opu Daeng Cellak, and they decided that Opu Daeng Cellak should go to Mempawah to help Opu Daeng Menambun. The Yang Dipertuan Muda would leave for those of Johor's dependencies which were on the island of Perca; Opu Daeng Cellak would leave only after the Yang Dipertuan Muda returned and Indera Guru La Maluku would wait in Riau.

97:1 When this was settled the Yang Dipertuan Muda left for Tapukan¹ to inspect and organize all the dependencies there, but by the decree of Allah Almighty, the Yang Dipertuan Muda fell seriously ill and had to be brought back with all speed to Riau by the dignitaries and elders, under sail and with oarsmen. When they reached an island called Pitung,² the Yang Dipertuan Muda died, returning to the mercy of Allah Almighty. *Verily we belong to Allah and to Him we return.* The dignitaries brought his body back to Riau and when they arrived, there was a commotion when it was known that the Yang Dipertuan Muda had died. In great sorrow His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman, Opu Daeng Cellak and the Raja Indera Bungsu set out to receive the Yang Dipertuan Muda's body. It was brought ashore, and buried following the customs traditional when a great king dies. He was buried beside the Baharu River and known posthumously as the Ruler buried by the Baharu River. The people of Riau went into mourning, as is customary after the death of a Raja Muda. This was followed by funeral feasts on the third, seventh, fortieth, and hundredth day after his death, according to the customs traditional when a great king dies, and that was the situation.

97:11 After the completion of these ceremonies, His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman installed his younger brother, His Majesty Opu Daeng Cellak, as Yang Dipertuan Muda of Riau, Lingga, Johor, and Pahang and their subject territories, with the title Sultan Ala al-Din Syah ibn Opu.¹ When everything was completed, and he was established in his office as Yang Dipertuan Muda, Opu Daeng Cellak asked leave of his elder brother, His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman Badr al-Alam Syah, to go to Mempawah. He wanted to go to the aid of his elder brother, Opu Daeng Menambun, who had the title Pangeran Emas Seri Negara, and was engaged in a war with Pangeran Dipati of Pinang Sekayuk. His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman gave his consent and wanted him to take twenty *penjajab*, but the Yang Dipertuan Muda replied, "There is no need to take so many vessels, because although the situation in Riau is quiet, I

would be worried in case trouble came. One thing more; I am only going there to help my brothers, who will already have sufficient vessels because they have the resources of two states, Mempawah and Sambas, at their command'. After his discussion with His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman, when the time was right, the Yang Dipertuan Muda set sail for Mempawah with seven *penjajab*, or eight, if Indera Guru La Maluk's *perahu* is included. In a few days the Yang Dipertuan Muda reached the coast of the island of Kalimantan.

The story now turns to the King of Landak,² whose name was Ratu Bagus. When he learned that the King of Pinang Sekayuk was at war with the King of Sebukit at the Mempawah River, he immediately set out by land with Raden Uthman and all the Muslims of Landak, as well as the Cugi Dayaks.³ When they reached Pinang Sekayuk, he met Pangeran Dipati. He told Pangeran Dipati that he had come with Raden Uthman to mediate between him and Pangeran Mas Seri Negara, since both sides were like brothers and there was nothing to be gained from their conflict. Pangeran Dipati replied, 'I can be of no help to you, because I have had no part in this affair; it is all the doing of my son, Raden Jaga. He did not investigate the matter sufficiently and was impatient, influenced by the passions of the devil. Time after time I warned him, but he took no notice, and this is the outcome. It's nothing to him that the entire country and the ordinary people have to endure this suffering'.

98:1

After Ratu Bagus had listened to Pangeran Dipati he replied, 'Very well, if that is the case, let me go to Pangeran Emas Seri at the Melansam estuary'. So Ratu Bagus went to find Pangeran Emas Seri Negara. When he met him, he asked, 'How did this conflict with your relative and his family start?' So Pangeran Emas Seri Negara told him from beginning to end. Then Ratu Bagus spoke again, 'I have come here with Raden Uthman to ask if it is feasible for this conflict to end, and for a reconciliation to take place, since there is no one else to act as intermediary'. Pangeran Emas Seri Negara replied, 'Your intention is admirable, but it is too late. I have already sent a letter to the Yang Dipertuan Muda of Riau, asking him to come because of the war here. Your thoughts on what should be done must wait until he comes, when you can discuss it with him'.

98:11

In the midst of this discussion, a messenger arrived from Sebukit to say that the Yang Dipertuan Muda of Riau had arrived with seven *penjajab* armed with cannon. They had reached the Mempawah estuary and were rowing up the river. When Pangeran Emas Seri Negara heard the messenger's news, he said to Ratu Bagus, 'I am going down the river now, and I will let you know what he decides'. Ratu Bagus replied,

'In that case I want to come too, because I would like to meet the Yang Dipertuan Muda of Riau'. Pangeran Emas Seri Negara replied, 'Very well'. They both embarked in their *sampan*, leaving Opu Daeng Kemasi (that is, Pangeran Mangkubumi of Sambas) in command of the offensive.

99:1 Each went downstream in his own *bedar panjang*, with two *sampan* and forty-five men. They paddled down to greet the Yang Dipertuan Muda of Riau at Sebukit, and when they arrived they went aboard the Yang Dipertuan Muda's vessel. When the two brothers met, they wept. Referring to Ratu Bagus, the Yang Dipertuan Muda asked, 'Who is this?' Pangeran Mas replied, 'This is the King of Landak, Ratu Bagus'. Ratu Bagus immediately embraced the Yang Dipertuan Muda's knees in homage and was received by the Yang Dipertuan Muda with respect. Then His Majesty the Yang Dipertuan Muda told his elder brother about Opu Kelana Jaya Putera's death at Pitung Island, on his way back from Tapukan, and Opu Daeng Parani's death in the Kedah war. When Opu Daeng Menambun, that is, Pangeran Emas Seri Negara, heard his younger brother's news, he wept bitterly, as though his heart would break, because he had lost two of his brothers. But there was nothing to be done, because it was the decree of Allah Almighty. Ratu Bagus also wept, moved by the sight of the two princes' grief. And all present wept in sympathy.

99:11

When their grief was spent, Pangeran Mas Seri Negara brought his younger brother the Yang Dipertuan Muda ashore, took him inside the fort and held a banquet in the audience hall. When they had finished, Pangeran Emas Seri Negara told the Yang Dipertuan Muda that Ratu Bagus wished to act as mediator with Pangeran Dipati, and that he was waiting for the Yang Dipertuan Muda's opinion. The Yang Dipertuan Muda replied, 'I will sue for peace first, because we declared war before Pangeran Dipati did. Even if I had arrived before the outbreak of hostilities at least one cannon should still have been fired so that he did not feel superior to you, as if you could not call on your relatives overseas to take action.' When Pangeran Emas Seri Negara had listened to his brother, he said, 'You are quite right'. Ratu Bagus also agreed, and they each retired. Pangeran Emas Seri Negara took the Yang Dipertuan Muda of Riau to his palace to meet his wife, Ratu Agung Sinuhun, and then the Yang Dipertuan Muda went on board his *perahu*.

100:1

When Ratu Bagus reached the house of the Lord Imam of Sebukit, where he was staying, he sent the Lord Imam to inform Pangeran Emas Seri Negara that he wished to offer himself to him, that is, that he wished to ask for the hand of the eldest daughter of Pangeran Emas Seri Negara, Utin Dewaman. If his request was granted, he would serve Pangeran Emas Seri Negara in any capacity. So the Lord Imam pre

sented himself before His Majesty Emas Seri Negara, and informed him of the matter. Pangeran Emas asked his brother the Yang Dipertuan Muda to join him. When he came, Pangeran Emas Seri Negara told him that Ratu Bagus wanted to place himself at the Pangeran's service to do whatever the Yang Dipertuan Muda thought best. The Yang Dipertuan Muda went into the palace to find Ratu Agung Sinuhun and tell her about Ratu Bagus' intentions. She said, 'I will do whatever you think is best; I will follow your wishes'. After the Yang Dipertuan Muda had listened to Ratu Agung Sinuhun, he said, 'I think we should accept; he is of suitable rank and moreover he has offered himself to us like a white thread'.¹ The Yang Dipertuan Muda called the Lord Imam back, and informed him that the Yang Dipertuan Muda had agreed to Ratu Bagus' proposal. Ratu Bagus was very pleased, as he wanted to serve Pangeran Emas Seri Negara. After discussions about the betrothal were concluded and when the time was right, Pangeran Emas Seri Negara and the Yang Dipertuan Muda married Ratu Bagus to Utin Dewaman, following the customs traditional at a royal wedding. When the lustration ceremonies had been completed, Ratu Bagus was given the title of War Captain by the Yang Dipertuan Muda, and the latter became Commander-in-Chief.

100:11

101:1

After all these matters were settled, the princes went upstream to launch their attacks on Pinang Sekayuk. When they arrived at the Melansam estuary, the Yang Dipertuan Muda of Riau met his younger brother, His Majesty Pangeran Mangkubumi, that is, Opu Daeng Kemasi. The two brothers embraced, kissed and wept, remembering their two dead brothers, Opu Daeng Parani and Opu Kelana Jaya Putera. Then Pangeran Emas Seri Negara's children came to pay homage to the Yang Dipertuan Muda of Riau. He asked, 'Whose children are these?' Pangeran Emas Seri Negara replied, 'They are all mine'. The Yang Dipertuan Muda was very pleased to see these young men all of fine bearing, who could be relied upon in time of war. After the greetings were over, the princes conferred about recommencing hostilities.

When Pangeran Dipati and his son Raden Jaga learnt that the Yang Dipertuan Muda of Riau had arrived at Sebukit and that Ratu Bagus had become the son-in-law of Pangeran Emas Seri Negara, he consulted his ministers and warriors. They responded, 'As for us, we will do whatever you say, but it is our opinion that we face certain defeat because four states are allied against us. Your son entered blindly into this affair, without consulting the elders, and this is what has come about'. When Pangeran Dipati had listened to his ministers, he fell silent for a while, at a loss. He never ceased deploring the slander spread by Pak Senti, whose efforts to defraud people of their money had brought the

101:11

102:1 state to the point of ruin. So Pangeran Dipati was occupied trying to find a means of escape. Raden Jaga, on the other hand, was calling people together making preparations to withstand an attack from Sebukit, and he collected several thousand Dayaks and paid them to keep guard night and day, causing hardship to the people of Pinang Sekayuk. Those who had families and property prepared to leave because they expected the country to be devastated.

102:11 When Pangeran Emas Seri Negara had concluded his discussions, he ordered his officers and captains to attack the stockade opposite theirs. The Bugis attacked and started fighting, drawing close to the stockade and firing with guns and muskets. Those within the stockade fled. Raden Jaga's stockade was also attacked by the Bugis. He resisted for a while, but when two or three of his men were killed, he too fled. They made an assault on another stockade and because its gate was bolted, they had to pound it down. The people inside jumped from a side parapet and fled back to Pinang Sekayuk, pursued by the Bugis and all the people of Sebukit and their princes. There was a continuous running battle until they reached the royal compound of Pangeran Dipati. They entered it but found it deserted, except for some belongings. Even the old people had gone. His Majesty and the princes from Sebukit ceased fighting and stayed at Pinang Sekayuk to confer with each other and reach agreement. The people who had fled from Pinang Sekayuk, some on foot and others in *sampan*, kept travelling until they reached Mengkapuas, where the religious leaders were left to organize the construction of stockades. Pangeran Dipati and his princes continued upstream to the mouth of the Sumpak Tambaong Bangsal River.¹ After about two days the Bugis arrived and attacked again. A fierce battle ensued, but the Malays managed to resist. Pangeran Dipati conferred with his ministers, then escaped with his wife and family to Pihar.² From there they went to Sirai, Mateloa, Sengat, down to Tayan and finally to Meliau,³ where they were no longer pursued by the Bugis and there they settled. The people of Pinang Sekayuk were scattered, some stayed at Pinang Sekayuk, some settled at Tambaong, and some at Tayan. And so

103:1 Pangeran Dipati was defeated.

Pangeran Emas Seri Negara, his younger brother His Majesty the Yang Dipertuan of Riau, Opu Daeng Kemasi and Ratu Bagus, who were still at Pinang Sekayuk, conferred together. They wanted to set things to rights with the Dayaks subject to Pinang Sekayuk who had not been returned by Pangeran Dipati to Emas Indera Wati, daughter of the Penembahan of Sanggau and mother of Puteri Kesumba (who had the title Ratu Agung Sinuhun). The reason was that when the Penembahan of Sanggau died, Pangeran Dipati had returned all his royal regalia and

everything else to his daughter Emas Indera Wati. The only thing not returned was the authority over the Dayaks. Only now, at the conclusion of the war, were the Dayaks restored to the authority of Mempawah, because the Dayaks had just learnt that Emas Indera Wati was the daughter of the Penembahan of Sanggau. This is what Pangeran Emas Seri Negara discussed with his younger brother, His Majesty the Yang Dipertuan of Riau, His Majesty Pangeran Mangkubumi of Sambas, and Ratu Bagus. There were thirty Dayak groups involved. The Dayak chiefs assembled to present themselves to Pangeran Emas Seri Negara, and they swore an oath that they would not rebel against Mempawah's authority.¹

103:11

After settling matters connected with the Dayaks, Pangeran Seri Negara set off downriver with his brothers to Sebukit. There they relaxed for about a week and enjoyed themselves with feasts and entertainments. Then the Yang Dipertuan Muda asked leave of His Majesty his elder brother to return to Riau, and Pangeran Mangkubumi likewise had to return to Sambas. He agreed, and when the time was right, the Yang Dipertuan Muda sailed downriver to return to Riau,² while Pangeran Mangkubumi left for Sambas. With his wife, Pangeran Emas Seri Negara escorted them as far as the estuary, and when his brothers had sailed away he returned upriver to Sebukit. The Yang Dipertuan Muda sailed west to Riau and Pangeran Mangkubumi returned to Sambas.

104:1

The Yang Dipertuan Muda's voyage to Riau did not take long, and when Sultan Sulaiman heard the news that the Yang Dipertuan Muda had reached the Riau estuary, he sent the dignitaries and the Raja Indera Bungsu out to greet him. Then the Yang Dipertuan Muda went ashore to present himself before His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman and tell him what had happened while he had been away, and about his victory. After that the Yang Dipertuan Muda went to his own palace to meet his wife. She powdered him, rubbed him with limes and bathed him with consecrated water to ward off evil, as was customarily done by the wives of great kings in former times. The Yang Dipertuan Muda and His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman stayed contentedly in Riau, while their children, Tengku Putih, Tengku Hitam, Raja Haji, and their brothers and sisters all grew up. This episode occurred in the hijra year 1141.¹

104:11

In the hijra year 1143,² the year Ba, the Yang Dipertuan Muda left for Selangor to attack Daeng Mattekuh.³ The latter fled to Raja Kecil in Siak. Then the Yang Dipertuan Muda returned to Riau. In the hijra year 1144,⁴ the Yang Dipertuan Muda married Raja Bakal. In the same year Raja Kecil came to Riau bringing Daeng Mattekuh to ask the Yang Dipertuan Muda's pardon and to ask for Daeng Mattekuh's wife.⁵ The Yang Dipertuan Muda pardoned his wrong doing, but the Raja Tua would not grant the request for Daeng Mattekuh's wife. The Raja Tua

no longer believed Daeng Mattekuh, because he had come in the company of Raja Kecik. Then they asked leave to return to Siak.

105:1

About a year later, Sultan Zain al-Abidin, King of Trengganu, died, returning to the mercy of Allah Almighty, on Sunday 21 Ramadan, in the hijra year 1145, at the time of the dawn prayers.¹ His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman and the Yang Dipertuan Muda replaced him with his son, Raja Mansur, who was generally known as Tun Dalam.² He later became Sultan Sulaiman's son-in-law when he married His Majesty's daughter, Raja Bulang.

105:11

On the night of Friday, 10 Zulhijjah, in the hijra year 1147,³ at the time of the evening prayers, the Raja Tua, Daeng Menampuk, died. The Yang Dipertuan Muda was saddened by the loss of someone he had hoped would be his right hand, particularly in time of war. About a year after the Raja Tua's death, His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman left for Siantan, and the Yang Dipertuan Muda went to Selangor.⁴ Later they both returned to Riau, and in the hijra year 1148, the year Jim, they inspected the seas around Ungaran and Durai.⁵ When the Yang Dipertuan Muda returned to Riau, by the decree of Allah (*may He be praised and exalted*) the Datuk Bendahara, Tun Abbas, became insane, raving deliriously. His Majesty and the Yang Dipertuan Muda treated him with all kinds of drugs, without success. Later in the same year the Yang Dipertuan Muda had a palace built, on Sunday 17 Syawal.⁶ When it was completed and he had taken up residence, the Yang Dipertuan Muda set out with several vessels to inspect the outer territories in the Tapukan area. He called in at Uban Point⁷ to fit gun-shields, because he also intended to inspect Johor and Singapore. Only then did he leave for Tapukan, via Buru, Ungaran, Karimun, and the districts of the Six Clans.⁸ Accompanying the Yang Dipertuan Muda was His Majesty's relative, the Raja Indera Bungsu.⁹

106:1

To return to the story of Raja Kecik who had returned from Riau where Daeng Mattekuh had asked that his wife, Raja Tengah, be restored to him. The Raja Tua refused to allow this as long as he lived. Furious, Daeng Mattekuh conferred by the day, by the month, by the year, constantly, with Raja Kecik about finding the necessary equipment and funds for an attack on Riau. When they calculated they had sufficient weapons and funds, they prepared about sixty *penjab* equipped with cannon, and set out from Siak. The people along the reaches of the rivers and coasts¹ caught wind of this and immediately informed His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman in Riau. He was surprised, because this seemed improbable in view of the discussions during their Riau meeting. Acting on the information, His Majesty sent for the Yang Dipertuan Muda and the Raja Indera Bungsu, asking them to return. When the Yang

Dipertuan received the news, he and the Raja Indera Bungsu returned to Riau. On their arrival, they deployed the entire Riau fleet from Tanjung Pinang to Senggarang.² Then Panglima Bungsu, Encik Muda, and Encik Rampai were sent to find out whether Raja Kecik's fleet had been sighted. Later Encik Riau and Panglima Kecik were sent to reconnoitre again and they returned soon afterwards to report that it was approaching, having just crossed the Durian Straits.³ Three days later, on 1 Safar,⁴ Raja Kecik's fleet was sighted crossing the Tiung Straits⁵ and later reached Riau. He drew up his fleet at Penyengat Island, as he intended entering, but was prevented by the Riau vessels deployed from Tanjung Pinang to Senggarang, and by the trading *perahu* packing the Riau River. The hill at Tanjung Pinang was crowded with people anxious to watch the battle. For about a week Raja Kecik stayed like this and did not attack, but conferred with his ministers, for at that time Riau was well defended, populous, and prosperous.

Meanwhile the Yang Dipertuan Muda ordered an attack on Penyengat, on 7 Safar, at midday.¹ On that day (that is, Wednesday) they fought with cannon and swivel guns, and a large number of Raja Kecik's vessels were destroyed, because many of the Riau vessels had large cannon. They also had local sea-people as rowers, and Bugis spearmen. Raja Kecik's rowers who were from the river reaches, and his spearmen from the Minangkabau interior, were unaccustomed to sea warfare. In addition, the Bugis brought their *sampan* alongside and used their rifles and muskets, with the result that many men perished and several captains were killed during that one day's fighting. On Wednesday evening Raja Kecik's ships broke their positions and scattered in disarray under cover of darkness. Raja Kecik became separated from the main body of his fleet, which sailed its own course, some vessels heading for Lobam, some for the Tiung Straits. When day broke, Raja Kecik's fleet had vanished, having slipped away to Siak with many damaged vessels, and many dead and wounded.

His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman, the Yang Dipertuan Muda, and the Raja Indera Bungsu went aboard their vessels to pursue Raja Kecik, but by the time they reached Ungaran he had already escaped to Siak. So His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman set off for Pahang, and then Trengganu, that is, on Friday 20 Rabi al-akhir, in the hijra year 1148.² In Pahang he had a wall constructed at the grave site of the Ruler who died at the Pahang estuary. Then His Majesty left for Trengganu, where he stayed. Not long afterwards, a man from Tambelan, Encik Hitam, arrived with the news that Raja Kecik was coming to Trengganu.³ When His Majesty heard the news, he gave orders for a stockade to be built at the Trengganu estuary. Meanwhile, the Raja Indera Bungsu, the Punggawa Tua,

- and Daeng Kamboja (son of Opu Daeng Parani and Encik Uti) arrived from Riau⁴ with a message from the Yang Dipertuan Muda asking the ruler to return to Riau. His Majesty returned to Riau on 21 Jumad al-akhir, in the hijra year 1149¹ and conferred with the Yang Dipertuan Muda and the Raja Indera Bungsu about strengthening Riau's defences, attracting trade and preparing for Raja Ibrahim's circumcision on a Thursday in Zulhijjah.² Then a *haji* from Rembau came with the news that Raja Kecil had returned from Siantan. Later Panglima Bungsu came from Ungaran to say it was not Raja Kecil who was coming to attack Riau, but only his son, Raja Alam. The Yang Dipertuan Muda said, 'Why all the concern? Let him come; he is a man, and we too are men, but we already know what kind of a man he is'. So His Majesty the Yang Dipertuan Besar and the Yang Dipertuan left for a holiday at Pengujan, taking their wives and families for relaxation and to fulfil a vow there; the date of their departure was Tuesday, 20 Muharram 1150, exactly at midday.³
- Encik Asar and Encik Kamis then came to Pengujan and informed them that Raja Alam had arrived at the mouth of the Riau River with 62 vessels. His Majesty and the Yang Dipertuan Muda returned and went up the Riau River. Then the Yang Dipertuan Muda sent messengers to ask Raja Alam whether he had come with good or bad intentions, but Raja Alam would give no reply, other than that he came at the command of his father, Yang Dipertuan Raja Kecil. Then he proceeded upstream to Sebadam Point,⁴ where he erected a stockade. When the Yang Dipertuan Muda had received his messenger's report, he was very angry and commanded two of his captains (that is, Panglima Bungsu and Encik Kalang), saying, 'Go and attack that arrogant Alam. Why didn't his father come?' Furious, the captains set out. When they reached Sebadam Point they engaged the Siak fleet, firing with cannon and swivel guns, and playing gongs, drums, flutes, and pipes. During the battle a severe southerly storm developed, and the *perahu* of Panglima Bungsu and Encik Kalang ran aground. They were boarded by Siak men, but the two captains managed to escape in a *sampán*. They went upriver to present themselves before the Yang Dipertuan Muda and inform him that their vessels had been stripped of weapons and equipment by the Siak men, and any souls left had been massacred. Next Raja Alam, Daeng Mattekuh, and Raja Emas¹ rowed upriver, intending to capture Batangan. The Yang Dipertuan Muda gave Panglima Bungsu and Encik Kalang two large *gurab* and scores of *penjajab* to take downstream. At the Payung River² they engaged the enemy. There was a thunderous exchange of cannon and swivel-gun fire, and the Bugis in their *sampán* closed in, shooting with rifles and mus-

kets. Some Bugis princes like Daeng Kamboja, Raja Said and Raja La M-p-â.¹ Unuk were defending a stockade at Kota Ranting,³ and were within range of the Siak fleet, so they fired on them with cannon and swivel guns, using both single balls and grapeshot. The Siak fleet was badly hit and many of its men killed. Raja Alam withdrew to Kampung Bulang⁴ where he plundered a merchant *wangkang* berthed at Riau, as well as a *sampan kotak* and a Semarang *sehub*. He used the *wangkang* as a floating fort,⁵ mooring it with chains off Bulang.

The Yang Dipertuan Muda sent word to the chief harbour official to move all the trading *perahu en masse* up the river. So scores of them were moved upriver in rows. Then the Yang Dipertuan Muda gave the order for all the *penjajab* to attack Kampung Bulang once again. Raja Alam, Raja Emas, and Daeng Mattekuh retreated to the Tarum River to construct a stockade there. The Yang Dipertuan Muda was infuriated and personally hauled the *jalur* and *penjajab* from Simpang Kiri directly to the Tarum River.¹ Then the Yang Dipertuan Muda and the Punggawa of Tarum attacked the stockade and the *perahu* there. Both sides fought hard that day, but by the decree of Allah Almighty the people of Riau were helped at that time, and not a soul was killed or wounded. After fierce fighting, Raja Alam weakened because many of his captains were incompetent. He escaped with Daeng Mattekuh and Raja Emas back to his *perahu* at Sebadam Point. They retained the *wangkang* which had been made into a floating fort, one Semarang *sehub*, and a *sampan kotak* as well as cannon, swivel guns, and muskets. The battle lasted until dark, then at the time of the dawn prayers on Wednesday 17 Rabi al-akhir, in the hijra year 1150,² the Yang Dipertuan Muda attacked Sebadam Point, Raja Alam, Daeng Mattekuh and Raja Emas all took to their *perahu* and retreated to the mouth of the Riau River. The Yang Dipertuan Muda ordered the alarm gong to be beaten and the pipes and drums to be played. There was loud screaming and cheering, and all the Bugis chanted war songs, while the *penjajab* broke out their pennons. The thunderous uproar continued until the time of the afternoon prayers.

At the time of the evening prayers on the 18th of the same month,³ Raja Alam, Daeng Mattekuh, and Raja Emas escaped, but many of their vessels and *sampan* were left behind. When day broke, all the Siak vessels were visible in the Riau estuary, with only one or two sails to be seen in the Tiung Straits and at Lobam. The Riau captains wanted to pursue them, but were forbidden by the Yang Dipertuan Muda, who said, 'It is not customary to do that kind of thing', so the captains desisted. His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman and the Yang Dipertuan Muda returned upstream and gave a banquet for their ministers, warriors, and

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110:11

111:1 captains. Robes of honour were bestowed as befitted each of them. Then the Yang Dipertuan Muda invested Tun Abdullah with the title of Raja Tua.¹ He succeeded Daeng Menampuk, who had returned to the mercy of Allah Almighty, as was related earlier. His Majesty the Yang Dipertuan Muda, the Raja Indera Bungsu, and the Raja Tua were able to enjoy themselves in Riau for a time.

Then His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman and the Yang Dipertuan Muda married Sultan Sulaiman's daughter, Raja Bulang, to Yang Dipertuan Raja Kecil of Trengganu, son of the late Sultan Zain al-Abidin, following the customs traditional at a royal wedding, at dusk on Friday, 1 Muharram in the hijra year 1152, the year Dal.² They loved each other, as is the custom between a husband and wife. On Thursday the 14th of the same month³ the Raja Tua Tun Abdullah left this ephemeral world for that of the eternal.

111:11 To return to the story of Raja Alam, Daeng Mattekuh, and Raja Emas, who had returned defeated from their attack on Riau after sustaining losses of vessels and men as well as many casualties. They returned to present themselves before the Yang Dipertuan Raja Kecil and inform him about their campaign against Riau and the extent of their losses. After Raja Kecil had listened to his son, he brooded silently for a while and despaired of ever attacking Riau again. According to the story, this was Raja Kecil's final battle with the Opus and the Yang Dipertuan Muda of Riau. For the rest of his life, Raja Kecil never again threatened Riau, although his grandson Raja Ismail and his son Raja Alam did do battle with Yang Dipertuan Daeng Kamboja in Singapore (that is, Raja Ismail was involved, but he was also defeated, as was Raja Alam in Siantan by Sultan Sulaiman and the Yang Dipertuan Muda). Their story will be told later.

112:1 After this last attack on Riau, Raja Kecil lost his reason and, incapable of administering his kingdom, he handed it over to his son Raja Alam, who was given the title Yang Dipertuan Muda. Tengku Mahmud, his son by Sultan Sulaiman's sister, Tengku Kamariah, did not yet have a title although he was royal on both sides. These two sons continually quarrelled, vying with each other. Raja Alam would say, 'I am the elder, and so it is proper that I should be king', to which Tengku Mahmud would reply, 'I am more fitted to become ruler because I am of fully royal birth'.¹ And so it went on, with upheaval increasing daily, and the people of Siak becoming more and more divided. Some supported Tengku Mahmud, and some supported Raja Alam, causing disputes between their attendants which sometimes took the form of arguments, other times of fights, and even fatal stabbings. These intensified daily, and it was like a fire which flares up, becomes too great to extinguish,

and consumes the state. The disturbed condition of the country caused hardship to everyone, particularly the poor, who were hard pressed to earn their livelihood because of the unrest. Each person was concerned with safeguarding his village, his house and his family, fearful lest they be ravaged by the princes' attendants, since each side was as lawless as the other.

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In these circumstances, both parties increasingly followed their own desires, and the division between them developed into civil war, with fighting and killing on both sides. The state of Siak was thrown into disorder. Then each prince chose a stronghold, Tengku Mahmud at Kota Besar and Raja Alam at Kota Tuan Besar. There was fighting every day. Tengku Mahmud had many Bugis on his side, because he had married Daeng Mattekuh's daughter, and had already fathered two sons. The eldest, Raja Ismail, was grown up; the other was Raja Daud. There were other children as well, for he already had a large family. Raja Alam also had several sons. His eldest, Raja Muhammad Ali, was grown up, and there were other children, notably from his marriage to Daeng Khadijah, Opu Daeng Parani's daughter from Siantan. By her he had a daughter, Tengku Badariah, who was to become Sayid Ali's mother, as mentioned earlier in the genealogy.

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So Siak was thrown into disorder, because those two princes were at war in a divided state. The dignitaries began to feel hard pressed, and went to present themselves before the Yang Dipertuan, Raja Kecil. But Raja Kecil had already lost his reason, so when the dignitaries came to inform him of the war between his sons, he only replied, 'Whoever wins is my son'. The dignitaries were shocked. When gunfire was heard, Raja Kecil asked, 'What's that firing?' They replied respectfully, 'Your sons at war with Riau, my Lord', which pleased him and he laughed. It was at this time that his wife Tengku Kamariah fell seriously ill and died.¹ She was buried following the customs of a royal funeral. After her death Raja Kecil went completely mad. He slept on her grave, his only attendants being some old people.

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As the fighting between Raja Alam and Tengku Mahmud progressed, more and more people as well as dignitaries and Bugis sided with Tengku Mahmud. By the decree of Allah Almighty (*may He be praised and exalted*) Tengku Mahmud made an intensified attack on Raja Alam's stronghold. Raja Alam was unable to withstand it, and because he had such a small force he weakened and retreated from Siak to Batu Bahara, seeking support there. He later travelled to Palembang, where he obtained some money, then returned to Deli. Many people there accepted his authority and respected him, and so he built up support. He settled in Deli to prepare weapons and build up his fleet.

114:1 After Raja Alam had been defeated by Tengku Mahmud and had left Siak, Raja Kecik's insanity made him critically ill and shortly afterwards he died. *Verily we belong to Allah and to Him we return.* He was buried following the customary traditions of a royal funeral, and that was the situation.¹ He was succeeded by his son Sultan Mahmud, who was installed in Siak and governed the state and all its subject territories.

It was not long before Raja Alam made an attack on Siak. There was fierce fighting for several days, then Sultan Mahmud weakened and retreated from Siak to the island of Lawan.² There he and his father-in-law Daeng Mattekuh had *perahu* constructed at various places. Then he journeyed from place to place, seeking support, and that was the situation. After Raja Alam had taken Siak, he installed his son Raja Muhammad Ali as Yang Dipertuan Muda. He was secure governing Siak and its subject territories, and he strengthened the defences.

114:11 In some accounts and chronicles I found that after this, Sultan Mahmud regained Siak because he had help from Riau, so it is said. Later Raja Alam took it again, because he was helped by Raja Beralih from Minangkabau; this is what the chronicle states.³ In a dated chronicle, I found that it was His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman who wanted to help Sultan Mahmud or Raja Buang, as he was called in Johor. That happened immediately after the death of Yang Dipertuan Muda Opu Daeng Cellak, the Ruler buried in the Fort. When Daeng Kamboja became Yang Dipertuan Muda, he had a misunderstanding with Sultan Sulaiman, and then moved to Linggi. They were eventually reconciled, as this dated chronicle goes on to describe.⁴

115:1 To return to His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman Badr al-Alam Syah and Yang Dipertuan Muda Opu Daeng Cellak, known in the west as Daeng Pali. On Friday, 13 Rabi al-akhir in the hijra year 1153,¹ after the prayers, His Majesty left for Ungaran. The Yang Dipertuan Muda had left before him to inspect the western seas, and to call in at Muar. When His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman heard that Daeng Cellak was at Muar, he went there and met him. The reason the Yang Dipertuan Muda had gone there was because Sultan Mahmud and Daeng Mattekuh had fled from Siak and were in Muar acting as though they owned it. When the Yang Dipertuan Muda arrived, he ordered Tengku Mahmud and Daeng Mattekuh to leave. When His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman also arrived, he spoke with them ordering them to go, but they still would not move. The Yang Dipertuan Muda became angry and
115:11 ordered all his *perahu* to load their cannon. He then gave orders to close in and fire, which the captains did. Sultan Mahmud and Daeng Mattekuh separated and fled, leaving behind several cannon and some boats which were taken by the Riau captains. With His Majesty at that time

were the princes Raja Ibrahim, Tun Sulung Muda, Tun Abd al-Majid, Tun Pasang, Tun Abd al-Jamal, Tun Hasan,² and several scores of captains and fighting men.

After that His Majesty and the Yang Dipertuan Muda returned to Riau and arrived there on Thursday, 16 Jumad al-akhir in the hijra year 1153, at midday.³ His Majesty had been absent from Riau for sixty-one days, in the hijra year 1153. In that same hijra year His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman installed Tun Dalam as King of Trengganu with the title Yang Dipertuan Raja Kecil, that is, on Sunday, 10 Zuhijjah, at the time of the afternoon prayers,⁴ and on the same day Lung Pandak received the title Datuk Seri Maharaja.⁵

About two years after this, Yang Dipertuan Muda Opu Daeng Cellak left for Selangor with his wife, Tengku Mandak, Sultan Sulaiman's sister. He set out at the beginning of the year Jim on Monday, 11 Muharram¹ at the time of the midday prayers. He left with several vessels, amusing himself along the way and taking his wife ashore to bathe, until he reached Selangor. They were received with honour by the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor and stayed there enjoying themselves. Then the Yang Dipertuan Muda set out to return to Riau again. He went back to Selangor once more and on that occasion married Daeng Masik, daughter of Arung Pala,² and he returned with her to Riau. Arung Pala accompanied him. The Yang Dipertuan Muda neglected Daeng Masik and, feeling humiliated, Arung Pala returned to the Bugis homeland.

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After that the Yang Dipertuan Muda went again to Selangor and quarrelled with the Yang Dipertuan of Perak, because they had differing ideas and aims.³ The Yang Dipertuan of Perak was firm in his refusal to do what the Yang Dipertuan Muda wanted. The Yang Dipertuan Muda became angry and he attacked Perak. The Yang Dipertuan of Perak erected several stockades before the Yang Dipertuan Muda attacked with several vessels. War broke out, with the firing of cannon, muskets, and rifles. The Bugis closed in on the stockades, taking two or three in a single day. They then occupied those they had taken, using them to fire on the others, while the vessels kept closing in on the stockades still uncaptured, firing at them with cannon and swivel guns. Some of the Bugis were deployed to attack the stockades by land, and thus all the stockades were taken and Perak was defeated.

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After his victory, the Yang Dipertuan Muda remained in Perak, putting affairs to rights among the princes and the dignitaries. He drew up an oath of loyalty and a contract between them and himself and with the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor. The Yang Dipertuan Muda took two secondary wives, Encik Samidah and Timah Perak, as she was

117:1 called. Meanwhile, when the Yang Dipertuan Muda was still in Perak, Orang Kaya Sewa Raja⁴ came from His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman with a message asking the Yang Dipertuan Muda to return to Riau.¹ His Majesty then sent another messenger, Tengku Raja Ibrahim. Accompanying him were Tun Abd al-Kahar, Tun Sabtu, Punggawa J-m-², Encik Abd al-Jamal and the Panglima Bungsu, because His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman had received reports that the Yang Dipertuan Muda was at war with the King of Perak. For that reason His Majesty was sending the nobles and the prince Raja Ibrahim to Perak with several vessels. When the dispute was settled, he was to be asked to return, because rice was very expensive in Riau at that time.² When the messengers arrived, the Yang Dipertuan Muda could resist no longer, and promptly returned to Riau. On his arrival, he presented himself before His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman and gave him an account of the war in Perak. His Majesty was relieved that the Yang Dipertuan Muda had been spared from danger. This event occurred in the hijra year 1156. The princes and dignitaries went to ask the Yang Dipertuan Muda to return on Monday, 26 Rabi al-awal, at midday.³

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Not long afterwards, His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman, the Yang Dipertuan Muda, the princes and dignitaries left for a cruise and to fulfil a vow at Pengujan. His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman and the Yang Dipertuan Muda took along their palace retainers and their children and relatives. A great throng set out in several *kakap* and *bedar*, and the dignitaries and princes went in *perahu* and *sampan*. Arriving at Pengujan, they enjoyed themselves feasting and relaxing. They set out on 10 Rabi akhir, and on the 14th of that month they returned to Riau.⁴ And thus I conclude.

118:1 According to the story, at this time Riau was well populated and prosperous, and all the trade from Java came. Several vessels from Bengal brought opium and other goods, and the trading *perahu* in the Riau estuary ranged from *keci* to *selub*, *senat*, *wangkang* and Siamese *tob*.¹ In the Riau River itself the *perahu* from the outer dependencies were crammed like sardines, joined together and moored. According to the story, it was at this time that the Yang Dipertuan Muda Opu Daeng Cellak sent the Punggawa of Tarum and Penghulu J-n-d-n-a-n to collect gambier seeds from the island of Perca and bring them back to Riau to introduce gambier cultivation there. The Bugis and Malays planted the gambier, establishing several hundred holdings.² The labourers who processed it were Chinese from China³ and with the cultivation of gambier, Riau became even more populous. Trading boats arrived from such eastern areas as Java and the Bugis homeland. Javanese goods were bartered for gambier, and Riau became increasingly attractive as

an entrepôt where the competitive market made the round trip very profitable. His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman, the Yang Dipertuan Muda, the Raja Indera Bungsu, and all the dignitaries received a considerable income from customs duties and harbour dues. At that time the circumstances were such that there were many wealthy people in the state and many vessels were at the ready. According to the descriptions of the old people, 'Those days in Riau were good'. 118:11

Later, in the time of Yang Dipertuan Muda Daeng Kamboja, the situation worsened for a while. It improved again, until under Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Haji it became increasingly prosperous. When Raja Haji became Yang Dipertuan Muda, the prosperity was maintained for seven years continuing into the eighth. When Raja Haji died, Riau was ruined, and that was the situation. An account of what happened will be given later in this chronicle.

According to the story, in the hijra year one thousand one hundred and fifty-eight, in figures 1158,⁴ the year Alif, the Yang Dipertuan Muda Daeng Cellak (or Daeng Pali), fell ill. He had not been ill long when he died, returning to the mercy of Allah Almighty, on Wednesday, 17 Rabi al-akhir at the time of the afternoon prayers.¹ *Verily we belong to Allah and to Him we return.* He was buried on Thursday at midday in the Fort. The death of Opu Daeng Cellak caused turmoil in Riau. And although the dignitaries and old people were all grief stricken, Sultani Sulaiman suffered most because the Yang Dipertuan Muda had been like a brother, and they had been of one mind. His heart nearly broke when he looked at the Yang Dipertuan Muda's daughters, Tengku Putih and Tengku Hitam. 119:1

Sultan Sulaiman then assembled the people inside the palace to make preparations for the Yang Dipertuan Muda's funeral, and the burial was carried out following the customs traditional for the funeral of a great prince. The people of Riau went into mourning for forty days, as was customary after such a death. He was buried in the Fort on Thursday, at the time of the pre-noon prayers, and he was known posthumously as the Ruler buried in the Fort. His descendants who bore titles became Yang Dipertuan Mudas of Riau generation after generation, right up to the time of writing this chronicle, that is, to the hijra year 1282.² There has only been a shift to another descent line in two instances; the two Yang Dipertuan Mudas of Riau who were not of his direct line were his nephew Daeng Kamboja and his great-nephew Raja Ali, the fifth Yang Dipertuan Muda. After that those who became Yang Dipertuan Muda were his direct descendants, up to the year mentioned above. 119:11

According to the story, after the Yang Dipertuan Muda had passed

away, His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman Badr al-Alam Syah had difficulty in selecting a successor, as stipulated in the oath of loyalty between the Bugis and Malays. The only one appropriate was Daeng Kamboja, Opu Daeng Parani's son. Although the Yang Dipertuan Muda had left a son, Raja Haji, he was still an adolescent and too young. There was Raja Lumu, who was also his son, but he was in Selangor. Daeng Kamboja remained the most suitable, as he was the eldest and he met with Bugis approval. So it was fixed that Daeng Kamboja would become Yang Dipertuan Muda of Riau. Daeng Kamboja then asked leave to go to Selangor first, to consult with his relative the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor as well as the dignitaries and all the numerous Bugis there. His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman gave his permission, and Daeng Kamboja then set sail for Selangor, accompanied by Raja Said, son of Opu Daeng Marewah Kelana Jaya Putera.¹

In Selangor, the two princes spent about a year conferring with all their relatives and the Bugis dignitaries there. Just after the two princes had left for Selangor, a disordered person arrived, acting in a manner which violated Malay custom and tradition as it had been passed down through the ages. I have taken this information from a dated manuscript, and used it here. The name of the newcomer was not given.² Raja Kecil, the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu, arrived with the Datuk Sewa Raja of Trengganu on Friday 12 Rabi al-akhir. If calculated according to the Wednesday era this would be the year Ba, and if according to the Thursday era, it would be the year Alif.³ Yang Dipertuan Muda Opu Daeng Cellak died on the 17th of the month just mentioned, making an interval of six days between the arrival of Tun Dalam, King of Trengganu, and the Yang Dipertuan Muda's death. Please reflect on the significance of what has just been said.⁴ Thus, in brief, I conclude.

After this His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman left for Muar on Thursday, 1 Rabi al-awal in the hijra year 1159.⁵ Accompanying His Majesty, the Yang Dipertuan were Raja Kecil of Trengganu, Tengku Raja Muhammad,⁶ and the Datuk Sewa Raja. They returned to Riau, arriving on Thursday evening, 11 Jumad al-akhir.¹ Then on Tuesday evening, 10 Rajab the Raja Tua, Encik Musuk, returned to the mercy of Allah Al mighty.²

His Majesty made preparations to leave for Siak on 23 Rajab, embarking for the voyage on 12 Syawal and returning on Tuesday evening 20 Zulkaedah.³ When His Majesty returned from Siak, Raja Kecil's son, Raja Buang, asked the ruler for forgiveness and surrendered himself. He was forgiven by His Majesty and made his excuses to the local born Bugis princes. Later the story will be told of how they went to help Siak. After Daeng Kamboja had finished conferring with all the

Bugis in Selangor, he came to Riau on 17 Muharram in the year 1161.⁴ Then on a Monday in the month of Safar,⁵ Tengku Mandak, wife of Yang Dipertuan Muda Opu Daeng Cellak, died. *Verily we belong to Allah and to Him we return.* She was buried on the Tuesday. When Daeng Kamboja arrived, His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman installed him as Yang Dipertuan Muda of Riau and its subject territories. The installation followed the same customs as used at the installation of previous Yang Dipertuan Mudas and Daeng Kamboja became established as Yang Dipertuan Muda of Riau. Raja Haji, son of Opu Daeng Cellak, the second Yang Dipertuan Muda, was appointed as his assistant, to be Kelana⁶ in all matters. Daeng Kamboja received the title of Yang Dipertuan Muda on Monday, 11 Rabi al-awal in the hijra year 1161.⁷

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After the installation the Yang Dipertuan Muda left for Selangor, taking Raja Haji with him. When they reached Selangor the Yang Dipertuan Muda married His Majesty Raja Haji to Engku Encik Aisyah, daughter of his younger brother Engku Kelana Muda,⁸ following the customs traditional at a royal wedding. They loved each other as is customary between husband and wife but they had not been married long before Engku Encik Aisyah died, returning to the mercy of Allah Almighty. *Verily we belong to Allah and to Him we return.* She was buried following the customs traditional for a royal funeral. Some time later Tengku Raja Haji took another wife, Engku Encik Sejuk, daughter of the King of Amaran.¹ That wedding followed the traditions of a royal wedding and they loved each other as is customary between husband and wife. And thus I conclude.

122:1

Then the Yang Dipertuan Muda left for Riau; he twice made the return trip to Selangor before going back to Riau to settle. According to the story, during the time that Daeng Kamboja was Yang Dipertuan Muda, there were many disturbances in Riau between the Malay princes and locally born Bugis princes. The disturbances and slanderous rumours arose from the cross purposes, conflicting intentions and misunderstandings between them. The leader of the Malay princes was the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu, Raja Kecil, called Tun Dalam. As son-in-law of Sultan Sulaiman Badr al-Alam Syah, he was supported by half the Malay princes, such as the Bendahara, Temenggung, and others.²

122:11

Their attitude, which they had made obvious by their behaviour, was that the Bugis were total newcomers and His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman had surrendered to the Yang Dipertuan Muda absolute power over his kingdom, his ministers and his senior officers. Even dignitaries like the Bendahara and Temenggung, ministers of ancient origin, had their power diminished by the newcomers. This became the justification for the Malay attitude.

His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman kept his personal attitude to himself; his official stance was that the kingdom that was his and had been his father's had been lost, taken by Raja Kecik of Siak. Raja Kecik had also had his father murdered, seized the regalia and humiliated the heirs by making them attendants and the like. After Johor and its subject territories were in his hands, and with the Johor regalia in his possession, Raja Kecik had been installed in Johor to the beat of royal drums. For three years none of Sultan Sulaiman's Malay relatives, neither from Patani, Kelantan nor Trengganu had helped him to regain his kingdom from Raja Kecik. On the contrary, they had completely humiliated him. Some of them had even said Sultan Sulaiman was not fit to become king because his mother was of lesser birth, that is, she was an Acehnese from Pedir,¹ called Nusamah, who had been bartered for a gold rice-pot cover. Other relatives said he was not fit to become ruler because his mother was the daughter of the masseuse, and much else was said, so that he despaired of recovering his kingdom or obtaining help from his relatives, and had thus ceased his efforts in that direction. This was the reason he had asked the five Bugis princely brothers for help. With their arrival, all his aims had been realized. His father's death had been avenged, the kingdom of Johor was his and his enemies and relatives had been confounded in their various attempts to do him evil. They had tried wars of attrition and by patrolling Johor's outer dependencies and subject islands had interfered with Riau's trade. Then his kingdom had become stable, returning to the status it enjoyed under His Majesty his father. The only repayment had already been effected, and had been made in consultation with the Bendahara, Temenggung, and all the dignitaries. Initially, everyone had been pleased at the appointment of a Bugis Yang Dipertuan Muda but suddenly, this had happened, when the Bugis were already like his own flesh and blood and had become members of his own family, and when the state had regained its former commercial prosperity. Only now did his Malay relatives want to erase the Bugis' faithful services, even though a mutual contract of loyalty had been sworn. Was all this to be cancelled out? Surely not! This was His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman's conviction, which conflicted with the attitude of his Malay relatives.²

The Bugis conviction was that Sultan Sulaiman had summoned them before he had become Sultan and had asked their help to vindicate his shame, to regain his regalia and his kingdom, and to oppose his enemies. They thought, 'Already we have achieved his aims and wishes many times over. Sultan Sulaiman and the Malay faction wanted to repay our Bugis services as befitted our race and name. We rejected their offer several times. But the Malay faction would not desist (as has been de-

scribed), until finally we were chosen to be appointed Yang Dipertuan Muda. Now we have become like brothers of the flesh, fond of each other, and our descendants have become their descendants. At present we Bugis want to help them and yet they want to destroy our oath of loyalty, and want to shame us by denying us our hereditary offices. That must not happen. Even if Sultan Sulaiman wanted to support the Malay faction, we would oppose it firstly by any appropriate means, or else by withdrawing to somewhere suitable. If there are others, besides Sultan Sulaiman, let them put their manliness to the test. Regardless of whether they are groups from Siak, Pahang, Trengganu, or Kelantan, we will take them on'. This was the Bugis attitude.

124:11

The Raja Tua, Daeng Menampuk's son, had a royal Malay mother, so his attitude wavered. Sometimes he sided with the Malay faction and at others he amended his view and supported Sultan Sulaiman. This situation, with three points of view, produced a *climate of jealousy and malice*, which increased when it was obvious that under Bugis administration the state had become prosperous. The resentment smouldered, gradually increasing in intensity. When a fire has gone unchecked it is difficult to extinguish and eventually it becomes a conflagration of enmity and anger, consuming all reason. Sparks and flames escape in the form of words and actions, seeking out anything which can wreak destruction and tribulation on an enemy. And thus I conclude.

125:1

I found accounts of the origin of the princely Malay faction's treachery against the locally born Bugis princes recorded in historical chronicles from Riau, Trengganu and Siak. Allah Almighty willing, I will present below each of the three versions, their accounts of events and the course of Malay behaviour and actions. Attempts by the Malay faction to cause disruption originated when Raja Kecik's son, Sultan Mahmud (known in Siak as Raja Buang) arrived in Riau to ask pardon for his errors from His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman and from the Bugis, just as he had earlier requested pardon from Sultan Sulaiman alone. Then he asked His Majesty for assistance to attack his brother Raja Alam in Siak. The consensus of the Malay faction, led by Raja Kecik of Trengganu, was that it would be right to help him. The consensus of the Bugis was that it would be wrong to help him, because he was fighting his brother. The Trengganu Malay faction was insistent that he be given aid, and it was this advice which His Majesty followed, so that it seemed as if Malays and Bugis were at cross purposes. His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman set out on Tuesday, 12 Syawal in the hijra year 1161.¹ When he reached Siak, he made a further request for assistance from the Dutch at Malacca, because it was said, he had a contract with them.² The Dutch did help His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman, and Siak was

125:11

defeated. Raja Alam retreated to Batu Bahara and Raja Buang became Yang Dipertuan of Siak.³ Then he built a settlement at the Mampura River⁴ and moved from Buntan. The Dutch established themselves at Gontong Island. Sultan Mahmud could not refuse this because he had accepted the Company's aid. Then the Dutch made a contract with Sultan Mahmud and Sultan Sulaiman returned to Riau on Tuesday evening, 20 Zulkaedah.⁵

126:1 After the Dutch were established on Gontong Island, Sultan Mahmud had the ill-considered idea of going to Sanglar to plunder Javanese *perahu* and Dutch *keci* en route to Siak. The Governor of Malacca was furious and sent an armed *keci* and a warship to attack Sultan Mahmud at Sanglar. The *keci* engaged Sultan Mahmud's two *penjajab*, which caught fire when struck amidships by bullets. The *penjajab* then escaped through the seas back to Sanglar Island, and the Dutch returned to Malacca. The King of Malacca sent instructions to the commander of the Dutch post at Gontong Island that they were never to allow Sultan Mahmud to enter Siak again, because although the Company and Sultan Sulaiman had just helped him, he continued to commit piracy. Unable to enter Siak, he roamed the seas with more than forty vessels and extended his piratical activities.¹

126:11 Not long after this the Dutch left Gontong Island and returned to Malacca. *Allah knows the truth*, I do not know the reason for it. Their trade may have not been profitable there, or perhaps they were afraid; I could not find out. However, I came across a Siak history, which from beginning to end has no years, nor dates, let alone months or days—I could not find one. The spelling was quite wrong and the expression was not at all pleasing to read, possibly because it has been passed from person to person, and whoever wrote it did not carefully examine his material to verify it. That is my opinion. This Siak Chronicle mentions that the Dutch withdrew from Gontong Island because of an attack by Sultan Mahmud.² The story goes that when the Dutch refused Sultan Mahmud Raja Buang entry to Siak, he was furious and sailed up the Siak River to Gontong Island with four *kakap* and a hundred men to attack the jetty. The Dutch agent was taken by surprise and went out to the jetty to ask whose *perahu* it was. When Sultan Mahmud heard the agent approaching, he sprang out of his *perahu* onto the jetty with the swiftness of a tiger, and took the agent's arm. The agent said, 'Why have you come without telling us?' Sultan Mahmud replied, 'Why should I tell you? It is my state'. The agent said, 'What do you want? Tell me here'. Sultan Mahmud replied, 'How can I talk with everyone else here? I am frightened this platform will collapse'. The agent laughed and said, 'Two thousand people could not destroy it'.

127:1

Then Sultan Mahmud pressed down on one leg, and the bridge creaked beneath his weight as if it would collapse. Taking the agent by the arm, he then led him inside the fort. Thus Sultan Mahmud, accompanied by the agent, was allowed to pass inside. The soldier on guard went to block the entrance, but fifteen of Sultan Mahmud's attendants succeeded in forcing their way in. Then the agent asked, 'What do you wish to discuss?' Sultan Mahmud replied, 'Sheikh Salim will be coming later, then we can talk. Do not be afraid'. His Majesty gave orders for Sheikh Salim to be summoned, and he arrived with about forty men, each entering through the cannon embrasures.¹ The Dutch soldiers were on the alert, and the agent was about to speak when His Majesty gave a signal to his son-in-law, Sayid Umar,² who then stabbed the agent with his kris called 'Jambuan', and the agent died. The Dutch guard showered bullets on the king, who put his son Tengku Ismail behind him, and braced his chest against the bullets which fell like rain. Those which struck him were like *emping*³ wafers and did not penetrate his body, so great were his powers of invulnerability. His Majesty's attendants all fought savagely and massacred the soldiers on Gontong Island. The Dutch patrol vessel escaped back to Malacca and Sultan Mahmud was once more in possession of Siak. He gave orders for all his *perahu* to enter Siak and then he had stockades and breastworks built in expectation of a reprisal from Malacca. But the Dutch did not attack.

127:11

His son, Raja Ismail, married and had several children, sons and daughters. His sons were Tengku Isa and Tengku Yahya, known generally as Tengku Sulung, and some others who will not be mentioned here. Sultan Mahmud was secure in Siak, and so we will leave his story here and continue with the account of his brother, Yang Dipertuan Raja Alam.

128:1

To continue the story of Raja Alam in Batu Bahara. When he had grown tired of living there, he had several vessels constructed and set out for Siantan.¹ There he attacked a ship, seizing a great deal of property. He then had more vessels built, armed them for war, and bought ammunition. He ruled Siantan as if he owned it, and no longer recognized the authority of Johor or Riau in any way. He sent a letter to his brother Sultan Mahmud Raja Buang, asking him to come and aid him in Siantan and, if he was in Riau, to come quickly. His brother replied, 'I am coming'. Raja Alam's reasoning was that if Riau did not try and take Siantan, he would be certain to remain there as ruler, and there would be no further cause for enmity with his brother. His brother's thinking was similar, but he was a little wary, because His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman had also written to him and similarly asked for aid. And that was the situation.

128:11

According to the story, when His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman received word that Siantan had been taken by Raja Alam, he conferred with Raja Kecik of Trengganu and all the dignitaries about going to Siantan to attack Raja Alam. The Yang Dipertuan Muda did not wish to set out until his spearmen arrived from Selangor, so Sultan Sulaiman left for Siantan before him, together with Raja Kecik of Trengganu, Tun Hisup and Tun Pasang.² When they reached Siantan, the Riau and Trengganu fleets engaged Raja Alam's fleet and stockades. Raja Alam ordered his captains to offer the utmost resistance and the Trengganu and Riau fleets fell back. Raja Alam shouted to the Trengganu forces, 'If you are men, come ashore. We'll just fight it out. The lads can fight hand to hand, or we can have a duel ourselves'. But there was not a single response from the men of Trengganu, except for an exchange of long range fire.³ Raja Alam did not take the war very seriously.

129:1

His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman had set out for Siantan at the time of the afternoon prayers on Friday, 12 Syawal 1161.¹ He arrived there in the same month. They fought until the month of Safar² without defeating Raja Alam. He did not seem in the least hard-pressed; in fact, he made light of the war, continually sending messages to Raja Kecik of Trengganu to come ashore and have a duel. But Raja Kecik did not come ashore because he was occupied with conferences and discussions.

129:11

According to the story, after five months of warfare, His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman was in difficulties and worried that even if he was not defeated outright, it would certainly be ignominious for him. So he summoned Hang Dewa and sent him with a message to Riau urging Yang Dipertuan Muda Daeng Kamboja to come. Hang Dewa sailed to Riau, arriving there early Friday morning, 12 Safar.³ He presented himself before the Yang Dipertuan Muda and informed him of His Majesty's situation in Siantan. The Yang Dipertuan Muda said, 'We are still waiting for the Bugis from Selangor'. Then on Sunday night, 2 Jumad al-akhir, in the hijra year 1162, the fleet from Selangor arrived with La Kanna,⁴ the commanders and the Selangor Bugis, together with 500 spearmen of noble birth, all of the Bugis race. They entered Riau by day on the Monday, and presented themselves before the Yang Dipertuan Muda. Unsheathing their krises in front of him, they performed a Bugis dance of loyalty and swore allegiance on their weapons. When that was done the Yang Dipertuan Muda, together with Tunku Raja Muhamamad, set sail for Siantan to meet His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman on Monday, 22 Rajab.⁵

When they reached Siantan they presented themselves before His Majesty who then consulted and conferred with the Yang Dipertuan Muda. Meanwhile forces had also arrived from Siak. There were about

thirty vessels of various sizes which had come with Sultan Mahmud Raja Buang, Raja Alam's brother, and Sultan Sulaiman's nephew. When he reached Siantan he went ashore to present himself before His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman, and was interrogated by the Yang Dipertuan Muda, 'Why did you come here, and whose side are you on?' Raja Buang replied, 'I am impartial, for my brother is on that side and my father is on this'.
 The Yang Dipertuan Muda answered, 'Be that as it may, I personally feel that whoever trains their cannon muzzles on His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman is my enemy and foe. Even if it were my brother or my son, Allah Almighty willing, I would still fire on them'.¹ That is what the Yang Dipertuan Muda said. Raja Buang then asked leave to return to his vessel.

130:1

When he had gone, the Yang Dipertuan Muda made obeisance to Sultan Sulaiman, and said, 'In my opinion, there is no need for the Riau and Trengganu men to fight ashore; leave that side of it to the Selangor men and myself. Let the Riau and Trengganu people have their cannon at the ready, trained on Raja Buang, because I felt uneasy listening to him. After all, it's his own brother who will be under attack. I will not interfere between my Lord and him, but as for these newly arrived fellows, how do you think they will act towards you, if they see that you cannot distinguish between friend or foe?' His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman replied, 'That is true. Do whatever you think best, because I entrust it all to you, for better or worse'. Then Tun Dalam, Raja Kecil of Trengganu, spoke too, 'Before you arrived, he invited us to come ashore and fight it out with hand weapons, no more cannon warfare, that's his intention'. The Yang Dipertuan Muda replied, 'Good. In that way the matter would be resolved quickly. I'm also in favour of that, so that the thing can be settled quickly and defeat or victory be determined'.

130:11

When they had finished conferring, the Yang Dipertuan Muda ordered the Bugis to chant war songs. Then he commanded them to attack the stockade at Terampak.² They were repulsed by Siak and Siantan men, who were supporting Raja Alam. There was fierce fighting, first with cannon and swivel guns, then as they closed in, with rifles and muskets. They drew in even further, slashing with cutlasses and swords and stabbing with spears and lances. They thrust forward with short crises, at close quarters, some grappling with the enemy, fighting hand to hand. The battle raged furiously, because neither the Selangor nor Siak followers were willing to yield ground.

131:1

Realizing this, La Kanna and his commanders charged forward to an open area with several of the officers and their attendants. They attacked again, and many were killed on both sides. Some old people say that there were about 400 fatalities on each side. Raja Alam's forces weak-

131:11 ened, because many of his captains had been killed. They all retreated into their stockade at Terampak which, encircled by the Bugis, was almost taken. However, Raja Alam's brother, Raja Buang, ordered him to flee immediately, and a moment later a messenger from the Yang Dipertuan Muda also ordered Raja Alam to retreat. Raja Alam then retreated with three *perahu* flanking him and sailed to Matan, where he was taken into the protection of the king and treated in the manner customary for the relatives and children of kings. He remained in Matan, where the king at the time was Ratu Mangkurat, the son of Sultan Muhammad Zain al-Din.

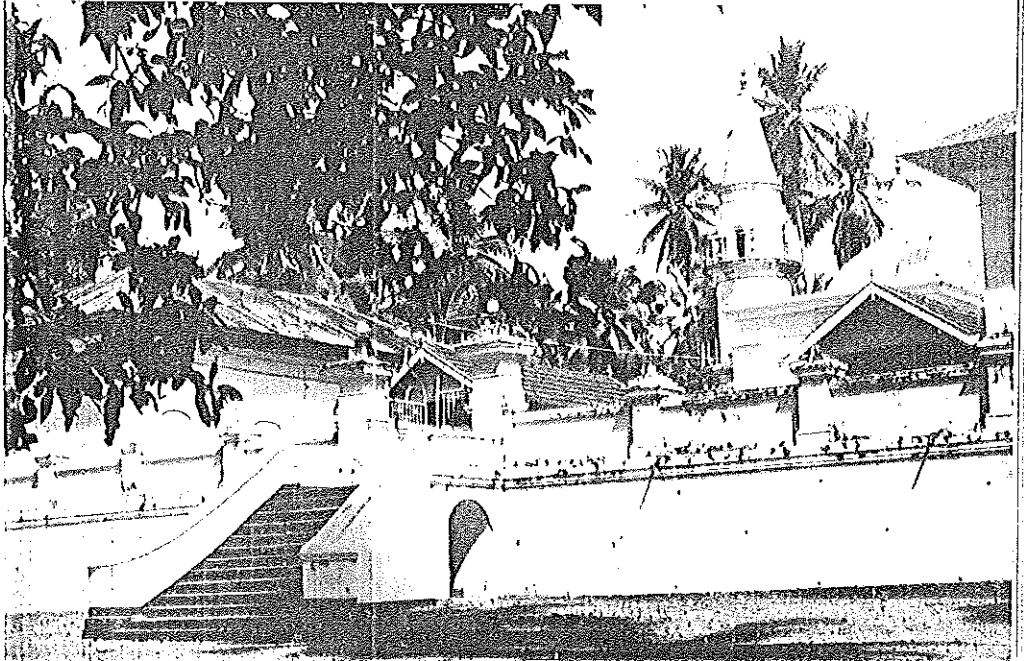
132:1 After the flight of Raja Alam, the Yang Dipertuan Muda asked His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman's permission to return to Riau, because the state was unguarded. During this period many people from Siantan were taken prisoner—anyone whose loyalty to the kingdom of Riau and Johor had wavered. The Yang Dipertuan Muda returned to Riau in the hijra year 1163 on Thursday, 17 Zulhijjah.¹ Afterwards His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman also left, returning to Riau on Thursday, 11 Rabi al-akhir, at the time of the evening prayers, and in the hijra year 1164.² His Majesty arrived in Riau in complete safety and there he remained, with His Majesty the Yang Dipertuan Raja Kecil of Trengganu and his entourage. At this time Raja Buang, the Yang Dipertuan of Siak, wished to leave Siantan and return to Siak, so he plundered all Raja Alam's equipment and belongings, as well as his swivel guns, which were taken back to Siak. He sailed back to Siak and there he remained.¹ And thus I conclude this abbreviated account.

132:11 To continue the story of Sultan Sulaiman, who was in Riau with the Yang Dipertuan Muda and all the royal princes. His Majesty hoped that his son of fully royal birth, Raja Abd al-Jalil, would succeed him. Raja Abd al-Jalil had married Tengku Putih, the daughter of the Yang Dipertuan Muda Opu Daeng Cellak and Tengku Mandak. The Ruler buried in the Fort had sons, notably Raja Haji, who was already old enough to execute the Yang Dipertuan Muda's commands diligently and was close to his brother-in-law, Raja Abd al-Jalil. They were of one accord, like brothers. It was the same with His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman. After he returned from the attack on Siantan, he was very close to the Bugis faction. The affection, the honesty and sincerity, the intimacy between him and the Yang Dipertuan Muda and his family was quite apparent. When some of the Malay faction saw this, the fire of *jealousy and hatred* was implanted in their hearts. This fire consumed their reason, and when their reason was thus destroyed, they followed their own desires, not caring about the *benefits or the losses of this world or that to come*. And thus I conclude.



1 Riau harbour, showing anchored boats

2 The Mosque on Pulau Penyengat, built during the nineteenth century





5 Raja Muda Muhammad Yusuf and his following, c. 1867

I found the malicious rumours circulating between the Bugis and Malays in a chronicle composed by old people who had the story from Tengku Busu,² a relative of the late Ruler Sulaiman, the son of the late Ruler Abd al-Jalil. Tengku Busu moved from Trengganu to Dungun, and he was the father of Tengku Wuk.¹ Here is what it says. 133:1

The Malay faction and the King of Trengganu were causing trouble during their nightly patrols. They claimed that the Bugis intended to turn traitor, and each night they created a disturbance, saying, 'The Bugis intend to burn down the houses and attack'. The same rumour was spread two or three times in the same month, and so the Yang Dipertuan Muda, together with the Bendahara and Raja Indera Bungsu, investigated thoroughly but could find no substance in the rumours. Then four or five days later, the Trengganu faction and the Malay faction created another disturbance saying, 'The Bugis intend to burn down the fort'. They were pursued but they escaped, so in the middle of the night a great hubbub broke out, and there was noise and confusion in Riau. The next morning the Yang Dipertuan immediately assembled all the Bugis and Malays, the two factions, before him. In the midst of this large gathering, the Yang Dipertuan Muda opened the enquiry. 'Who has seen this? Who did the pursuing and who was chased? Who brought the news of the events that night and who is going to report now?' But not a single person would come forward. 133:11

When His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman saw how the dignitaries of the Malay faction,² together with his son-in-law Raja Kecik of Trengganu were behaving, he was downcast. Raja Abd al-Jalil grew increasingly angry.

Two or three days later the malicious rumour started again, saying, 'The Bugis are up to no good. They are in the fort, dressed in their chain mail shirts and Bintan helmets,³ armed with unsheathed krises'. Once again the Trengganu people swarmed out with bundles of spears to run them to ground, circling around, screaming and shouting noisily and running everywhere with their spears and krises. When they were all exhausted, they returned inside the fort again with a great deal of noise, saying, 'Only a few evaded us there, but we pursued them'. However, somebody said that this was just the Trengganu people exaggerating.

Once again His Majesty and the Yang Dipertuan Muda assembled the Bugis, and even the Bugis who had come to trade were ordered to appear and make themselves known. But still the Malay faction would not identify anyone. His Majesty said, 'Who first saw this?' It was not certain. Someone said, 'Someone said they saw them'. Another person was questioned and he said, 'Someone reported what someone else

134:1 had seen'. And things went on in this way. The actual witnesses could not be definitely established. The disturbances ceased, but about ten or fifteen days later a rumour again circulated widely, 'The Bugis plan to stab through the floor of Engku Tun Wangsa's house'. There was an uproar again that night, and the Trengganu people ran hither and thither with bundles of spears at the ready. They ran to Engku Tun Wangsa's house, making a great deal of noise and saying, 'Surround it! Surround it! That's him', and set off in pursuit.

Raja Abd al-Jalil was rudely awoken, and went to see who was making the noise. When he reached the place where the confusion was going on, he asked, 'What's going on?' and the people said, 'The Bugis are attacking Engku Tun Wangsa's palace'. Raja Abd al-Jalil said, 'How many people were wounded in the attack?' They answered, 'No one was wounded, because their crises were caught fast'. Raja Abd al-Jalil then said, 'Did you recognize the people who made this attack? Were they Bugis? Who were they? Were you able to see their faces in the torchlight?' And the people answered, 'No, my Lord'. He then said, 'If you did not see their faces, how do you know that they were Bugis when it is such a dark night?' They answered, 'Conduct an investigation, if you please, my Lord. Many of your humble servants said that they thought the people were Bugis, and we just followed'. Then Raja Abd al-Jalil said, 'If that is how you all behaved, it seems that you deliberately want to pit your Lord¹ against me or provoke the Bugis'.

134:11

Raja Abd al-Jalil returned, and told His Majesty everything that had happened. His Majesty was extremely concerned, because he knew Tun Dalam and the Malay faction were scandalmongers, which accounted for their behaviour. In these circumstances, His Majesty felt ill at ease, and every day he was torn between love and enmity.² When it was daylight, the Yang Dipertuan Muda went to the audience hall to present himself before His Majesty. Then His Majesty ordered Tun Dalam, the Datuk Bendahara, his son Raja Abd al-Jalil, Raja Haji, and all the princes to be summoned. They appeared before him, and he closely questioned first one side, then the other. Nothing, however, was said by the Malay faction, neither would they identify anyone. Raja Abd al-Jalil said, 'They deliberately set about to create a disturbance. If they had really come across Bugis attacking a house, or Malays intending to perpetrate a violent act of this kind, they would have simply stabbed them. What was there to scream about, in the middle of the night, with their running hither and thither, to and fro?' He returned to his palace, and all the others also returned to their homes.

135:1

The Yang Dipertuan Muda was thus aware that the Malay faction deliberately intended to spread rumours against him. A number of His

Majesty Sultan Sulaiman's sons became increasingly close to the Bugis, which fuelled Tun Dalam's annoyance. The rumours grew daily. Then the Yang Dipertuan Muda thought, 'If this situation continues, there will eventually be a breach with the Malay faction, regardless of whether it's myself or them who cause it. What has happened to the oath of loyalty?' He summoned his cousin, Raja Haji, and informed him of the entire affair, saying, 'I intend to request permission to leave Riau now, but you should stay, because I cannot endure seeing the final destruction of the oath of loyalty'. Raja Haji answered, 'When Tun Dalam began harassing us, rather than prolong it, I invited him to go out of Riau to any place he chose, and do battle or engage in single combat, so that our differences could be resolved quickly.'

135:11

When this consultation was finished, the Yang Dipertuan Muda went to present himself before Sultan Sulaiman. When he was in His Majesty's presence, he asked permission to leave Riau, but His Majesty would not allow it. When the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu saw and heard His Majesty restraining the Yang Dipertuan Muda, his heart burned, and he spread various rumours which served to increase the hostility. The Yang Dipertuan Muda could endure it no longer, and he again asked Sultan Sulaiman for permission to leave, but again His Majesty restrained him.

136:1

According to the story, the Yang Dipertuan Muda asked permission to leave scores of times, but His Majesty would not permit it. At this stage the Yang Dipertuan Muda made ready his *perahu*, taking all his belongings and his family aboard. When everything was completed, he renewed his request to His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman. He paid homage, making obeisance and weeping, 'Forgive me, my Lord, I am going to leave whether you give me permission or not. An accursed traitor I am not; this is neither my doing, nor yours, my Lord. I cannot endure any more. I am like a sack which is filled to overflowing, and cannot hold anything more. If I endure this for even one more day, it is sure to bring ruin on you, my Lord. What will happen to my reputation? Up to the present I have improved Riau but now I might bring about its destruction. What would then happen to my reputation? Wherever we Bugis go we are under your command. Summon us, order us to carry out a task, and Allah willing, we will do it. But, for the present, let us part, so it is not the Bugis who break the heart of our Lord and his family. While people feel affection towards me, I will stay, but when people hate me I will leave, before treachery destroys my reputation and the oath of loyalty.¹ The reputation of my ancestors must not be lost'. Thus he spoke to His Majesty, although the manuscript version has been somewhat abbreviated, because it is too long.²

136:11

137:1 According to the story, when His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman heard his royal son, he wept and said, 'Oh, Tengku Raja Muda, how can you do this? I put my trust in you. It is my wish that when I die I may be buried near you. But for the present what I hope for is unobtainable. What shall we do?' And the Raja Muda said, 'What can be done? At this point it's my destiny, because I want to protect my Lord from injury'. He then asked leave to go aboard his *perahu* and immediately sailed to Linggi.¹

His Majesty was lost for words and almost out of his mind, and there were no further ways to restrain him so that every day he wept, despairing of the behaviour of his Malay relatives; His anxiety about whether they would destroy him increased, but he did not show this because he feared that even greater rumours might be spread against him. However, with his son Raja Abd al-Jalil he sought some plan to make the Bugis secure.

When the Yang Dipertuan Muda had reached Linggi, he settled there, often going back and forth to Selangor, and sending others to do the same. A great many Bugis gathered around him.

137:11 According to the story, Raja Haji remained in Riau with his younger sisters. It was in connection with this that a great confusion and disturbance broke out, instigated by Raja Kecik of Trengganu and all the Datuk Bendahara's group against the remaining Bugis. A Dutch ship arrived in Riau.² I do not know what schemes Raja Kecik of Trengganu discussed with the Datuk Bendahara, or what they discussed with the Dutch. Suddenly they told His Majesty that they wanted Raja Haji and his younger sisters, that is, Raja Aminah and Raja Halimah, to be given over to the Dutch and taken away from Riau because, it was said, this would bring considerable advantage to His Majesty in the future.³ Two or three times a day they made their request to His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman. All this was known to Tengku Putih and Tengku Hitam and Allah! Allah! they flung themselves to the ground, weeping. When the news became widely known in Riau there was an uproar. The attention of the Dutch was drawn to the character and behaviour of Raja Kecik, and it was after this that they sailed away.⁴ This news was reported to Raja Haji, and he was extremely angry. He moved to the Timun River⁵ and a large number of Bugis followed him there. Raja Haji made ready his weapons, cannon and swivel guns, and about twenty *penjajab*. When everything was prepared, he brought his vessels about to face the Trengganu fleet. There was a great hubbub among the Trengganu people, who said, 'Raja Haji's fleet is confronting the Trengganu vessels!' Raja Kecik ordered his men to go aboard their *penjajab*.

Raja Haji was in earnest about the battle with the Yang Dipertuan of

Trengganu. He separated his family, sending his sisters Raja Aminah and Raja Halimah to the palace and his women to Tengku Putih and Tengku Hitam. He then issued a challenge to Raja Kecil, the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu, inviting him to come and do battle wherever he wished so that the affair could be over and done with quickly. And a great hubbub broke out in Riau, with people saying that Raja Haji intended to go to war against the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu. His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman could say nothing more. Raja Abd al-Jalil was furious with the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu and he summoned Raja Kecil, the Datuk Bendahara, and all the Malay faction. When they had come into the ruler's presence, His Majesty said to Wan Dalam, 'This time I really mean it. If all my noble elder brothers and Wan Dalam do not wish to come to an agreement with the Raja Muda and the Bugis faction, I intend to leave Riau. Whosoever desires to become king here may do so. I for one do not wish to be struck down by the oath, condemned and accursed in the world to come. If all my noble elder brothers and Wan Dalam wish to observe my commands and my wishes, send for the Raja Muda from Linggi, so that our oath of loyalty can be renewed. Are we to live in this state of hostility for the rest of our lives? If we should die in this state, are we not in mortal danger in the days to come?'

138:11

Hearing the ruler's words, Tun Dalam was silent, bowed his head for a moment and then made obeisance, saying, 'I will do whatever is commanded. I do not wish to do any wrong towards my Lord, but I think the Raja Muda will only trust me if I ask Raja Haji to accompany me'. And His Majesty answered, 'Very well'. He summoned Raja Haji who presented himself before His Majesty, who said, 'Oh, my son Raja Haji, I am asking you to settle what is troubled, to smooth out what is tangled. Consult together with Tun Dalam, and bring the Raja Muda back to me here in Riau'. Raja Haji answered, 'I will do whatever is commanded'. Yang Dipertuan Raja Kecil said to Raja Haji, 'Very well, let us set sail immediately so that his orders will be carried out straight away'. Raja Haji replied, 'Very well'. They both asked permission to leave and set sail for Linggi. Raja Kecil suggested to Raja Haji that they call in at Malacca first, and they did so.¹

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According to the story, when they arrived at Malacca, Raja Kecil went ashore to meet the Governor.² According to some accounts, Raja Kecil told the Malacca Governor that he was an envoy and a representative of His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman, come to discuss with him the subject of how His Majesty could expel the Bugis from Riau 'Because they have taken over the kingdom of Johor. This is the reason that the Raja Muda has been made to leave Riau, and is now in Linggi. In time

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he will build up forces there, and so Sultan Sulaiman asks that an attack be made on him. His Majesty will later repay any costs expended by the Company in an attack on Linggi.³ Furthermore, one of the Raja Muda's relatives, Raja Haji, is a spy. He is here with me, and His Majesty asks that he be taken into custody'.

After the King of Malacca had heard Raja Kecik's news, he answered, 'Very well, on Friday we will invite him to a dinner in the garden, so that he can be arrested. It would also be better if you were to accompany me when we make the attack on the Raja Muda at Linggi together'. Then Raja Kecik answered, 'Very well'. However, there was a man called Encik Awal who heard about the plot, and he went to Linggi to inform the Yang Dipertuan Muda. The latter then summoned his younger brother, the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor, the Suliwatang, and Punggawa Miskin. They all arrived from Selangor. The Yang Dipertuan Muda said to his younger brother, 'Go quickly and fetch Raja Haji from Malacca this very night, because the news is that they intend to arrest him there. Encik Awal has just arrived from Malacca, during the evening prayers'.

When Tengku Selangor heard his elder brother's news, he immediately boarded his *sampan* and paddled to Keling Point,¹ arriving the same night. He gave orders to locate Raja Haji's *perahu* and they found it at Jawa Island. The messenger said, 'Your elder brother the King of Selangor is at Keling Point'. Raja Haji weighed anchor and rowed to Keling Point, where he met the King of Selangor who took him back to Linggi and then himself returned to Selangor.²

About two days after the Selangor people had returned, twelve ships came from Malacca with a *selub* and about forty *penjajab* under Raja Kecik of Trengganu. They came so unexpectedly that the Yang Dipertuan Muda had no chance to build stockades, and he had not finished preparing his weapons. They attacked, and the lines of troops came up from Serai Point, storming the Yang Dipertuan Muda's settlement. The Bugis fought furiously against the Dutch, but not a single one of the Trengganu men came ashore, even though Raja Haji called out insultingly for them to do so. The Trengganu men would not come ashore and fight and remained silently where they were.³

The fighting continued, but the Bugis were unable to make a united attack because there was such confusion and anxiety. Some wanted to attack the enemy, and others wanted to help their families and the women escape upstream. Meanwhile, the troops had already entered the settlement when Raja Haji launched a furious assault on them. He was wounded in the thigh by a bayonet and, unable to stand, was carried from the battle. Arung Mandar fought furiously, but was decapi-

tated and died. Thus Linggi fell, and the Yang Dipertuan Muda fled to Rembau, where he stayed, consulting and conferring with the Penghulu of the four Rembau Clans⁴ concerning an attack on Malacca. And thus I conclude this episode.

To continue the story of Raja Alam in Matan. He had not been there long when he asked the Sultan of Matan's permission to sail back to the west. The Sultan of Matan gave him those provisions which, in accordance with tradition, are presented when a king makes a sea voyage. Raja Alam sailed away from Matan and reached Batu Bahara, where he settled. When his elder brother the Yang Dipertuan Muda, who was in Rembau, heard of this, he consulted with the Penghulu of the four Rembau Clans. Raja Alam went to Rembau to meet the Yang Dipertuan Muda because he wished to tell him about his wife, Daeng Khadijah, who was the sister of the Yang Dipertuan Muda of Riau, Daeng Kamboja.¹ When Raja Alam met the Yang Dipertuan Muda, they greeted each other and Raja Alam reported the news of what had happened to him after he had been ordered to retreat at the earlier battle in Siantan. The Yang Dipertuan Muda told the news of what had happened to him and all the Bugis, slandered by the rumours of Raja Kecik of Trengganu. The confusion in Riau, as well as what had happened in Malacca and Linggi, was all sown by Raja Kecik. Then Raja Alam said, 'When you were attacked by the Dutch, did Tun Dalam come ashore with them?' And the Yang Dipertuan Muda answered, 'No, he did not. Although Raja Haji shouted out to him several times to come ashore, he neither did so, nor gave any response'. Raja Alam laughed, and said, 'It was like that in Siantan, too. Several times I challenged him to come ashore and fight, but he stayed where he was. He is just like someone with a sharp tongue trying to attack you with words—a sure sign he cannot use his weapon!'² The Yang Dipertuan Muda smiled.

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When he had finished giving this news, Raja Alam returned to Batu Bahara, where he gathered all the people and brought them to help the Yang Dipertuan Muda. The latter consulted with all the Rembau chiefs and swore an oath of loyalty with the Bugis in Linggi. Fifteen days later, they descended on Malacca and attacked. On the same day they also attacked Telengkera,³ where they fought with the Dutch, each making furious charges, and there were fatalities on both sides. Panglima Daeng Maduk, called La Sandang, was killed, decapitated at Telengkera. Following this the Yang Dipertuan Muda built a stockade at Kelebang,¹ where he stayed. The King of Rembau also built a stockade. There were thus two large stockades, and another Bugis one.

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When the stockades were complete, the Yang Dipertuan Muda attacked Peringgut,² which was defeated. They continued on to attack China

Hill,³ where three assaults were made before it was taken. Next, Semabuk⁴ was attacked, followed by Ketapang Bay and then the Yang Dipertuan Muda returned to Kelebang again. They had not been there long when Tengku Raja Said⁵ arrived from Selangor bringing several hundred Bugis spearmen, both migrants and locally born Bugis. Raja Alam also came with several hundred spearmen from Batu Bahara, and built a large stockade.⁶

142:11 Not long afterwards, a message came from Rembau to say that the Yang Dipertuan Muda's son, who was called the Prince of Linggi, had died.⁷ When he heard this, the Yang Dipertuan Muda left for Rembau, leaving his younger brothers Raja Said and Raja Alam in charge of the battle. Then Malacca launched another attack, with many soldiers, for help had arrived from Batavia. Six races came: first, the Dutch and Nasrani⁸ soldiers; second, the Balinese; third, the Javanese soldiers; fourth, the Bugis soldiers; fifth, the Chinese; and sixth, the Malays. The soldiers converged on the three stockades and surrounded them and then charged. The incessant sound of their rifles and muskets was like the crackling of frying rice and the air hung thick with smoke from the combined number of rifles and muskets. However, with the help of Allah (*may He be praised and exalted*) they were not defeated, although many died on either side. If the clothes of the dead soldiers, even just their hats and shoes, had been collected, there would have been two or three pole loads. Then the battle ceased.

143:1 Fighting was renewed when the Yang Dipertuan Muda ordered another attack on Peringgit.⁹ A furious assault was made, and it fell. Hostilities then ceased while discussions began again concerning peace. The Yang Dipertuan Muda sent a messenger to the Dutch Company to ask what wrong he had done and why they had attacked Linggi without warning, and without proper cause. The Dutch gave him the memorandum of everything that Raja Kecik of Trengganu had said, including the claim that he had been sent to the Governor of Malacca by Sultan Sulaiman. Seeing the written document containing Raja Kecik's words, the Yang Dipertuan Muda replied to the Dutch, 'What Raja Sulaiman actually commanded was that Tun Dalam Raja Kecik and my cousin Raja Haji should fetch me. Where is the memorandum of what Raja Haji said? Could not the Governor enquire in Riau and ask Sultan Sulaiman if what Tun Dalam says is true or not?'

When the Governor heard the Yang Dipertuan Muda's reply, he conferred with all the dignitaries about what had happened. The Dutch urged them to make peace, and they did so. The war had lasted about nine months by the time the Dutch pressed for the conclusion of a contract with the Yang Dipertuan Muda and the Bugis of Riau, Selangor,

Linggi, and Langat, in order to satisfy the people who were dependent on trade for their livelihood. The Yang Dipertuan Muda temporarily postponed this, and requested time to question Sultan Sulaiman and to return to Linggi. The Dutch agreed, and the Yang Dipertuan Muda returned to Linggi with the King of Rembau.¹ Raja Alam returned to Batu Bahara² and Raja Said returned to Selangor.

143:11

Let us return to the previous story. After Linggi had been defeated,³ Raja Kecil of Trengganu hastily returned to Riau.⁴ When he arrived, he presented himself before His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman and informed him that the Raja Muda was postponing appearing before him and would come later. He then made a devious plan in consultation with the Malay faction by proposing to move his wife back to Trengganu. To the Riau people and the one or two locally born Bugis who remained in Riau, it seemed as if he was driving them away. Raja Aminah and Raja Halimah were alarmed, and moved to Retih. Using various methods, Raja Kecil brought his wife and children aboard a *perahu* and invited His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman to go to Trengganu as well, because he entertained hopes of asking for His Royal Highness's blessing.⁵ His Majesty accepted Raja Kecil's proposal and the vessels were made ready so that he could leave for Trengganu with his daughter, Raja Bulang, wife of the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu. A great number of their possessions were already on board, and all the women had embarked. Only the Raja di Baruh, that is, Raja Abd al-Jalil, and his wife, refused to go on board. 'I will not go along with Tun Dalam's deception', he announced. 'If my brothers and sisters all want to go, let them. I alone will wait for my cousin Daeng Kamboja to return.'

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His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman asked repeatedly, 'When is the Raja Muda coming?' Raja Kecil replied, 'He'll come within the month, because when I left he was in the midst of his preparations. You know how the women hamper him. However, if Your Highness goes to Trengganu, I am certain he will go there too, to be with you. That is my opinion'. After His Majesty had heard the Ruler of Trengganu's reply, he was silent. Raja Kecil then gathered his people together, ordering those *perahu* already laden with Riau people and their belongings to go downstream to the estuary and anchor out to sea to wait there until His Majesty and his family had embarked. The crew of His Majesty's vessel was not permitted to unload anything, and a guard was put on them and all the princesses already on board.¹

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According to the story, traders arrived from Malacca bringing His Majesty the news that the Dutch had defeated Linggi at the request of the Riau ruler. When His Majesty heard this news, he was shocked and he wept. He summoned Raja Kecil, the Yang Dipertuan of Treng-

ganu, but before the latter even had a chance to sit down, His Majesty stood up and confronted him, flinging down his headcloth and saying, 'How could you do this, Tun Dalam! I ordered one thing—you did another! You are someone who can no longer be treated as either a relative or a son, for you have betrayed your parents'. Seeing how furious His Majesty was with him, the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu quickly went aboard His Majesty's vessel, intending to row downstream. A great hubbub broke out in the palace, with people saying that because the Dutch had defeated Linggi, His Majesty was furious with Tun Dalam, the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu, who was already on board his vessel intending to go downstream. News of this reached the Raja di Baruh, who was startled and flew into a frenzy of rage. Unsheathing his long kris he ran to the wharf, saying, 'The only recompense for you, Tun Dalam, is on the end of my kris here!' And there was uproar in the fort with people saying that the Raja di Baruh intended to fight a duel with the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu. Hearing of this, the Datuk Bendahara ran to find the Raja di Baruh, and his attendants and all the elders swarmed around, dashing to His Majesty's vessel. When he reached it, the Raja di Baruh said, 'Hey, Wan Dalam, where do you plan to paddle your adopted father's boat? Let's fight it out with swords; I'll only be satisfied when I've split your belly open!'¹

The Datuk Bendahara made a sign to the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu, who climbed down from the stern of the vessel and paddled downstream. So no Riau people went to Trengganu, except for those boats already at sea, which Raja Kecil took to Trengganu together with many princes.² On that day there was great confusion in Riau, as though it were the assembly for the Day of Judgement, because some had been separated from their parents, and some from their brothers and sisters, and because those who had already gone aboard the boats of their parents and families had left their husbands and brothers ashore. They wept, one with another, and there was great noise and confusion.³

When Raja Kecil of Trengganu had sailed away, the Raja di Baruh presented himself before his royal father, consulting him about going to fetch the Yang Dipertuan Muda. According to the story, it was not long before the Governor sent an important man from Malacca to invite His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman to come and discuss what had occurred between the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu, the Yang Dipertuan Muda, and the Dutch Company. His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman immediately left for Malacca, and when he arrived he sent a messenger to Selangor to find His Majesty the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor, Punggawa Miskin, the Datuk Syahbandar, Nakhoda Tapuli, and all the Selangor elders.⁴ The Yang Dipertuan Muda was still in Pedas,⁵ occupied with preparations for

the wedding of Raja Haji to his daughter, Tengku Raja Perak, who was of fully royal birth. He did not go to Malacca, therefore, but all the Selangor elders and the King of Selangor, who had been summoned by His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman, did. The dignitaries all discussed the matter and it became evident that what had happened was all treason and malicious rumours, but regrets were fruitless, because it was a thing of the past. 146:1

Afterwards, His Majesty again met the Malacca Governor at a place called Bunga Raya,¹ and in a building there they talked things over. The Governor of Malacca reported what Raja Kecik had said, and showed the lists of the expenses involved in the attack on Linggi. According to the written chronicle from Selangor, this was as much as seventy-three thousand, four hundred and fifty-seven dollars (73,457).² His Majesty replied, 'What happened was entirely without my authority. I ordered one thing, he did another, and I am unable to accept responsibility for payment'. 'It is truly as my Lord the Sultan has said,' answered the Governor, 'but you should think; my Lord Sultan is a Johor prince, but someone in Riau has done something deceitful and wicked of which you were unaware. One further matter; the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu is not only a king, but your son-in-law. If I had not trusted him, would you not have lost prestige in the eyes of other princes? It would have seemed as if I were implying that you had chosen someone evil as a son-in-law. Furthermore, we are friends, and wherever you put your trust, I must do the same, and you must reciprocate towards those whom I trust. It would have been an indictment against you to have as a relative someone with whom I could not associate, and were you to ask for help, I would have assisted in whatever way I could. I am telling you this quite frankly'. 146:11

When Sultan Sulaiman heard what the King of Malacca said, he was silent for a moment, and then spoke, 'Very well, whatever happens, permit me to see the King of Trengganu. I cannot reject him purely because of your assessment'. The King of Malacca answered, 'It does not matter. Then or now, in trouble or good fortune, I will look on you sympathetically'. When all the discussions were finished, His Majesty left to return to Riau, telling the Selangor dignitaries, 'I am returning now. Later we will send someone to fetch the Raja Muda'.

To continue the story of the Yang Dipertuan Muda in Pedas. When the time was right, he married his cousin Raja Haji to his daughter Raja Perak.¹ They were united according to the customs traditional when a great king marries, and they loved each other as is usual with a husband and wife. Not long afterwards, Raja Haji went to Asahan, where he met the Yamtuan of Asahan and afterwards bought a *perahu* with a *sirik* 147:1

sail,² that is, a *selub*, which he took to Selangor. The boat was converted to a *penjabab*, being very beautifully made, with the strength needed for a warship. He called it *Bulang Linggi*.

The Yang Dipertuan Muda stayed for a while in Selangor, but it was not long before he returned again to Pedas with the King of Selangor, the Suliwang, the Punggawa Tua, the Punggawa Muda, and Datuk Syahbandar Tapuli (Nakhoda Tapuli had already been entitled Syahbandar Tapuli), while only Tengku Raja Said stayed guarding Selangor. Not long after they reached Pedas the Yang Dipertuan Muda with all
 147:11 the princes and the Suliwang left for Malacca. The Governor settled them in a house in Telengkera and they were honoured with daily feasts and entertainment of various kinds. Only after about twelve days did all the Dutch dignitaries come out to Telengkera to ratify the peace and openly confer, as well as to draw up a contract of loyalty between the Dutch Company and the Yang Dipertuan Muda and all the Bugis. This occurred on 1 Ramadan in the hijra year 1166.³

When everything was finished, the Yang Dipertuan Muda returned to Pedas. When he arrived there, the King of Selangor went back to Selangor with the Suliwang and the large party of elders. The Yang Dipertuan Muda stayed for a time in Pedas. However, not long afterwards, Raja Haji asked the Yang Dipertuan Muda for permission to bring his younger sisters from Retih. They had been banished from Riau by Raja Kecil the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu, together with the Bugis who were left after Raja Haji and the Yang Dipertuan Muda previously
 148:1 settled in Linggi. The Yang Dipertuan Muda agreed, and Raja Haji sailed away to fetch his sisters from Retih. When he reached the Tiung Straits, however, he came across a large *wangkang*. He drew alongside to buy some of its cargo, and some of what was offered by her agent, articles which were delicate and pleasing. After this Raja Haji sailed on to Retih, and when he arrived he collected his sisters and brought them all back to Pedas, with a large number of Bugis. Having reached Pedas, he remained there.

He then held discussions and consultations with the Yang Dipertuan Muda, the King of Selangor, Raja Said, the Datuk Suliwang, the Datuk Punggawa Muda, Datuk Syahbandar Nakhoda Tapuli, and the Raja Tua, who was called Encik Andak. They discussed a plan whereby they would go to Riau, ostensibly to discuss the oath of loyalty between the Bugis and the Malays. All the princes and dignitaries were of one mind, and when they had reached an agreement, Raja Haji sailed to
 148:11 Riau in his vessel, the *Bulang Linggi*. Four or five *penjabab* and *kakap* accompanied him, with the princes and dignitaries of Selangor coming later, because they were still preparing their *penjabab*. Raja Haji pre-

ceded them to Riau, and the princes who remained made every effort to prepare their *penjajab*. It was not long before they were all ready.

To continue the story of His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman in Riau, disconsolate because of what Raja Kecil had done. The country was desolate,¹ rice expensive, and even one *emas* could not buy a kerchief of *sirih*. The poorer people became ill and many of the sea-people suffered from starvation, some of them collecting *setu* palm pith from Bayan Island and others taking *nibung*² palm pith to eat, even substituting potato and taro for rice. These were the names of most of the trading *perahu*.³ Not a single one arrived, and Riau was deserted during this period. Faced with this situation, His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman summoned his son, the Raja di Baruh, who presented himself before his royal father. When they were together His Majesty said, 'I think you should go and fetch your brother, the Raja Muda, from Linggi, because otherwise we will be destroyed by the oath of loyalty. One further thing; although our state has a Bendahara, a Temenggung, and dignitaries, the situation nonetheless worsens daily because trade is moribund, disrupted by Wan Dalam and our own Malay faction. If I can just meet the Raja Muda, I will die thankfully. My only request is to be buried near him. I intend to entrust you all to him. Our own Malay faction has allowed me no peace of mind, neither in the past nor now. I have lived in a state of total anxiety, which is almost driving me out of my mind'. Hearing this, the Raja di Baruh made obeisance and said, 'I think as you do, and am your servant to command'. After the two princes had conferred, the Raja di Baruh outfitted the fleet, and when it was ready he left. No princes accompanied him—only the Malay captains and sea-people—and he sailed via Ungaran and Buru.¹

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Raja Haji also set sail, but he did not stop at all and maintained a direct route to Riau via Singapore.² There was a misunderstanding about the route with the Raja di Baruh, since they did not meet at sea. Raja Haji went right into Riau and uproar broke out, with the Malay faction suspecting that he had come to attack. Some of the Malay princes and captains tried to fire on him, but Raja Haji took no notice. He kept the *Bulang Linggi* on course to Batangan, and only dropped anchor opposite His Majesty's palace. There was a great hubbub among the Malays, who wanted to open fire. When Sultan Sulaiman heard of this, he was extremely angry and ordered, 'Go and ask who has been talking about opening fire! I want to know their reasons. If they cannot justify them to me, they will be shot. They are riddled with jealousy, treachery and spiteful enmity. As a result our country has become almost like a wasteland, something which does not bear thinking about'. So the Malay faction ceased to make further mention of opening fire.

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150:11 His Majesty ordered Raja Haji to be summoned ashore. Raja Haji presented himself before him, and at this meeting His Majesty said to Raja Haji, 'What was your intention in coming here?' Raja Haji replied respectfully, 'The only reason is that it is a long time since I have presented myself before you'. His Majesty said, 'What have you to say to me now?' Raja Haji answered, 'I only wish to acknowledge you as my lord'. His Majesty said, 'What custom do you wish to use, Raja Haji? There are two customary procedures—the custom of the Ruler buried by the Baharu River or that of the Ruler buried in the Fort.¹ Which do you use, Raja Haji?' Raja Haji replied, 'The custom of the Ruler buried by the Baharu River, that is, the custom contained in the oath of loyalty. The custom of the Ruler buried in the Fort is recent because you and he, my Lord, were brothers. However, it is more or less the same and it does not matter to me'.

When His Majesty heard Raja Haji's reply, he said, 'First you should summon your brother² back to Riau, because I sent him to Linggi to bring back the Raja Muda'. Raja Haji replied, 'My relatives in Selangor, the Suliwatang and the Punggawa, are all coming to present themselves, but they are a little behind'.³ His Majesty said, 'Very well', and he ordered a noble to go to Raja di Baruh and order him to return immediately to Riau with the King of Selangor and the Selangor elders. All of them were summoned to an assembly in Riau. The person who had been thus commanded left immediately for Ungaran and Buru in a *kakap* using both sails and oarsmen.

151:1 The princes of Selangor, the Suliwatang, and the Punggawa sailed to Ungaran and Buru, where they met the forces of the Raja di Baruh,¹ and the Selangor *penjajab* faced the vessels from Riau. Meanwhile, His Majesty's messenger arrived and informed the Raja di Baruh that his royal father invited him to go to Riau for a meeting, and that Raja Haji was already there. When the Raja di Baruh had listened to the messenger, he said, 'Go and inform my brother the King of Selangor and the Selangor elders that we will go to Riau together and assemble there'. The messenger went over to the King of Selangor's forces and gave the information as the Raja di Baruh had instructed. When the King of Selangor and the Selangor elders heard the messenger's report, they dismantled the mat awnings and sailed to Riau, following the Raja di Baruh's fleet.

151:11 When they arrived in Riau, all the princes and the elders went ashore to present themselves before His Majesty. The Datuk Bendahara, the Datuk Temenggung, the Raja Indera Bungsu, and all the elders were present, standing between the two sides. Sultan Sulaiman spoke as follows: 'Let it be known by both sides, by the Malay faction and by

the Bugis, that we affirm the oath of loyalty between Bugis and Malays, according to the old pact, that is, the pact of the Ruler buried by the Baharu River, which will be maintained even by our grandchildren and their descendants. If either of the two sides flouts what we have said, they will be destroyed and damned by Allah, and will not have peace in this world or the next.'

After His Majesty had said this, Raja Haji made obeisance and said, 'This is what we Bugis also believe. If we do not abide by the oath of loyalty of the Ruler buried by the Baharu River, we will all be punished as you described.' His Majesty announced, 'From this day we surrender all matters of government, great or small, to the Yang Dipertuan Muda'. The Bugis accepted this, and His Majesty said, 'Read the prayers'. This was done, and the relations between the Malays and Bugis were resolved, returning to what they had been in olden times.²

After this was completed, the two brothers, the King of Selangor and Raja Haji, went to meet their sisters, Tengku Putih and Tengku Hitam, who were overjoyed, scattering yellow rice and giving them food. They ate together, and then both brothers asked leave to go home. All the dignitaries then requested permission to leave. 152:1

The next day His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman said to the King of Selangor, to Raja Haji, and to his son the Raja di Baruh, 'Go, my sons, and bring back the Raja Muda from Linggi to Riau, according to the custom we have just decided on'. The three princes sailed to Pedas, where they met the Yang Dipertuan Muda and informed him that His Majesty had ordered them to return with him to Riau. He answered, 'Very well'.¹ 152:11
The Raja di Baruh asked to go briefly to Selangor first with the King of Selangor, who was returning there with all the elders. Daeng T-w-a-w-' was also with them. When they arrived in Selangor the King of Selangor invited his brother-in-law to come ashore and stay in the palace. The Raja di Baruh accepted but not many days later he became ill with a fever. The King of Selangor was very concerned about his illness, and summoned several shamans from the upstream and downstream districts to cure him. Day and night the Selangor dignitaries maintained a vigil in the palace of the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor. That is how the situation was for the duration of the Raja di Baruh's illness.

To continue the story of His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman in Riau. According to the story, after his son the Raja di Baruh left for Linggi with the Selangor princes, His Majesty became ill. During his illness, Tengku Putih gave birth to another son, whom His Majesty named Raja Mahmud. The elder son, named Raja Ahmad, was growing up, but had not reached adolescence and was still immature. Every day Sultan Sulaiman's illness worsened, and the Datuk Bendahara, the Temenggung, 153:1

and the dignitaries all congregated in the palace, keeping watch day and night. The Datuk Bendahara went to great lengths to find medicines, and he assembled all the shamans and Arab physicians to treat His Majesty. However, he did not respond and his condition deteriorated. Not many days afterwards, by the decree of Allah Almighty, His Majesty died and returned to the mercy of Allah Almighty.¹ *Verily we belong to Allah and to Him we return.* A great commotion of lamenting and weeping broke out among the people of Riau, as well as in the palace, among the princes and princesses, and all the dignitaries. The Datuk Bendahara then ordered His Majesty's body to be buried according to the customs when a great king is interred; that is, the body

153:11 was carried to the grave in a royal funeral litter, with attendants, candles, sixteen cloth slings and the royal orchestra, and small gems were scattered along the path to the grave. Everyone wore mourning for a hundred days, and the Datuk Bendahara also distributed alms to the poor and needy. A ritual feast was held on the third and the seventh days after the death according to the customs traditional when a great king dies.

When all this was completed, His Majesty was buried and the Datuk Bendahara went to Selangor to inform the Raja di Baruh and the Yang Dipertuan Muda. The messenger sailed with all speed, and reached Selangor not long afterwards. He presented himself before the King of Selangor and gave him the letter. The messenger was still wearing the band of mourning² around his head, and when the King of Selangor saw this, he was startled. The messenger gave him the Datuk Bendahara's letters, one each for the King of Selangor, the Raja di Baruh and the Yang Dipertuan Muda in Pedas. When the Raja di Baruh saw the Datuk Bendahara's letter telling of the death of his father, the late Sultan

154:1 Sulaiman Badr al-Alam Syah, his condition deteriorated, and a few days later he died. *Verily we belong to Allah and to Him we return.* The King of Selangor wept, and then had a coffin made because according to some accounts, the Raja di Baruh's dying request had been to be buried in Riau. When the coffin was ready, the body was placed inside and taken by the dignitaries to Pedas. Seeing the arrival of the coffin, the Yang Dipertuan Muda, Raja Haji and his sisters wept bitterly. When their grief was spent, the Yang Dipertuan Muda and Raja Haji took their sisters on board the *perahu*, together with all their belongings. They sailed to Riau with the Raja di Baruh's body, and after a few days at sea they arrived. They entered the Riau River, and a great commotion broke out, with people saying, 'The Yang Dipertuan Muda has come from Linggi, bringing the body of His Majesty the Raja di Baruh'.¹ When the

154:11 Datuk Bendahara, the Datuk Temenggung, and all the elders in Riau

heard this, they leapt into their *sampan* and paddled out to the Yang Dipertuan Muda's vessel.² When the Datuk Bendahara and the Temenggung met the Yang Dipertuan Muda, they all wept together unrestrainedly. The vessel reached Batangan, where the coffin was brought ashore and interred according to the customs when a great king dies. The Datuk Bendahara and the Yang Dipertuan Muda buried the Raja di Baruh at Batangan, with his late father Sultan Sulaiman Badr al-Alam Syah.

According to the story, the Raja di Baruh's wife, Tengku Putih, daughter of the Ruler buried in the Fort, had recently given birth to Raja Mahmud and the forty days since his naming had not yet passed.³ The first thing the Yang Dipertuan Muda did after his arrival in Riau was to install the late Ruler Tengah (that is, Raja Ahmad, son of the late Raja Abd al-Jalil). At that time Raja Ahmad was about eight or nine years old. Only when Raja Ahmad's installation had been completed was the late Ruler di Baruh buried.

155:1

Tengku Putih, grief stricken after the death of her husband, the late Raja di Baruh, refused to take any medicine. Her condition deteriorated and it was not long before she died. The Yang Dipertuan Muda's sorrow increased, and in Riau the people continued to wear court mourning as a sign that several royal people had died. According to the story, His Majesty Sultan Ahmad stayed at Kampung Bulang with the Malay group, but he continued to go back and forth to the Yang Dipertuan Muda, because he was still a child. His aunts, the sisters Tengku Hitam, Raja Aminah and Raja Halimah, cared for him.¹

The Yang Dipertuan Muda was firmly established in his administration of Riau, which became prosperous. All the trading *perahu* from the west and east and the *wangkang* came to do business and compete for merchandise from the east. *Perahu* from the outer territories came bringing goods from their areas, and were crammed like sardines from the estuary to Kampung China² and five or six *keci* of various kinds arrived. During this time Riau was peaceful and many people made profits.³ The Yang Dipertuan Muda built a palace at Pangkalan Rama,⁴ and Raja Haji became Kelana, governing the kingdom under the Yang Dipertuan Muda. He set things to rights among the rocky islets, the islands and the outer territories, and visited all the princes and chiefs in the dependencies, noting who had acted properly. Those who had not were corrected or attacked.⁵

155:11

Not long after this, Engku Kelana Raja Haji went to investigate matters in the Linggi area. After he had arrived there, he organized the positions of all the Megats⁶ and their incomes, as well as ordering them to build a fleet to be ready whenever the Yang Dipertuan wanted

it, in case of any emergency. The Megats carried out all his commands.

156:1 To continue the story of the Sultan of Jambi.¹ His Majesty had a beautiful daughter, extremely pleasing to the eye. Accordingly, the Sultan was looking for a Jambi prince as a husband for her, but no one satisfied him. His daughter's name was Tengku Ratu Emas. Having thought about it, he sent to Linggi to invite Kelana Raja Haji to visit Jambi. Engku Kelana left for Jambi, and when he arrived he was honoured by the Sultan according to the customs traditional when a great king arrives, and was given a palace. After a few days the Sultan of Jambi sent a message to Raja Haji, asking if he would like to be given his daughter Tengku Ratu Emas as a wife. Engku Kelana Raja Haji
156:11 accepted, and in due time he was married to Tengku Ratu Emas, according to the customs traditional at a royal wedding.² When the wedding was over, they loved one another as husband and wife, and the Sultan of Jambi gave Engku Kelana the title Pangeran Suta Wijaya. All the people throughout Jambi and its subject territories knew him by that name. Tengku Kelana Pangeran Suta Wijaya had not been in Jambi long when he asked the Sultan of Jambi's permission to leave. The Sultan agreed, and Raja Haji left.

Let us turn to the story of four princes from Minangkabau.³ One was called Raja Bayang, the second was Raja Hijau, the third was Raja Mastika, and the fourth was Raja Lais. Raja Bayang asked Sultan Hasan, the King of Inderagiri, for the hand of his daughter, Raja Halimah. Sultan Hasan would not agree, which angered Raja Bayang. The four princes attacked Inderagiri and Sultan Hasan did battle with them.
157:1 The war did not last many days before Sultan Hasan weakened and he retreated, fleeing to Gaong. The four princes took Inderagiri and all its subject territories, and governed them. Raja Bayang went to Retih, which was also under his rule.

When Pangeran Suta Wijaya learned that Inderagiri had been devastated, and that Retih too was being governed by Raja Bayang, he was furious. He went to Retih and attacked Raja Bayang. The two fought against each other furiously, and there were deaths on both sides. Raja Bayang weakened, and retreated to Inderagiri whence he was followed by the Kelana Pangeran Suta Wijaya. They campaigned once more against each other, with help coming also from Jambi. The battle intensified and was furiously fought, with fatalities on both sides. It was not long before the four princes weakened because many of their captains had been either killed or decapitated by the Bugis. They could offer no further resistance and disengaged battle, fleeing blindly back to Minangkabau. Then Pangeran Suta Wijaya took Inderagiri and afterwards went to the Gaong River to fetch the Sultan of Inderagiri whom, it is said,

he later brought back to Inderagiri. He restored Inderagiri to the Sultan, including the Heads of the Six Clans. Raja Kelana Pangeran Suta Wijaya had taken them because Raja Hijau and Raja Bayang had overcome both Inderagiri and Tapukan.

According to the story, after Kelana Pangeran Suta Wijaya had taken Inderagiri, Retih, and the Heads of the Six Clans, Sultan Hasan of Inderagiri married his daughter Raja Halimah to Raja Haji, according to the customs traditional at the wedding of a great king.¹ They loved each other, as is customary between husbands and wives. Kelana Pangeran Suta Wijaya then built a settlement at the confluence of the Cenako and Pekan Lais Rivers, and exchanged messages with Riau.²

According to the story, there was a Minangkabau *lebai* in a place called Danai,¹ who claimed to have special powers and knowledge, which in a number of ways, it was said, conflicted with custom. Many people came to study with him and every day his pupils from the far reaches of the rivers increased. He claimed to be a Datuk Malaikat,² and numerous people from the outer territories gathered to him. The result of all this was that he governed all the territories as far as the ocean islands, such as Karimun, Buru, and Ungaran. Eventually, he no longer wanted to acknowledge the sovereignty of Riau and Minangkabau, but behaved as though he was an independent sovereign and fortified places with several stockades and breastworks in case of attack. He had taken many secondary wives from among the people in the outer territories, and his behaviour became widely known.

158:1

The news reached Kelana Pangeran Suta Wijaya, and he left with a war fleet to attack all Danai's subject territories. The war was waged furiously, with much killing, but it did not continue long before the Datuk Malaikat was captured. His arms were stretched out sideways and tied with chains, and it was ordered that he be conducted to Riau. There the Yang Dipertuan Muda ordered him to be killed. This was done, and the Kelana Pangeran Suta Wijaya took all his goods and his children by secondary wives and brought them to Riau. It was confirmed that places like those of the Heads of the Six Clans should remain Raja Haji's property, because they had been taken in war. Afterwards Kelana Pangeran Suta Wijaya stayed in Riau, but while there, he was no longer called by the name Pangeran Suta Wijaya; that was the situation, and he lived in Riau and was honoured.

158:11

To continue with the story of the Governor of Malacca. When he heard that Riau had become prosperous, he sent a warship³ to collect the debt owed by the late Sultan Sulaiman. When the ship arrived in Riau there was pressure on Sultan Mahmud, who was not yet an adult, for payment, which caused great difficulties for the Datuk Bendahara

159:1 and for everyone else. The Bendahara and all the Malay dignitaries assembled and made a visit to the Yang Dipertuan Muda. The captain of the ship went to meet the Datuk Bendahara and his followers in the Yang Dipertuan Muda's palace. He pressed for payment, there in front of all the people, and the Yang Dipertuan Muda said, smiling, 'If the Company has put up money to attack us, who can we press to pay our expenses for our attack on the Company at Linggi and Malacca?' After the captain of the warship heard the words of the Yang Dipertuan Muda, he smiled and said, 'What the Lord Raja Muda says is true'. The Datuk Bendahara bowed his head, and then the Yang Dipertuan Muda spoke to him and to the Datuk Temenggung and all the Malay group, 'What do you advise, all you noble lords and gentlemen?' The Datuk Bendahara and Datuk Temenggung answered, 'How can any of us pay? The situation in Riau can be likened to a sapling which is sprouting but is not yet capable of producing fruit or flowers. We give over this entire affair to the Raja Muda'. The Yang Dipertuan Muda said, 'Truly the nobles have no power and are unable to plot any more'. The Datuk Bendahara answered, 'It is true, Raja Muda'. The captain of the ship laughed, saying, 'If the lords Raja Muda, Bendahara and Temenggung cannot pay, it would be best if the two princes were given over to us to take back to the Governor of Malacca. He has commanded that we do not return humiliated and empty handed'.

159:11

According to the story, when the Datuk Bendahara heard the ship's captain, he felt hard pressed, because he had no one else to turn to for advice (Raja Kecik of Trengganu having already returned home) and because he was responsible for the scandalous behaviour which had led to this situation. So he said to the Yang Dipertuan Muda, 'Allah! Allah! My brother, do not think of us, but look at our motherless orphans, our precious jewels, whom the late Ruler has bequeathed to us all to safeguard. Where else can I confide my difficulties, except to you? Once again we give over to you Johor and Riau and all their dependencies which have not already been returned. You and all your Bugis kin can govern them forever, with due consultation, honesty, and sincerity. We and our brothers and children all acquiesce now and forever, as long as the sun and moon shall rise'.

160:1

Hearing the words of the Datuk Bendahara, the Temenggung and all the princes, the Yang Dipertuan Muda said, 'If this is how all you nobles feel, Allah Almighty willing, I will pay the debts of the late Ruler. To do this I would sell the very clothes I wear; indeed my brothers, my children and I would even sell our souls for the sake of these two precious jewels'. Then the Yang Dipertuan Muda said to the ship's captain, 'I will pay the late Ruler's debts to the Governor of Malacca'.¹ The captain of the

160:11

warship nodded his head. Afterwards the Yang Dipertuan Muda spoke to the ship's captain again, 'Tell the Governor we would like a full three months in which to pay. At the beginning of the fourth month come to Riau to collect it'. The ship's captain nodded, and said, 'We are all thankful to the Raja Muda, and I agree to this extension,' then he laughed. He paid his respects to the Yang Dipertuan Muda, wished him well, then went aboard his ship and sailed to Malacca. Thus the Yang Dipertuan Muda postponed the payment.

There is a tale told by the old people in which it is said that there was a white man, a ship's captain, who had been a good friend of the Yang Dipertuan Muda when he was at Linggi. The Yang Dipertuan Muda had traded tin with him, and they became good friends, helping each other in trade. When the Yang Dipertuan Muda returned to Riau again, the white man came to visit him. Moreover, he brought thousands of chests of opium and when he sailed to China he left half of them with the Yang Dipertuan Muda, asking him to sell them in Riau. If they had all been sold at a profit by the time he returned from China, the Yang Dipertuan Muda would share in it. The latter distributed the opium to all the Bugis *perahu* and to anybody who was his friend or associate in maritime trade. When the opium was all sold, it is said, there was sufficient to cover the late Ruler's debts.¹

161:1

After a full three months, the ship's captain from Malacca arrived and went ashore to meet the Yang Dipertuan Muda. Then they left for Kampung Bulang to visit Sultan Ahmad, because that was where he was living. Arriving there, the Yang Dipertuan Muda called together the Datuk Bendahara, the Datuk Temenggung, and all the princely relatives of the late Ruler in order that the payment of the debt could be made openly, in front of both sides, and that everything would be above board. All the dignitaries and Sultan Ahmad himself were present, and it was at that time that the Yang Dipertuan Muda paid the late Ruler's debt, before all the dignitaries and princes. The amount of the debt which the late Ruler owed is mentioned in the chronicle composed by Engku Busu—that is, seventy-seven thousand, seven hundred and seventy dollars. The chronicle from Selangor also notes the amount of the late king's debt to the Governor—that is, seventy-three thousand, four hundred and fifty-seven dollars.² I do not know which of these two accounts is correct. *Allah alone knows the truth.*

161:11

When the debt had been paid, the Yang Dipertuan said, with tears in his eyes, 'My lords, what can we do? Our flesh and blood has become rotten and putrid. What more can be said? What would have happened if I had ignored Riau at this point? How could you do this to me and all the Bugis? It is just like the old people's *pantun*:

Mount Sukadana is high
 Wild ginger abounds up there
 His pain is fresh, misfortune afflicts him
 All his efforts have come to nought'.

162:1 Hearing the Yang Dipertuan Muda's *pantun*, the Datuk Bendahara bowed his head and all the Malay princes were silent. They could make no reply but just looked at each other. Seeing this, and hearing the Yang Dipertuan Muda's *pantun*, Raja Haji smiled. Soon afterwards the Malay princes all went home.¹

According to the story, when the payment of the debt had been made, by the decree of Allah Almighty Sultan Ahmad became ill. He was ill for only a few days, and then he died. The Yang Dipertuan Muda, the Datuk Bendahara, the Datuk Temenggung, and the princes of the Malay group were grief stricken by his death, and all the people of Riau wore court mourning.² The Yang Dipertuan Muda and the Temenggung and the Bendahara prepared Sultan Ahmad's body. When the lustration, the shrouding, and the prayers were finished, he was buried according to the customs when a great king dies.

162:11 After Sultan Ahmad's funeral, the Yang Dipertuan Muda consulted with the Datuk Bendahara, the Datuk Temenggung, and the Malay and Bugis groups about a successor for the late Sultan Ahmad. The Malay groups chose relatives of the late Ruler di Baruh such as Tengku Abd al-Kadir, Tengku Uthman, Tengku Buang, and others.³ The majority favoured Tengku Abd al-Kadir, or Tengku Buang, but the Bugis group chose a son of fully royal birth, that is, Raja Mahmud, the son of the late Ruler di Baruh and Tengku Putih. In this matter both parties had conflicting interests. The Datuk Bendahara invited the Yang Dipertuan Muda to make a joint choice, and lay it before the two sides. The Yang Dipertuan replied, 'Very well, tomorrow both sides, Malay and Bugis, will assemble'. They all answered, 'Very well'.

163:1 The Datuk Bendahara gathered together all the princes and dignitaries of the Malay group and ordered them to wear *kain lepas*⁴ with a kris and weapons, like people about to fight or do battle. News of the Datuk Bendahara's orders reached the Yang Dipertuan Muda, and enraged, he ordered Raja Haji, as well as the Bugis princes, Punggawa Opu Nasti and the rest of the Bugis to be summoned. They all came and presented themselves. Then the Yang Dipertuan Muda told Raja Haji of what the Datuk Bendahara and the Malay group were doing. He said, 'Look at the Malays! Until last night they appeared willing to give Riau over to us unconditionally as it was before, in the time of the late Ruler buried by the Baharu River.¹ That was what they said when the ship's captain came to collect His Majesty's debt. But now they are behaving as though

they want to provoke a quarrel, rather than choose the king by consensus and consultation. They seem intent on demonstrating their manliness'.

Raja Haji said, 'If the nobles and the Bendahara intend to demonstrate their manliness, we will show them that we are men too'. The Yang Dipertuan Muda said, 'I agree. Please tell the Bendahara to have the throne made ready in the audience hall. When both sides have made their choice, we will go immediately to the throne and pay homage'. After the Yang Dipertuan Muda had reached this decision, he sent word to the Datuk Bendahara, who answered, 'Very well'.

163:11

The Yang Dipertuan Muda gave his orders to the Bugis spearmen. All the Bugis princes and the native Bugis were to prepare themselves as if to confront an enemy. The next day all the Malay princes, the Datuk Bendahara, the Temenggung, and everyone, gathered at the audience hall wearing *kain lepas* and *pendawa* kris. The Bugis, with all their princes, assembled, wearing short trousers, kris bandoliers, as well as short cutlasses and swords. The Bugis and Malays were seated on opposite sides, with the Yang Dipertuan Muda, Raja Haji, and the Bugis princes facing the Malay princes. The Yang Dipertuan Muda looked around and saw that Daeng Cellak, Daeng Kecik, and Engku Muda, all brothers, were sitting close to the Datuk Temenggung and his people. The Yang Dipertuan Muda said to the three princes, 'Cellak, Kecik, Muda, all of you come over here near me'. The two brothers, Daeng Cellak and Daeng Kecik, changed sides and joined the Yang Dipertuan because, it is said, they were Raja Maimunah's sons.¹

164:1

At this point the Yang Dipertuan Muda went into the palace and taking Raja Mahmud in his arms, brought him down to the audience hall where he sat on the throne nursing him on his lap.² According to a version of the old people, it was Tuk Kubu, a noble descended from the Forty Bugis, who carried the child. When the Bugis princes saw what the Yang Dipertuan Muda was doing, each one held the hilt of his kris while the Yang Dipertuan Muda said, 'May it be known by both Malays and Bugis, that this is the legitimate King of Johor and all its dependencies, who has been installed by the Bugis just as his grandfather, the Ruler buried at Batangan, was. Anyone who does not ratify this arrangement will be annihilated this very day and this very hour'. And then he drew his sword.

164:11

When the Datuk Bendahara and the princes of the Malay group saw this, they turned their heads away, while the Bugis princes held the hilts of their kris. The Datuk Bendahara thought, 'If we do not acquiesce, they will destroy Riau, and there is no advantage in that'. So he said, 'If you and the Bugis side consider it fitting that Raja Mahmud become

165:1 King of Johor and all its dependencies, we will all agree, because he is a grandson of the late Ruler whom we should rightly acknowledge as sovereign'. The Yang Dipertuan Muda answered, 'If this is so, noble lords, *praise be to Allah*, we have all reached agreement'. He then sheathed his sword, and invited both sides to pay homage to the ruler. Both Malays and Bugis did so, and then they swore an oath of loyalty again, the oath of the Ruler buried by the Baharu River. When this was finished, the Yang Dipertuan Muda said, 'Read the opening chapter of the Koran'. The Imam read this, recited a prayer, and the ceremony was over. Then Bugis and Malays went home. That is the story, it is said, drawn from several accounts which have been passed down by old people who were living at the time. And thus I conclude.

165:11 To continue the story of Sultan Mahmud in Siak.¹ The story has it that after the Dutch had abandoned Gontong Island, there was no reprisal attack and no formal complaints, so His Majesty Sultan Mahmud was secure as king. Raja Muhammad Ali became his son-in-law, and because of this his position as Yang Dipertuan Muda was secure. Sultan Mahmud had been established in his kingdom for about six years when he fell ill, and despite several remedies prescribed by the dignitaries, did not recover. He knew his life had come to an end, and so he summoned all his dignitaries, as well as his son Raja Ismail. Looking at his son, he said to the ministers, 'It is too bad! My cock could well have fought, but its trainer is dead! What can be done? It is the will of our Lord, *may Allah be praised and exalted*'. Then he gave instructions to all his ministers that his son Raja Ismail should succeed him.

According to the story, after he had given this command, Sultan Mahmud died.² All the dignitaries prepared His Majesty's body according to the custom when a great king dies, and they buried him at Mampura. He was known posthumously as the Ruler buried at Mampura. His son Raja Ismail succeeded him.

166:1 According to the story, about three years after he had become king, he suffered the misfortunes of this miserable world, in the form of his uncle, Raja Alam, who resided at Batu Bahara.³ After he had been defeated by his brother Raja Buang (that is, Sultan Mahmud) and following his defeat in Siantan and his return from helping the Yang Dipertuan Muda in the war against Malacca, Raja Alam had established himself at Batu Bahara. When he heard the reports that his brother Sultan Mahmud had died, and that he had been succeeded by his nephew Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail and that his own son Raja Muhammad Ali had become Yang Dipertuan Muda, Raja Alam prepared his fleet of about fifteen vessels.

Then he went to Malacca to meet the Governor,¹ and during the

meeting the Governor told Raja Alam all about the affairs in Siak— that ‘Sultān Mahmud is now dead, and his son Raja Ismail has become king, although he still continues his piracy, even taking several Javanese *perahu* bound for Malacca. Now we have had orders from Batavia that it is permissible to attack Siak. We can assist whoever wishes to become king in Siak at the present time, as long as he is willing to promise the Dutch Company that there will be no more piracy’. Raja Alam was willing to hold to this promise with the Dutch, on the condition that he became king in Siak, and this they accepted.

166:11

Then the Dutch ordered a warship and three armed *keci* to combine with Raja Alam’s *penjabab*. The two forces went to attack Siak, but when they arrived the people of Siak had already prepared stockades and breastworks. They were driven off by Yamtuan Raja Ismail and the Yang Dipertuan Muda (that is, Raja Alam’s own son, Tengku Muhammad Ali). When the *penjabab* met the Dutch warship, together with Raja Alam’s fleet of *penjabab*, they fought²—and what a great noise! Firing, cheering and screaming, it is said, for about sixteen days. Many Siak ships were destroyed, even Raja Ismail’s vessel was sunk, and the Dutch were able to remove all the boom-barricades and stakes from the river. The Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail fled inside his stockade, but lines of Dutch soldiers scaled it and attacked. The Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail fled again, with his brothers, Tengku Abdullah, Tengku Kamat, Tengku Abd al-Rahman, and Tengku Husain, leaving behind Tengku Musa and his sister Tengku Ambung Besar.¹ However, Yang Dipertuan Muda Muhammad Ali did not flee, because his father was with the Dutch. Escaping to Lawan Island, he asked the Maharaja Lela for *perahu*, and set sail for Riau.

167:1

In the historical chronicle from Siak I found mention that the Dutch campaigned against Siak for six months,² but they could not obtain a victory, even though it is said that on two occasions they brought soldiers from Malacca. The captain of the ship was angry with Raja Alam, and said, ‘My Lord King, you told us that Siak could be taken in three hours, because its king was like a child. But the King of Siak is extremely brave! If he still remains undefeated tomorrow, we will have to transport you to Ceylon’.³ Raja Alam answered, ‘If it is this warship that takes me to Ceylon, I do not think we will make it’. They say he smiled as he said this.

Later that night, Raja Alam sent a letter to his son Yang Dipertuan Muda Muhammad Ali, saying, ‘If Siak is not defeated tomorrow, the Dutch will have me transported to Ceylon’. When Raja Muhammad Ali heard his father’s letter, he sabotaged his vessel, Tengku Ambung Besar saturated all the gunpowder with water, and the vessel was sunk. The

167:11

Yang Dipertuan Muda then presented himself before the Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail and informed him that there was no more gunpowder; it had been saturated and the vessel had sunk. The Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail said, 'I certainly do not want to fight against your father'. Yam-tuan Muda Muhammad Ali replied, 'Please, my Lord, leave now, so that my father can become king here in Siak, and later when he dies, you, my Lord, can return and become king'. When Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail heard the Yang Dipertuan Muda, he retreated to Lawan Island, as we have mentioned.⁴ That is what is in the chronicle from Siak. Thus Siak was defeated. Raja Alam became King and Yang Dipertuan Besar in Siak. His son Raja Muhammad Ali remained Yang Dipertuan Muda.

168:1

Meanwhile, Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail left Lawan Island with three *kakap* and sailed to the island of Tambelan.¹ There he built fifteen *perahu*, and gave one to each of his three brothers. He then sailed off again to Siantan, where he aroused the people's hatred by making them give him money and goods as gifts. They did not dare to withstand any of his demands, because it was believed that Raja Ismail had the status of a grandson of His Majesty the Ruler buried at Batangan. His wishes were followed throughout the Tujuh Islands. Afterwards he consulted the people of Siantan about his plan to attack Pantai Emas,² near Cambodia, because there were about 500 Minangkabau there who had sent a letter to him: 'If Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail attacks Pantai Emas, we will desert to him'. So Yang Dipertuan Ismail made ready about 100 vessels in the Tujuh Islands while his brother Tengku Busu was sent to Trengganu to ask for the hand of the daughter of Raja Kecil, the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu.³ The ruler of Trengganu gave his consent and was only awaiting his arrival. Tengku Busu returned to Siantan, and Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail stayed in the Tujuh Islands waiting for a strong wind so that he could attack Pantai Emas.

168:11

To continue the story of the Yang Dipertuan Muda Daeng Kamboja in Riau. He devoted himself solely to extending Riau's trade. Several trading *perahu* came from distant places, and scores of *keci* came from Bengal, bringing goods from there; scores of *wangkang* arrived from China with green or red bows;⁴ scores of *tob* came from Siam bringing Siamese goods; and as well as these, *perahu* from Java. There were scores of *selub*, *senat*, *tiang sambung*, and *pencalang* from the Bugis lands, *pedewakan* as well as *perahu* from the outlying territories, crammed like sardines in the Riau River from the estuary to Kampung China. Goods from China competed with those from Java, and Javanese goods competed with those from Riau, such as gambier, and there were numerous Chinese merchants as well as locally born Bugis merchants. Dur-

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ing this period there were many wealthy people in the country. The

Yang Dipertuan Muda constantly sent people backwards and forwards to Malacca, because at that time peace and friendship had been established between himself and the Dutch Company. Within Riau, the dignitaries organized the Syahbandar and port officials to supervise all the trade and look after the traders. Hundreds of *penjajab* were always ready, with forty or fifty in the water and forty or fifty on the slipways. All the cannon were hung on the bows to be available quickly should there be a disturbance. People made *koyan*¹ and *koyan* of gunpowder themselves; thus saltpetre was in demand on Riau, as were the Chinese casters, and smelters who came from the lands above the winds to make ammunition. And that was the situation for some time.

Tengku Kelana Raja Haji, however, did not stay quietly in Riau. He was constantly sailing off to investigate matters in the settlements and outer territories, and after completing the inspections, he went to Selangor, returning via Jambi and Inderagiri. And that was the situation.

According to the story, Riau remained peaceful until the Malay faction behaved deceitfully, bringing turmoil to Riau and to the supporters of the Yang Dipertuan Muda and the Bugis in Riau; that is, the Temenggung, the Bendahara, and the Malay faction sent a letter to Trengganu to Raja Kecil. I found its wording in the Siak Chronicle. After the salutations it continued as follows: 169:11

Your royal grandmothers and mothers convey this information to their grandchild. The Bugis intend to destroy all the women in Riau, to murder and eliminate every one of us who is a Malay. Sultan Mahmud is very small; to whom can we turn? If you acknowledge yourself to be of our kin, come to Riau immediately.²

According to the story, three such letters were sent, one to Trengganu, one to Pahang, and one to Tambelan, to Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail. When Raja Kecil the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu heard the letter from Riau, he sent another one to Pahang and to Tambelan. After Raja Ismail had heard the letter from Trengganu, he did not go to Pantai Emas, but replied to the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu's letter by saying he agreed; the letter to Pahang received a similar reply. Raja Ismail then sent messengers to the Tujuh Islands asking every island to supply armed *perahu* immediately. Following this, he sent a further letter to Trengganu to Yamtuan Raja Kecil, saying, 'Please royal father, set out immediately. I will be waiting at Singapore'. Raja Ismail set sail for Singapore,¹ where he treated the sea-people harshly, forcing them to join his side and ordering them to prepare *perahu* and *sampan*. He then sent another letter to his father, Raja Alam, and to his cousin, Yang 170:1
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Dipertuan Muda Muhammad Ali. The letter read: 'I request help to attack Riau. Should my father die, you can become king. I do not wish to be King of Siak, but simply Prince of the Seas.'²

By the time the letter arrived, by the decree of Allah Almighty, Raja Alam had already died.³ *Verily we belong to Allah and to Him we return.* He was buried in Siak by his son and the dignitaries, according to the customs traditional when a great king dies. When the funeral was completed, Yang Dipertuan Muhammad Ali replied to Raja Ismail's letter, saying, 'I will help you with twenty *perahu*, and with whatever else you lack'.⁴ That was what was said. When Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail heard this news, he believed it, and sailed to Trengganu to confer with the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu and invite him to attack Riau immediately. The Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu answered, 'You go on ahead. I will follow'. So Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail set sail for Singapore with sixty vessels, and when he arrived he stayed there, waiting for the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu to come. But there was no help forthcoming from either Pahang or Siak, and he remained in Singapore for some time.

To continue the story of Yang Dipertuan Muda Daeng Kamboja in Riau. He had reliable news that the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu was conferring with Raja Ismail concerning an attack on Riau.¹ He therefore discreetly investigated on Riau whether the princes of the Malay faction were on his side. After several days it was found that among the Malays there were obviously some who would desert to Raja Ismail should he come. The investigators also discovered that the royal Malay faction, women as well as men, had conspired to send letters to Raja Kecik of Trengganu and to Raja Ismail of Siak. They also uncovered the fact that the Raja Tua would desert the Bugis and it was he who would ignite the Yang Dipertuan's powder magazine. In addition, they found out exactly who was to be bribed for doing this, and those people bold enough to ally with the Raja Tua.² The Yang Dipertuan Muda then said, '*There is no power and no strength except in Allah the High and Mighty*'. He spoke to all his brothers and sons, 'The Malay group is filled with treachery and jealousy towards all of us Bugis, and this has gone on for a long time. They are not keeping to the oath of the late rulers of old. Several times we have all been defeated, but it is we who have had to make good their actions; many times we have patiently excused them, and still they behave like this towards us. They probably really do intend to evict us from Johor. Previously, during the time of the Ruler buried at Batangan, we all left Riau and they remained with him. Even then they were not satisfied, but continued to spread malicious rumours about us and we were harassed almost to death. Later, the Ruler buried

at Batangan summoned the Bugis back and restored the old oath, reaching agreement with us again and treating us as before. We cannot maintain our patience any longer, when they are all still seeking to destroy us by their malicious rumours. One affair follows another, and if this is how it is going to go on, I can endure no more. I intend to leave, and return to the Bugis lands, even though the grandson of the Ruler buried at Batangan has become my grandson, and my own daughter is His Majesty's mother. It will break my heart to leave them while Sultan Mahmud is still so young, so small that even if he is so much as pinched, someone will die for it. Because of this I have resisted leaving the Yang Dipertuan Besar; in these circumstances it is difficult for me not to stay with him, but still they want to kill me. If that is the way it is, this time I will do what is best for me. I will not heed them any more, nor be concerned by their enmity and anger; I will do what I want to do'. 172:1

When the Yang Dipertuan Muda had finished speaking, he sent a *kakap* to Selangor, to inform the king there and all the commanders and *suliwatang*, and he also sent a *kakap* to Inderagiri to summon Raja Haji (that is, Tengku Kelana Pangeran Suta Wijaya). The two messengers set sail and the Yang Dipertuan Muda then summoned the Raja Tua. When the latter came before him, the Yang Dipertuan Muda said to him, 'Raja Tua, how could you want to destroy my very soul? I feel that you and I have quarrelled and argued to such an extent that although we are both of Bugis descent, now one of those Bugis has become a Malay. From now, from this day on, my faith in you has been destroyed, and my confidence in you gone. I can no longer summon up the slightest trust in you'. 173:1

Hearing the Yang Dipertuan's words, the Raja Tua was covered with shame. He was silent for a while, and then answered, 'If the Yang Dipertuan Muda no longer trusts me, let me leave Riau'. The Yang Dipertuan replied, 'Do whatever you like, Raja Tua. I am not ordering you to go, nor am I keeping you here, but from this time on, I have no further trust in you'. After the Raja Tua heard the Yang Dipertuan Muda speak thus, his sense of humiliation increased and, asking permission to leave, he went to his house and made ready his *perahu*. When all was complete, he went aboard, taking his mother and family, and sailed to Palembang.

According to the story, after the Raja Tua had sailed away, the Yang Dipertuan Muda met the Datuk Bendahara, and said, 'I wish to meet the nobles and say to them in all honesty: "Nobles, do not be ashamed before me, but I have heard that Raja Ismail, the son of Raja Buang, intends to attack Riau. What should we do?"' Hearing this, the Datuk Bendahara was silent for a moment, and then answered, 'We leave this matter entirely to you, Raja Muda. We will abide by whatever you think 173:11

is best'. The Yang Dipertuan Muda replied, 'If that is what the nobles say, well and good. However, I have two requests; firstly, we will gather all our wives and children inside the palace for the duration of my war against Raja Ismail, and the nobles will stay and guard the country. No one from the Malay faction is to assist me; I want only Bugis with me. Secondly, I intend to take whatever heavy armaments remain for Riau's defence to one place, that is, to Bayan Island. Do not feel humiliated, nobles, but if there are weapons in the hands of any of your close relatives in the Malay faction, I will have to take them too, today. Even if this causes conflict, I intend to do it, Allah Almighty willing'.

When the Yang Dipertuan Muda had told the Datuk Bendahara this, he excused himself and returned to his palace, where he ordered each of his sons to take all the heavy armaments from the Malay faction by force. They were all collected at Bayan Island. He told the Bugis to guard them, and ordered that no one should be issued with any while he was absent fighting. Should anyone try to take them by force, they were to be repelled at all costs. The Bugis all answered, 'Very well, my Lord'. The Yang Dipertuan Muda then ordered the entire fleet to be made ready. There were about fifty *penjajab*, armed with cannon and equipped with gunpowder and men. These were all drawn up at sea off Bayan Island awaiting the enemy and the royal commands.

It is said that the Malay princesses who had been gathered in the palace of the Ruler buried at Batangan sent a letter to Raja Ismail in Singapore,¹ which read: 'Do not come to attack Riau now. Be patient, and find some trick or stratagem to enable you to enter Riau, because the Raja Muda has assembled us all in one place. If there is an incident, we will certainly be burned and killed.'

According to the story, when Raja Ismail heard the letter from Riau, he was very uneasy, especially since the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu had not arrived and the reinforcements from His Majesty Yamtuan Muhammad Ali of Siak were not forthcoming. Raja Ismail was puzzled and seriously worried.

The Yang Dipertuan Muda's messenger went to Selangor, where he informed Tengku Raja Selangor about what had happened in Riau. The King of Selangor ordered Punggawa Opu Nasti to set sail for Riau, and when he reached Singapore he encountered Raja Ismail's fleet.¹ Raja Ismail summoned the Punggawa aboard his vessel and said, 'Punggawa, tell the Yang Dipertuan Muda that I am coming to Riau because I wish to visit the grave of the Ruler buried at Batangan. He should not think that I intend any treachery towards him; I have no wish at all to betray him. I had wanted to make this visit to Riau some time ago, but I was suddenly refused because the Yang Dipertuan Muda had contracted with

the Governor of Malacca that the enemies of the Dutch Company were also his enemies. Thus I was not allowed to come. Now I am asking once again, and if I am not permitted, I will take it as a sign that he has no wish to associate with me, but intends to ingratiate himself with the Dutch Company.'

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After the Punggawa had listened to Yamtuan Raja Ismail, he said, 'Very well, my Lord, I will inform His Majesty'. And Raja Ismail said, 'Good, Punggawa, but just take a *sampan* to Riau, and leave your *perahu* here. You need not worry that it might be lost, taken, or damaged, because I would replace it. If you go in the large *perahu*, it will certainly take you longer to reach Riau, because there's a strong southerly blowing'. The Punggawa replied, 'That is true, my Lord', and he sailed to Riau, where he informed the Yang Dipertuan Muda of Yamtuan Raja Ismail's intentions. The Yang Dipertuan Muda answered, 'Punggawa, we do not believe what the King of Siak says, because he has so often proved false and deceitful, just like his grandfather Raja Kecil who took an oath several times in the mosque yet still broke it. His grandson will do likewise. In this regard, his relatives here should not suspect that we are preventing them from meeting him. It would be best, Punggawa, to go back to Singapore with Daeng Madik and Bandar Amin, and ask for his oath first'.¹

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They left and, reaching Singapore, presented themselves before Yamtuan Raja Ismail and informed him of what the Yang Dipertuan Muda wished. Raja Ismail said, 'Very well, Punggawa and Daeng Madik, once again I will respectfully greet my father and swear by Allah, but allow me to present myself to him there'. When the Punggawa heard Raja Ismail, he was silent for a moment, and then he said, 'Very well, my Lord'. Raja Ismail said, 'You and Daeng Madik return again by *sampan*, and leave someone you trust to guard the large *perahu*. Do not worry, either of you, for I will not do anything untoward'. The Punggawa replied, 'Very well, my Lord. My attendant Bandar Amin will remain here'. And Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail said, 'So be it. Trust in Allah Almighty'. Then the Punggawa and Daeng Madik immediately went upstream to Riau in only a *kakap*.

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According to the story, after they had set out for Riau, Raja Ismail conferred with his brother Raja Abdullah,² who said, 'It would be best if we made our onslaught on Riau by night because the Bugis are unsuspecting, as we are still negotiating'. Yamtuan Raja Ismail said, 'If we leave here Bandar Amin will certainly follow, because he is the Punggawa's representative. Whether we like it or not, he will reach Riau before us, which will ruin our chances'. Raja Abdullah replied, 'If that is so, it is better for us to finish off Bandar Amin first'.

177:1 Raja Abdullah then summoned Bandar Amin aboard his vessel, when he came before His Majesty and was lowering himself, just beginning to make his obeisance, Tengku Raja Abdullah seized him. Bandar Amin realized that he had been taken and he shouted to his servant in the *sampan*, saying, 'Go to the Raja Negara, tell him to inform Riau of what has happened to me. Allah's will has been done'. He threw his ring to his servant, who paddled with all speed to Riau. Raja Abdullah brought Bandar Amin to the bow of the vessel, and there decapitated him and had him hung under the stern.

177:11 When the crews in the *perahu* of Daeng Madik and the Punggawa saw this, they loaded their cannon and when the crews of the Siak boats saw them doing so, they did the same. The *perahu* of the Punggawa and Daeng Madik opened fire and battle broke out, with cannon shots ringing out on both sides. Several Siak vessels mobbed the Bugis *perahu*, and closed in on them. The Bugis fought furiously with muskets and rifles. The sound of cannon ceased, but they fought on until the Siak vessels captured the Bugis *perahu*.

178:1 Bandar Amin's servant reached Riau and informed the Yang Dipertuan Muda who, on hearing of the incident, was enraged and ordered his sons to precede him to Singapore and attack Raja Ismail. The Yang Dipertuan Muda's sons—Raja Andut, Raja Abd al-Samad, and others—went with all the Bugis, while the Yang Dipertuan Muda was to follow later. When they reached Singapore, Raja Andut and Raja Abd al-Samad attacked Raja Ismail. The sound was terrifying as firing boomed out, and everything was in wild confusion because the air was thick with smoke from cannon and swivel guns. The two sides closed in like battering rams, but before long the Siak fleet had to retreat to Tanah Merah.¹ When he reached the Straits, the Yang Dipertuan Muda diverted his fleet to Tanah Merah, and a great battle broke out again when the two sides met, with firing and booming, the thunderous uproar of cannon like a thunderbolt cleaving a mountain, and the air hung thick with gun smoke. The Bugis boarded their *sampan*, taking their muskets and rifles, and closed in on the Siak fleet, firing on them amidships. The noise of the firing was like rice being fried. Many Siak vessels were destroyed and sunk, and the remainder scattered, retreating in disorder. The mast on Raja Ismail's vessel snapped, and he too had to withdraw. The Bugis captains wanted to follow him, but the Yang Dipertuan Muda would not permit it.

178:11 The Bugis surrounded Raja Abdullah's *perahu*, with the brave captains Kadin and Tala on board, and opened cannon fire. Then they closed in, using cannon, guns, and muskets. Panglima Kadin was hit by grapeshot and had his thigh broken. A second later, messengers from Raja Ismail, the Raja Negara and Raja Helang arrived in a *kakap panjang* to get Raja

Abdullah.² The Bugis wanted to fire on them, but the Yang Dipertuan Muda forbade it, saying, 'Let Raja Abdullah escape, because all princes have the same sovereign power. What would happen to us if he is hit during the battle?' But Raja Abdullah had no thought of retreating, so the Raja Negara and Raja Helang took him bodily aboard the *kakap panjang*, and rowed over to Raja Ismail's vessel. The moment he was taken aboard the *kakap*, Raja Abdullah took the golden buckle from his waist and threw it away, saying it was a symbol of his *perahu*.

After Raja Abdullah had escaped, Panglima Lurik and Panglima Lupuk boarded his *perahu* to stab Panglima Tala and Panglima Kadim. The latter could offer no resistance because his thigh was broken, and the two captains were captured. From his vessel, the Yang Dipertuan Muda ordered that their heads be cut off. 'Hang them under the stern, in precisely the way Raja Abdullah treated Bandar Amin'. When the two captains had heard the Yang Dipertuan Muda's order, Panglima Lupuk took his long Bugis machete and, forcing the two captains to lie down, he slit their throats and cut off their heads, which he hung under the stern. Panglima Lupuk and Panglima Lurik then looted Tengku Abdullah's *perahu*, and Panglima Lurik took the secondary wives Tengku Abdullah had left behind and gave them to the Yang Dipertuan Muda, together with a box containing writing equipment which had belonged to Raja Abdullah. When the Yang Dipertuan Muda opened it, he found inside the four letters from the Malay princes (that is, the Datuk Bendahara as well as the men and women of the Malay faction). All were the same, that is, they asked for an attack on Riau to remove the precious jewels from beneath the feet of the Bugis. After the Yang Dipertuan Muda saw the letters, he shook his head saying, '*There is no power and no strength except in Allah the High and Mighty.*'

According to the story, when Raja Ismail, the Yang Dipertuan of Siak, had been defeated, the Yang Dipertuan Muda ordered Raja Abdullah's *perahu* to be smashed up and sunk. He then left for Riau with his sons. As for Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail, he sailed to Singapore via Ungaran, with what remained of his fleet. Some of the vessels had broken masts, the decking of others had collapsed, and there were large holes in some of the cabins. Suddenly they came upon the fleet of Raja Haji (that is, Kelana Pangeran Suta Wijaya) who was coming from Inderagiri to assist Riau.¹ 'All Raja Haji's captains, both Bugis and Malay, wanted to open fire but Raja Haji forbade this, saying, 'Do not attack fleeing people, they have already been conquered. We cannot take the consequences for a deed like that'. The captains were silent, and Raja Haji sailed on to Riau, where he met the Yang Dipertuan Muda. The two brothers told each other of everything that the Malay faction had done. Their entire

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task completed, they both remained in Riau, consulting and conferring together about how to improve Riau's trade, and about the cultivation of gambier. And that was the daily situation.

As for Raja Ismail, after his defeat in the battle at Singapore, he fled to Siak and went inland to Buntan,¹ where he went ashore to the grave of his grandfather, Raja Kecil. Standing before it he unsheathed his sword and began to dance a sword dance, leaping, jumping, and slashing with his sword to right and left, in front and behind. When he was exhausted, he stopped and sat down, before all his relatives and captains.

180:11 Those who specialize in dates say that this was the last war between the Bugis and Siak princes. After this there were no more wars between them, principally because the kingdom of Siak fell into the hands of Sayid Ali, son of Uthman, son of Syahab who was of another race, the Lord Sayids. There was no longer any enmity between the Bugis and the Siak Malays, and there has been peace up to the hijra year 1283.² The only exception to this is a civil war, which will be described later.

181:1 According to the story, Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail sent Raja Abdullah to Mampura to get their sister, Tengku Ambung Besar.³ They were to tell her that Raja Ismail was coming and that he only wanted to meet his sister and had no thought of any treachery towards Yang Dipertuan Muhammad Ali. Let the latter remain king, and Raja Ismail become Kelana and simply Prince of the Seas. If anything was needed, they had only to ask his help. When Yang Dipertuan Muhammad Ali heard Raja Abdullah's report, he immediately summoned his dignitaries, saying to Raja Abdullah, 'At this point I cannot receive my cousin Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail into Siak, for he will undoubtedly bring about its ruin. The Dutch will attack again, because I promised them not to allow their enemies into Siak. This contract has existed since the time of the previous ruler. And furthermore Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail is notorious in many countries as a person who enjoys fostering civil disorder. I do not wish to receive him, and it would be best if he wasted no time and left Siak'.⁴

181:11 When Raja Abdullah heard His Majesty Yang Dipertuan Muhammad Ali, he came and made obeisance, saying, 'If I may, I would like to spend just a couple of nights with my wives'. Yang Dipertuan Muhammad Ali answered, 'Another time, but not now'. So Raja Abdullah went downstream, and Yang Dipertuan Muhammad Ali ordered his dignitaries to make sure he went, taking with them a *keci* with cannon, and four *penjajab* to fire on him should he linger. Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail and Tengku Abdullah said nothing more, but the dignitaries ventured to suggest, 'It is best that you go, so that my Lords do not quarrel brother against brother. You can return again some other time. You are not going to get what you want from your brother in the short term'. When

Raja Abdullah heard the Siak elders, he said to Raja Ismail, 'It would be better simply to let me attack Siak. I am Muhammad Ali's match in combat; let me die in the fort of Siak, so long as you, my Lord, are not shamed'.

When Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail heard this, he smiled and said, 'True. As a younger brother you wish to guard me, your older brother, but what can be done? I have said everything I could, that I do not want to be king in Siak. Let us leave'. Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail then left for Murbak (that is, a place called Murbak).² Later his brother Raja Musa followed him and, reaching Bukit Batu, searched for him without success. Raja Musa had no money apart from fifteen reals, so he went to the house of Nakhoda J-ng, where he came across some Chinese gambling. Raja Musa gambled against the Chinese and won a great deal. This enabled him to purchase a *pemayang*, worth about twenty or thirty reals. He also signed on about twenty agitators there, and set sail to look for Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail. They met at Ungaran, and then sailed to Retih, where they asked the harbour master for a few provisions for the journey. He gave them three *koyan* of rice, and they left for Tungkal,¹ where they stayed upstream. 182:1

The reports that Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail was roaming hither and thither without any real certainty about his objective reached Engku Kelana Raja Haji Pangeran Suta Wijaya who at that very time happened to be inspecting the outer territories with a *kapal* and ten *penjajab*. He sent a letter to Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail, which said, 'Why are you scouring the seas? It will only result in unfounded rumours reaching Malacca.² Come with me, so that I can bring you to Riau to meet your relatives there'. However, the reply to the letter went, 'If I am still alive, I will present myself later. Right now, there is no opportunity since I am looking for all my sons who have been expelled by Raja Muhammad Ali and are scattered through other countries'. When Kelana Pangeran Suta Wijaya heard the letter, he was silent. 182:11

The Siak Chronicle claims³ that Raja Haji invited Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail to attack Palembang, and that Raja Ismail then consulted his relatives. Raja Abdullah was for it; he had already discussed it with Raja Haji, but his brother Raja Musa was against it. He argued, 'How can we accompany Raja Haji? He has a *kapal*, while we have only *kakap*, we will be humiliated'. So, it is said, nothing eventuated. Raja Ismail went to the Jambi estuary where a messenger came from the Sultan of Jambi asking him to massacre the Dutch in Jambi.⁴ Raja Ismail did not wish to do this and, going to the Songsang estuary,⁵ he sent a messenger to seek an audience with the Sultan of Palembang, asking if he could enter the country. The Sultan of Palembang agreed, and assisted him as far as 183:1

possible with what money he needed.¹ He remained in Palembang, and his brother Raja Musa settled at Muntuk,² seeking his fortune there.

To continue the story of the Yang Dipertuan Muda Daeng Kamboja, Raja Haji and all the royal sons. After the Singapore war, Siak caused no further trouble right up to the time of compiling this history and genealogy. I have listed the number of wars between Raja Kecik of Siak and the Bugis Opus and their descendants who became Yang Dipertuan Mudas in Riau. They are enumerated below:

The First War: This was when the five brothers, the Opus, originally took Riau from the hands of Raja Kecik and restored it and all its dependencies to Sultan Sulaiman (that is, in the hijra year 1134).³

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The Second War: This was when Raja Kecik, defeated in the Riau war, fled to Lingga where the Bugis pursued him and war broke out again. Raja Kecik was defeated and returned to Riau, because the Opus had gone to Selangor.

The Third War: This was the Linggi war, when Raja Kecik went to Linggi to help the Linggi chief fight the Bugis Opus. Raja Kecik was repulsed and defeated. He then went to Siak where he established a settlement at Buntan and built up his defences there.

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The Fourth War: This was when the Bugis Opus went to attack Siak because Raja Kecik had seized Sultan Sulaiman's regalia. In this war Raja Kecik was again defeated and he fled upstream, being followed by the Bugis Opus as far as Sinapalan. Raja Kecik was defeated, and the Johor regalia was restored to Sultan Sulaiman. He had regained the kingdom of Johor because of the help of the five Opu brothers. In one year the Opus had fought four times. They then installed Raja Sulaiman with the title Sultan Sulaiman and at that time Opu Kelana Jaya Putera became Yang Dipertuan Muda of Riau and all its subject territories.

The Fifth War: This was the war in Kedah against Raja Kecik, not the first war (that is, the one in which the elder Kedah prince was assisted and installed as king), which did not involve Raja Kecik. This war against Raja Kecik was the second time the Opus had fought in Kedah when Opu Daeng Parani died, killed by a bullet from a swivel gun. Raja Kecik was defeated once more and returned to Siak, (that is, in the hijra year one thousand one hundred and thirty-six (1136)).¹

The Sixth War: This was Raja Kecik's attack on Riau, from 29 Syaban to 20 Zulhijjah,² after which there was peace. Later Raja Kecik came to collect his wife and swore an oath in the mosque.

The Seventh War: This was when Raja Kecik attacked Riau and built a stockade on Bayan Island. He was again defeated and fled during the night. This war, lasting two days, was during the hijra year Jim, 1139.³ All the wars described above occurred during the lifetime of Opu Ke

lana Jaya Putera, the first Yang Dipertuan Muda in Riau. Those which follow were during the time of Opu Yang Dipertuan Muda Daeng Cellak. 184:11

The Eighth War: This was when Raja Kecik attacked Riau and anchored in Penyengat harbour, unable to join battle, on Wednesday, 17 Safar. That night he was defeated and fled, still pursued, to Ungaran, in the hijra year 1150.⁴

The Ninth War: This was the war in which Raja Kecik sent his son Raja Alam with Daeng Mattekuh and Raja Emas to attack Riau, converting a junk into a mobile fort. This was on 15 Rabi al-awal, but by 8 Rabi al-akhir, Raja Alam had been defeated. On Wednesday night, in the hijra year 1161,⁵ at the time of the twilight prayers, Raja Alam fled straight back to Siak.

The Tenth War: This was the war between Raja Kecik's grandson (that is, Raja Ismail) and the Yang Dipertuan Muda Daeng Kamboja at Singapore. On this occasion Raja Ismail was defeated, the greater part of his fleet being captured as well as Raja Abdullah's *perahu*. There is no date given for this war, but it could be calculated as being in the same year. *Allah alone knows the truth*, I have not yet found what year, but those who come after me can do so.¹ And thus I conclude. 185:1

The war at Siantan was fought by Sultan Sulaiman himself against Raja Alam. Sultan Sulaiman and the King of Trengganu were there for about five months before the Yang Dipertuan Muda came to help. Raja Alam then retreated to Matan, and if we wanted to include this war, it could also be termed one of the Bugis princes' wars, making eleven in all. This marked the end of the wars between the Siak and Bugis princes. That aside, the Singapore war was the last.

According to the story, after the war in the Straits, Yang Dipertuan Muda Daeng Kamboja brought peace to Riau and lived contentedly for some time. On one occasion he sent the Suliwatang to accompany his sons Raja Andut² and Raja Usuh to Selangor. When they reached Musang Rock,³ the two princes' *perahu* were caught in a storm and ran aground on the rock, where they broke up. The Suliwatang took the two princes to Selangor, leaving two *perahu* as well as the cannon and swivel guns stranded on the rock, while all the crew went ashore and made for Selangor. Following this a patrol arrived from Malacca and fired several times on the stranded *perahu*. They then took them to Malacca, saying, 'These are the *perahu* of Siak pirates'. 185:11

When the crew from Selangor came to get their belongings, they saw that the *perahu* had gone and heard that they had been taken to Malacca. The crew returned to Selangor, and the King of Selangor sent a letter to Riau to Engku Kelana Raja Haji, who then left for Malacca with Punggawa Opu Nasti.⁴ When they arrived, the Governor ordered Engku Ke-

lana Raja Haji to be welcomed with a cannon salute according to the customs traditional for honouring a great prince. They were given a house, invited to live ashore, and entertained with feasts. Every day the Malacca elders and the Malay Captain, together with all the locally born Bugis, gathered to present themselves before Engku Kelana Raja Haji. After two or three days he met the Malacca Governor in the fort, and the Governor asked, 'Is it true that the *perahu* taken by our patrol at Musang Rock belonged to your nephews?' And Raja Haji answered, 'It is true'.
 186:1 The *perahu* were then restored, and compensation was made for whatever goods and property the patrol had looted.

Not long afterwards, Raja Haji asked the Governor if he could leave Malacca, to which the Governor replied, 'Very well; please come and relax in Malacca whenever you feel like it'. Raja Haji said, 'Thank you'. They shook hands, and the Governor wished Raja Haji a safe voyage. The cannon were fired when he left just as they had been when he arrived, and Raja Haji sailed off to Selangor. Here he consulted his brother, the King of Selangor, about a marriage between Raja Ali, son of Yang Dipertuan Muda Daeng Kamboja and the Selangor king's daughter, Raja Penuh, who was entitled Tengku Besar. Raja Haji presided over the marriage, which was conducted according to the customs and traditions when princes wed. There was harmony between them, as is customary between a husband and wife.¹

186:11 Kelana Pangeran Suta Wijaya had not been in Selangor long before he left for Riau, together with his brother the King of Selangor and the latter's son Raja Ibrahim. On reaching Riau the princes were greeted by all their relatives, after which Raja Haji consulted the Yang Dipertuan Muda about a marriage between Raja Ibrahim and the Yang Dipertuan Muda's daughter, Raja Andak. When the time was right, Raja Ibrahim was married to Raja Andak according to the customs when great princes are married and made one.² There was harmony between the couple, as is customary when a husband and wife love each other.

Afterwards the King of Selangor asked the Yang Dipertuan Muda's permission to return to Selangor, and he sailed back. He left his son Raja Ibrahim in Riau, requesting that he be sent back to Selangor immediately if pleased His Majesty to do so. His Majesty answered, 'Very well', and the King of Selangor returned to Selangor, where he remained.

187:1 According to the story, on one occasion the King of Selangor left for a holiday at Pangkor.³ News of this reached the Yang Dipertuan of Perak, and he sent his dignitaries to invite the Selangor king to enter Perak.⁴ Tengku Raja Selangor then came to Perak, where he discussed his installation in Selangor with the Yang Dipertuan of Perak, all the Perak dignitaries, and the Selangor elders. The two parties reached agree-

ment, and the Yang Dipertuan of Perak invested Tengku Raja Selangor as the Yang Dipertuan Besar of Selangor and all its dependencies, with the title Sultan Salih al-Din.¹ When everything had been completed, Sultan Salih al-Din returned to Selangor, accompanied by the Yang Dipertuan of Perak, and there he was installed to the beat of royal drums. The princes and dignitaries all paid homage as is the custom when a king is installed. When everything had been completed, the Yang Dipertuan of Perak returned,² but messengers continued to go back and forth to Selangor and the oath of loyalty made the two countries like one.³

To continue the story of the Yang Dipertuan of Kedah, whose son had reached adulthood but was not yet married.⁴ A consultation was held with the dignitaries concerning a betrothal between the prince, Tengku Abdullah, and Tengku Besar, the daughter of the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor. The latter, in consultation with his dignitaries from the Three Clans and their people, agreed. Not long afterwards the Yang Dipertuan of Kedah brought his son Tengku Abdullah to Selangor,⁵ accompanied by his dignitaries. The princes who travelled to Selangor with the Yang Dipertuan of Kedah were first, Tuk Engku Mangku Putera; second, Tuk Engku Lung Putera;⁶ third, Tengku Ngah (Tengku Ahmad's father) and his wife; fourth, Tengku Bunga, the son of Tengku Kelana Encik Unuk;⁷ and the Laksamana⁸ and other dignitaries. When they reached Selangor all the princes came ashore and the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor gave each one a residence. Then the wedding celebrations were started, and they lasted three months, during which time the King of Selangor married his daughter to Tengku Abdullah, according to the customs traditional when a great prince marries. Afterwards there was harmony between them as is customary between a husband and wife.¹ When the wedding ceremonies had been completed, the Yang Dipertuan of Kedah asked permission of the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor to return to Kedah, to which the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor replied, 'Certainly'. The Yang Dipertuan of Kedah then returned to Kedah with all the princes who had come with him.

About three months after the Yang Dipertuan of Kedah had returned, Raja Abdullah also asked permission of the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor to return to Kedah. This was granted, and when he reached Kedah he remained there for some time before returning to Selangor again. He met the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor at Pangkor where he was holidaying. Following this meeting, they returned to Selangor. Tengku Abdullah had not been there long before he again asked permission to return to Kedah. The Yang Dipertuan of Selangor said, 'Very well, but you must give a guarantee as to the time you will be away'. Tengku Abdullah replied, 'I will present myself before you in three months'. The Yang Di-

pertuan of Selangor answered, 'If you do not come, what shall we do?' Tengku Abdullah replied, 'Whatever you wish'. And the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor said, 'Very well'. Tengku Abdullah then returned to Kedah, but three months passed and still he had not come back to Selangor.² The Yang Dipertuan of Selangor therefore annulled the marriage between his daughter and Raja Abdullah, and that ended the relationship between Tengku Abdullah and the daughter of the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor.³

189:1 To continue the story of Raja Ismail in Palembang.⁴ He had not been there long when he asked permission of the Sultan of Palembang to go to Tambelan. The Sultan of Palembang granted this and Raja Ismail sailed to Tambelan, where he remained because his family was there. After Raja Ismail had left, the Sultan of Palembang sent a message to him to attack Mempawah. The reason for this was that there was a certain Lord Sayid there, Sayid Aidarusi, son of Abd al-Rahman Aidarusi, who, while in Palembang, had married a sister of the Sultan and had fathered a daughter. Sayid Aidarusi had taken his daughter away from Palembang to Mempawah without the Sultan of Palembang's knowledge.¹ The latter was furious with Sayid Aidarusi. He ordered another Lord Sayid, called Sayid Ali son of Sheikh, and several Arab Sayids as well as the Palembang ministers to take a fleet of one *keci*, two *selub* and sixty *penjabab* and go to Mempawah. They were to ask Sayid Aidarusi for his daughter Sharifah Muzayyanah, then about seven years old, the Sultan of Palembang's niece.

189:11 When the envoys reached Mempawah, they spoke with Sayid Aidarusi, asking him for the Lady Sharifah Muzayyanah. Sayid Aidarusi, however, asked that the matter be settled by the Lord of Mempawah, Sayid Husain al-Kadri. Habib Husain's² solution was to urge patience, but the Palembang people insisted that Sayid Aidarusi be taken back to Palembang. This angered Sayid Aidarusi, who left with three *perahu* to attack the Palembang forces. All the Palembang vessels fired on Sayid Aidarusi's *perahu*, and it was impossible for him to withstand the large bullets which fell like rain. His *perahu* sank, and Sayid Aidarusi went ashore to find the Penembahan of Mempawah, Pangeran Adi Wijaya Gusti Jameril, the son of Pangeran Emas Seri Negara Opu Daeng Menambun. On the latter's death he had been succeeded as Penembahan by Adi Wijaya. The Palembang dignitaries again asked if they could take Sayid Aidarusi back to Palembang, but the Penembahan of Mempawah replied, 'No. It is not the custom that a man should die twice'. Sayid Ali the son of Sheikh also argued strongly, and the discussions went on for about ten days without anything being settled. War then broke out, with firing on both sides from stockades and *penjabab*. One minute there was fighting and the next discussion, and then reinforcements arrived

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from Palembang because the King of Palembang was very wealthy, far richer than the Malay princes in the western lands.

The war lasted for ten months without either side being defeated. Then Raja Ismail, the Yang Dipertuan of Siak arrived, having been ordered by the Sultan of Palembang to help Sayid Ali the son of Sheikh.¹ He had about eighteen *perahu* which were rowed upstream, and when they drew level with the Mempawah stockades, they were challenged by the people inside. The crews responded, 'These are the *perahu* of an envoy', and when they reached the river's bank Yamtuan Raja Ismail and his brother Tengku Abdullah went ashore with their rifles. When the Mempawah Bugis saw this, they ran out of their stockades—about 300 of them—in hot pursuit of Yamtuan Raja Ismail and his brother. The latter fled, chased by the Bugis, fighting and shouting and firing at them with muskets. Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail fled inside the Lord's village, asking for asylum, but the Bugis followed him into the village and came right up to the Lord's house.² Yamtuan Raja Ismail went up into the house, asking the Lord for asylum, but the Bugis surrounded the yard, intending to kill Raja Ismail. At that point the Lord, extremely angry with the Bugis, came down and the Bugis retreated because they were afraid of being cursed by him. So Raja Ismail escaped, and when the Bugis had gone he boarded his vessel and went upstream with his *perahu*. Sporadic fighting broke out, and the Penembahan thought, 'If the Lord has not accompanied him, he will not be brave enough to attack because he will be afraid of being struck by the Lord's curse'. And so he retreated. According to the Siak Chronicle, the Sultan of Palembang did not order Raja Ismail to attack Mempawah. When Raja Ismail was in Tambelan, he heard that the Palembang Sultan was attacking Mempawah and he immediately left to give his assistance.³ And thus I conclude.

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The warfare ceased and an unjust destruction of Mempawah by the Palembang people did not eventuate, because the Lord was there. Furthermore, Sayid Ali the son of Sheikh was an intelligent man, as well as being a descendant of the Prophet of Allah (*may Allah bless him and grant him peace*). The war was over. All the Palembang forces then asked the Lord's permission to return and they set sail with Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail. Arriving in Palembang, they presented themselves before the Sultan who bestowed suitable robes of honour on all his dignitaries. Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail obtained many gifts from the Sultan of Palembang, and he settled there. According to the experts on dates, these events occurred in the hijra year 1168.¹

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According to the story, Raja Ismail had not been in Palembang long when he asked the Sultan's permission to leave. The Sultan gave him

191:11 provisions for the journey—money, goods, and whatever else he could that was suitable. Raja Ismail then sailed from Palembang to Tambelan where he called in to collect his family and female relatives. Having brought them aboard, he set sail, stopping at Siantan where the chief at the time was Orang Kaya Dewa Perkasa.² When the latter heard Yam-tuan Raja Ismail was coming to Siantan, he prepared a stockade, because he thought, 'When Raja Ismail arrives, it will mean confusion in Siantan if he intends to attack and if war breaks out'. The news of this was widely known, and reached Raja Ismail, who said angrily, 'It is unfair for Dewa Perkasa to misunderstand me, because I have never had any desire to destroy Siantan. I merely wished to request a little help, whatever he could give. If I am short of anything, I will get it from the people of the outlying islands who are my followers too, and will let me have it. It is unthinkable that I would harm the Yang Dipertuan Muda in Riau, because once at Tungkul, Raja Haji even wanted to take me to Riau, but I asked leave to wait and collect all my relatives. That is a fact. Raja Haji regards me as his equal, as a prince and a brother, he wants to see me get ahead. It would be alright for Dewa Perkasa to behave like this if I was at odds with my father for then there would be no alternative. But now he seems to be the one with hostile intentions'. Raja Abdullah said, 'It 192:1 would be best for us simply to ignore Dewa Perkasa'. Raja Ismail said, 'Should we attack him?' Raja Abdullah answered, 'What is the use of attacking? It would be like fighting our big toe. It would be much better to summon him first, so that relations between us can be improved and then we can deal with him'.

192:11 So Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail sent one of his attendants to summon Dewa Perkasa and inform him that Raja Ismail wanted to meet him for a moment and give him a message. Raja Ismail planned to sail for Trengganu very soon, and would not be going ashore again. The messenger went to summon Dewa Perkasa, saying, 'Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail summons you, Chief, for just a moment, and wants to give you a few orders because he plans to set sail for Trengganu this very day'. Dewa Perkasa believed the messenger, and he immediately came to present himself. Raja Abdullah sat down near him at the bow of the vessel, and engaged him in conversation so that Dewa Perkasa seemed to relax a little. Raja Abdullah immediately pinned down Dewa Perkasa's thigh, and firmly seized the hilt of his kris, while all the captains, seeing this, sprang forward to seize him. Dewa Perkasa struggled and fought the captains, clattering against the bows, and then Raja Abdullah said, 'Stab him! Stab him!' Crowding around Dewa Perkasa, the captains stabbed him to death. Raja Abdullah ordered his body to be taken to his family's home and all the *perahu* were ordered to load their cannon and aim

them at the houses of the Siantan people. The tapers were lit and the cannons primed, just awaiting the command.

When Dewa Perkasa's family, his relatives and his followers saw his body they were shocked. The wailing of lament broke out, and Siantan was in an uproar with people saying, 'Dewa Perkasa is dead! Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail killed him!' There was confusion in Siantan, for some of the people wanted to attack Raja Ismail, some wanted to flee and others said, 'We will be committing treason if we oppose him because the royal blood of Johor flows in his veins'. And confusion broke out in Siantan, the more because of the fear that Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail would fire on them, and they did not know what to do. Then Raja Ismail sent an elder by boat to tell the Siantan people, 'Do not be frightened. Offenders will be dealt with, but nothing will be done to the innocent'. The Siantan people were speechless with fear. Not long afterwards he punished all who were said to have been followers of Dewa Perkasa. The people of Siantan paid a poll tax in money, and those who had no money paid in goods or kind. Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail obtained a great deal of property, as did all his captains and attendants. They simply took anything they wanted belonging to the Siantan people, such as buffalo, goats, and poultry, as well as thousands of coconuts and jars of sugar, and scores of jars of oil, taking as much as they could to their *perahu*. 193:1

When Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail had obtained all these goods from Siantan, he sailed to Trengganu, where he was greeted with honour by the Yang Dipertuan and given a compound with four or five houses. Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail went ashore with his relatives and the children of his secondary wives. With him were his brothers Raja Abdullah, Raja Musa, Raja Daud, and Raja Abd al-Rahman, who had the same mother as Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail. A sister, Tengku Salih, had the same mother as Raja Abdullah, and there was another female relative who had accompanied her. 193:11

When Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail was firmly established in Trengganu, he asked for the hand of the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu's daughter.¹ When the time was right the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu began the wedding ceremonies and the preparation of all the wedding articles and decorations. The ceremonies lasted about three months, during which there was entertainment like *wayang* and *mendora*.¹ When the time was right, the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu married Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail to his daughter.² After the formal ceremony the wedding continued with a procession around the town, accompanied by music, shouting and cheering. The Siak Chronicle³ mentions that Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail's two groomsmen were, on the right, his brother 194:1

Tengku Musa and on the left, Tengku Abd al-Rahman. Accompanied by the loud noise of drums and wooden clarinets Tengku Abdullah, bearing the sword of state, led the procession. When they reached the gate to the fort, the Trengganu party, it is said, wanted to humiliate the Yang Dipertuan of Siak and so they bolted the gate and issued the traditional challenges for a bridegroom, demanding a great deal of money. The litter halted at the gate for some time, and Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail's face crimsoned with fury. When Tengku Abdullah saw his brother's face, and how angry he was, he was also infuriated with the Trengganu princes, and he shouted defiantly, rolling up his jacket sleeves, 'Hey, you princes of Trengganu, open this gate! If you do not do so immediately, I will leap up and scale this fort, and when I am inside, I will run amuck'. Saying this, he alighted, and performed a war dance. Hearing what Raja Abdullah had said, all the Trengganu princes were frightened. The Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu was furious with them and immediately ordered that the gate be opened. Tengku Abdullah leapt back into the bridegroom's litter, which was carried to the ceremonial platform in the audience hall. The older princes came to take the bridegroom's hand and lead him to the palace to be seated by the bride's side. The princesses came forward to place food in their mouths, and then led them to the bridal couch. Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail stayed there enjoying himself, as is customary for a bridegroom, and the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu regaled all the princes and dignitaries with a banquet. After three days the lustration was performed, according to the customs traditional at a royal lustration, and when this was complete there was harmony between the bridal pair, as is the custom between a husband and wife — that is how the situation was. Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail remained in Trengganu.

According to the story, it was after this that a quarrel broke out between Trengganu and Kelantan, and the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu sent 100 ships to attack Kelantan.¹ The people of Trengganu and Kelantan fought each other until the Trengganu forces were on the point of yielding because many of their people had been killed, including the leader of the warriors, Wan Andin. The Trengganu warriors sent a letter to the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu asking for reinforcements. The Siak Chronicle mentions² that at that time Raja Ismail had quarrelled with his brother Tengku Abdullah because, it is said, of a malicious rumour concerning Tengku Daud and his sister, Tengku Salih, who had the same mother as Tengku Abdullah. Tengku Salih had died, poisoned by Tengku Tih,³ and Tengku Abdullah asked the Yang Dipertuan of Siak if he could kill Tengku Daud. Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail refused to allow this, and when Tengku Abdullah asked again, more insistently,

Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail replied, 'Tengku Salih did not die because she was strangled.⁴ She died of a gastric illness—she was vomiting blood'. When Tengku Abdullah asked again, forcefully, His Majesty Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail said, 'It would be best if we just exiled him to the Bugis lands'. However, Tengku Abdullah answered, 'My Lord, if you do not want to kill my brother Raja Daud, I will no longer make obeisance to you'. Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail said, 'How can we kill our brother when we have no proof of what he did? Would that not be displaying our disgrace in a foreign land, because it would mean exposing what should be kept dark?' And Raja Abdullah replied, 'If you do not do it now, I will not acknowledge you as my Lord any more'. Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail answered, 'I do not believe you are a man'. Tengku Abdullah replied, 'Your manhood, my Lord, does not frighten me!' They both drew back, unsheathing their krises, then advanced, closing in on each other. When Raja Musa saw this, he leapt between them, confronting Tengku Abdullah and pointing, saying, 'You are just filled with dung! If you want to stab someone, come, stab me first, not the one to whom we have made obeisance and whom we have made king. Is that proper? If we have acknowledged him as our Lord, do not oppose him'. When Raja Abdullah heard Raja Musa, he walked from the audience hall and Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail returned to the palace; the matter was closed.

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Now when the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu heard the news from Kelantan that the Trengganu forces were on the point of yielding, he was worried and he summoned the Yang Dipertuan of Siak, saying, 'Young man, I am going to take you with me'. Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail said, 'Very well, my Lord'. Raja¹ Abdullah, however, was left behind, unwilling to go. Fifteen *perahu* were left with him, for he was considering leaving Trengganu. Then the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu departed, riding on an elephant, accompanied by Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail. Of his brothers only Tengku Musa went too. The Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu took about 3,000 men with him, and they were not on the march long before they reached Kelantan.

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As they approached the stockade, the Kelantan people emerged to meet them with their spears. They fought, stabbing with krises and spears, and hurling their javelins so that both sides sustained losses and the Trengganu people retreated. Yamtuan Raja Ismail, furious, urged his elephant forward and ordered the Trengganu people to stay where they were. He told the Siak forces to advance with their muskets. They did so, firing all the while, but the Trengganu people would advance no further. Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail told the Siak men to close in, and they did so, firing their muskets, and soon afterwards the Kelantan men retreated.

That evening Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail presented himself before the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu and informed him that the Trengganu people had not stood up to the enemy. The Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu said, 'In these matters you are the expert; that is why I have put my trust in you and appointed you my commander-in-chief'. Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail said, 'I will do whatever you say'. The Siak Chronicle² mentions that Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail said to His Majesty the
 197:1 Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu, 'Tomorrow if we attack, let the men of Trengganu go first, and if they are worsted, then I will advance with all the Siak men'. The Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu answered, 'Whatever you advise'.

The next morning 5,000 Trengganu men attacked the Kelantan stockades; there were about twenty-five, one of them very large. When the Kelantan men saw the Trengganu force, they raised their spears, saying, 'Come on, you men of Trengganu, match yourself against the men of Kelantan'. The Trengganu forces advanced, but the Kelantan men fired on them with swivel guns, and cast nets at them from over the parapets. The Trengganu forces were unable to get close and, repulsed again by the Kelantan men, they retreated. Seeing the situation, Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail said to his brother Raja Musa, 'You have a go!' So Raja Musa did, saying, 'I will take that stockade or die'. Listening to his brother,
 197:11 Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail smiled, and Raja Musa said, 'I will go now'. Then Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail performed the noon prayer, and his brother prayed, 'I submit everything to Allah Almighty'. Raja Musa made obeisance to His Majesty his brother and set off, together with twelve nobles and 150 spearmen, bearing muskets, swords, shields, and lances. Three times Raja Musa invoked the blessing of Allah, and only after this did they make their charge. The men of Kelantan fired on them with swivel guns and hurled their nets, but the Siak men paid no attention. Raja Musa said, 'Close in! Close in!' The Kelantan forces fired on them with rifles, but still the men of Siak were undaunted and Raja Musa said, 'Close in! Close in!' The Kelantan people hurled stones down on them with sling shots but the Siak men still said, 'Closer!'

The Siak Chronicle mentions that when the Kelantan people saw the men of Siak advancing with such fierce determination and saw that they
 198:1 were not wounded when struck by bullets, they said, 'Do not let the men of Siak in, only the Trengganu people, because the Siak men are invulnerable. Damn those men of Siak! Where we fire at them it is like firing at ghosts, not humans!' But the Siak men still shouted, 'Closer! Closer!' Reaching the foot of the stockade, they began to make their onslaught, scaling it and calling, 'Attack! Attack!', firing their muskets and hacking with their swords, stabbing with their spears and using *silat pencak*.¹

Many Kelantan people were killed and those that were still alive leapt down from the stockade, pursued by the men of Siak. The Kelantan forces abandoned their stockades, all twenty-five of them were taken by the Siak people, and Kelantan was defeated.² The Yang Dipertuan of Siak informed the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu of Kelantan's defeat, and the latter was extremely pleased, praising his young relatives.

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Not long afterwards the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu summoned the King of Kelantan. He presented himself and his kingdom was restored to him and an oath of loyalty sworn. The Siak Chronicle mentions that the Kelantan men broke the oath twice. On one of these occasions it was Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail who attacked and defeated them again.³ Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail then remained in Trengganu and was treated with honour.⁴

According to the story, when Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail was in Trengganu shortly after his return from Kelantan, he decided to attack Siak, an enterprise to which his brothers had all given their assent.⁵ Obtaining the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu's permission to sail to Siak, he set out, sending Raja Musa to Kendawangan⁶ to fetch Tengku Busu. Raja Abdullah was sent to ask help from the Yang Dipertuan of Kedah⁷ and Raja Husain was likewise sent to L-w-ā-n-t⁸ and Selangor to request assistance. He himself sailed for Tanah Putih with just a *kakap*, leaving the *penjajab* armed with cannon in Trengganu. At Tanah Putih he began to make preparations for war. News of this spread to Siak and the people there also made preparations, although neither side was fully prepared had anyone been sufficiently bold to attack. After this (*Allah knows best*) Raja Ismail went to Palembang, subsequently returning to Tanah Putih.¹ And thus I conclude.

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To continue the story of Raja Haji Engku Kelana Pangeran Suta Wijaya. He was not in Inderagiri long when he left for Selangor where he met his brother the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor, Sultan Salih al-Din. They conferred together about the contract which the King of Kedah had made in the time of their forefathers. This is all that is mentioned in the chronicle from Selangor, but the Eastern Chronicle² contains what I have recorded below:

'It is fitting that in this case we press on to obtain satisfaction for this agreement, even to the point of war: because the contract exists, because Kedah has become prosperous, and because of the earlier promise made to the Opus. Now that Kedah is prosperous it is fitting that the Opus' expenses for the Kedah campaign be repaid. There was also another promise, that is, for fifteen *bahara* of dollars. Three have already been paid but twelve remain, and for decades the King of Kedah has failed to fulfil his promises although the written document still exists.³ It would

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be best if we show this to the King of Kedah.' The Yang Dipertuan of Selangor replied, 'If that is the case, we should go ourselves!' Kelana Pangeran Suta Wijaya Raja Haji then answered, 'Very well'.⁴

200:1 When the discussions were completed, Raja Haji Pangeran Suta Wijaya, his cousin Raja Said and the Suliwatang sailed to Kedah, stopping at Perak so that Pangeran Suta Wijaya could visit the Yang Dipertuan of Perak.⁵ The latter welcomed him with honour, according to the customs traditional when great kings meet, regaled him with food and drink and gave him a palace. Raja Haji had not been in Perak long before he asked the Yang Dipertuan if he and the King of Selangor could leave. Together with Raja Said he sailed away, leaving his brother the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor in Perak since it was as yet uncertain whether the war would actually break out, negotiations still being in progress.¹

200:11 Pangeran Suta Wijaya Raja Haji, his cousin Raja Said and the Suliwatang sailed towards Kedah but when they reached Pangkor, a son was born to Pangeran Suta Wijaya whom he called Raja Jafar and who was generally known as the Prince of the Seas.² Then Raja Haji's fleet of *kapal, keci*, and about sixty *penjajab* continued on to Kedah. When the Yang Dipertuan of Kedah heard the news that Raja Haji was coming, he built stockades at Batangau,³ set up the cannon and conscripted thousands of people with their weapons, as well as warriors and captains. Not long afterwards Raja Haji arrived at Batangau and seeing that stockades were already prepared there he smiled, and said to Raja Said, 'Apparently the people of Kedah do not want to negotiate; since they have done all this they probably want to go to war'. Raja Said answered, 'That is quite true'.

Raja Haji then ordered the Suliwatang to enter Kedah, find the Yang Dipertuan, explain their forefathers' written contract and ask whether this was still in force. When the Suliwatang reached Kedah he saw that iron chains had been placed across the Kedah River so that foreign *perahu* could not enter. The Suliwatang then said, 'The King of Kedah really is going to put up a fight!' Shortly afterwards he met the Yang Dipertuan of Kedah who was giving an audience to his ministers and warriors. They were armed with weapons and rows of rifles and swords; the majority of the soldiers were Kelings and Bengalis.⁴ The Suliwatang presented the written contracts which the Yang Dipertuan of Kedah read. Then he said to the Suliwatang, 'This contract was made by people in the past and what was then promised and accepted no longer applies. I became king here because my own Bendahara and Temenggung installed me—not the Bugis. I send my greetings and my respects to Raja Haji but let us not prolong this matter any further. We have already become like brothers,

so go back, Suliwatang. There is no need for us to give you another letter. Your personal report will be sufficient'.

When the Suliwatang heard this, he crimsoned and, asking for permission to leave the audience hall, he returned to Batangau to present himself before Raja Haji and tell him what the Yang Dipertuan of Kedah had said. When he had heard the message relayed by the Suliwatang, Raja Haji also crimsoned and he said to the Suliwatang, 'We will go to war tomorrow and attack the fort at Batangau from upstream'. The Suliwatang asked, 'Should not we wait for your brother?' Raja Haji replied, 'What is the point in waiting any longer for him? We will just send a message to Perak to say we are already at war'. The Suliwatang answered, 'Very well', and called up all the officers, their attendants, and all the Bugis—of whom there were a large number—telling them to prepare themselves, put on their battle dress, and make ready the cannon, swivel guns, rifles, muskets, spears, and crises. Following this, all the Bugis performed a war dance and sang war songs. Seeing what was happening, the Kedah people in the Batangau stockade prepared and loaded their cannon, while the Temenggung and the Laksamana took their troops inside the stockade.

201:11

The next day fighting began with Raja Haji firing on the Batangau stockade, using cannon and swivel guns. The din of the cannon was like thunder, with booming and a thunderous uproar of screaming and cheering on both sides. The Bugis shouted their war songs and the air hung thick with smoke from the guns. Neither side weakened. When night fell they stopped fighting and when it was light the awe-inspiring sounds of the various war drums resounded once more, and battle was engaged so tumultuously that nothing else could be heard. Neither side weakened. At night battle ceased, and the fighting continued for about four days, but still Kedah did not weaken. This was because at the time Kedah was prosperous and had sufficient ammunition, and there were *kapal* and *keci* in the river.¹ Kedah had a large population and sufficient food provided by extensive tracts of land and by the interior. This would have made things difficult for the Bugis, except that they were trying their luck and were courageous.

Seeing the situation, Raja Haji conferred with his cousin, Raja Said, and said to the Suliwatang, officers and captains, 'If it goes on like this for another month, there will be no definite outcome. We will have to land and make an assault'. Then the Suliwatang said respectfully, 'We will carry out your orders'.

202:1

The next day the Suliwatang called up his officers and the large number of Bugis for duty, ordering them to prepare for an attack by land. The Bugis equipped themselves with muskets, rifles, spears and lances,

and when they were completely ready, the Suliwatang, a large number of Bugis captains, and their officers, attacked the stockade at Batangau, but were driven back by the lines of Kedah troops. The fighting continued fiercely, the Bugis closing in with their rifles, muskets and spears. There was hand to hand fighting, pursuit, and running combat back and forth. Then Nakhoda La Wuluk scaled the Batangau stockade from the rear. Gaining entry he attacked fiercely and wounded many people. The massed Bugis soldiers, seeing that their officer La Wuluk had entered, assailed and entered too, firing their rifles and guns. The crackling sound of the guns and rifles was like rice being fried.

202:11

By this time many of the Kedah people had been killed, and the Temenggung and Laksamana fled, taking the wounded to Alor Setar. An officer called La Sollah pursued them, ambushing them along the road. La Sollah was struck several times by bullets and he collapsed and died. La Wuluk also died in the Batangau stockade, unable to escape.¹ Raja Haji ordered, 'All of you follow and we will press on inland'. The Suliwatang called up everyone for duty and ordered an advance, and the Bugis went forward, firing their muskets and rifles and chanting battle songs. Then the Suliwatang said, 'Carry the small swivel guns on poles so that we can fire on more distant targets'. The small swivel guns were hoisted onto the shoulders of two or three people and were then fired at those who were fleeing. On the first attempt two or three fell and the Suliwatang said, 'Good! This is indeed a great swivel gun. We will call it "Harung Darah".'

203:1

The attacking Bugis arrived at Alor Setar and crossed to the harbour. Only when they reached the village of Tengku Bunga, the son of Engku Kelana Encik Unuk, did they go downstream to the estuary. There they fought fiercely, with killing on both sides, and the noise of the guns and rifles sounded like rice being fried. In the very midst of all the fighting the Bugis were struggling to sever the chains stretched across the river. When this was done, some of the *penjabab* came in, and others remained in the estuary. Following Raja Haji's advance inland, the Yang Dipertuan of Kedah retreated up the Kedah River,¹ but many of the princes stayed behind. Raja Haji would not permit any looting. At that time there were eleven Keling ships in Kedah harbour, and they were all seized. Kedah was defeated.²

203:11

The messenger sent to Perak presented the letters to Sultan Salih al-Din the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor, who left at once to join his royal brother Raja Haji. However, when he arrived Kedah had already been defeated.³ The Yang Dipertuan of Selangor consulted all his royal relatives and the Kedah princes. The elders were sent to invite the Yang Dipertuan of Kedah to return to his country, because the matter was closed

and now all they had to do was reach agreement as equals in Islam. The Yang Dipertuan of Kedah returned, and Raja Haji restored Kedah to him. A contract was made, as among brothers. Following this, Raja Haji remained in Kedah feasting and enjoying himself.⁴ Not long afterwards, however, he left and sailed to Merbuk with his elder brother and the Suliwatang.⁵

There was a Keling ship which had escaped from Kedah when Raja Haji set sail. When it reached the sea it headed for Southern India. Aboard were two Bugis brothers of good birth, one called Encik Tahir and one called Encik Jawa. When they realized the ship was headed for the open sea, Encik Tahir was furious with the Keling captain, who in turn was angry with Encik Tahir and Encik Jawa. They had no other companions on board and the Kelings wanted to seize them, but Encik Tahir drew his kris and attacked them, killing one or two. The Kelings surrounded him, thrusting and stabbing with their weapons, and he died. The Kelings seized his brother, Encik Jawa, and flung him into the sea. Because he had been wounded they gave him a plank of wood, and he thus swam to shore and survived. The ship continued on to Southern India and Encik Jawa escaped to Selangor. And that was the situation. 204:1

As for Raja Haji Pangeran Suta Wijaya, he had gone to Merbuk with his elder brother the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor, Raja Said, and a large number of people, including the princes from Kedah (that is, Engku Mangku Putera, Datuk Engku Lung Putera, Tengku Bunga and his wife) who had accompanied him. Raja Haji had not been in Merbuk long when he sailed to Bernam, where they all stayed for a while. Then the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor returned to Selangor, accompanied by his younger brother Kelana Pangeran Suta Wijaya bringing Tengku Mangku Putera. Tengku Lung Putera remained in Bernam with his son Engku Ngah and his wife, and Tengku Bunga.¹ Pangeran Suta Wijaya married Tuk Engku Mangku Putera's daughter to Raja Ibrahim, the son of the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor.² Following this, Kelana Pangeran Suta Wijaya also married his daughter Raja Selamah to Raja Nala, another son of the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor. Their wedding was performed according to the customs traditional for a royal marriage, and after this Kelana Pangeran Suta Wijaya stayed in Selangor. 204:11

To continue the story of Pangeran Sharif Abd al-Rahman,¹ son of Sayid al-Sharif al-Habib Husain al-Kadri Jamal al-Layl, whose mother, Nyai Tua, was from Matan. He received the title Pangeran in Banjar when he married Ratu Syahar Banun,² the daughter of the Sultan of Banjar. Pangeran Sharif Abd al-Rahman was already married to Utin Candra Midi, the daughter of Opu Daeng Menambun, who was entitled Pangeran Mas Seri Negara. According to the story, on one occasion Sharif Abd al-Rah- 205:1

man went to Sanggau, intending to go further upstream to trade. *Allah knows* the place. However, the Penembahan of Sanggau would not permit him to go upstream as far as Sengkadau, but only to Sanggau. Pangeran Sharif Abd al-Rahman insisted on going up to Sengkadau,³ and a quarrel broke out with the Penembahan of Sanggau, who fired on Pangeran Sharif Abd al-Rahman's *perahu*. The latter returned the fire, and the battle began. Cannon and swivel guns were fired, and the terrifying booming of the cannon mingled with the thunderous uproar of screaming and cheering as men were killed on both sides. Pangeran Sharif Abd al-Rahman's fleet consisted of forty ships of various sizes, but after about seven or eight days' fighting he was defeated by the Penembahan of Sanggau and retreated to Pontianak.⁴ There he spent about eight months preparing a large *perahu*, and then he was ready. The news about Sharif Abd al-Rahman, husband of Raja Haji's cousin Utin Candra Midi, reached Engku Kelana Raja Haji in Riau. Pangeran Sharif Abd al-Rahman had sent a message to Riau asking for help. The Chronicle from Pontianak does not mention this,⁵ but by evaluating it and thinking about it with relatives and friends, you will all understand its significance. And thus I conclude.

206:1 According to the story, Raja Haji Engku Kelana Pangeran Suta Wijaya, either on hearing the news or on receiving the letter from Pontianak, prepared a war fleet in Selangor consisting of one large ship and ten big *penjajab* equipped with huge cannon, and several *kakap*. When all the equipment for war had been made ready, he left Selangor and sailed towards Riau and Lingga, taking *joget* and *tandak* dancers, his children by secondary wives, and his singers and musicians,¹ according to the custom when a great king makes a journey. Engku Kelana Raja Haji then sailed to Lingga, and when he was opposite the Muntuk estuary, a son was born to him, whom he named Raja Idris. After a voyage of a few days he reached Muntuk, and there was an uproar in Palembang, with people saying, 'Raja Haji Kelana Pangeran Suta Wijaya is in Muntuk!' The Sultan of Palembang was terrified lest he come into Palembang, and he conferred with all his ministers, asking their advice. The ministers suggested, 'We should first investigate, and not simply assume that something bad will happen'.

206:11 The Sultan of Palembang then sent a minister to find out what Raja Haji Kelana Pangeran Suta Wijaya wanted. The latter responded, 'I want to visit the grave of the Great Lord of Mempawah,² and am bound for Pontianak to meet my relatives and family there.' After the Sultan's envoy had listened to Raja Haji, he asked permission to return to Palembang where he reported what Engku Kelana Pangeran Suta Wijaya had said. The Sultan of Palembang sent one of his litters to take money, food,

and much of whatever else was needed for Raja Haji's forces and fleet. Raja Haji said to the messenger, 'I send my greetings to my brother the Sultan of Palembang, and my sincere thanks. We will not come into Palembang, because we intend to sail immediately, and we only made a brief stop at Muntuk to take on water and wood. My brother should not be perturbed'. Hearing Raja Haji's instructions, the messenger asked permission to return to Palembang and there he told the Sultan what Raja Haji had said. The Sultan of Palembang was relieved.

207:1

The Siak Chronicle mentions that the Sultan was very uneasy about Raja Haji, because at that time Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail was also in Palembang.¹ His concern and fear about Raja Haji grew the more he conferred with Raja Ismail and it is said he would have given over the country of Palembang to Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail if Raja Haji had attacked. The Sultan of Palembang gave Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail three baskets of lump sugar and in each was hidden 1,000 dollars. He ordered that this be sent to Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail, who accepted it, saying, 'Why was the money put in with the sugar?' The messenger replied, 'Your royal father was afraid that some rumour might spread to the Dutch, and because he feels so deeply for you he used this stratagem'. That is how it is described in the Siak Chronicle.

Afterwards the Sultan of Palembang asked one of Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail's brothers to settle at Muntuk and Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail permitted his brother Raja Musa to do so. It was then that Raja Haji, because he was low on water and fuel, came to Muntuk and sent a messenger to Raja Musa to request provisions and food. Raja Musa ordered the Temenggung of Muntuk to locate three different kinds of articles and food from Muntuk sufficient to provision Raja Haji's fleet.² When there was enough, Raja Musa ordered them to be taken to Raja Haji and commanded the person in charge to say, 'We can only offer you homage; this is all we have in Muntuk. Do not be offended, but it would be better if you left immediately, because the people of Palembang are identifying myself with you and are becoming suspicious of us both'. Having been given this message, the envoy took the goods to Raja Haji's *kakap* where he repeated it to Raja Haji as Raja Musa had ordered. Hearing the messenger's submission, Raja Haji smiled and then said, 'Inform my son Raja Musa that I thank him. There is no opportunity for me to meet him, but if we live, perhaps we can do so in the future'. When this was done, the messenger asked permission to return, and he presented himself before Raja Musa, informing him as Raja Haji had commanded. And Raja Musa was extremely pleased.

207:11

208:1

After Raja Haji Kelana Pangeran Suta Wijaya had taken on water and wood from Muntuk, as well as the money and food from the Sultan of

Palembang and the Temenggung of Muntuk, he set sail for Mempawah which he reached in a few days. His royal cousin, the Penembahan Pangeran Adi Wijaya (that is, Gusti Jameril, son of His Majesty Opu Daeng Menambun) heard the news and was extremely happy at his cousin's arrival. He sent his son Gusti Mas and his other children and the dignitaries to welcome him. Raja Haji's fleet came upstream and entered Mempawah. 208:11 Pangeran Adi Wijaya then met Raja Haji, and they exchanged greetings and wept, because they had never met before. Raja Haji then left to visit the grave of the Great Lord of Mempawah, and following this his cousin the Penembahan entertained him according to the customs when princely brothers have just met.

When the welcoming festivities for the two cousins were finished, Raja Haji asked leave to go to Pontianak to meet his cousin Utin Candra Midi, the daughter of Opu Daeng Menambun, who had become the wife of Pangeran Sharif Abd al-Rahman al-Kadri. Raja Haji left for Pontianak, and when he arrived there he was received with honour by Pangeran Sharif Abd al-Rahman, and met the latter's wife, Utin Candra Midi. They both wept, because these cousins, so far from each other, were meeting for only the first time. Sharif Abd al-Rahman gave Raja Haji a palace, and Raja Haji went ashore taking his children by secondary wives, and his *joget* and *tandak* dancers. Pangeran Sharif Abd al-Rahman and Raja Haji were as affectionate towards each other as brothers, and he and his wife visited Raja Haji repeatedly, and danced the Jambi style 209:1 *joget*. Utin Candra Midi was delighted with her cousin's entertainments, because there was only Javanese *joget* in Mempawah and Pontianak. Likewise, Raja Haji met Pangeran Sharif Abd al-Rahman every single day, and they joked and laughed and generally enjoyed themselves.

According to the story, it was in these circumstances that Pangeran Sharif Abd al-Rahman shortly afterwards told Raja Haji the details of the dispute with the Penembahan of Sanggau. 'For more than eight months the people of Pontianak have been unable to trade in Sengkadau. The reason we have stopped fighting is because we are still making ready a war fleet. When we tried to do battle with the Penembahan of Sanggau before, I was defeated because my fleet was smaller and no match for his and I had few people who were really willing to undergo hardship.' When Raja Haji heard Pangeran Sharif Abd al-Rahman's news, he replied, 209:11 'Why are we delaying matters further? Let us attack again, and if he is not defeated this time, I will send to Riau for reinforcements'. After listening to Raja Haji, Pangeran Sharif Abd al-Rahman called up his people to prepare his fleet. Raja Haji also prepared his fleet which he had brought from Riau. When all was ready, Pangeran Sharif Abd al-Rahman and Raja Haji went upstream to Sanggau¹ with two *kakap*, one *keci* and

twenty-eight *penjabab*.² At Tayan the people of Sanggau had a force waiting for their arrival. Raja Haji ordered the people of Riau and Pontianak to attack the Tayan stockade. They fought for about two days, after which he ordered that the stockades be taken. The Riau Bugis and the Bugis of Mempawah and Pontianak attacked fiercely, and there was a great noise at Tayan. The thunderous uproar of muskets and rifles made a tremendous din like a thunderbolt cleaving a mountain, while the firing crackled like rice being fried and mingled with the shouting and yelling of the Bugis chanting war songs and battle cries. This lasted for about two days, and then the Tayan stockade was taken because many of their people had died or were wounded, and several of the captains had been decapitated. The people of Sanggau scattered, fleeing in various directions.

Raja Haji and Pangeran Sharif Abd al-Rahman consulted together as brothers, and then took the entire fleet upstream to Sanggau. Reaching Kayu Tunai,¹ they encountered a large and strongly manned stockade. There the force stopped so that the two princes could consult and reach agreement about the conduct of the war. Raja Haji drew up the battle lines determining who were to be the captains of the right and left flanks, and organized the manner in which the campaign would be carried out, as well as the signals to be used during the fighting. By the time all was ready and the battle lines secure, it was 26 Muharram in the hijra year 1192.² The battle then began, and the entire fleet attacked the Sanggau stockade. Both sides exchanged fire, with cannon and swivel guns booming like thunder, making a noise like a thunderbolt cleaving a mountain. The fire was returned by both sides, using cannon and swivel guns, but neither weakened. When night fell they stopped, but at daybreak the sound of the various drums could again be heard from the *kapal* and *keci*. The two sides ignited their cannon at the same time and the noise resounded simultaneously making a terrifying sound and the thunderous din of warfare was deafening. The air was thick with the smoke of the cannon and swivel guns, while the cheering and screaming, mingled with the sound of the Bugis chanting their battle songs, lasted from morning until evening. Many were killed and wounded on both sides, but neither was worsted, although as the evening wore on the shouting became more sporadic, and by nightfall the fighting had stopped. Both Raja Haji and Pangeran Sharif Abd al-Rahman consulted their elders, and Raja Haji said, 'Tomorrow when we do battle, we will bring in our *penjabab* as close as possible. Tonight we will strengthen the gun shields and look for long wooden poles on which we can raise up the smaller swivel guns so that they can fire into the stockades'. And the elders answered, 'We will do whatever our two lords command'. Then

210:1

210:11

211:1

with the Bugis they swore allegiance on their weapons, each man with his own declaration.

211:11 The following day, when this consultation was completed and agreement had been reached, the deafening beat of war drums resounded on both sides, combining with the sound of tambours and fifes. Each side loaded their cannon and primed them, then a minute later they were simultaneously ignited and fired together. The terrifying sound, the thunderous booming, the cheering and screaming, mingled with the murky smoke from the cannon and swivel guns. The Bugis chanted war songs, and then the Riau *penjajab* closed in on the stockade. As they drew near, battle was engaged and soon afterwards the Bugis from Riau and Mempawah with the men of Riau and Pontianak were able to storm the stockade. Inside, they fought fiercely, firing their rifles and muskets, stabbing with their spears, slashing with their cutlasses and swords, hacking with their krises, pursuing and harassing, this way and that. The Sanggau people soon weakened and the fighters dispersed, scattering and running and leaping from the stockade, because their captains were dead. With everybody fleeing, the men of Riau were able to take the Sanggau stockade. All the Riau and Pontianak people, as well as all the Bugis, cheered, and the noise was like the rolling of thunder. Thus Raja Haji Kelana Pangeran Suta Wijaya together with Pangeran Sharif Abd al-Rahman ad-Kadri defeated Sanggau on 11 Safar in the hijra year 1192.¹

212:1 The two princes then went upriver to the capital of Sanggau, where they stayed for about twelve days. Later they came downstream, stopping at the island of Simpang Labai² where they built breastworks defended by six cannon. They named the island 'Jam Jambu Basrah'. When this was finished, the two princes returned to Pontianak with the entire fleet and they remained in Pontianak, enjoying themselves feasting and drinking like close relatives, together with the elders from Riau, Pontianak, and Mempawah. There were various amusements, such as *joget* and *tandak* dancing and all kinds of other entertainment.

According to the story, Raja Haji had not been long in Pontianak when he consulted with all the elders there about appointing his royal cousin Pangeran Sharif Abd al-Rahman as Sultan in Pontianak with all its subject territories. The Pontianak elders replied, 'Whatever our Lord wishes, because we are all your subjects'. Then, after Raja Haji had conferred and agreement had been reached, he set in process the task of preparing all the articles necessary for a royal installation to the beat of drums, according to the customs and traditions of Johor. The only addition was the special Bugis ceremony of swearing allegiance with their weapons. When all the articles for the installation and drumming in had been prepared, and when the time was right, Raja Haji assembled all the dignitaries

and princes who were then in Pontianak and Mempawah, as well as the princes allied to Pangeran Mangkubumi of Sambas. Letters were also sent to Matan and Banjar. All the princes then gathered in Pontianak, and when they, the dignitaries, and the entire populace had assembled, Raja Haji robed himself and Pangeran Sharif Abd al-Rahman with the installation garments. They went straight to the audience hall with all the official regalia, the sword, the long kris, the betel bowl, the fan, the cuspidore, and the other articles, together with sixteen women bearing cloth slings and each holding a large candle patterned with leaves. After this Pangeran Sharif Abd al-Rahman was led up to the throne of the kingdom, with two pages standing to the right and to the left each holding a golden-topped staff. 212:11

When all the officials had been drawn up and ranked in order, Raja Haji stood before the throne, unsheathed his sword, and proclaimed in a clear voice, 'Be it known by all the princes and dignitaries of the Bugis and Malay races, whether they be high or low, old or young, that we have truly raised up and installed Pangeran Sharif Abd al-Rahman to become king in the state of Pontianak and all its subject territories, with the title Seri Paduka Sultan Sharif Abd al-Rahman, Nur Alam Karar, and he and his descendants will be established in the sovereignty of this kingdom throughout succeeding generations'. And all the people answered, 'May his sovereign power increase'. Only then was the royal drum beaten. Next the two pages summoned the princes and dignitaries to pay homage to the king by placing his foot on their heads, approaching him on their knees in a zig-zag direction, and raising the fingers of both hands in front.¹ One after another they came until everyone had finished, when they went up to the palace to eat the ceremonial rice, ending that part of the ceremony. Then Raja Haji went down to the audience hall to give a banquet to the princes, the dignitaries, and the populace. With the completion of the banquet, the installation ceremonies were concluded. 213:1

According to the story, when the installation ceremony was over, Raja Haji built a fort and palace compound for his royal cousin Sultan Sharif Abd al-Rahman and his wife. The timber used was from the Sanggau fort, which had been taken to Pontianak. Following this, he organized all the dignitaries with titles, ranks and duties and organized the customs within the palace and in the audience hall, appointing the people entitled to attend banquets in the audience hall according to the customs of Riau. Raja Haji also organized the wedding customs according to those of Riau (that is, of Johor). Thus the story goes. 213:11

According to experts on dates, Raja Haji stayed in Pontianak for about sixteen or seventeen months, enjoying himself with Sultan Sharif Abd al-Rahman and his wife. For several days there were entertainments such

as *gamelan* playing, *joget* dancing, *wayang*, and huge feasts with rows of dignitaries, elders, and princes all joking and having fun. This was what they were doing when unexpectedly a messenger came from Riau requesting that Raja Haji return, because the Yang Dipertuan Muda Daeng Kamboja was critically ill. When Raja Haji heard this news he asked leave of Sultan Sharif Abd al-Rahman and his wife to return to Riau. Hearing that their royal cousin wished to return, Sultan Sharif Abd al-Rahman and his wife began preparing provisions for him. Meanwhile, another messenger came from Riau bringing a letter for Raja Haji saying that his royal cousin Yang Dipertuan Muda Daeng Kamboja had already returned to the mercy of Allah Almighty.¹ *Verily we belong to Allah and to Him we return.* When Raja Haji, Sultan Sharif Abd al-Rahman and his wife heard the Riau letter, the three of them wept bitterly. When their grief was spent, Sultan Sharif Abd al-Rahman assembled all the Sayids, hajis, and *lebai* in the palace to recite the confession of faith and read the Koran so that the merit acquired might be given to the soul of his late cousin, Yang Dipertuan Muda Daeng-Kamboja. He also distributed alms and held a ritual feast according to the custom when a close relative dies.

As for Raja Haji, he made preparations for the voyage, and when the time was right, he set sail from Pontianak. Sultan Sharif Abd al-Rahman and his wife escorted him to the mouth of the Pontianak River. Reaching the estuary, Sultan Sharif Abd al-Rahman and his wife left Raja Haji's vessel amidst mutual well wishes, farewells, and weeping. The three of them promised that the fraternal ties between the two princes would never be broken and that this would be sustained by their future descendants, *with harmony and mutual love forever.* When they had made their farewells, Sultan Sharif Abd al-Rahman and his wife went upriver to their fortified palace where they stayed, surrounded with honour.

After his royal cousin had returned upriver, Raja Haji ordered that the anchor be weighed and he sailed westwards towards Riau. When he was in sight of the Riau coastline he altered course for Pahang, and a few days later he reached the Pahang estuary. The news reached the Datuk Bendahara of Pahang (that is, Tun Abd al-Majid, not Bendahara Tun Hasan. The latter had been Bendahara during the reign of the late Yang Dipertuan Daeng Kamboja, and he was still living during the war at Singapore. Bendahara Tun Hasan was originally Raja Indera Bungsu and was appointed Bendahara, as is mentioned in the historical chronicle from Riau).¹ So it was Bendahara Tun Abd al-Majid who came to extend greetings and to welcome Raja Haji. At their meeting the two exchanged salutations and the Datuk Bendahara brought Raja Haji upriver to the settle-

ment of Pahang and immediately provided him with a residence. Thus Raja Haji and all his party went to live ashore.

The elders tell a story which alleges that when Raja Haji entered Pahang he did not fly a flag. The Datuk Bendahara, coming downstream to welcome Raja Haji, noticed that his vessel flew no flag, so when he boarded the vessel he ordered the flag used by the Yang Dipertuan Muda to be raised. The elders also tell another story alleging that when Raja Haji entered Pahang he was not using a flag, but on the mainmast there were wooden pennons which looked like axes. It is said that when the Datuk Bendahara saw them he raised the Yang Dipertuan Muda's flag. I have also heard the elders say that when Raja Haji went into Pahang all the flags on his ship were reefed in, and it was the Datuk Bendahara, who unfurled them. Only *Allah Almighty knows the truth*. I do not know which version is correct, but I hope Allah Almighty will pardon my errors and mistakes which, in my stupidity, I have made in this historical chronicle. *Allah is the compassionate and the generous*.

215:11

When Raja Haji had established himself in Pahang,² the Datuk Bendahara proceeded with the ceremonies for his installation. When the time had come Raja Haji was installed according to the customs traditional for a Yang Dipertuan Muda.³ Thus Raja Haji became Yang Dipertuan Muda in Riau and Johor and all their subject territories because he had received them as an inheritance from his father and from his elder cousin. And thus I conclude the account.

216:1

To continue the story of His Majesty Sultan Mahmud in Riau. After the death of His Majesty Yang Dipertuan Daeng Kamboja (that is, the late Bearded One), and after the burial had been completed according to the custom when a great prince dies, His Majesty remained extremely sad. This was because the Datuk Bendahara was not in Riau at the time, but had gone to Pahang. Although there were one or two older princes, as well as the sons of the late Bearded One, His Majesty still waited for the return of the messenger who had been sent to Mempawah. His Majesty repeatedly ordered the sea-people to check the approaches to Riau for any signs of Raja Haji's fleet. Meanwhile, a messenger arrived from Pahang with a letter from the Datuk Bendahara Tun Abd al-Majid to say that Raja Haji was in Pahang and that he had already installed him. Hearing that his royal uncle Raja Haji was already in Pahang, His Majesty was delighted and begged permission from his aunt (that is, the sister of Yang Dipertuan Raja Haji) to leave. She agreed, and His Majesty sailed for Pahang to meet his royal uncle, the Yang Dipertuan Muda. When he left for Pahang he was accompanied by Raja Abd al-Samad, the late Bearded One's son, and one of the elders, Bandar Bopeng.¹ They had not been sailing long when they arrived at the Pahang estuary. When

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news of this reached the Yang Dipertuan Muda and the Datuk Bendahara, they went to the estuary to greet His Majesty and bring him up-river, where they went ashore to the palace. His Majesty Sultan Mahmud stayed in Pahang with the Yang Dipertuan Muda and the Datuk Bendahara and they enjoyed themselves feasting according to the customs when great princes gather together.² And that was the situation.

217:1 The Yang Dipertuan Muda had not been long in Pahang before a son was born to him, whom he named Raja Pahang. Soon afterwards His Majesty Sultan Mahmud and his uncle the Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Haji returned to Riau.¹ The Datuk Bendahara escorted the two princes, and they soon reached Riau. The Yang Dipertuan Muda built a palace on the island of Biram Dewa, with a magnificent stone fort inlaid with porcelain plates and saucers which made it extremely lovely. Until this very day the remains of the fort are up the Riau River.² There was also an audience hall, with mirrored walls and pillars plated with copper trays, while the top of the fort was trellised with earthenware jars. When the sun's rays struck the fort, it radiated brilliance. Later a palace was built on the Galang Besar River, this time for His Majesty Sultan Mahmud, and it was also extremely lovely. The decorations on the palaces of the Yang Dipertuan Besar and the Yang Dipertuan Muda were of gold and
217:11 silver, even down to the chains of the lamps. Most of the trays and salvers were from China, and the betel boxes and decanters for rosewater, made in Manila, were also of gold and silver and were embossed and studded with polished diamonds. Most of the plates, bowls, coffee and tea cups had been made in China and on the bases of the cups the name 'Island of Biram Dewa' or 'Malim Dewa' was inscribed in gold leaf. Their descendants still have these cups. I can witness that this is the truth.

When the Yang Dipertuan Muda was firmly established in Riau on the island of Biram Dewa he had a son, whom he named Raja Ahmad, born on a Thursday in the month of Rajab at the time of the afternoon prayers. On that blessed day it was approaching evening, in the year of the Prophet Muhammad's hijra (*may Allah bless him and grant him peace*) one thousand one hundred and ninety-three (1193).³ The previous year (that is, 1192)⁴ he had installed Sultan Mahmud as Yang Dipertuan Besar. It was just a year later that his son Raja Ahmad was born.

218:1 According to the story, when Raja Haji became Yang Dipertuan Muda, Riau became more populous and its prosperity increased.¹ Most of the people of Riau became wealthy, like Sayid Husain Aidid, who lived on the Timun River and had his own warehouse and *perahu* with jurymasts which traded back and forth to Java. And there were Chinese and Bugis merchants in *kapal*, *keci* and *wangkang* with red or green bows, scores of them anchored in Riau and plying their trade there. There were hun-

dreds of Bugis and Javanese *perahu* and *tob* from Siam berthed at Riau, let alone *perahu* from the outer territories. It is impossible to describe how they were crammed like sardines from the estuary to Kampung China. His Majesty the Yang Dipertuan Besar, the Yang Dipertuan Muda, and the Bugis and Malay princes all received a sizeable amount in tolls and taxes. The Chinese *wangkang* and the Siamese *tob* also paid a commission on the sale of porcelain, whether highest quality or inferior, which would have filled several warehouses, and on cloth made in China—figured, gold brocade, mixed silk and cotton, and satin. In just one trading season hundreds of bolts of cloth were available. Large numbers of Sayids came from the Arab lands together with *lebai* from Java, who filled the religious hostels as well as the mosques and prayer houses belonging to the dignitaries and the wealthy. On Thursday nights they all gathered to celebrate the birth of the Prophet and afterwards alms were distributed, some receiving ducatoons, some dollars, and some rupees. Apart from the celebrations on Thursday nights, there were also other entertainments like *joget* and *wayang*. Several armed *penjajab* lay at the ready at the harbour, complete with ammunition and captains. Twenty or thirty were in the water, while another twenty or thirty had been beached. The cannon were all suspended but if His Majesty needed them the *penjajab* drew in closer and the cannon were brought down. The Yang Dipertuan Muda was constantly rowing off on pleasure trips to Bayan Island, Terkulai, and to bathe at Senggarang and other places, taking gongs and singers with him.

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There were several happy years because the country was at peace and prosperous, famed for its cheap food and for the amount of profit traders could make there. For instance, gambier could be bought for two ducatoons on Riau and could be sold in Java for many times that, even for eight ducatoons a *pikul*, with the price sometimes reaching ten ducatoons. Javanese rice was three Bengali rupees a *pikul* and other food, like lump sugar, granulated sugar, onions and so forth was also cheap. Because of this the country prospered. In addition, silk was five quarters a *kati*,¹ while gumlac was three reals a *pikul*, woven Siantan silk was eight dollars a length, and trousers were five reals a pair. This is cited in the Chronicle of Haji Podi. Siamese rice was ten dollars a *koyan*. The dated history of Tuk Ngah mentions that there were many people along the Riau River—about 90,000. Other accounts say there were 50,000 Malays, both of high and low status, male and female, excluding the sea-people. There were 40,000 Bugis, both pure and of mixed blood, high and low status, male and female. There were 8,000 Bugis on the Timun River, 2,000 at the island of Biram Dewa, Pangkalan Rama, the Baharu River and other places; there were 600 princes, eighty noblemen,

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219:11 Bugis merchants and lords, besides Chinese and Kelings. Any kind of food was cheap in Riau, although various types of cloth—European chintz, woollen cloth, white cloth, Indian satin, batik headcloths and lengths of batik cloth—were not. These, people report, were very expensive.

220:1 Nonetheless, the majority of the Malay groups were not grateful and with few exceptions harboured only jealousy and envy towards the Bugis princes. A number of their actions and deeds sought to sully the reputation of the Yang Dipertuan Muda and the Bugis. This continued until the departure of the Raja Indera Bungsu and his entire family with Tun Kecik.² Tengku Fatimah, accompanied by Tengku Lahad, went to Trengganu because, it is said, they resented the Bugis. They said, 'Only one person is rich, contented and prosperous'. It was in this atmosphere that the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu, the Raja Indera Bungsu and the Datuk Bendahara of Pahang began to spread malicious rumours. Continually, year after year, they sent letters to the Dutch at Malacca and Batavia, and to the English at Bengal, Madras, Ceylon and other places, requesting help to attack Riau and to take His Majesty Sultan Mahmud from 'beneath the Bugis feet'. This was the expression, it is said, that the Malays used. What I have written here was quoted in the historical chronicle composed by Engku Busu of Dungun, a relative of the late ruler and the father of Tengku Wuk. He was a Malay prince who knew the secrets of both sides. The reason he had left Trengganu was because he was incensed when Raja Kecik accepted Raja Ismail as his son-in-law. This is how it is described in that historical chronicle.¹

220:11 To continue the story of Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail in Tanah Putih. His Majesty was waiting for Raja Musa, who had gone to Kendawangan, but he did not arrive. His brother who had gone to Kedah likewise did not arrive, and the person who had gone to Kuantan² did not arrive either. His Majesty built *kakap* and *perahu* in the jungle conscripting the labour of all the people of Tanah Putih,³ and no one else knew of it. However, the news finally did reach the people of Siak. When they came to His Majesty he forced them to stay, so that other Siak people did not dare to come, and neither were they bold enough to spread the news.

Some time after this His Majesty accepted a certain Lord Sayid of the people of Sakkaf⁴ as his son-in-law, marrying him to his daughter Tengku Kamariah. His Majesty bestowed the title Great Lord on the Sayid, and conferred with him. The Great Lord said, 'It would be best if my Lord attacked Siak now. In my view you could take it easily'. After Raja Ismail had listened to the Great Lord he was convinced and prepared about twelve *kakap* and *perahu* and four large *penjajab*. His Majesty divided these between his brothers, Tengku Hasan, Tengku Kamat, Tengku

Taib, and Tengku Yasin, a *penjajab* for each. When all the weapons and the fleet were ready, His Majesty set out from Tanah Putih and entered Siak without stopping at Buntan. This news reached Siak, and Yang Dipertuan Muhammad Ali was taken aback. He was ill at the time, so he summoned his captain, Encik Hasan. Panglima Hasan sat on the bridge of his *penjajab* under a fringed umbrella, supervising the loading of the cannon, the lighting of the tapers, and the placing of powder in the touch holes, while he waited for Yamtuan Raja Ismail's fleet to come upstream.

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When Raja Ismail had come upstream, the two fleets engaged battle, with a terrifying din; the thunderous uproar and the booming and banging of the cannon was like a thunderbolt cleaving a mountain. At this point in the fighting the greater part of Panglima Hasan's fleet was destroyed, and he was infuriated. Shouting defiance, he ordered his forces to draw closer to Raja Ismail's fleet, saying, 'Closer! Closer!' as he performed a war dance and leapt up and down. Seeing what Panglima Hasan was doing, Raja Ismail also shouted defiantly, 'Hey, you cursed Hasan, why are you committing treason like this?' Then Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail spoke to all his brothers and commanded, 'Go closer and surround Panglima Hasan's *perahu*. He is to be killed, because he so blatantly committed treason by attacking us'. The Tanah Putih *perahu* then approached and made a mass attack on Panglima Hasan's *perahu*. The two fleets drew closer together, firing their muskets and matchlocks, making a crackling sound like rice being fried. The princes yelled, 'Hey, Hasan, do you want to commit treason?' to which Panglima Hasan replied, 'I do not intend to commit treason. I am just carrying out your elder brother's orders'. The princes were furious, and ordered all the skilled swordsmen of Tanah Putih to leap aboard Panglima Hasan's *perahu*. There was a fierce attack with Panglima Hasan fighting strongly. His crew jumped overboard, and Panglima Hasan was left alone. He killed two or three of the Tanah Putih swordsmen, but he was so badly wounded that he weakened. Slumping down, he was surrounded by Yamtuan Raja Ismail's attendants, some hacking, others stabbing and piercing and thus Panglima Hasan died. All the people from Tanah Putih began cheering and there was a thunderous noise.

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The Siak fleet, seeing that Panglima Hasan was dead, dispersed and retreated, with the crews jumping overboard to the shore and abandoning their *perahu*. Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail went upstream to Siak, fighting right and left and ordering his people to go ashore to pillage and burn. Yang Dipertuan Muhammad Ali was taken by the elders to the Mampura River. Tengku Taib burned down the villages of Hakim and Kelakab, while Muhammad Nina burned the royal houseboat. After setting fire

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to it, he fled. Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail's *kakap* were tied up to the wharf, and all the princesses screamed and wept. However, Tengku Ambung, Yamtuan Muhammad Ali's wife and Raja Ismail's sister, came down to the wharf together with Tuk Engku Hawa, the daughter of the late Raja Alam, Raja Muhammad Ali's uncle, to meet Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail. When the latter saw his female relatives coming down, he went to meet them immediately and they wept together. Yamtuan Muhammad Ali fled to Petapahan,¹ and Siak was defeated. The state of Siak thus fell into the hands of Yamtuan Raja Ismail.²

222:11 Then Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail said to his sisters, 'Why has my cousin Muhammad Ali fled? I have no intention of killing him. I am only angry with Hasan, who intended to commit treason against me'. He ordered that his cousin Yang Dipertuan Muhammad Ali be brought from Petapahan. The messenger made obeisance to Yang Dipertuan Muhammad Ali, saying respectfully, 'Your cousin Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail and your wife and sister request that my Lord come downstream to Siak.' Yamtuan Muhammad Ali said, 'If Raja Ngah³ or Ambung come to take me there, I will have the courage to go downstream'. The messenger returned to Yamtuan Raja Ismail and reported what Yamtuan Muhammad Ali had said. His Majesty then ordered his sister, Tengku Ambung, to go and fetch her husband Yamtuan Muhammad Ali. Only when Tengku Ambung came did Yamtuan Muhammad Ali come downstream. When he and Yamtuan Raja Ismail met, Tengku Ambung said, 'Here is your cousin; what are your orders?' And Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail said, 'Sister Ambung, if you want to be reinstated here with cousin Muhammad Ali, I will permit it'. Tengku Ambung answered, 'If your cousin becomes Yang Dipertuan Muda again, I would like to come back with him'.

223:1 According to the story, Raja Abdullah, who had already come from Kedah¹ was present during this conversation, and said, 'It would be better if we ordered him to make an oath first'. Tengku Abdullah replied, 'Let our cousin Muhammad Ali first make an oath with His Majesty that he will never conspire to betray him again. Then he may be allowed back with sister Ambung'. So Yamtuan Muhammad Ali swore an oath, and His Majesty accepted his cousin and his sister, husband and wife, back. He was once more entitled Yamtuan Muda, and they lived together as husband and wife again.²

One day not long after this, Yang Dipertuan Muda Muhammad Ali was presenting himself before the Yang Dipertuan Besar Raja Ismail when Tengku Abdullah came and suddenly tugged at the Yang Dipertuan Muda's hand, taking him to sit in the place he himself had just occupied. Tengku Abdullah then sat in the Yang Dipertuan Muda's seat. The latter was humiliated, and returned to his house, where he acted as if he

were sick. He read prayers for about two or three days, but then, it is said, he lost his reason,³ striking Tengku Ambung on the forehead. The blood flowed out like a slaughtered goat's, and there was an uproar in his palace, where people said, 'Tengku Ambung has been wounded! She was struck by Yang Dipertuan Muda Muhammad Ali!' The commotion reached Yang Dipertuan Besar Raja Ismail, who immediately left with his younger brother Raja Abdullah. Arriving at the Yang Dipertuan Muda's palace, they both went up to meet Tengku Ambung and asked her, 'Why did cousin Muhammad Ali hit you?' And Tengku Ambung answered, 'Your cousin did not hit me. I was dizzy, and I fell against the lattice on the window. That is why I have this wound. Your cousin is not in full control of himself, because he has been reading prayers all through the past few nights'. Then Raja Abdullah said, 'You are shielding him out of love!' Tengku Ambung said, 'I am not lying!' However, at that moment Yang Dipertuan Muhammad Ali jumped out, laughing and talking uncontrollably. His Majesty and Raja Abdullah said, 'Our cousin has apparently lost his reason. We will just have to tie him up'. All His Majesty's brothers came up immediately and seized the Yang Dipertuan Muda. The latter, seeing that his brothers all intended to seize him, turned on them, lashing out with fists and feet. However, he was caught and put in the palace, where he flung himself around, turning everything topsy turvy and thumping and stamping. Tengku Ambung shrieked, 'Do not stab your cousin!' but His Majesty angrily rebuked her, saying, 'Who wants to stab him? We only want to keep a madman under restraint and shut him away by himself. So far he has only hit someone, but tomorrow he may kill'. When she heard His Majesty, Tengku Ambung was silent.

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Then all the dignitaries and the elders went to the Yang Dipertuan Muda's palace with their weapons, because the elders said that His Majesty was fighting with his cousin. Only when they arrived at Yang Dipertuan Muda Muhammad Ali's palace did they realize that he had been taken into custody because he had lost his reason. They were all silent, and stood below on the ground just waiting for orders. Yang Dipertuan Muhammad Ali was thus taken into custody and shut up in a cage in his palace. His Majesty then told his sister Tengku Ambung to seek out shamans skilled in exorcism by breathing¹ and to ask for charms and talismans from the Lord Sayids and from the Great Lord. It is said that not long afterwards the Yang Dipertuan Muda was cured of his illness and only then was he let out of the cage, as is the usual custom.

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According to the story, not long after this, in the cycle of mortality, the Yang Dipertuan Raja Ismail became very ill. All the dignitaries gathered in his residence, and the Yang Dipertuan Muda, Raja Abdullah and

225:1 his brothers went to great lengths to seek out herbal medicines and gather all the shamans to treat His Majesty. But it was all to no avail and his condition grew worse. His Majesty, aware that his destined time had come, assembled his relatives as well as the Yang Dipertuan Muda and all the dignitaries. He entrusted his children to his brothers, ordering that his son, Raja Yahya, generally known as Tengku Sulung, be his successor. Having given this order, His Majesty died, returning to the mercy of Allah Almighty.¹ *Verily we belong to Allah and to Him we return.* The Yang Dipertuan Muda and all his relatives and the dignitaries conducted the ceremonies according to the customs traditional when a king dies, and he was buried at Mampura. He was known posthumously as the Ruler who died in the audience hall.² The kingdom passed to his son, Raja Yahya, who was entitled Sultan Yahya Syah, with sovereignty over the state of Siak. Raja Abdullah became King of Kampar, with the title Tengku Besar Kampar. Tengku Badariah the daughter of the late Raja Alam and Daeng Khadijah (daughter of Opu Daeng Parani) married Sayid Uthman, the son of Syahab. They had several sons, the eldest being Sayid Ali³ and the youngest Sayid Abd al-Rahman, at the present time already old enough to wear a kris. Sayid Ali married the daughter of Raja Musa, and Raja Musa gave Bukit Batu to him. In the end, it was he who took sovereignty from Sultan Yahya. The account of this will come later.⁴

225:11 To continue the story of Riau during the reign of Sultan Mahmud and Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Haji. The latter had not been reigning in Riau long when his elder brother, the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor, Sultan Salih al-Din, became ill and died shortly afterwards, returning to the mercy of Allah Almighty. The dignitaries sent news of this to Riau, and Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Haji replaced his deceased elder brother with the latter's son, Raja Ibrahim, who became Yang Dipertuan Besar.⁵ Another son, Raja Nala, became Yang Dipertuan Muda.

226:1 According to the story, Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Haji had been governing Riau and its subject territories for about eight years when the decree of Allah Almighty, who is all-powerful, came into force. He executes His will with His profound wisdom over all His servants, reminding them of the cruelty of this impermanent world and of the uncertainty of its pleasures, and of how things move from one circumstance to another, so that His servants should never love this world, but yearn for that which is to come and which is everlasting. Its pleasures are the greatest and its sovereignty is the greatest, as is decreed in the glorious Koran: *When thou seest it thou will see there bliss and high estate*¹ (that is, when in the future you see the next world, you will see the greatest delights and the greatest kingdom). Several other Koranic verses set out the pleasures of the world to come and the trials of this one.

According to the story, there are two accounts of the underlying causes of Riau's misfortune and destruction. The first account is to be found in the historical chronicles from Siak and Selangor.² That is the ostensible reason, and I have examined the stories recounted by old people, who were the contemporaries of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Haji and who accompanied him. According to these, there was a contract with the Dutch Company whereby the enemies of the Company would also be Raja Haji's enemies.³ It is said that if Raja Haji captured an enemy of the Dutch, or confiscated their goods, these were to be divided between the two sides. Subsequently a ship which was an enemy of the Dutch entered Riau and anchored at Bayan Island.⁴ Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Haji ordered that word be sent to the Governor of Malacca and a ship then arrived from Malacca. The Dutch attacked the enemy vessel lying at anchor in Riau harbour at Bayan Island. The ship was seized, and its entire cargo taken to Malacca. There it was deemed legal Dutch booty, as is customary in war. None the less, it is said, Raja Haji received no share of it. He therefore proceeded to Malacca, going as far as Muar,⁵ in order to investigate the matter. However, the King of Malacca sent someone he trusted to Muar to talk to Raja Haji, and his name, Señor Braam, is mentioned in the Selangor Chronicle. Some say his name was Abraham Virgil. It was this Dutchman who came, with a Malay Captain,⁶ to represent the King of Malacca in this affair. Raja Haji told them it was he who had sent word of the vessel to Malacca, and that it had been captured 'in our harbour in Riau. Now where was our share?' But the representatives of the King of Malacca would not accept Raja Haji's claims. Thus the misunderstandings and disagreements in purpose developed. This is the first and ostensible reason for the quarrel given in the Selangor Chronicle and mentioned in the stories told by old people.

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The second version is one I found in the Chronicle from Lingga and Riau (that is, the one composed by Engku Busu, the father of Tengku Wuk of Dungun).¹ The reason that there was a war between Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Haji and the Dutch Company was because Raja Kecil Tun Dalam, the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu, conferred with Captain Glass² about a means of destroying Riau. The Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu had an extremely beautiful Chinese woman who had just been converted to Islam and whom he named Jamilah. Captain Glass wanted her, so Raja Kecil Tun Dalam gave her to him, with the request that Captain Glass provoke a disturbance just off the Riau River, so that people there would be resentful towards the Dutch Company. Captain Glass slept with Jamilah, and she became pregnant. He later left for Riau, intending to incite a dispute with the French at the mouth of the Riau River.³ He left Jamilah with a close associate, Captain Geddes, who would take

227:11 her back to China. After Captain Glass had left for Riau to create trouble with the French at the entrance to the river, Captain Geddes set sail for China. It happened that by the decree of Allah Almighty, when he reached the estuary of the Ibai River,⁴ just off the Trengganu coast, a strong wind sprang up. Captain Geddes' ship was wrecked and all the Dutchmen and Englishmen on board were lost. Not a soul survived, including Jamilah. When Captain Geddes' ship was wrecked, about 110 other *perahu* were also lost, together with various *perahu* from Sambas and a *selub* belonging to the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu (that is, Raja Kecil Tun Dalam). That is the second and undisclosed reason. And thus I conclude.

228:1 According to the story, when the Governor of Malacca refused to accept Raja Haji's claims, the latter returned the contract, because one side had observed it while the other had not. Then he left and went back to Riau.⁵ After Raja Haji had returned the contract, the Governor of Malacca was furious, and he conferred with the admiral called Pieter Jacob van Braam.¹ According to a Dutch account, the name of the military commander was Mr Abo.² During the course of the discussions, many malicious rumours reached the Governor and Admiral Pieter Jacob van Braam, spread by trouble makers who claimed that Raja Haji intended to make an assault on Malacca and that his entire fleet was already fitted out.³ The Governor of Malacca said to Jacob van Braam, 'Raja Haji is going to attack Malacca, so we should strike first'. The Dutch fleet with several armed *kapal* and *keci* then went to attack Riau.⁴ They blockaded the Riau estuary, preventing trading *perahu* from entering. This angered Raja Haji who sent out several of his *penjajab*, and a great fight ensued. The sound of cannon booming in a thunderous uproar was like a thunderbolt cleaving a mountain, and the air around the Riau estuary was thick with smoke. There was cheering and screaming, and the Bugis chanted war cries. This continued until evening and only then did hostilities cease. As darkness fell the *kapal* stood out to sea while the *penjajab* entered the Riau River. When daybreak came the fighting began again with the cannon thundering from both sides, and at night they stopped once more. This went on daily for several months, with neither side weakening. Rice and other foodstuffs became expensive, while trading *perahu* attempting to enter ran the risk of seizure by the warships which tried to intercept them. Some got through, others did not.

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Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Haji then ordered stockades to be built at Tanjung Pinang, at Keriting Bay and on Penyengat Island, each with people to defend it. The Penyengat one was manned by Siantan people. Almost 150 *penjajab* of various sizes armed with cannon patrolled the

seas. There were some off Uban Point and some were behind Riau letting in all the trading *perahu* which came from Siam and from Cochín China bringing rice and other items. Some brought rice from the outer territories. Meanwhile, the fighting continued day after day in Riau harbour without respite.¹ 229:1

According to the story, the Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Haji directed the fighting himself, standing amidstships in a long *sampan bedar*, and walking up and down. He was paddled around the entire fleet, from one *penjajab* to another, inquiring whether anything was wanting. He was in the very thick of the fighting, with bullets whizzing past.² I obtained this account from an old man named Encik Sumpuk, a locally born Bugis, who said that at the time he was just old enough to wear a kris. Together with several other lads of noble birth, the same age as himself, he paddled Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Haji while the latter was directing the fighting. At one point when the Yang Dipertuan Muda was crossing from one *penjajab* to another, a black warship opened fire on them. The ball hit the edge of the *sampan* and ricocheted off the side, splashing the Yang Dipertuan Muda's sarong. However, he took no notice whatsoever, ordering the lads to paddle on. Whenever a lad ducked his head as a bullet whizzed past, the Yang Dipertuan Muda struck him with a cane whip. 229:11

Now there was a long Dutch *keci* approaching the shore of Los Island, but the wind dropped and six or seven *penjajab* came out to drive it off. Fighting began, with a terrifying booming from the cannon, and before long the *keci* was on the point of being taken.³ The man who was leading the attack, a captain called Encik Kubu, was in a *gurab* 15 ? long.⁴ Then at this point in the battle the bridge of the *keci* caught fire. Many of its crew had already taken to a *sekoci*, intending to retreat out to sea, but a stiff breeze sprang up and several ships came inshore to assist. The *penjajab* retreated, and the *keci* escaped. Night fell, and the fighting stopped, but resumed at daybreak and so it continued day after day. If there was a stiff breeze, the *kapal* came inshore and engaged battle, and if the wind dropped the *penjajab* put out to sea and engaged battle. If it was completely dark the *penjajab* did not engage the ships until they were within shouting distance of each other. This enabled the crews to talk together, for there were a few locally born Bugis from the Malacca district in the Dutch ships who were related to the locally born Bugis from Riau. The two groups chatted to each other, saying, 'What is to be done elder (or younger) brother? Our work is where our food is. The bond between us cannot be broken'. There were also Dutchmen who, it is claimed, said, 'Hey Malays! Hey Bugis! To-morrow we will have a good fight!' The Malays or those locally born would answer, 'All right!' This 230:1

is what I heard from the lips of old people who were there at the time.

230:11 When day broke fighting began again, with loud booming from the cannon, but neither side was worsted. According to the story, one day the Dutch attacked the Siantan stockades on Penyengat Island, putting men ashore from *sekoci* behind Penyengat. The soldiers charged the stockades while the Siantan men were off guard because of the pouring rain. All the Siantan stockades were taken, the occupants scattering outside and escaping into the deep undergrowth. The Dutch brought scores of dogs ashore to hunt out the fugitives and those who had hidden themselves in the undergrowth. Whenever the dogs found anyone, they barked, and the soldiers came, firing their rifles, which crackled like the sound of rice being fried. All the Siantan men on Penyengat Island were annihilated and not one succeeded in escaping.

231:1 Hearing the rifle fire, the *penjabab* at the mouth of the Riau River approached, but before they could get there the Dutch had embarked in their *sekoci* to return to their ships. When the *penjabab* arrived, they engaged battle with the *sekoci*, and muskets were fired. At this point in the battle three *sekoci* were wrecked and their crew killed. The other *sekoci*, however, escaped out to sea. The *kapal* and the *keci* attacked from the landward side, firing their cannon, and again they engaged battle with the *penjabab*. The firing and booming sounded like a thunderbolt cleaving a mountain. Even by this time neither side had been worsted, and when night came the ships retreated out to sea. All the Malays and Bugis went ashore at Penyengat to look for the bodies of the Siantan people. Some were recovered and some were not, but those they found were buried. They could not be identified, and two or three were put in the one grave. When this was finished, the *penjabab* retreated out to sea. With morning the fighting broke out again, as had been the daily pattern, but still neither side was worsted.

231:11 According to the story, the fighting at Riau continued for nine months; one version says it was almost eleven months. *Allah alone knows* which is the truth. Then discussions were held between the two sides, that is, between Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Haji and Pieter Jacob van Braam. One version states that the Dutch dignitary, Mr Abo, also wished to participate in the discussions which aimed at stopping the fighting and finding proper ground for negotiations. The Dutch wanted to bring a large warship into the Riau River, but Raja Haji forbade this. If they wanted to discuss and confer no large ship could be brought into Riau. The Dutch replied, 'Why not? We will not do anything during the discussions'. But Yang Dipertuan Raja Haji still forbade it. The Dutch answered, 'It would only be ourselves. We would not be bringing in any soldiers', but Raja Haji said, 'I would still be concerned, because we are at war'. None the

less, the ship tried to force an entry and the stockade at Keriting Bay opened fire. The terrifying din, the booming of cannon from the ships and the thunderous uproar were deafening. It seemed at this point in the battle that the Keriting Bay stockade would yield because the ammunition was almost exhausted. The Yang Dipertuan Muda dispatched Syahbandar Bopeng in a *sampan* with some ammunition, and the leader of the lads who rowed it was Encik Kalak, a person of noble birth. The ships standing out to sea fired on the *sampan* with grapeshot and sank it. One barrel of powder was saved, and the crew of the *sampan* carried it ashore to the Keriting Bay stockade, thus enabling them to fire four or five more rounds. By the decree of Allah Almighty the ship caught fire and exploded, the deck flying into the air, and all the people burnt to death in the conflagration of ammunition. According to one account 800 people were killed and according to another, 500. A commissioner who was on board perished in the explosion. The name of the ship was *Malakka's Welvaren*.¹ I have obtained this from the stories of old Dutch people in Malacca. After the explosion of the great ship, both sides stopped fighting,² but the discussions between them also ceased.

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To continue the story of the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor, Raja Ibrahim and his younger brother Raja Nala, the Yang Dipertuan Muda of Selangor. When they heard that their uncle was fighting with the Dutch in Riau, they conferred with the Datuk Punggawa, the dignitaries and the elders of Selangor about whether they should join him. The discussions being completed, the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor set out to attack Malacca, stopping at Rembau to confer with the Chief of the Four Clans.³ When these discussions were over, he left for Pedas where he conferred again with the Chief of the Four Clans there. This completed, he set out for the Baharu River,⁴ where he established a base. Only then did he leave for Batang Tiga,⁵ and there he built a large stockade. Meanwhile, Malacca attacked with a large number of Dutch soldiers and Malacca men. The men of Selangor fought wildly with those of Malacca, and there was killing on both sides. Many Dutch soldiers and Malacca men died, and one dignitary was decapitated. The Malacca forces were worsted and retreated back to Malacca.¹

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The Governor of Malacca then sent a letter to Pieter Jacob van Braam in Riau, saying that the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor had attacked Malacca. When van Braam heard the Governor's letter, he gave orders for all the warships to sail back to Malacca,² thus leaving Riau free of Dutch ships. The Yang Dipertuan of Selangor left for Riau with a *kakap* and thirty people, intending to present himself before his royal uncle the Yang Dipertuan Muda and invite him to Malacca. However, at that time there were many differences of opinion among the Riau princes; some

233:11 of them approved of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Haji's going to Malacca, and some, like Raja Ali and Raja Abd al-Samad, sons of the late Bearded One did not. This led to misunderstandings amongst them.

According to the story, Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Haji was intent on going, because the Selangor people were already at war and secondly, because his royal brother had himself come to invite him to go. Thirdly, he hoped *for the merit which would come from waging a holy war in Allah's cause*. Because of these three considerations, he could no longer be held back, and he prepared several warships. When these were all ready, he left for Malacca accompanied by his royal nephew, His Majesty the Yang Dipertuan Besar, Sultan Mahmud, who had insisted on going with him. However, when they reached Muar Raja Haji made the Yang Dipertuan Besar stay there. The Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Haji continued on to Malacca and set up a camp and a stockade at Ketapang Bay on Palas Point.³ He also ordered Punggawa Opu Nasti to attack Semabuk, and war broke out. For several days there was the thunderous uproar of wild fighting and the sound of the soldiers' rifles and the Bugis' muskets was like rice being fried, mingled with cheering and screaming and the battle cries and war chants of the Bugis. There were fatalities and woundings on both sides, but the war had not lasted long when the people of Semabuk weakened, because they had lost many of their soldiers and captains. Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Haji thus defeated and took Semabuk.

234:1 Soon afterwards Sultan Mahmud arrived at Ketapang Bay to find his uncle the Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Haji. They had not been together long when Yang Dipertuan Raja Haji said to His Majesty Sultan Mahmud, 'Would you please return to Muar, and I will come later. There is no need for you to take part. Leave it to me, because it may be the decree of Allah Almighty that in this battle my hour will come *before Allah and after the Prophet*. I hope that then you will protect all my family and all your servants of Bugis descent. I am content and reconciled, because I have long been a sinner and should I die in this war I can hope for the forgiveness of Allah'. When Sultan Mahmud heard his uncle, he wept bitterly, and Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Haji also wept. When the grief of the two princes was spent, Sultan Mahmud returned to Muar to wait there until his royal uncle had completed the campaign.

234:11 Once more Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Haji conferred with his nephew the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor concerning the conduct of the war. The Yang Dipertuan of Selangor left for Batang Tiga where he built a stockade and ordered an attack on Malacca from the landward side. They were opposed by a detachment of Malacca men and some Dutch soldiers. When the two sides met fighting broke out, and the thunderous uproar of the

firing of rifles and muskets on both sides was terrifying. They closed in and fought wildly with swords, spears, cutlasses and daggers, and on both sides many were killed and wounded. Not long afterwards the people of Malacca were worsted, and they retreated inside the town. The fighting stopped for several days, but then the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor ordered fifty Selangor men to go to Ketapang Bay to fetch a large vessel which had been presented by the Yang Dipertuan Besar, and bring it to Batang Tiga. The Dutch attacked the vessel and fighting again broke out with an exchange of fire. Struck by bullets, the vessel sank, but it did not catch fire. The Selangor men returned to Batang Tiga again and once more the fighting stopped. 235:1

Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Haji, having established a site at Palas Point in Ketapang Bay, ordered several hundred Bugis and Malays to attack the eastern side of Malacca. They were again opposed by a detachment from Malacca and by hundreds of soldiers, and when the two forces met wild fighting broke out once more, with terrifying sounds, a thunderous din, cheering and screaming which, mingled with the Bugis war chants, was deafening. There were soon many dead and wounded on both sides, and the commanders ordered their men to advance, to fight without restraint and seize the cannon carriages. All the Bugis and men of Riau advanced and fought wildly with spears, swords, cutlasses and kris, and with this onslaught they took the cannon. Then the Malacca men retreated inside the town and the fighting stopped. Hostilities between the people of Malacca and those of Riau continued intermittently for a month and then ceased again. However, as the days went by the Malacca men weakened until the entire district around Malacca was in the hands of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Haji, and all that remained was just the town of Malacca itself, including the fort. 235:11

According to the story, the war and the discussions lasted for about a year without either side giving in. Then the Governor of Malacca was in desperate straits, because help from Batavia was slow in coming, and he gathered together all the white men who lived outside the fort and brought them and their wives inside. Guards were posted and patrols made day and night. The Governor of Malacca also sent messages to the neighbouring Malay states¹ to say that the Company was hard pressed and on the point of being defeated by Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Haji. If the Company were victorious, those Malay kings who had been willing to assist would be rewarded. 236:1

When the Governor's letter reached Siak, Yamtuan Muda Muhammad Ali consulted his nephew Sayid Ali son of Uthman, and they went to Malacca to help the Governor because they lusted after the riches of this world.² The historical chronicle from Selangor mentions that when the

236:11 Dutch attacked Ketapang Bay, Yamtuan Muhammad Ali and Sayid Ali were not with them.³ As for the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor, he went to Rembau where he holidayed for some time. Not long afterwards he went downstream again to the Baharu River escorted by several people from Rembau. When he reached the Baharu River he remained there organizing the battle lines for the attack on Malacca. In the midst of this the help from Batavia arrived,⁴ consisting of more than 30 warships and armed *keci* of various sizes and several thousand soldiers, white men and black. When they arrived they attacked Ketapang Bay with about nine large ships, and fierce fighting broke out with the stockades there. The terrifying sound and the thunderous din were deafening, and the booming of cannon fire was like a thunderbolt cleaving a mountain, while the air hung thick with smoke. When night came the fighting stopped, and when it was light it began again. That was how the situation was as each day passed.

237:1 According to the story, even during the war Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Haji enjoyed himself every night dancing the *joget* and the *tandak*, eating and drinking and feasting with all the princes and dignitaries. Nevertheless, he constantly recited devotional texts from the Koran and unceasingly read the holy work, *Indications of virtues*,¹ which was never out of his hands. Nor did he fail to celebrate the birth of the Prophet Muhammad (*may Allah bless him and grant him peace*) every Thursday night, just as if he were not living under difficulties. That is how it is reported.

237:11 Then when the time was right his allotted span of life came to an end. This was by the divine decree and power of Allah (*may He be praised and exalted*) through the manifestation of His profound wisdom. *There is no obstacle to what You have given and no rejection of what You have ordained. He is capable of whatever He wants.* Several thousand Dutch soldiers came up from the direction of Pernu, cutting across by land behind the immense stockade at Palas Point, the Yang Dipertuan Muda's site, and a small stockade on the landward side, that of Encik Ibrahim, the son of Bandar Hasan. The Dutch made a surprise attack on Encik Ibrahim's stockade, and fierce fighting broke out. The stockade fell, and Encik Ibrahim fled to Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Haji's large stockade to bring the news that the soldiers were already close and bearing down from the landward side. Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Haji then ordered his captains to take the offensive and fight without restraint, while he himself tried to draw profit from reading *Indications of virtues*. The captains who had sallied forth engaged the Dutch and there was fierce fighting with deaths on both sides. The thousands of Dutch soldiers fired their rifles and the crackling sound was like rice being fried. Many Bugis

died, *witnesses to the way of Allah*, being shot down before they had a chance to strike. Those who reached the Dutch stabbed them, killing and wounding amid a clamorous din, a thunderous uproar of screaming and cheering. But despite this wild foray, the thousands of soldiers surrounded the Yang Dipertuan Muda's large stockade in concentric rings. Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Haji ordered an assault, and Arung Lenga spurred his horse on, although he was suffering from an ulcer,² and assailed the Dutch ranks. He attacked fiercely, and killed a great number of Dutchmen before he and his horse died. The Dutch dignitaries and their soldiers gained entry to the Yang Dipertuan's stockade but were attacked by Daeng Saliking, together with his captain To Lesang and Haji Ahmad, who hurled themselves at the serried Dutch ranks, and during this attack the three of them died like men, *witnesses to the way of Allah*. Several other nobles were also martyred because they refused to flee. About seventy Dutchmen, including three dignitaries, were killed in the fierce attack. Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Haji rose up, and drew his dagger, holding *Indications of virtues* in his other hand. Several people threw their arms around him, and it was then that Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Haji was struck by a bullet from the rows of rifles and fell to the ground, dying as a martyr.¹ *Verily we belong to Allah and to Him we return. O Allah, forgive him, have mercy on him and make the garden of paradise a refuge. May Allah raise his rank in the highest garden and bless his rank in this world and the next. Amen.*

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When the Dutch saw that Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Haji had been killed they all stopped firing and formed ranks. They allowed Raja Haji's followers, both men and women, to leave unmolested. At that time, of his sons, only Raja Jafar and Raja Idris were with him as well as a nephew called Raja Sulaiman.² The Yang Dipertuan of Inderagiri, Raja Ibrahim, who had been wounded, escaped, taken away by his people. Raja Jafar was carried by Encik Layar, of the clan of Megat Inu. Then all the Yang Dipertuan Muda's followers left Ketapang Bay on foot without harassment from the Dutch. They went to Muar, and thus Ketapang Bay fell.

According to the story, when Ketapang Bay had been defeated by the Dutch, the Governor of Malacca ordered the Malay Captain and all the elders in Malacca to fetch the body of the late Raja Haji.¹ The elders, both men and women, lamenting and weeping, brought the body inside the fort of Malacca, following the customary traditions for escorting the body of a great king. When they entered the gate of the fort, the Dutch fired the cannon, according to the customs traditional when a great king dies. And there was an uproar in the city of Malacca, with lamenting and weeping. All the locally born Bugis were grief stricken. The Governor of Malacca summoned the Malay Captain, the Malay elders,

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239:11 and the locally born Bugis, and ordered them to lay out Raja Haji's body according to the customs traditional for a great king. The Governor of Malacca would pay for any expenses. Then the Malay Captain and the elders of Malacca carried out the ceremonies as the Governor had commanded and laid out the body of Raja Haji *who had died in Allah's war*, according to the customs traditional for the funeral of a great king. The Governor of Malacca gave more money to the Malay Captain as alms on the day of the interment, as well as firing several rounds from the cannon. Then Raja Haji's body was buried within the fort of Malacca, behind the Company's garden. That is how things were. Later his sons took it back to Riau and buried it on the hill on the southern side of Penyengat Island.

240:1 I obtained the following report from the the stories passed down by old people and related to me. Before Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Haji's body was buried, it was placed in a chest to be taken to Batavia, and a ship had been prepared. However, the night before it was due to sail, something like flames streamed upwards from the chest. Seeing this, the people in Malacca were thrown into confusion, and amidst the disturbance the ship exploded and all the contents were rocketed into the sky. All on board perished.² This version, which has been passed down, says that the late Raja Haji's body was thus not removed to another country but was buried in Malacca until people from Riau came to fetch it. According to that version, this is why the Dutch of former days called him Raja Api, the Fire King. And thus I conclude.

240:11 Then all the late Raja Haji's sons and the Riau people retreated to Muar to find His Majesty Sultan Mahmud, and there they informed him of how his uncle, His Majesty Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Haji, had died *a witness to the way of Allah*. When His Majesty saw all the people coming, and heard their news, he was appalled and wept bitterly. Everyone present, of high or low status, old or young, also wept. Looking at the deceased prince's family, His Majesty felt even more distressed. When their grief was spent, he and all the elders left for Riau taking the late Ruler Raja Haji's family. After several days they reached Riau, where a great hubbub and noisy clamour broke out as great and small, old and young, lamented. His relatives and children all wept because of their heartfelt grief.

Then the two brothers, the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor and the Yang Dipertuan Muda arrived from Rembau and then went to the Baharu River and on to Batang Tiga, where they received the unexpected but true report that Ketapang Bay had fallen and that their uncle, His Majesty the late Raja Haji, was indeed dead. When the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor heard this news, he was shocked and the two brothers wept bitterly.

Then they returned directly to Selangor with all their people and lived with their sorrow.

According to the story, when the Governor of Malacca had completed the campaign against Raja Haji, the Ruler who died at Ketapang Bay, he consulted with Pieter Jacob van Braam about another attack on Selangor, because it was the King of Selangor who had invited Raja Haji to attack Malacca and it was this attack which had established the grounds for dispute. 'For the entire eleven months that the Company had been at war with Riau we had been wanting to discuss matters with Raja Haji, but this ended after our ship caught fire during our war against him. Then suddenly the King of Selangor launched an attack on Malacca, and he personally came to fetch Raja Haji. It was certain that Raja Haji would go, because he was the most eminent of all the Malay kings, and if his nephew came to invite him to go to war, Raja Haji would lose face if he refused. His opposition to us in Riau was reasonable, because we had come to attack his country and he stood up to us as would any eminent king. In that war there were times of victory, times of defeat and times of reconciliation. We had embarked on negotiations, our plan being to try and appease Raja Haji and thus make peace, when the King of Selangor undermined our work with Raja Haji. Because of him the discussions collapsed. When Raja Haji was at war with us in earnest, the King of Selangor abandoned him at Ketapang Bay while he himself went to get married in Rembau. Only when Raja Haji was defeated did he return to Selangor from Rembau. This was exceedingly improper and in that case it is the King of Selangor who was at fault. The best thing is for us to attack Selangor.' Pieter Jacob van Braam immediately prepared for an attack on Selangor.

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When Yamtuan Muhammad Ali heard that the Governor of Malacca intended to attack Selangor, he went to Malacca together with his nephew Sayid Ali,¹ saying that he wanted to assist the Governor of Malacca. This is the ostensible reason, but the ulterior motive was that Sayid Jafar² of Selangor had married Tengku Ambung and this, it is said, had aroused Yamtuan Muda Muhammad Ali's resentment. This is what is stated in the historical chronicle from Siak.³ The Dutch forces left with those of Yamtuan Muhammad Ali⁴ to attack Selangor. When they arrived, the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor fought the Dutch Company. Not long afterwards, Selangor was defeated,⁵ and the Yang Dipertuan retreated up the Selangor River and travelled overland to Bernam, together with his younger brother, the Yang Dipertuan Muda of Selangor and Sayid Jafar. They then went directly to Pahang,⁶ while Tengku Raja Empuan and Arung To Mojong⁷ and his wife went overland to Perak. The Yang Dipertuan of Selangor and Sayid Jafar then met the Datuk Bendahara of

242:1 Pahang who received them with honour and gave them a household, as is customary when a king takes refuge with another king,¹ and that was the situation. The Yang Dipertuan of Selangor stayed in Pahang and conferred daily with the Datuk Bendahara about means of regaining Selangor.

Now, as for the Dutch and Yang Dipertuan Muhammad Ali, after Selangor had been defeated, they pursued the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor up the Selangor River lest he return downstream. Later, they had news from the upstream areas that the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor had escaped to Pahang, and the Dutch then returned downstream. When the Dutch had left, Yamtuan Muhammad Ali plundered all the property of the Selangor people, loading it aboard his *perahu*. When the *perahu* were fully laden, he sailed to Siak, leaving behind Sayid Ali, who entitled himself Yang Dipertuan of Selangor.² Then the Dutch military commander arrived at the estuary and saw that Yamtuan Muhammad Ali was no longer there. He asked Sayid Ali, 'Where is your uncle the king?' Sayid Ali answered, 'He has already returned to Siak, because he was anxious about it, and I have taken his place. What, sir, did you wish to discuss?' Later, the people of Selangor told the Dutch military commander that Yamtuan Sayid Ali had plundered not only all the property of the Selangor people who had fled but also of those who had not, and had taken it off to Siak. After the military commander had listened to the people of Selangor, he nodded his head, saying, 'That king is absolutely unscrupulous'. So Sayid Ali, with the title Yamtuan of Selangor, stayed in Selangor with the Dutch on the Hill at Fort Selangor.³ The fleet returned to Malacca to confer about whether Riau should be attacked or whether the situation should be resolved by negotiation.

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To continue the story of Sultan Mahmud in Riau, living in grief because of the loss of his royal uncle, the late Raja Haji. With him in Riau at that time were the Bugis princes, Raja Ali and Raja Abd al-Samad,⁴ and others, and the Malay princes (that is, the Bendahara, the Temenggung, and the Raja Indera Bungsu). There was one Bugis prince, the Raja Tua, Encik Andak, who had sided with the Malay group.

243:1 Meanwhile, the Malay groups and the Raja Tua consulted His Majesty Sultan Mahmud concerning the replacement of the late Yang Dipertuan Muda. But there were differences of opinion because at that time although Raja Ali was the most senior, the late Raja Haji had four sons. However, the eldest of them, Raja Jafar, was not old enough to hold an administrative position and so there was contention amongst the Malays concerning the choice for the succession to the Raja Muda. The majority of them favoured Raja Jafar because as a youth he would accept whatever they wanted.¹ In such a situation you will all understand that it is

a human characteristic for people to want whatever is to their own advantage. In this regard His Majesty Sultan Mahmud was lent divine assistance in his deliberations.

According to the story, when Raja Ali received reports of the conspiracies of the Malay group and the Raja Tua, he assembled all the locally born Bugis and the Bugis of pure blood, thousands of them, and went to present himself before His Majesty Sultan Mahmud. All the princes were in attendance. Raja Ali came forward and said respectfully, 'Who is suitable as a replacement for my royal uncle who has passed away? On behalf of all those of Bugis descent I ask that this be determined now'. Sultan Mahmud answered, 'There is no one more suitable than yourself, Raja Ali, because you are the eldest'.

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After Raja Ali had heard what His Majesty Sultan Mahmud said, he stood up, unsheathed his kris and danced while swearing allegiance on it. When all the Bugis, both locally born and of pure blood, saw Raja Ali, they all swore oaths of loyalty on their weapons and performed a dance of loyalty. How impressive they sounded! When they had finished they paid homage to His Majesty Sultan Mahmud and then asked permission to leave. Raja Ali was entitled Yang Dipertuan Muda in Riau and all its subject territories.

About three days later Kampung China was burnt to the ground, and about three months after that a force from Malacca came to attack Riau. In this situation, differences in attitude arose between the Malay and Bugis groups. Each had its own desires and aims, and it was impossible for His Majesty Sultan Mahmud to resolve their dissension. There were twists and contortions like entangled horns and confusion reigned in Riau. Then Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali¹ left with all those of Bugis descent, whoever could avail themselves of the opportunity. There were some who were left behind and some who deliberately stayed, because the late Raja Haji's sons and his relatives chose to remain with His Majesty Sultan Mahmud, as the latter's mother was a sister of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Haji. They were all like one family, and that is why some Bugis stayed behind. Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali took with him only two daughters of the late Raja Haji (that is, Raja Hamidah and Raja Sitti). Their mother was his sister and for this reason he took them with him when he left Riau and sailed to Mempawah and Sukadana.

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According to the story, when Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali left Riau, there was great confusion. People did not understand the reasons for the exodus and the locally born Bugis were at sixes and sevens and utterly bewildered. Moreover, they were bullied and intimidated by the Raja Tua, because he had indeed deserted to the Dutch side, and was siding with the Malay group.² When Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali left,

there was a furore in Riau, with screaming and weeping. Some people had left behind their followers and some their relatives as well as all their possessions. This is not to mention what had to be abandoned, some property in every household, since everyone was fleeing. Much was left behind even in the Yang Dipertuan Muda's palace. Thus the Yang Dipertuan Muda left Riau. As soon as he had gone, the Raja Tua and some
 245:1 of the Malay group ransacked his palace, and the Raja Tua's people looted the homes of all the remaining locally born Bugis, most of them taking things. The Raja Tua took enough from the Yang Dipertuan Muda's palace to fill two *perahu*—copper articles, priceless cloth, fine china, and silverware. The Raja Tua looted anything which had not been taken by the departing Bugis and so he got much that was not lawfully his. *May Allah frustrate their designs in this world and the next.*

Seeing what the Raja Tua had done, His Majesty Sultan Mahmud was speechless, but what could he do? He felt paralyzed because the Bugis had been like flesh and blood to him, but now they were all dispersed. One or two were left, but since they were still young they could not help him. He did whatever the Raja Tua and the Malay princes told him.
 245:11

According to the story, a Dutch fleet then arrived from Malacca, with the admiral called Pieter Jacob van Braam.¹ The Raja Tua went aboard to meet him and to convey the news that neither he nor the Malay groups had been a party to what the late Raja Haji (*a witness to the way of Allah*) had done. 'All the Bugis, without exception, have gone, leaving only those people who are true and good to protect the king, who is very young. Now we four princes, the senior ministers, will carry out whatever you wish.' After the Admiral had listened to the Raja Tua, he smiled, it is said, and shook his head. That is what the old people say. I do not know its significance—*only Allah knows that*. I have simply recorded whatever I have heard and what I have seen in the chronicles.

The Admiral then answered, saying, 'Very well. Later we will draw up a good contract and we will station a Company representative in Riau to help the Sultan attract trade to Riau and increase profits'. The Raja Tua replied, 'Excellent'. Then he paid his respects and returned, paddling up the river. He went ashore and conferred with the Datuk Bendahara, the Temenggung, and the Indera Bungsu. When the four of them had reached a decision, they presented themselves before His Majesty Sultan Mahmud. After Sultan Mahmud had heard their decision, he
 246:1 said, 'Do whatever you think right'. Then after a time, the Admiral came ashore and drew up a contract with His Majesty Sultan Mahmud and the four princes. There were about twenty-six articles and a codicil of three articles.¹ Here are a few of the items contained in the contract: It was no longer permitted for Bugis to hold important administrative

posts, and the Raja Tua was to be head of the senior ministers; His Majesty was unable to do anything unless he first conferred with the four princes and their head, the Raja Tua. That was the situation.

According to the story, the Admiral then came to hear of the reports concerning the Raja Tua's outrageous behaviour and of his seizure of all the property which the locally born Bugis had left, as well as that of the Yang Dipertuan Muda. The Admiral was appalled by what the Raja Tua had done, and he inserted what follows into the third article of the contract: 'Whoever has any property belonging to the Bugis must surrender it to Mr Pieter Jacob van Braam, because all of it is the Company's booty from battle'. That was the third article and it was then added to the twenty-six articles of the contract, which was drawn up on the warship *Utrecht*. That was how it was. When the drafting of the contract had been completed and both sides had signed it, the Admiral returned, leaving behind an agent in Riau who was stationed at Tanjung Pinang to administer Riau and supervise its trade.²

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In the meantime, not long afterwards His Majesty Sultan Mahmud left for Malacca to visit the grave of his royal uncle, the late Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Haji and to hold discussions with the Governor of Malacca. When the discussions had finished, Sultan Mahmud returned to Riau.³ I have found no records of these talks, but with divine assistance it will be explained.

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Some of the stories of old people which have come down to me say that the Company representative in Riau, called [David] Ruhde,¹ was rather harsh in his government of the Malays and that there were constant disagreements with the Raja Indera Bungsu. When the agent wanted various kinds of wood to repair his quarters and fort, he himself went to Sultan Mahmud to request whatever he wanted, using improper language. He ignored the Riau dignitaries, and regardless of what he wanted he would go himself, or send one of his men. Even a slight delay angered him. Things became very difficult for His Majesty Sultan Mahmud and all the Riau elders, and every day the demands of the Company representative became more onerous. Day after day, it is said, there were constant misunderstandings and disagreements with the Raja Indera Bungsu.

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To continue the story of the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor, in Pahang. He consulted with the Datuk Bendahara and the people of Pahang about his plans for retaking Selangor. After a decision had been reached and discussions completed he made ready the things needed for warfare. When everything was prepared he took a Pahang force overland, up to the headwaters of the Pahang River and from there to upriver Selangor. From upriver Selangor, they went downstream to the estuary, arriving there in the dark. Then from Tiram Buruk, the Yang Dipertuan of Selan-

gor went up to Pematang, to the home of the Punggawa of Pematang.² His Majesty the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor ordered the Punggawa of Pematang to attack the Hill³ that night. The Punggawa postponed it to the following night, because many of his supporters were not yet aware that the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor was at Pematang.⁴ They did not attack that night, but at dawn the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor summoned the Punggawa Tua,⁵ who came to present himself at Pematang. The next night the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor himself left with Sayid Jafar and a large number of men, and scaled the Hill. Shouting and cheering they attacked with muskets and rifles.¹

When the Dutch heard this they were taken completely offguard, but the soldiers sallied forth and made an assault. However, they had no opportunity to re-load their rifles because the Selangor people were already on them, stabbing with their spears and krises. It was, moreover, pitch dark and there was no knowing who was Malay and who was Dutch. However, the Selangor men knew who was Dutch, and they stabbed them with their spears and krises, and many soldiers died. Then all the Dutchmen inside the fort barricaded the gate, and the soldiers who were left outside could not get back in. They broke ranks, scattering, and some were killed and some wounded; they tried to escape, but did not know where to go. The Dutch inside the stockade moved their cannon to meet the attack. At daybreak the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor and his relative Sayid Jafar withdrew to Pematang again. There they conferred with the Punggawa and all the common people concerning their plan to attack once more. The common people said respectfully, 'Very well. When it is dark we will dig out trenches around the fort to give us some protection from the cannon fire.'² We can then make an assault to gain entry to the fort because we suspect that there are only a few men left inside since so many came outside before'.³ After the Yang Dipertuan had heard what the people of Selangor said, he replied, 'Very well'.

Sayid Ali had already fled, probably back to Siak.⁴ As for the Dutch still remaining at Fort Selangor, they agreed among themselves to board their *belah semangka* vessels at dawn.⁵ Thus they returned to Malacca. When it was light the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor was preparing for an attack on the Hill when suddenly he received news that the Dutch were no longer there. So the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor installed himself on the Hill where he remained, while his younger brother the Raja Muda settled on the Point.

The Dutch who had returned to Malacca reported to Pieter Jacob van Braam, who consulted the Governor of Malacca about another attack on Selangor. The Governor sent two warships to blockade the Selangor estuary¹ and wait there for Pieter Jacob van Braam, who would come

with a larger force. The ships remained on guard for about eleven months, not engaging in combat at all, but just blockading. During this period rice was expensive in Selangor, costing one dollar for five *gantang*, and this was also true of all other foodstuffs.² Finally, after fourteen months, Pieter Jacob van Braam came with more ships, not with the intention of making war, but purely to discuss peace and draw up a contract. The Dutch Company thus made a contract with the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor. There were about twenty articles but he accepted only two or three of them. Later peace was concluded between the Dutch Company and the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor.³

Because the two Dutch ships had been blockading the Selangor estuary for fourteen months,⁴ other ships had ceased coming in any number; after this, however, they returned. There was no further fighting, although I have not been able to find the reasons for this in the two or three written chronicles I have examined, and I have only hearsay from old people. I do not know whether it is right or wrong; *Allah alone knows the truth*, but one account says the reason the Dutch Company did not attack Selangor was because a large number of merchants in Malacca and Penang accused the Malacca Governor and the Dutch Company of provoking quarrels with dark-skinned princes and of prolonging the fighting for years.⁵ The traders in Malacca and elsewhere suffered great losses, since all the tin from Selangor and along the coast no longer went to Malacca. None of the goods in the warehouses of certain merchants trading in the lands below the winds now circulated and a great deal of cloth was ruined because it had been stored for so long that it was eaten by worms and moths. Furthermore, the Malacca merchants were dependent on the dark-skinned people with whom they exchanged goods. Thus there were no further blockades, since the poor in particular had suffered greatly and had been endangered by the protracted quarrels.¹

This was also so in Riau where traders and the merchants of Siam, China and Cochin China had suffered losses ever since the Dutch had been at war with the King of Riau. All of them had previously brought the bulk of their goods to the Johor lands. Moreover, rice from Java and Bali was brought to Riau and Johor to be exchanged for gambier and other items. This was true too of the Chinese *wangkang*, which traded with the dark-skinned people—goods such as masts, seaweed, *bêche-de-mer* and other articles of the *wangkang* trade. However, after the Dutch Company declared war, this pattern changed and those people dependent on trade for a living suffered great deprivation, to say nothing of those who sailed the seas. They lived in fear and trembling, forced to dodge the warships and *penjabab*, sometimes losing their lives. Clearly, all the activities mentioned were intended to destroy the world of Allah

249:11

250:1

Almighty, who has commanded that we live on this earth in prosperity, in justice and in equity. These, it is said, are the accusations which were levelled against the Malacca Governor.

250:11

Another story which the old people tell alleges that the English Company sent Pieter Jacob van Braam the following message: 'You are a man who seeks fortune and prestige, yet you have destroyed two or three countries belonging to the dark-skinned people and many human souls have been lost. Many people who lived in tranquillity in the lands of their birth have been displaced and dispersed, their honour lost and their means of livelihood cut off. Is this perfidy against people and the destruction of their homeland right?' I heard this from old people. *Allah knows best*; perhaps it is true, perhaps not. I only know what I have found in the chronicles or what I have heard from the lips of old people. I have written it down with the hope that Allah (*may He be praised and exalted*) will have mercy on me and forgive me for my mistakes, errors and stupidities. And thus, in brief, I conclude.

251:1

The accounts which I have cited say that these were the reasons the Dutch Company did not attack Selangor. After fourteen months the Dutch had not declared war, but had merely blockaded the Selangor estuary with two ships until peace had been made. That, it is said, is the story. Only then could the people of Selangor go peacefully to trade in Malacca and in other countries under the Dutch Company's administration. The Malacca merchants again accepted trade from Selangor and the settlements along the coasts, and dealt with the debts and credits which had been outstanding for years, for as long as Malacca had been in conflict with Selangor and the coastal areas.

251:11

To continue the story of His Majesty Sultan Mahmud and the Dutch in Riau. The agent in Riau wanted everything done immediately, harshly demanding whatever he wanted, such as various kinds of wood and other items needed for maintenance. Sometimes he mentioned that the debts incurred in the attack on Riau should revert to His Majesty Sultan Mahmud and to the Raja Indera Bungsu.¹ That was the normal situation. Furthermore, not a day passed without some misunderstanding or dispute between them arising out of administrative affairs. I need say no more about how he wanted the dark-skinned people to adapt immediately to the procedures of the lands above the winds.² This greatly upset the dark-skinned people and became a burden to them. It was a principal factor in the contentions and conflicts.

According to the story, the situation continued thus for about three years. His Majesty Sultan Mahmud and the Raja Indera Bungsu were grief stricken and their sorrow was like a fire which consumed their discretion. Their passions prevailed and were given free reign because they

wanted to escape from what they saw as trials and tribulations. They did not think of what would ensue but continued along their path. They sent an envoy, Encik Talib with several others, to Tempassuk³ to take a letter to the king there asking for his help to attack the Dutch in Riau. According to one account, there was in fact a descendant of the kings of Johor in Tempassuk, called Raja Ismail. On his arrival, Encik Talib informed the King of Tempassuk of the Raja Indera Bungsu's plans. The King of Tempassuk acceded to the request of the Raja Indera Bungsu and His Majesty Sultan Mahmud, and he sent three of his sons, together with Raja Ismail, who became the Panglima Besar. The names of the princes who were sent were first, Raja Tembak; second, Raja Alam, who brought his wife, Raja Aisyah; third, Raja Muda Umak; and fourth, one of his chiefs called Datuk Sikolo.¹ When their consultations were done and they had reached agreement, they sailed to Riau with their fleet of *berangai* and about twenty or thirty *penjajab*. It is not possible to be exact because it is not specified in the chronicle.² 252:1

When they arrived off Riau, they sent word to His Majesty Sultan Mahmud and the Raja Indera Bungsu. The Raja Indera Bungsu had the story circulated that there was a large number of Illanun pirates near Riau. He also informed the Dutch agent of this, and the latter placed the *belah semangka* and an armed *keci* on the ready to chase away these undesirable people. Meanwhile, the Illanun had already entered by the Terusan.³ A great uproar broke out in Riau, and the Dutch ordered the cannon to be loaded to fire on the Illanun *perahu* while the *penjajab* and *perahu* in the Riau River were made ready and pretended that they would open fire. The Illanun approached Tanjung Pinang, and the *penjajab* fired on them, but only with blanks, so they were able to land and make an assault on Tanjung Pinang. The Dutch put up a strong opposition, and many were killed, but those that were still alive took to their *keci* or *belah semangka* and sailed to Malacca. According to one account, one of the *keci* ran aground. It was surrounded by the *berangai* and overcome.⁴ The stockade at Tanjung Pinang was also taken, and not a single Dutch creature was left in the whole of Riau.⁵ 252:11

Then Raja Tebuk, Raja Alam, and a great number of Illanun presented themselves before His Majesty who entertained them and flattered them, honouring them as was fitting. His Majesty remained in Riau with the Illanun princes and the Raja Indera Bungsu. This episode occurred in the hijra year 1215.⁶ The Illanun princes then asked permission to return to Tempassuk, except for Raja Muda Umak who stayed in Riau. Later Tuk Lukus and Tuk Akus came again to offer their services to His Majesty Sultan Mahmud and to take the oath of loyalty, swearing that they had no evil intentions nor would they commit treason against His Majesty 253:1

the Yang Dipertuan Besar and all his ministers. They would merely seek their fortune in an appropriate way.¹ And thus I conclude.

253:11 Following this, His Majesty conferred with both the Raja Indera Bungsu and the Datuk Bendahara,² saying, 'I do not think it wise to stay in Riau, because the Dutch will certainly attack again. In addition, Riau no longer has any power and I therefore think it would be better for us to move to Lingga'. The dignitaries all answered respectfully, 'Whatever you command', then His Majesty made ready several vessels for the voyage to Lingga, together with the Raja Indera Bungsu and all the Malays and locally born Bugis. About 200 or more Riau *perahu* of various sizes accompanied His Majesty and moved to Lingga. The followers of the Datuk Bendahara sailed to Pahang with about 150 *perahu* of various sizes while some of the Malay group went to Trengganu.³ All the princes, nobles and commoners were thus scattered, each going their own way, and there was no one left in Riau except the Chinese in the jungle.⁴ They acted as coolies for the Malays and Bugis who cultivated gambier and pepper. This is the origin of the Chinese coolies and explains why many remained and did not migrate from one place to another. Thus Riau declined.

254:1 As for the Riau agent, following his escape he fled to Malacca and the Governor made preparations while sending word to Pieter Jacob van Braam.⁵ The latter went to Riau with several warships, but there he found that all the Malays and the locally born Bugis had completely vanished, leaving only the Chinese. He was speechless, but he began to question the Chinese, saying, 'Where are the Malays and the locally born Bugis?' The Chinese answered, 'They have scattered sir; some to Lingga, some to Pahang and some to Trengganu. Now it will be extremely difficult for the Dutch Company to pursue the Malay princes to wherever they have settled. Great troubles will ensue which will not be resolved for a decade or more. If the Dutch Company wins, it will be at the expense of scores of Malay states. Furthermore, the dark-skinned people have taken to pirating on the high seas. None of us Chinese can stay on in Riau much longer. What can we live on? We can no longer put out to sea because we are afraid of pirates and in Riau all the food has to be imported. Think sir, about this'.

254:11 According to the story, when the Dutch Company had listened to the Chinese, it agreed with them and did not harass the Malays who had fled. Pieter van Braam returned to Malacca, leaving behind an agent and a warship, together with several patrols.¹ A lodge was built at Tanjung Pinang and the Chinese were ordered to work the gambier plantations of any Malays who had stayed behind. Javanese *perahu* were directed to come and trade and bring their rice in exchange for gambier. However,

the pirates, who were as numerous as chickens, made it hazardous for traders, even though the Dutch Company never ceased the vigilance of their patrols. And the English Company always brought ammunition, cannon, and rifles to sell in the Malay states in exchange for local products. That was the situation as the days went by.

To continue the story of His Majesty Sultan Mahmud. Having established himself in Lingga, he was in perpetual difficulty² because the Malay and Bugis princes had all gone, some to Trengganu, others to Pahang or Kelantan and some had settled around the Bulang Straits, living from hand to mouth, although a large number had turned to piracy in search of immediate returns. So Sultan Mahmud left for Trengganu to ask the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu's advice about how to restore Johor and Riau. To all appearances the decline had been caused by the Dutch Company but actually it was the result of the slander emanating from the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu himself (as has already been described on the occasion of the Linggi and Riau wars). 255:1

When the time was right, His Majesty left for Trengganu, that is, in the hijra year 1206 on the first day of the month of the pilgrimage.¹ There he spoke to the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu about arranging a reconciliation between Johor and the Dutch Company. Raja Kecik of Trengganu agreed to undertake the task. He proposed that an envoy be dispatched to Malacca to the agent Pieter Jacob van Braam and the Governor. If this did not set matters to rights he would then send a mission to Batavia. When His Majesty Sultan Mahmud heard the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu make this undertaking, he was silent. His Majesty then stayed in Trengganu.²

To continue the story of the Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali, who had left and had gone to the east, to Mempawah, to meet his relatives, the descendants of Opu Daeng Menambun who had been entitled Pangeran Emas Seri Negara. The king at this time was Penembahan Adi Wijaya. When Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali arrived in Mempawah, his relatives honoured him as is customary when princes have just met, and they enjoyed themselves, eating and drinking, joking and having fun. Following this he was married to his second cousin Utin Selamah, the daughter of his cousin Gusti Sina, according to the customs when a great king weds. After their marriage, Raja Ali moved to Sukadana³ where he built a settlement, complete with palace, audience hall and fortifications and promoted trade. The country prospered with *kapal*, *wangkang* and many other kinds of *perahu* coming to do business. The Yang Dipertuan Muda received a great deal in tolls, replacing all the property he had lost in Riau. 255:11

According to experts on dates, it was at this time that the Dutch

came and settled in Pontianak with the approval of Sultan Sharif Abd al-Rahman.⁴ At this stage, although Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali felt hostile towards the Dutch, there was as yet no quarrel between him and Sultan Sharif Abd al-Rahman. He stayed in Sukadana until he had a child by Utin Selamah—a boy, called Gusti Husain.

To continue the story of Yang Dipertuan Muda Muhammad Ali in Siak. His nephew Raja Yahya, son of the late Raja Ismail, was Yang Dipertuan of Siak at this time. The Yang Dipertuan Muda was his brother. Yang Dipertuan Muhammad Ali became Raja Tua, only advising his nephews. Then Yang Dipertuan Muhammad Ali made Sayid Ali, son of Sayid Uthman, his son-in-law (Sayid Ali's mother was Tengku Badariah, daughter of Raja Alam).¹ Raja Andut, Sayid Ali's brother-in-law, gave him several vessels and Sayid Ali took over and governed Bukit Batu, collecting the revenues there with the assistance of his father-in-law and Raja Musa.² As time went on Sayid Ali's power increased. He built about thirty vessels as a pirate fleet or for attacking small settlements, that was the situation. When the fleet was ready, Sayid Ali left Siak, sailing with a southerly wind until he reached the Singgora estuary.³ Here he made an onslaught, firing cannon and swivel guns from his *perahu*, playing drums and gongs, and shouting cheers of triumph. The people of Singgora, taken by surprise, shouted, 'Pirates are coming to attack!' and took to the jungle. Those who could, fled for their lives with their wives and children, abandoning their belongings. Sayid Ali ordered his men ashore to pillage and loot. They were to fire their rifles and muskets, and thus increase the panic of the Singgora people, who fled in haste and confusion, paddling rapidly upstream to tell the king and the dignitaries. Sayid Ali immediately organized his men to take their property. They looted whatever they could, carrying it aboard their *perahu*. Sayid Ali obtained much property—gold, silver, and copper articles, cloth, rice and other kinds of food. He continued until dusk and only when the *perahu* were fully laden with booty did he leave, still firing his weapons. Soon he was out of the estuary, and then using both sails and oars he headed for Trengganu.

Now the Singgora people who had fled upstream reached their king and the dignitaries. The King of Singgora immediately ordered his warriors, ministers, and captains as well as several thousand soldiers to go downstream to the estuary and attack the marauders. When they reached the estuary, they saw that the pirates were no longer there, and the war *perahu* were ordered to go to the open sea. But there was not a sail to be seen, and they could only swear, curse and yell abuse. Having suffered a great loss, the people of Singgora returned to their homes and their compounds.

According to the story, news of Sayid Ali's activities reached Trengganu, troubling the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu, who was afraid Sayid Ali would attack him as he had attacked the Singgora estuary. He mobilized all the dignitaries and ordered them to make ready a fleet of about a hundred vessels of various sizes. Next he sent the news to His Majesty Sultan Mahmud, and told him of his anxiety about Sayid Ali. His Majesty smiled, saying, 'Do not worry. I do not think Ali is bold enough to do to Trengganu what he did to Singgora, because how many vessels does he have? At the most about forty, while we here in Trengganu certainly have more than a hundred'. After the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu had listened to him, he said, 'If that is the case, we will get rid of this Ali together'. And His Majesty Sultan Mahmud replied, 'Very well. Tomorrow we will chase him away.'

The Siak Chronicle mentions that there was an English trading ship in Trengganu wanting tin,¹ and this ship was strongly armed and well manned. The ruler of Trengganu asked for assistance from the ship's captain who answered, 'Very well. If my Lord Sultan does battle tomorrow, I will help. Do not be anxious. If we attack him together, it will be all over in two or three hours because our cannon are large'. And he laughed as he said this. The following day the Trengganu ruler left for the estuary with His Majesty Sultan Mahmud, and he gave the Trengganu men orders to surround Sayid Ali's ships which were already in the Kapas Island Straits.² All the Trengganu men took down their awnings and loaded their cannon, and prepared to row towards Sayid Ali's fleet. When the Siak people saw what was happening, Sayid Ali ordered them also to take down their awnings, load their cannon, ignite the tapers and light the powder in the touch holes. 258:1

According to the story, when His Majesty Sultan Mahmud saw what was happening, he also ordered all his vessels from Lingga to row across to Sayid Ali's fleet and drop anchor. His Majesty Sultan Mahmud then went aboard the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu's vessel, and the latter invited Sultan Mahmud to join him on the bridge. His Majesty Sultan Mahmud did so, and they sat together. Sultan Mahmud then ordered Sayid Ali to be summoned, and the messenger presented himself before Sayid Ali, saying, 'Please come'. Sayid Ali ordered his younger brothers, Sayid Abd al-Rahman, Sayid Zain, Sayid Alwi his Panglima Besar, and his senior captains to be summoned. Sayid Ali then presented himself before His Majesty Sultan Mahmud on the ruler of Trengganu's vessel. 258:11

At that time all the Trengganu princes and the Yang Dipertuan Muda were present, attending the two kings, but they were not actually on the bridge, being ranged in rows on the deck beneath. As Sayid Ali walked 259:1

past the princes to mount the bridge and pay homage to Sultan Mahmud, one of the Trengganu princes, named Raja Musa, prevented him from passing. Sayid Ali then tried again to get to the bridge from the Yang Dipertuan Muda's side. However, Tengku Musa held him by the foot and would not let him go up. When Sayid Abd al-Rahman saw Raja Musa holding Sayid Ali's foot, he fingered the hilt of his kris and said, 'Do you want to humiliate us, or shall we fight it out? Come on!' Sultan Mahmud, realizing that Tengku Musa had grabbed Sayid Ali's foot and that Sayid Abd al-Rahman had grabbed his kris, ordered, 'Hey! Abd al-Rahman', and then turning angrily to Raja Musa said, 'Why do you want to humiliate me? It was I who summoned Ali and Abd al-Rahman to come aboard'. Hearing His Majesty's words, Tengku Musa released Sayid Ali's foot, and Sayid Ali and Sayid Abd al-Rahman climbed up to the bridge and paid homage to His Majesty. They chatted for a while, then Sayid Ali asked permission to return to his *perahu*. He made obeisance to His Majesty and left the bridge.

According to the story, as Sayid Ali came down his right hand gripped the hilt of his kris while his left tapped the Trengganu princes on the head as if he were counting them.¹ He then went aboard his *sampan* and paddled back to his *perahu*. Sultan Mahmud left the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu's vessel and went aboard his own, where he said angrily, 'Take down the awnings and load the cannon! I want to see the trussed Siak cock² pitted against the trussed Trengganu one!' The Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu saw this and came over to Sultan Mahmud's vessel with Tengku Musa to ask pardon of His Majesty and of Sayid Ali. Apologies were exchanged, and peace was concluded between Siak and Trengganu. When this was over, Sayid Ali asked leave to return to Siak, while Sayid Abd al-Rahman agreed with Sayid Alwi that they ask permission of their elder brother Sayid Ali to go to Serasan.¹ He gave them leave and they then set sail. When they arrived in Serasan, Sayid Alwi took a secondary wife, Encik Mariam. Sayid Ali returned to Siak² and Sayid Abd al-Rahman sailed to Sambas on piracy. At the mouth of the Sambas River he captured a Chinese junk which he took to Kembung Island.³ After the Sultan of Sambas learnt of this, he sent his son, Pangeran Kayung, to patrol with about thirty *perahu* on the lookout for Sayid Abd al-Rahman. The latter had about ten *perahu* and when he encountered the Sambas patrols, fighting broke out. The crossfire of the cannon and swivel guns and the sounds made by cannon and people fighting was terrifying.

It was not long before the Siak men closed in on Pangeran Kayung's vessel and made an assault on it, forcing him to retreat while his Pangeran and Temenggung were killed, stabbed by the Siak men who took four

of the Sambas *perahu* and one *wangkang*. When they saw the Sambas men fleeing back up the river, the Siak people cheered and performed a *silat*⁴ dance on the bridge, leaping about with naked swords to the ringing of the bells on their shields. Following this Sayid Abd al-Rahman sailed into Pontianak, where he met the Sultan. With his wife, Encik Selamah, he settled in Tengku Akil's house⁵ and stayed in Pontianak.⁶

However, one day his men stabbed a Chinese because of an incident in which the Chinese⁷ had overpowered them, wounding a captain called Marus and killing the anchor bosun. Sayid Abd al-Rahman was extremely angry and made ready his *perahu*, fitting the gunshields during the night to attack the Pontianak Chinese, but the Sultan forbade him to create any disturbance within the state. Sayid Abd al-Rahman then answered, 'I will attack anyway', and the Sultan said, 'There are not many Chinese and they will not pose any resistance. Simply fine them'. So the Chinese were fined a *kati* of gold, because there was no proof of who had done the killing. Sayid Abd al-Rahman responded, 'I will agree to the fine, but I ask to be allowed to take Tengku Akil back to Siak. If this is not permitted, I refuse to leave Pontianak'. The Sultan replied, 'Akil was given to me by his father with these orders; "if any of his family want to take him, do not allow it". Now if his family want to take him, and he is willing, he may go, but first let him be circumcised. Only when he is circumcised will I let him be conducted to his father, so that I will not have had him for nothing. That is the custom of noblemen'.

261:1

261:11

When Sayid Abd al-Rahman heard the Sultan's words, he replied, 'I want to take him, even if by so doing I anger you'. Hearing Sayid Abd al-Rahman's response, the Sultan was furious and said, 'You are really arrogant and you do not watch your tongue! Go! Be off with you! Get out of Pontianak!' So Sayid Abd al-Rahman went aboard his *perahu* and the Sultan ordered, 'Drive Sayid Abd al-Rahman out of Pontianak this very day! I cannot stand him any longer because he is a troublemaker and flaunts his arrogance here'. Thus Sayid Abd al-Rahman left Pontianak, taking Encik Selamah and Tengku Akil. Encountering them, the Great Lord took them to Kubu. There Tengku Akil contracted smallpox, but later recovered, so Sayid Abd al-Rahman sailed from Kubu¹ to Simpang. He attacked Simpang, which was defeated. Next, he sailed to Tambelan, where he married Tengku Khadijah, [Tengku Akil's]² younger sister. They had in fact already been married in the Arab style in Siak—that is, her father Tengku Musa had drawn up a marriage contract. Sayid Abd al-Rahman then stayed on Tambelan Island.

262:1

To continue the story of His Majesty Sultan Mahmud in Trengganu. After he had reconciled Sayid Ali and the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu,

His Majesty went up the Trengganu River to discuss with the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu how to improve his relationship with the Dutch Company.¹ The Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu undertook to do this, and so His Majesty Sultan Mahmud then asked for permission to go to Pahang where he would await developments. The Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu answered, 'By all means, my son. After you leave, I will send an envoy to Pieter Jacob van Braam in Malacca or Riau'. Sultan Mahmud answered 'Good', and he sailed to Pahang where he remained.

262:11 After he had gone, the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu dispatched two noblemen, one called Wan Kobat, who bore the title Seri Setia,² and the other called Encik Ismail, the son of Encik Abd al-Lahab, as envoys to Admiral van Braam. They set sail for Riau,³ where they met Pieter Jacob van Braam on his warship and delivered the letter from the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu. Van Braam ordered his scribe, Encik Abdullah, the son of Imam Lebai Pandak, to read out the letter. When he had listened to it, van Braam laughed and shook his head. His face aflame with fury, he said, 'It would have been better to have trusted the Bugis who opposed us in battle than to trust the King of Trengganu, who did not'.

263:1 He then ordered Encik Abdullah to take down a reply, which was dictated on the warship, and was extremely rude with numerous insults. He revived old grudges, and censured the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu about the Linggi and Malacca wars and the destruction of Riau. None of these could be ascribed to the Bugis presence, but were purely the result of the deviousness of the Trengganu ruler. There were several other abusive phrases which need not be included in this chronicle, because these events are long past and were concerned with past generations.¹ It would be lacking in respect were I to disclose the words with absolute frankness. A few allusions are a reminder, and a record for those who come afterwards. That is what this episode should be to us. However, we who have come afterwards should, on both sides, pray that Allah (*may He be praised and exalted*) will forgive them and make peace between them in the state which is to come. But this must be surrendered to Allah Almighty since, according to the author of *al-Jawhar*,² 'whoever dies without repenting of his sins, decision on his matter is for his Lord'. (That is, 'whoever dies without repenting of his sins, his case is surrendered to the Lord'.) 'If He wishes, the sinner is to be tormented, if He wills, the sinner may be forgiven.' (That is, 'if He wants to He may punish him, or if He wants to He may forgive him'.)

263:11

Both the Chronicle from Lingga³ and the conclusion of the Chronicle of Engku Busu of Dungun mention the following. When Encik Ismail returned to Trengganu bringing van Braam's reply, he went up to present himself before the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu. The next day the

ordinary people came to receive van Braam's letter, according to the customs traditional for the reception of a letter from a king. It was brought up to the audience hall where the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu received it and had it read. Now there were two letters, one large and one small, and it was the smaller one that he had read out beneath the umbrella. The ordinary people thus heard only the smaller letter, the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu keeping the larger one to himself. When he had finished reading it he put it under his knee because it was clearly for his eyes alone and because when the people had brought the letter in procession, they had gone down in a crowd with Tengku Tengah and all their family and relatives to the glass-walled audience hall to one side of the palace, that was how it was. After the ceremony was over, the people returned to their homes and the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu left for the Ibai estuary. His *sirih* box was taken to the women's quarters. Later his granddaughters, Tengku Kecik and Tengku Puteri, were asked to bring it up to the audience hall. They both read the letter, together with Tengku Busu, the son of the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu and Tengku Tengah, and with Tengku Lahad, Tengku Said and Tengku Wuk. Only when they had all finished reading did they grasp the immensity of the secrets. When they had heard them all, from beginning to end, they said 'Allah! Allah! Lord! All these Dutch grievances and their abuse of the Trengganu ruler, regardless of whether they are true or false! If by any stretch of the imagination people of our society here had done such a thing, they would have been incapable of using words like this. If by any chance the letter had been in the Malay language, it would have been screwed up and immediately given to dogs to eat, but even they would not have touched it'. Such were the abusive words of van Braam to the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu, paragraph after paragraph, insulting the Trengganu ruler for everything he had done in the past, the rumours which had destroyed the Bugis from the time of the Linggi war under the late Daeng Kamboja to the Riau war under the late Raja Haji. That is how it was.

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Not long afterwards, Encik Abdullah, the son of the Lord Imam Lebai Pandak, came to Trengganu and went ashore to present himself before the Yang Dipertuan, who said to him, 'Abdullah, by Allah Almighty, you come to me, an old man! Do not look at me, but look instead to your lord, the Raja Muda. I am old. You would do better to try and reconcile the Yang Dipertuan and myself. You can take my deepest regrets¹ to the Yang Dipertuan Muda of Riau, because of my numerous mistakes and past stupidities towards him'. Then the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu patted Encik Abdullah on the back. I can vouch for this for I have seen it with my own two eyes, and heard it with my own ears. This is

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what it says in the chronicle at the end of the Chronicle of Engku Busu of Dungun.

To continue the story of His Majesty Sultan Mahmud in Pahang. He was awaiting the outcome of discussions by the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu to improve relations between himself and the Dutch Company. However, no envoys or news came and so His Majesty returned to Lingga.² He remained there with the Malays and locally born Bugis, unceasingly trying to find a livelihood for his people, both Malays and Bugis. By the decree of Allah Almighty, tin was found on Singkep and His Majesty sent the Malays and locally born Bugis to go there and work it.³ They were organized so that everybody had a share. English ships came there and invested money in the tin trade, so the people earned a little and made a living. *Perahu* from the countries to the east also came, bringing rice to Lingga, and rice also came from the subject territories; there were *wangkang* from China as well. However, piracy was rife because His Majesty Sultan Mahmud had not yet made peace with the Dutch Company, and the English Company was constantly bringing gunpowder, bullets, cannon, and rifles and exchanging them for tin and other trading items. The piracy during this period was on a large scale. The leader, Panglima Raman,⁴ raided from Bangka to Java, taking many prisoners and carrying them off to Lingga to populate it. In time, the people of Bangka came to enjoy living in Lingga, and they established gardens and villages, and had no desire to return. Sometimes their relatives came from Bangka not through piracy but voluntarily, and submitted themselves to the government of His Majesty Sultan Mahmud. Thus Lingga became populous.

According to the story, although piracy was going on, it is said that any trading *wangkang* wanting to enter Lingga was not molested. His Majesty stayed in Lingga, building a palace upstream complete with fortifications. It was while His Majesty Sultan Mahmud was in Lingga that he attacked Inderagiri. He sent his younger brother, Raja Jafar, the son of the late Raja Haji (*a witness to the way of Allah*), to attack the Raja Tua, because the latter had infringed traditional customs.¹ Raja Jafar did battle with the Raja Tua, although by a recent marriage the Raja Tua had become his father-in-law. The people of Lingga, the locally born Bugis and the Illanun joined forces and the Raja Tua was defeated. Then Raja Jafar returned to Lingga with his brother and the people of Inderagiri. He remained in Lingga with His Majesty Sultan Mahmud and all His Majesty's royal brothers and sisters. That is how it was, and thus I conclude.

To continue the story of Yang Dipertuan Raja Muda Raja Ali in Sukadana. When Sukadana had become prosperous, the malicious rumours

of this troubled world began circulating, to demonstrate that this world is a transient one of impermanent pleasures, and to provide an example to perceptive people that they should not become attached to this world but yearn for that which is to come and which is permanent, where the pleasures are unending. The troubles of this world befell Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali because of disagreements and misunderstandings with the Sultan of Pontianak² and with the Dutch. I need say no more, for it is well known that this world is never free from greed, covetousness and jealousies over greater and lesser pleasures. That became the basis of the dissension and quarrels, because this confined world is incapable of fulfilling the desires of everyone especially in regard to the pleasures of kingship. Therein lay the cause of further unrest.

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When the quarrels between the two sides became protracted, the Dutch and the Sultan of Pontianak attacked Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali in Sukadana, and war broke out.¹ Not long afterwards, Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali was worsted, because he had two races opposing him; first the Dutch, and second Muslims, descendants of the Prophet of Allah (*may Allah bless him and grant him peace*). When Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali felt that defeat was inevitable, he consulted all the elders and the locally born Bugis, inviting them to retreat, 'Because there is no one else here in the east on whom we can rely. All this time we have pinned our hopes on our brothers in Pontianak and Mempawah, but now they have joined with the Dutch to strike out at us. How can we win?' And all the elders said respectfully, 'We will do whatever you command.'

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Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali then went overland to Lawar.² Karaeng Talibak, a grandson of the Datu of Watu, who was the sister of the five Opu Daeng brothers, also came and met up with Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali. Together they followed an overland path across the mountains, plains and swampy morasses.³ From Lawar Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali sailed to Tambelan, and from thence to Siantan. Now during the time he had been in the place called Lawar, Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali had married Karaeng Talibak to Raja Sitti, daughter of the late Raja Haji, martyred at Ketapang Bay. Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali stayed in Siantan, where all the people remained loyal to him, and he assisted their trade as best he could.⁴ None the less, he thought always of Riau. That was how it was.

To continue the story of His Majesty Sultan Mahmud in Lingga, waiting word from the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu, who was going to bring about a reconciliation between himself and the Dutch Company. There was still nothing definite, and so Sultan Mahmud sent a message to Selangor to his younger cousin the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor asking him to mediate between himself and the Company.¹ So the

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Yang Dipertuan of Selangor sent a messenger to the Governor of Malacca requesting a reconciliation between the Dutch Company and His Majesty Sultan Mahmud. The Governor of Malacca replied, 'How can you hope for a reconciliation? We had only just signed a contract of about twenty-six articles when Sultan Mahmud broke it and repudiated all such contracts. The King of Selangor and the Bugis actually waged war against us but we found our path of peace, because it is customary in warfare that first there is victory, second defeat, and third peace. However, to disavow contracts is not the way of kings. We made an assault on Linggi and on Riau, and the King of Selangor knows only too well that these stemmed from the discussions of Malay princes. Raja Haji, however, was impatient and brought about his own ruin. Now we cannot grant your request'.²

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Following this, the messenger returned to inform the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor of what the Malacca Governor had said. Hearing the messenger's report, the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor was troubled and brooded over it. He then dispatched another envoy, earnestly entreating the Malacca Governor to make peace between His Majesty Sultan Mahmud and the Dutch Company. He himself as well as Sultan Mahmud, would be responsible for any future infringement of the contract. The Governor would understand that during the time of disturbances and conflict between the Illanun and the Dutch Company, Sultan Mahmud had been a young king, and on his own, his only ministers being the Raja Indera Bungsu and others who had exerted pressure on him. 'We rest our hopes on the Company's generosity towards all Malay and Bugis princes.' That was the situation.³

According to the story, when the Malacca Governor heard the envoy's report, he fell silent for a moment, and then said to the envoy, 'Take back this message to the King of Selangor: At the moment we are not in a position to act on your request, but we will inform the States General¹ in Batavia and will make their ruling known to you. Our purpose now is to ask you to urge your cousin, Sultan Mahmud, to forbid these evil acts of piracy which are deterring traders'. Following this, the envoys returned to Selangor and respectfully informed the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor of what the Malacca Governor had said.² Then the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor sent word to Lingga to His Majesty Sultan Mahmud about the discussions with the Malacca Governor.

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Meanwhile, by the decree of Allah Almighty who exercises His wisdom over His servants, the English Company took Malacca again as well as Riau.³ The English Company subsequently restored Riau to Sultan Mahmud and it was affirmed according to the ways hallowed by custom and tradition. Sheikh Umar Barja brought the letter from the English

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Company restoring Riau to His Majesty Sultan Mahmud on Sunday, 7 Safar,⁴ at nine o'clock, when a palace was being constructed upstream. Later on the same day Sayid Abd al-Rahman came from Batavia bringing letters from the States General in Batavia to His Majesty Sultan Mahmud, restoring Riau to him without even a contract.⁵ He arrived at three o'clock in the hijra year 1208 (approximately).⁶ Sultan Mahmud was delighted to receive both letters, and he developed Lingga, building a mosque, market place, defences, and other things. Lingga became populous. His Majesty Sultan Mahmud later sent Engku Muda, the son of the Datuk Temenggung⁷ and Raja Maimunah, to guard Riau while the position of the Yang Dipertuan Muda was being determined and the organization of Johor was being completed.

As for Yang Dipertuan Raja Ali in Siantan,⁸ he conferred with all his elders about presenting himself before His Majesty Sultan Mahmud in Lingga. When the time was right, he left for Lingga where he presented himself before Sultan Mahmud, who inquired about his voyages. The Yang Dipertuan Muda then told His Majesty Sultan Mahmud everything, from beginning to end, and following this he asked respectfully, 'Is there no longer any oath of loyalty between myself and my Lord, between the Malays and Bugis?' And Sultan Mahmud answered, 'No one has dismissed you, Raja Ali'.

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After the reunion and the brotherly feasting was finished, Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali asked His Majesty's permission to go to Selangor to meet his younger cousin the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor. Sultan Mahmud gave permission, and Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali then left for Selangor, taking Raja Said to the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor. The princes accompanying Yang Dipertuan Raja Ali were his younger brother Raja Sulaiman, and Sayid Muhammad Jambul,¹ and then some noblemen, Encik Abdullah, son of Datuk Punggawa Opu Nasti,² and Haji Mahmud. When they reached Selangor the Yang Dipertuan Muda met his cousin, the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor. They greeted each other, weeping, as is customary between relatives, and feasted together. Afterwards Raja Said, Raja Sulaiman, Sayid Muhammad Jambul and Encik Abdullah went to Penang for a holiday, and from thence they returned directly to Lingga without stopping at Selangor. Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali stayed in Selangor, together with his younger cousin the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor, who subsequently sent another messenger to the Governor of Malacca asking that the relations between the Bugis (that is, Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali) and the Dutch Company return to normal. The Dutch Company agreed and peace was made, establishing harmony between the Dutch Company and the locally born Bugis princely community.³ That is how it was.

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271:1 Following this, Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali asked leave of his younger cousin the ruler of Selangor to go to Siantan and fetch his children and all his royal relatives. The Yang Dipertuan of Selangor gave permission, and the Yang Dipertuan Muda left for Siantan and brought all his children back to Selangor. There he settled at Langat, but before long he moved to Muar again.¹ As for the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor, after his cousin had left, he set out for Lingga, intending to confer with the Malay faction on behalf of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali, according to hallowed customs and traditions. This was because the country was now at peace, there no longer being any friction with the Dutch Company but only unsettled matters between the Bugis and the Malays.² For this reason the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor was going to Lingga.

271:11 When he was quite decided he set sail³ and after a brief voyage arrived at Riau, where he made a halt. News of this reached Lingga, and His Majesty Sultan Mahmud ordered His Majesty Raja Jafar, son of the late Raja Haji (*a witness to the way of Allah*) to go and greet the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor. Raja Jafar sailed from Lingga to Riau where he met his cousin the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor and shortly afterwards they left together for Lingga. In Lingga His Majesty Sultan Mahmud had them welcomed according to the customs traditional for receiving princes. The Yang Dipertuan of Selangor went ashore to meet Sultan Mahmud, and they feasted and enjoyed themselves as is the custom among relatives. The Yang Dipertuan of Selangor was not in Lingga long when the meeting ordained by Allah Almighty came about, that is, His Majesty Sultan Mahmud conferred with the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor, Raja Jafar and Raja Sulaiman. Then His Majesty gave his cousin Tengku Tengah, daughter of the late Raja Haji (*a witness to the way of Allah*) in marriage to the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor. When the time was right, 272:1 Sultan Mahmud united the couple according to the customs traditional for the wedding of a prince. They lived together lovingly as husband and wife.

272:11 While the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor was in Lingga, a Perak envoy arrived there to present himself before His Majesty Sultan Mahmud and return Perak to him.¹ There were also many other provocative moves which infringed earlier contracts. After His Majesty Sultan Mahmud had heard the letter from Perak, he said to his elders, 'By doing this the King of Perak has deliberately sought to anger brother Berima.'² This will certainly lead to a quarrel which will eventually involve us'. His Majesty fell silent. Not long afterwards the envoy returned to Perak. Now all this was known to the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor, but he said nothing. He was in Lingga for about two years before he raised the matter with

His Majesty Sultan Mahmud and the Malay community, but he could not gain their support. Later, I obtained the story from Encik Abd al-Latif.

His Majesty Sultan Mahmud sent a nobleman, called Encik Kaluk, to present himself before the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor and say that His Majesty required three things of him: first, what is distant should be brought nearer; second, what is destroyed should be repaired; third, what is not should be made to be. The Yang Dipertuan of Selangor spoke to Encik Kaluk, 'Very well Kaluk, you may reply that if these are indeed the wishes of the Yang Dipertuan Besar, I will carry them out. I only came here to help the Yang Dipertuan Besar and all the Bugis'. The messenger then returned to report to His Majesty Sultan Mahmud. Following on from that, the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor discussed with Sultan Mahmud the problem of the Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali, who was at Muar. 'We should send for him and bring him home, as if he were something we treasured. Then the two sides could discuss how to make Riau prosper.'

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After His Majesty Sultan Mahmud had listened to his cousin's proposal, he conferred with the Malay faction (that is, with people like Engku Muda, Engku Busu, and others). However, the Malay faction could not agree with the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor's proposals, because they contended that they should assume the task of choosing a Yang Dipertuan Muda. 'We should make the choice, because Riau has been restored to His Majesty Sultan Mahmud by the English Company. Now he can appoint whoever he pleases as Yang Dipertuan Muda, as long as it is someone descended from the princely Bugis Opus.' That, it is said, was their reaction.

According to Encik Abd al-Latif's account, the Malay faction was inclined to appoint Raja Jafar, son of the late Raja Haji (*a witness to the way of Allah*) as Yang Dipertuan Muda. Furthermore, the Malay faction planned to betroth Raja Jafar to Encik Puan Bulang, a daughter of Engku Muda. There was one man, called Encik Hasan, who constantly extolled her qualities to Raja Jafar, respectfully saying, 'This royal child is so pretty—there is no one among the Riau princesses who is her equal; there is no one like her'. Listening to Encik Hasan's words, Raja Jafar smiled, as though they pleased him. The Yang Dipertuan of Selangor knew of all these matters. He too gave constant reports to His Majesty about the progress of the discussions with the Bugis princes. 'Do not leave the Malay faction free to divide us like the Siak princes. Brothers though they be, they are obsessed with seizing sovereignty. In the end we will also be dispersed throughout alien lands.'

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This was the tenor of the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor's discussions

274:1 with the Yang Dipertuan Besar, Sultan Mahmud, who partially agreed with what he proposed. Nevertheless, misunderstandings and conflicts arose and the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor was offended. Excusing himself, he made preparations for an immediate return to Selangor¹ and summoned Encik Kaluk, who had been the original envoy. When Encik Kaluk came, the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor said, 'Kaluk, this is your reply to the Yang Dipertuan Besar: these are the answers to the commands you brought me that day. I think that "what was distant and should be brought closer" refers to Raja Ali and the Malay faction. He should bring back the one whom he treasures as I told him when we met that day. "What is ruined and should be repaired" refers to Riau. In my opinion when Raja Ali is in Riau and when there is a firm agreement between the Bugis and Malays, I can then ask the Dutch Company and the English Company for help to carry out trade in tin and other items, especially on Singkep which is rich in tin. When that has been accomplished and with capital of 100–200,000 dollars, it would not be difficult to develop the country. I think "What is not and should be made to be", refers to ammunition. There is ammunition ready in Selangor whenever the Yang Dipertuan Besar wants to use it, with rifles if necessary, enough to fill twenty or thirty *penjabab*. Now I see that my ideas are evidently unacceptable to the Yang Dipertuan Besar, let alone to the Malay faction. If that is the situation, it is best if I return to Selangor'. Encik Kaluk then excused himself to return sorrowfully because he was in every sense a lord and chief.

274:11 The Yang Dipertuan of Selangor then made preparations to return to Selangor, but many malicious rumours and reports were circulating from the Malay and Bugis factions. It was like crockery in a ship's locker, broken by the tossing of the waves, becoming more jagged daily with the jarring and pounding. The Yang Dipertuan of Selangor wanted to leave immediately and take with him all the sons of his late uncle, Raja Haji. Raja Jafar asked leave of His Majesty Sultan Mahmud to accompany the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor, but His Majesty said, 'You may not go, Jafar'. Later he asked yet again, and His Majesty said, 'You may not leave now, Jafar. Wait for one or two months after brother Berima has gone, and then you may go. If you leave now, how many ships will you have? Given time, we can make ready about twenty or thirty for you, which would be appropriate, because is not brother Berima returning immediately for an attack on Perak? It would be best to do it like that'. After hearing His Majesty's command, Raja Jafar made obeisance again, 'Forgive me, my Lord, if it is at all possible I would still like permission to accompany him. After that, I will present myself before you'. After His Majesty Sultan Mahmud had heard Raja Jafar's submission, he was

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furious and said, 'If I cannot keep you any longer, go! Before brother Berima came you would not have dared to question me. Now you begin to repudiate my words. It appears that you prefer him to me!' His Majesty spoke with tears in his eyes and Raja Jafar asked permission to return, wiping away his own tears.

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In truth, he did go to Selangor, accompanying his elder cousin the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor. The locally born Bugis were divided. Some wanted to follow Raja Jafar to Selangor but the majority did not, and even their slaves felt the same. Some asked His Majesty Sultan Mahmud to maintain them. This was the situation, and there was confusion among the common people, because their lords and chiefs were at loggerheads. The Yang Dipertuan of Selangor made preparations to sail, and when all was ready he left Lingga in a *keci*, taking with him his young cousins the children of the late Raja Haji (*a witness to the way of Allah*).

When the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor left Lingga, a *wangkang* captained by a locally born Chinese arrived from China bringing deliveries for Tengku Tengah¹ which she had ordered before he left. When he heard that Tengku Tengah was to sail to Selangor, he did not go upriver but stopped and dropped anchor, and the *keci* did likewise, to take delivery of Tengku Tengah's cargo from the *wangkang*. From the Daik estuary the *wangkang* could be seen tying up to the *keci*, and a great hubbub broke out among the Malay faction, who said that the Selangor people had captured the *wangkang* at Kelombuk Island¹ and had already drawn up their *keci* near it. After Encik Kaluk heard what the Malay faction were saying, he was furious with them and said, 'You are all lying!' He then paddled downstream to the *keci* at Kelombuk Island. He went aboard and presented himself before the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor. Now Raja Jafar did not want to meet Encik Kaluk, so instead he sent one of his daughters, named Raja Khadijah, who was still a child. Encik Kaluk took the princess on his lap. After this Raja Jafar sent for his friend, Encik Abd al-Latif and ordered him to go to the stern of the *keci* and wait there by the edge. Raja Jafar said to Encik Latif, 'Go upstream, get Pak Kerasak and tell him to come aboard with his family. If he will not, sell his boat'. So Abd al-Latif went, and when he arrived in Daik, Pak Kerasak ran and hid. Abd al-Latif then asked in nearby houses, 'Where has the blacksmith Pak Kerasak gone?' And the people there said, 'He has gone to Engku Raja Sulaiman'. So Abd al-Latif went inland to Engku Raja Sulaiman's residence, but he still did not find Pak Kerasak. Abd al-Latif thought, 'If I go back empty handed, Raja Jafar is sure to be angry with me.' So he went up to Pak Kerasak's house and looted what was there, including his smith's tools, such as the anvil, hammers, tongs, and bellows. He loaded these into his *sampan* and

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paddled downstream to Kelombuk where he met Encik Kaluk coming upstream. Encik Kaluk asked him, 'What have you got there?' and Latif said, 'Pak Kerasak's tools'. Encik Kaluk laughed. Reaching the *keci*, Abd al-Latif related the entire Pak Kerasak-episode, and Raja Jafar also laughed. As for Encik Kaluk, he went ashore and cursed all those who
277:1 said that the Selangor people had taken the *wangkang*. This is what I have obtained from the tales of old people.

Following this, the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor sailed back to Selangor, stopping briefly at Riau. Leaving Riau again, he called in at Muar where he met his elder cousin Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali. They conferred, but I have not been able to find what they discussed. He subsequently sailed to Selangor, where he conferred with all his dignitaries and came to an agreement with Raja Jafar about attacking Perak. The Yang Dipertuan of Selangor then left for Perak, accompanied by the following princes: Raja Jafar, Raja Idris,¹ and then Raja Ahmad,² Raja Muhammad,³ and Raja Ismail (his own sons), Raja Abdullah (another of his sons), Raja Hasan (a son of the Yang Dipertuan Muda of Selangor who had died in Aceh when the King of Aceh had asked the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor for help in a war against the people of the interior. After the war was over the Yang Dipertuan Muda of Selangor had fallen ill and died, *Verily we belong to Allah and to Him we return* and he was buried in Aceh.⁴ Raja Hasan was his son), the Punggawa Tua and the Punggawa of Pematang. These people all accompanied him.
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When he reached Perak, the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor summoned the Laksamana, who presented himself. His Majesty then said to him, 'I wanted to meet you because I have come here without evil intent. I only want to seek a means of reaching agreement, because Perak's contract with Selangor covered us both like a mat, so that when it was night in Perak it was night in Selangor, and sickness in Perak meant sickness in Selangor. Should a king die, his successor would send word to Selangor, and Selangor would do the same. Now, however, there has been a disagreement over what is in the contract, and therefore I want to make a new oath of friendship'. The Laksamana replied respectfully, 'Very well, my Lord. I ask ten days' grace to inform the Yang Dipertuan of Perak'. The Yang Dipertuan of Selangor said, 'Very well', and the Laksamana then went upstream to Rantau Panjang,¹ together with the Chief of Jeram.² But the Laksamana fled, and so when three days after the promised time had elapsed the barrier at the river mouth was pushed aside and all the *perahu* went upstream to Lumut.³ The people of Perak opened fire, but it was not returned. Only after the third day were shots exchanged, and war broke out between the *perahu* and the stockades. One of the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor's captains was killed, and
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so the Selangor people closed in and took the stockades. The occupants fled upriver. It is impossible to imagine the situation in Perak.

This second war was on a much greater scale than the previous one,⁴ with both sides sustaining many losses. Panglima Perang Tengah was one of the Bugis killed, struck by a cannon ball from a Perak stockade, when the *perahu* of Raja Jafar and his brothers, together with those of Raja Muhammad and the Selangor people, came right alongside the stockade before opening fire. The princes did this to dare each other. Raja Muhammad, son of the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor, had shouted to Raja Jafar, son of the late Raja Haji (*a witness to the way of Allah*), 'Uncle, go right up to the stockade before you open fire!' When Raja Jafar heard this he was angry and unsheathing his dagger he danced with his cutlass on top of the gun shield, ordering the rowers to bring the *perahu* alongside the Perak stockades. After Raja Idris and Raja Ahmad saw what he was doing, they angrily brought their *penjajab* in even closer. At the edge of the stockade, they fired their cannon and made a landing, attacking with their guns and muskets. The terrifying sounds and the booming of the cannon were like a thunderbolt cleaving a mountain, while the crackling of their guns and muskets was like the noise of rice frying. They made a massed charge into the Perak stockade and many of the Perak people were killed, weakening their resistance. Any men still alive fled, and their stockades were taken. Thus Perak was defeated in the attack by the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor.⁵

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When the campaign against Perak was over, the Yang Dipertuan returned to Selangor, where he gave the Kelang River¹ to Raja Jafar as an apanage for him and his brothers. They settled in Kelang, exporting tin, a great deal of which they took to Malacca to trade. Many of the Malacca merchants became friendly with Raja Jafar, supplying him with whatever he wanted from Malacca. This situation continued unchanged.

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To return to the story of the Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali in Muar. After his younger cousin the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor had returned, Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali left for Riau, where he built a settlement at Ungkat Point.² Engku Muda was administering Riau at this time, but when the Yang Dipertuan Muda came to Riau, all the Bugis presented themselves before him, and the people of Riau were divided, waiting for orders from both princes. Engku Muda believed that he was the representative of His Majesty the Yang Dipertuan Besar, and felt that no one could take precedence over himself.³ On the other hand, the Yang Dipertuan Muda believed that it was his inherited right to govern Riau because His Majesty Sultan Mahmud had affirmed him as Yang Dipertuan Muda for life. Indeed he felt there was none greater than he, since he had the regalia and the documents containing the oath of loyalty. In

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these circumstances, there were misunderstandings between the two sides. You know how it is in a *perahu* with two captains, and in a country with two kings. This provided grounds for malicious rumours between the two sides, and the longer it went on the greater they became. It was like a fire which blazes unchecked until it rages out of control and only dies down after consuming everything. Finally, open conflicts and quarrels erupted, and then war broke out between the Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali and Engku Muda. They were cousins, because Yang Dipertuan

280:1 Muda Raja Ali was a son of the late Bearded One, and Engku Muda was a son of Raja Maimunah, the late Bearded One's daughter, and a Malay prince, the Temenggung.¹ This was the situation.

Engku Muda was established at Tanjung Pinang, and the war had not been in progress long when he was defeated, because the Yang Dipertuan Muda had the greater resources. Many of the Bugis captains were on his side, while only the captains from among the sea-people supported Engku Muda. After Engku Muda was defeated, he withdrew to Bulang² to re-arm, for he intended to do battle again. It was in this war that a Siak prince called Raja Husain, son of Sultan Mahmud, King of Siak, was killed. He was buried at Bulang near the grave of the Temenggung of Johor.

280:11 According to the story, the news of these events came to the ears of Sultan Mahmud in Lingga, and he immediately left for Bulang to make peace between the two sides. When Sultan Mahmud reached Bulang, Engku Muda came to present himself and His Majesty spoke with him, advising him to make his peace with Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali, since they were hardly strangers but virtually brothers. Engku Muda accepted Sultan Mahmud's proposals. His Majesty was extremely pleased and sent a messenger to Riau requesting the presence of his elder cousin, Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali. The envoy was the locally born Bugis nobleman Encik Abdullah.³ His Majesty gave further orders to the envoy, saying, 'Abdullah, take this message to my cousin Raja Ali. I now wish to take upon myself the heavy and exhausting burden he bears, up hill and down dale, through swamps and morasses'. After His Majesty gave

281:1 these orders, Encik Abdullah made obeisance and excused himself. He then paddled up the Riau River and when he had reached Riau he went ashore to present himself before the Yang Dipertuan Muda and deliver the message and His Majesty Sultan Mahmud's invitation to come to Bulang.

According to the story, when Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali heard Sultan Mahmud's message, he roared with laughter, saying, 'Abdullah, I give thanks to Allah Almighty for His Majesty Sultan Mahmud's proposal. It is clear that he really does intend to protect and care for all of

the locally born Bugis. And there is a veiled hint in this message that he wants to marry Raja Hamidah, daughter of the late Raja Haji (*a witness to the way of Allah*). The Yang Dipertuan Muda then commanded Encik Abdullah saying, 'I want to paddle to Bulang immediately. There is no need for a fleet. Forty Chinese *pukat*, their crews, the Bugis captains and their followers will suffice, so that we can get away quickly and proceed with the good work'. The Yang Dipertuan Muda made ready his *pukat* and left for Bulang. There he presented himself before His Majesty Sultan Mahmud, who greeted him, and they exchanged suggestions about peace proposals. Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali accepted what Sultan Mahmud wanted. 281:11

When the time was right, the princes and dignitaries all assembled on Sultan Mahmud's vessel and His Majesty ordered that Engku Muda be invited to come. Engku Muda came aboard and when he noticed Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali, he said, 'How are you, brother Ali? Do you want another fight?' Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali smiled, saying, 'I will be satisfied with the royal orders. I am not so bold as to disobey them'. When His Majesty Sultan Mahmud heard what they were saying, he said, 'Why are we prolonging this? We are all brothers and what is done is done. It is the future we should be discussing, as brothers together in Islam'. 282:1

According to the story, on hearing His Majesty, Engku Uthman,¹ Engku Muda's uncle, immediately drew closer to both Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali and Engku Muda. Taking them by the hand, he touched their heads together as a sign of peace, and they both embraced and kissed, weeping and apologizing. Thus they made peace in the presence of His Majesty Sultan Mahmud and all the princes.² Afterwards they renewed the oath of loyalty made between Bugis and Malays, following the procedure laid down by the Ruler who died in the Fort.³ When they had finished making peace and swearing the oath of loyalty, His Majesty Sultan Mahmud said to Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali, Engku Muda, Engku Busu, and all the princes, 'Let us go to Riau', and they all answered, 'May it please our Lord'.⁴ Then His Majesty left for Riau, accompanied by the Yang Dipertuan Muda and all the princes, and there Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali married His Majesty Sultan Mahmud to Raja Hamidah, that is, to Engku Puteri, daughter of the late Raja Haji (*a witness to the way of Allah*). After the marriage was completed, His Majesty Sultan Mahmud built a palace at Ungkat Point and settled in Riau, enjoying himself the livelong day. 282:11

To continue the story of Siak, where Yang Dipertuan Muda Muhammad Ali had returned from Selangor, but was constantly ill, and Sayid Ali had returned from his wanderings and settled at Bukit Batu. The

283:1 Yang Dipertuan Muda fell critically ill, and about two days later he died,¹ returning to the mercy of Allah Almighty, from the world which is ephemeral to that which is eternal. *Verily we belong to Allah and to Him we return.* The Yang Dipertuan Besar Raja Yahya and the dignitaries buried him according to the customs traditional when a great king dies. The ceremonies completed, Yang Dipertuan Besar Raja Yahya and his younger brother the Yang Dipertuan Muda, son of Yang Dipertuan Muhammad Ali, were left to govern Siak.²

283:11 According to the story, when Sayid Ali heard the news that Yang Dipertuan Muda Muhammad Ali had died, he prepared a war fleet of about twenty *penjajab* at Bukit Batu. Reports of this reached Siak and Raja Musa and the Yang Dipertuan sent a certain Sayid Ali son of Sheikh to go to Bukit Batu and investigate whether the reports about Sayid Ali were true or not. When he arrived there he questioned Sayid Ali, who answered, 'I have no desire to attack Siak. I only wish to present myself before the ruler'. Sayid Ali son of Sheikh returned together with Tengku Husain, and informed the Yang Dipertuan of Siak of what Sayid Ali had said. The Yang Dipertuan Besar was silent, but not long afterwards the news was again brought that Sayid Ali had already come upstream with his war fleet. The Yang Dipertuan told the herald, Ibrahim, to order the people to collect timber for the construction of stockades. Meanwhile, Tengku Musa realized what was happening and he summoned the Yang Dipertuan Muda to come. Then Tengku Musa said, 'I hear that you are making stockades. I do not think that is right, because you have a pact with Ali. Let him break his word—not you. Whosoever breaks his word will have wronged Allah Almighty'. The Yang Dipertuan Muda answered, 'True, but he has entered Siak prepared for war, and it is that which worries me, because I cannot trust what brother Uda says. He is a deceitful man'. Hearing that, Tengku Musa was furious and said, 'I will curse anyone who builds a stockade'. The Yang Dipertuan Muda was silenced and withdrew. He did not continue with the erection of stockades, and this was a portent that his descendants would live in foreign lands.

284:1 Meanwhile, Sayid Ali arrived in Siak and anchored his *perahu* by the house of Sayid Alwi (known as Tengku Lung Putih). Tengku Musa then came aboard and on meeting Sayid Ali, asked him why he had come. Sayid Ali replied, 'I have not come here with any evil intentions'. Tengku Musa replied, 'Then why did you come armed as if you were going to attack?' And Sayid Ali answered, 'Because I have to move my brothers to Batu Bahara and because my elder brother, the Ruler who died at Pekan, is no longer here. There remains only my Lord,¹ alone. I cannot hope for anything from the Yang Dipertuan Muda, and moreover, I am

afraid of my relative in Kampar.'² Tengku Musa replied, 'You need not be afraid of brother Abdullah. If he tries to intimidate you, I will stand up to him'. Sayid Ali answered, 'I have not the least intention of committing treason against you, my Lord. I wish to tell the Yang Dipertuan Muda that if he keeps to his contract with me, he should join me in the attack on Kampar, because Abdullah is my enemy'. Tengku Musa replied, 'It would be best for me to discuss it with your younger cousins'. Tengku Musa then returned to find the Yang Dipertuan Besar and the Yang Dipertuan Muda, to tell them of what Sayid Ali had proposed and discuss whether they should be a party to his plans. After the Yang Dipertuan Muda had heard his father's news, he was silent for a time. Then the Yang Dipertuan Muda ordered that a letter be taken to Kampar that very night, saying that Sayid Ali was going to attack Kampar. The messenger set out overland.

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Now Sayid Ali went by night to present himself before the Yang Dipertuan Besar at Belubur Garam in order to deceive him.³ The Yang Dipertuan Besar then spoke to him as he and the Yang Dipertuan Muda had agreed, but the discussion was not successful. Having heard the Yang Dipertuan Besar out, Sayid Ali made obeisance and said, 'Do not flee, my Lord. I plan to attack my brother the Yang Dipertuan Muda because he broke his pact with me. I would still acknowledge you as king, but it would be best if you were to withdraw to the Mandau River.'¹ All these details became known to the dignitaries and the elders of Siak and the activities of the princely brothers provoked disagreement among them.

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Meanwhile, one dignitary, a herald called Malik, went to present himself before the Yang Dipertuan Muda. Weeping, he reported that Sayid Ali had met the Yang Dipertuan Besar and ordered him to flee to Mandau. After the Yang Dipertuan Muda had heard this news, he was furious, and sought out the Yang Dipertuan Besar. When they met, he said, 'I ask you, Tengku Agung, for permission to attack Sayid Ali's *perahu*'. Turmoil then erupted in Siak, with people saying that the Yang Dipertuan Muda, Sayid Ali, and the Yang Dipertuan Besar were about to attack. When their mother, Tengku Ambung,² heard that her son intended to attack Sayid Ali's *perahu*, she immediately ran to find him. Embracing him, she asked that she be killed, and wept, thrashing around on the ground. Seeing this, the Yang Dipertuan Muda said nothing, but he did not go. Then he spoke, 'Go, mother, and find the Yang Dipertuan Besar; I want to ask for my sister, Raja Aminah.'³ I will not let her be taken away. Better that she stays with me'. Tengku Ambung then immediately ran to find the Yang Dipertuan Besar and discover whether or not he intended going to Mandau. The Yang Dipertuan Muda followed his mother

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and waited for her, standing on the ground below. The Yang Dipertuan Besar then came down and met the Yang Dipertuan Muda, who said respectfully, 'My Lord, if you go to Mandau, do not take my sister'. The Yang Dipertuan Besar replied, 'I will not be going'. The Yang Dipertuan Muda then said, 'If my Lord is not going, let me take your women up the Mampura River'. His Majesty said, 'Very well'. And the Yang Dipertuan Muda took the ladies and their belongings and the women of His Majesty's household aboard the *perahu*, *Naga Pekan*.

As for Sayid Ali, when day broke he brought all his *perahu* across to be near Kamaraja's house. Kamaraja spoke with some fifty noblemen, urging them to desert to Sayid Ali. The Yang Dipertuan Muda ordered Panglima Rahmat to summon all the dignitaries. This was done three times, but not a single dignitary responded. At that time Tengku Musa came aboard Sayid Ali's *perahu* to ask about the disturbance in the country. Panglima Dalam summoned [Kamaraja],¹ and they spoke together on the jetty. There was an altercation, Panglima Dalam became heated, drew his sword, and struck Kamaraja, who fell into the water. Panglima Rahmat boarded Panglima Lasik's *perahu*, and began to scale the gunshields but he was hit by gunfire and died. Sayid Ali then went to Tengku Musa and said, 'Please go aboard, your son Tengku Abu has already attacked'.² So Tengku Musa went aboard, saying, 'Ali, I have been won over by your sweet words'. Tengku Musa then found his son Tengku Abu and the herald Rahim and brought them back. The Yang Dipertuan Muda wished to leave, but his mother Tengku Ambung clung to him and would not allow it. Tengku Musa suggested that he retreat, but he was unwilling to do so. The Yang Dipertuan Muda ordered his younger brother Tengku Akil³ to take his wife Tengku Fatimah upstream. So Tengku Akil went up the Mampura River with all His Majesty's women. The Yang Dipertuan Besar had preceded them while Tengku Musa had remained behind. The Yang Dipertuan Muda also went upstream and by dusk had reached Pangkalan where he spent the night and at daybreak set off on foot. At midday he met up with help from Kampar—Tengku Muhammad had come.⁴ They returned together on foot, and by evening they had got as far as the Pangkalan area where they halted. At daybreak they continued downstream to Lawan Island, and by evening they had reached the settlement. Tengku Besar [of Kampar] came and took them into his house. There Tengku Besar, the Yang Dipertuan Besar, and the Yang Dipertuan Muda conferred. They repaired the stockades and the river barriers, and made ready their weapons. Then Tengku Besar of Kampar suggested that a messenger be sent to Sultan Mahmud in Lingga to ask for help. The Yang Dipertuan Besar agreed, and the Yang Dipertuan Muda and Tengku Muhammad were to

sail as soon as their *perahu* were ready. But it was Tengku Akil and Tengku Simbuk who accompanied the Yang Dipertuan Muda because Tengku Besar of Kampar (that is, Raja Abdullah) would not allow his son Tengku Muhammad to go.¹

The Yang Dipertuan Muda set sail, and when he reached Ungaran he asked the nobles there for an escort to Bulang. He reached Bulang while the Engku Muda was there and when they met, the Yang Dipertuan Muda was questioned as to why he had come. He reported that he wanted to present himself before Sultan Mahmud and deliver a letter requesting assistance because Sayid Ali had tricked them and taken Siak. The Engku Muda then gave the Yang Dipertuan Muda a local man as pilot to escort him to Lingga. They set sail, and when they arrived the Yamtuan Muda went to present himself before Sultan Mahmud and deliver the letter. His Majesty read it, but although he knew that the Yang Dipertuan of Siak wanted help, he was not fully convinced and only gave the Yang Dipertuan Muda two *perahu*. He also made ready about forty of his own armed *penjajab* while the Yamtuan Muda waited. In the midst of this, a letter came from Tengku Musa in Siak, saying that Kampar had been defeated in an attack by Sayid Ali, sent there by his brother, Sayid Abd al-Rahman, who had just arrived from the Tujuh Islands. Every single person from Lawan Island had fled to Inderagiri, where the princes and nobles had already gone.

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According to the story, when the Yamtuan Muda heard what had happened in Kampar, he fell silent. Meanwhile, Tengku Besar of Kampar and the Yang Dipertuan Besar of Siak came to Lingga to ask His Majesty Sultan Mahmud for *perahu* to fetch the women who had escaped to Inderagiri. Sultan Mahmud gave them as many *perahu* as he could, and the Yang Dipertuan of Siak sent people to fetch members of his family and move them to Lingga. The Yang Dipertuan Muda sailed to Belitung, travelling as far as Kubu, Pontianak, and Mempawah.¹ In Kubu he fell on hard times and bore great suffering, because of disagreements with the Kubu people. Finally, he returned to Lingga to suggest to the Yang Dipertuan Besar that they leave. The Yang Dipertuan Besar, however, did not want to go, and they disagreed, because the Yang Dipertuan Besar wanted to make the Illanun, Tuk Lukus, his son-in-law by marrying him to his daughter Raja Maimunah. (She was the mother of Raja Sulung, Panglima Besar of Retih.)² Finally, the Yang Dipertuan Besar left for Retih, where he stayed. He later sailed off again to Trengganu, and then to Dungun where he finally died. *Verily we belong to Allah and to Him we return.* At the time of his death he had lost his reason, and behaved like a madman.³ It is a long story which I will not record in this historical chronicle, because I have to keep it brief. The Siak princes

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went to Lingga only shortly before the war between Engku Muda and the Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali.

289:1 According to the story, this Yang Dipertuan of Siak, Sultan Yahya, was the last of the Siak princes descended from Yang Dipertuan Raja Kecik to become a King of Siak. After this the Siak princes were scattered throughout other countries, and the line of the sovereignty of Raja Kecik's descendants was broken and moved to another line, that is, to the race of the Arab Lords, the Sayids, specifically to Sayid Ali, son of Sayid Uthman, son of Syahab. On his mother's side, Sayid Ali could claim a slight connection with the line of Yang Dipertuan Raja Kecik, but this was mingled with the Bugis Yang Dipertuan Mudas of Riau. During Sayid Ali's reign, there was no longer any close relationship between Siak, the Sultan of Lingga, or the Yang Dipertuan of Riau. Now let us return to the story once more. When the Siak princes were completely scattered and dispersed, Sayid Ali became King of Siak and all its inland territories, governing them absolutely, subjugating various settlements and neighbouring territories.¹ That was how it was.

289:11 According to the story, when Sayid Ali was established in Siak and in his rule, he made preparations to go to Riau and present himself before His Majesty Sultan Mahmud, who had just made peace between the Malays and Bugis and was now conferring about how to make Riau and Lingga prosperous. Yang Dipertuan Sayid Ali prepared a fleet of about sixty *penjajab*. His own vessel was called *Macan Tepa*. When all was ready, and when the time was right, he set sail for Riau with the sixty vessels. When he entered Riau waters, between Lobam and Terkulai, he encountered an English warship, a man-of-war. All his *penjajab* played their drums and gongs, so that the commander of the warship suspected them of being pirates or marauders. He fired the cannon which were in two or three tiers, and the sound of the booming was like a thunderbolt cleaving a mountain, with the cannon balls lost in smoke. The *penjajab* were struck amidships, and they sped towards land, hastening into Riau. The tangled disarray of oars and sails defies description. Four *penjajab* were sunk, while the others escaped into Riau. The ship which had attacked Sayid Ali sailed on. As for Sayid Ali, when he reached Riau he went up to present himself before His Majesty Sultan Mahmud, who honoured him following the customs for greeting a dependant.² Not long after Yang Dipertuan Sayid Ali had arrived in Riau, Raja Muhammad, a son of the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor who had become Raja Muda in Selangor, came to present himself before Sultan Mahmud. His Majesty was very pleased at Raja Muhammad's arrival and assembled all the Siak princes as well as those from Selangor for feasting and entertainment, following the custom for newly arrived relatives. The Yang

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Dipertuan of Siak invited Raja Muhammad to a cockfight. Raja Muhammad pitted his cock against his cousin's, and this provided amusement for several days.

According to the story about this episode, it was not long before Yang Dipertuan Sayid Ali of Siak humbly asked Sultan Mahmud's permission to marry Tengku Mandak, daughter of Engku Besar Raja Sitti and Engku Karaeng, because he intended to make her Queen of all the women in Siak. His Majesty Sultan Mahmud discussed this with Engku Besar and Engku Puteri¹ as well as all the princes and dignitaries in Riau. They reached agreement to accept the proposal of Sayid Ali the Yang Dipertuan of Siak. Sayid Ali was very pleased because his aim had been achieved. When the time was right, His Majesty Sultan Mahmud married Sayid Ali, the Yang Dipertuan of Siak, to Tengku Mandak according to the customs traditional when a great prince marries.² When they had been united, they lived together affectionately and the Yang Dipertuan of Siak was so much in love with his wife that it was as though he was carrying a bowl filled with oil.³ 290:11

However, the Yang Dipertuan of Siak did not stay long enjoying himself before he asked leave of His Majesty Sultan Mahmud to return to Siak and take his wife with him. He wanted to bestow on her the title Tengku Agung, Queen of Siak. His Majesty Sultan Mahmud agreed and Sayid Ali was delighted. When the time was right he set sail from Riau, taking his wife home to Siak. When he reached Siak, all the wives of the dignitaries came aboard to receive both him and the wife he had brought, who was also of fully royal birth. They went ashore to the palace. Not long afterwards, the Yang Dipertuan of Siak installed his wife Tengku Mandak with the title Tengku Sulung Agung, Queen of all the women in Siak. She retained this title until her death. And thus I conclude. 291:1

To return to the story of Riau. Raja Muhammad, son of the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor, had not been there long when he asked leave of His Majesty Sultan Mahmud and his uncle Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali to return to Selangor. They both gave permission and he returned to Selangor where he stayed and lived as he had done before. That was the situation.

When Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali and Raja Muhammad had each returned to his own country, His Majesty Sultan Mahmud sent Punggawa Bakak to fell and clear the Island of Penyengat Indera Sakti, because Punggawa Bakak was himself a resident of Penyengat. (There were already four or five houses there.) When Penyengat Island had been cleared, His Majesty had a palace built there with fortifications, a mosque, and audience hall. Encik Kaluk, son of Encik Suluh, a locally born Bugis, 291:11

was in charge of the entire operation. It was not long before the work was finished, and Penyengat Island then became the seat of government.¹ His Majesty moved his wife, Engku Puteri (that is, Raja Hamidah) as well as the nobles and princes to the palace on Penyengat.

292:1 According to the story, there was an occasion when in the presence of several princes, one of whom was Raja Mahmud, son of Tengku Panglima Besar, son of His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman Badr al-Alam Syah,² Sultan Mahmud said to his wife Engku Puteri, 'Raja Hamidah, I have built up Penyengat Island into a settlement complete with a palace and fortifications. I now make it your property Raja Hamidah. Riau and its revenues and so forth will belong to you and to your brothers and sisters, the children of the late Raja Haji, *a witness to the way of Allah*. I will no longer interfere in the slightest way with anything. As for Lingga, that will belong to Komeng (that is, my son Raja Jumat, Tengku Abd al-Rahman)¹ and you and your family must henceforth make no claim to its revenues or tribute'. Those versed in oral tradition say that this initiated the division of income, revenues, and taxes between the Yang Dipertuan Muda and the Yang Dipertuan Besar. This all took place in the hijra year 1218, in the year Jim, on 2 Zulkaedah, a Saturday,² after the construction of the palace had been completed.

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When His Majesty had finished setting up the administration of Riau, he left to reorganize Lingga, collect the revenue from the tin on Singkep Island, and arrange the division of apanages for the Lingga dignitaries and nobles. As trading *perahu* from Java and *wangkang* from China, Siam, and other places came, Lingga became prosperous. On Riau Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali governed as tradition demanded a person in his position should. He built a place on Bayan Island,³ and there he lived, established in sovereignty, studying religion and fulfilling devotional obligations. His teacher was a man from Madura, named Sheikh Abd al-Ghafur, of the Khalwatiyyah order (that is, the Sammaniyyah⁴) and together they pursued their devotions while at the same time the Yang Dipertuan Muda promoted Riau's trade and prosperity.

293:1 To continue the account of Raja Jafar, son of the late Raja Haji (*a witness to the way of Allah*), and his brothers who had settled in Kelang. According to the story, they began exporting tin which they sent to Malacca. Many Malacca merchants liked Raja Jafar because he was cooperative in furthering their trade and commerce, and a large number became his friends. He was even on intimate terms with the Governor of Malacca¹ and his deputy,² and on various occasions they exchanged letters and gifts.

Raja Jafar had two brothers, that is, Raja Idris and a younger one, Raja Ahmad. Raja Idris asked Raja Jafar's permission to leave for Riau,

and Raja Jafar agreed that he could go and present himself before Sultan Mahmud. Raja Idris sailed for Riau together with his brother Raja Ahmad. When they arrived, they presented themselves before Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali. Actually, Raja Idris had already become Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali's son-in-law by marrying his daughter, Raja Safiah. The brothers stayed at Ungkat Point. They had not been there long when their sister, Engku Besar Raja Sitti, felt she had to see her daughter, Tengku Mandak, who had become the wife of Sayid Ali, Yang Dipertuan of Siak. She asked His Majesty Sultan Mahmud's permission to make a visit to Siak, and he gave his consent. She was to be taken there by Raja Ahmad, who came to present himself before Sultan Mahmud and receive his approval. His Majesty gave permission and added, 'Ahmad, when you reach Siak, just make the ordinary obeisance'. Encik Kaluk happened to be present in attendance on the king, and he pinched Raja Ahmad, saying, 'Pay attention to His Majesty's orders—do not make obeisance to the Yang Dipertuan of Siak'.³ 293:11

After this Raja Ahmad sailed to Riau and then took his sister the Engku Besar to Siak. There they found that the Yang Dipertuan of Siak had left the lower Siak River and had fled upstream with his wife because he was afraid of an outbreak of smallpox. The Siak dignitaries went upstream to inform the Yang Dipertuan of Siak and Tengku Sulung Agung that Tengku Besar and Raja Ahmad had arrived from Riau. After Tengku Sulung Agung heard that her mother and uncle had arrived, she dearly wanted to meet them, and asked the Yang Dipertuan of Siak if she could be taken downstream. He did not know what to say for he was terrified his wife would contract smallpox, since at that time an epidemic was raging. But because of his great respect and love for his wife and his reluctance to slight her mother, he brought her downstream to meet Tengku Besar. 294:1

When Tengku Agung and her mother met, they were overjoyed. You can imagine a child's reunion with its mother. The Yang Dipertuan of Siak remained in Siak with his newly-arrived relatives from Riau. A few days later, Raja Ahmad asked permission of Engku Besar to return to Riau. She gave her consent and Raja Ahmad left. After he had gone, by the decree of Allah, Who works His power and will over all His subjects, Tengku Sulung Agung contracted the sickness of Siak nobles.¹ The Yang Dipertuan of Siak was greatly troubled about his wife's illness, and regretted bringing her down to the estuary. However, what could he have done? Her mother had asked that her daughter be brought downstream, and that was why she had been brought down. His anxiety increased as daily her condition became worse. Engku Besar was also very worried about her daughter. Then soon afterwards, Tengku Mandak (that is, 294:11

Tengku Sulung Agung) returned to the mercy of Allah Almighty. The Yang Dipertuan of Siak and her mother wept bitterly, together with all the people of the palace and all the princes, and there was much crying and lamenting. When their grief was spent, the Yang Dipertuan of Siak buried his wife according to the customs traditional when a great princess dies. The people of Siak mourned, particularly the Yang Dipertuan and his mother-in-law, and for more than a month their eyes were never dry.

In due course, Engku Besar asked permission of the Yang Dipertuan of Siak to return to Riau. This was granted, and when the time was right Engku Besar sorrowfully set sail. She lived in Riau with her sister, Engku Puteri, wife of His Majesty Sultan Mahmud Syah, and Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali, and after a time was content and happy. However, not long afterwards, in the cycle of mortality of this ephemeral world, the Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali became ill with ulcers, the sickness of princes. His sons were very concerned, for daily the Yang Dipertuan Muda's illness became more serious. Shortly afterwards he died, returning to the mercy of Allah Almighty, leaving this ephemeral world for that which is eternal.¹ *Verily we belong to Allah and to Him we return.* There was great distress in Riau because of the prince's death, and the people wore mourning, according to the customs traditional when a prince dies. The princes and dignitaries buried the Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali at Ungkat Point. A messenger was sent to take the news to Sultan Mahmud at Lingga, and when His Majesty heard that his royal brother had died, he was deeply distressed. Later he consulted all the dignitaries, as well as the nobles and princes, about the selection of a successor for the late Yang Dipertuan Muda. As matters stood Sultan Mahmud could see no one who impressed him as much as Raja Jafar and it was he whom His Majesty wanted. The princes and dignitaries of the Malay community, and more importantly, the locally born Bugis families, were in agreement. Raja Jafar was their first choice.

According to the story, when His Majesty Sultan Mahmud and the entire population of the country had reached a firm agreement, he ordered several locally born Bugis nobles, like Encik Abd al-Manan, Daeng To Jing and other Selangor nobles, to go to Kelang and fetch his royal younger brother Raja Jafar, son of His Majesty Raja Haji (*a witness to the way of Allah*). They set sail for Kelang where they went ashore to present themselves before Raja Jafar and deliver Sultan Mahmud's message—that is, that he had invited Raja Jafar to Riau and Lingga to succeed the late Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali. Raja Jafar asked that he might first go upstream and present himself before his cousin, the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor. He then left to tell the Yang Dipertuan of Se-

langor of the summons from Sultan Mahmud. The Yang Dipertuan of Selangor gave his approval and Raja Jafar returned to Kelang to prepare for the voyage to Lingga. When all was ready he set sail with those who had come to fetch him. There was no time to take his family with him, so they remained in Kelang.

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According to the story, when Raja Jafar left for Lingga he took with him a box of money, which needed about eight people to carry it. He had not been at sea long when he reached Lingga, where the princes and dignitaries all came out to welcome him and honour his arrival. Raja Jafar immediately went to present himself before Sultan Mahmud and pay homage to him. Following this, he went to meet all his brothers and sisters. He stayed in Encik Kaluk's compound, and daily princes and nobles came to present themselves to him. Not long afterwards His Majesty Sultan Mahmud commenced the ceremonies for Raja Jafar's installation and when the time was right all the dignitaries, the princes, and the people of the country entered the audience hall. Only then did His Majesty Sultan Mahmud bestow on Raja Jafar the title Sultan Ala al-Din, Raja Muda who governs Riau and all its subject territories with absolute authority. Next he was taken in procession to the palace of his sister, Encik Engku Raja Buntit.¹ When he arrived there, everyone wholeheartedly joined in the Bugis ceremony of loyalty. The installation was thus carried out according to the customs traditional for the investiture of a Yang Dipertuan Muda. This event occurred in the hijra year 1221.²

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Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar then sent his brother Raja Ahmad to fetch the other family members who were in Selangor, at Kelang. Raja Ahmad left to get them, and they returned to Riau shortly afterwards. Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar was already there and had married another wife, Raja Lebar, daughter of the late Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali. Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar built defences and a palace, complete with an audience hall, at Kota Ranting. He remained in Riau, governing it following the time-honoured customs and traditions, in accordance with the oath of loyalty. Riau was prosperous; visited by trading *perahu*, such as *wangkang* from China, and Siamese *tob*, Javanese *perahu*, *kapal* and *keci*. There were a large number of Bugis, prominent among whom was Engku Karaeng,³ then in Riau. His brother-in-law, Raja Idris, eventually built him a settlement at Senggarang, complete with a palace and audience hall. Raja Jafar's brother, Raja Ahmad, was with him on Penyengat Island at Kota Ranting. The Syahbandar at the time was Encik Abdullah,⁴ son of Ahmad, a locally born Bugis. A great many Lord Sayids came. Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar remained in Riau, enjoying himself as the days passed with feasting and jollity.

297:11

According to the story, at the time His Majesty Sultan Mahmud was

298:1 ruling in Lingga, and Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar was in Riau, a Minangkabau *lebai* called Tamat came to Lingga. He professed to be a master of the Science of Reality and, it is said, instructed some of the people and *lebai* of Lingga in this science which, it is said, he called 'the One'.¹ Much of what he said was allegedly divinely inspired, but in the end it became heretical, as he proclaimed himself Allah Almighty. Many of his disciples followed this faith, and daily people thronged to him, some saying he was a saint. He taught words of ritual cleansing and purification to invoke a heavenly bird called S-r-ā-h-n or 's-ā-r-h-n',² which would cleanse impurities and the like. There were many claims he made in his teaching which ran counter to Islamic law. When he had to paddle anywhere, he was paddled by his disciples, chanting, *'The Beloved of the Merciful, O Allah bless him'*.³ The situation grew serious.

298:11 At that time Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar was in Lingga, and so the Lingga officials came to tell him of these events. The Yang Dipertuan Muda was angry and made Lebai Tamat and all his disciples repent. They were also castigated and tonsured. After this, the Lebai left Lingga with several of his disciples and set sail for Lampung,⁴ where he claimed to be a reincarnation of the late Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Haji, *a witness to the way of Allah*. He regaled people with stories of things that had happened in the late Raja Haji's time, details of his mannerisms, his deeds, and spoke of his acquaintance so-and-so, and of his child so-and-so. Now by the decree of Allah Almighty, a number of people believed him, including many of the Bugis in Lampung. It became a sensational affair, and he was able to command two or three *perahu*. Many ignorant people made obeisance to him.

299:1 Not long afterwards he sailed back to Lingga, intending to make this public. When he arrived, he was flying a yellow flag on his *perahu*.⁵ Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar had already returned to Riau, but his brother Raja Idris was in Lingga and Lebai Tamat went to meet him, taking several young boys as gifts. He called Raja Idris merely 'Idris', and Raja Idris accepted what he said. I do not know whether this was to trick him, or whether Raja Idris really believed him, *Allah knows best*.

In these circumstances the matter assumed great importance because Lebai Tamat had the support of Raja Idris, and thus most people did not dare to interfere with him. The notoriety of the affair reached His Majesty Sultan Mahmud, who was furious with Lebai Tamat, and had him interrogated. 'If you are truly the late Raja Haji reincarnated, resume your former appearance!' Lebai Tamat was not able to go beyond the bounds of nature and His Majesty Sultan Mahmud was beside himself with anger. He ordered that Lebai Tamat and those with him, Bugis and other people, should be killed, and the command was executed.

Many Bugis died, and his pupils scattered, fleeing hither and thither. However, Raja Idris gave refuge to Lebai Tamat who escaped and fled to Inderagiri, but with his arrival there confusion once again broke out, because some believed his claims and others did not. The news reached Sultan Mahmud, whose fury towards Lebai Tamat and the people of Inderagiri mounted. He sent a letter to the Yang Dipertuan Muda of Riau asking that he devise some stratagem by which Lebai Tamat could be killed 'because he has blatantly defiled us all'. 299:11

When the letter reached Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar, he was furious with Lebai Tamat and ordered his younger cousin Raja Ismail (the son of His Majesty the late Raja Ali) to go to Inderagiri and trick Lebai Tamat so that he could be brought to Riau. Raja Ismail set sail for Inderagiri where he met Lebai Tamat and duped him by acting as though he believed the Lebai's claims to be the late Raja Haji. Raja Ismail made obeisance to him, saying that he had been sent by Raja Jafar 'To invite my Lord to Riau, because he would dearly love to meet you', and he used other cajoling and beguiling phrases to address Lebai Tamat. The latter believed Raja Ismail and was delighted. He replied, 'Very well, I will go with you'. Raja Ismail then set sail for Riau with Lebai Tamat and treated him with honour throughout the journey. When they arrived Raja Ismail informed the Yang Dipertuan Muda, who ordered that everything be made ready to receive them according to the custom for welcoming a great king, with an armed guard of honour and so forth. Then the Yang Dipertuan Muda told the elders and nobles to go and fetch him in a *kakap* but when they were approaching land they were ordered to make the arrest. The elders carried out this command and went aboard Raja Ismail's *perahu* to present themselves before Lebai Tamat, saying, 'Your royal son invites you to come ashore'. Lebai Tamat was delighted and answered, 'Very well'. Boarding his escort's *sampan*, he was paddled shorewards. When they were almost there, the people whom the Yang Dipertuan Muda had sent seized and bound him, stretching his arms out wide. Then he was killed and his head was cut off and sent to Lingga to His Majesty Sultan Mahmud. That is the end of the story of Lebai Tamat, and thus I conclude. 300:1

According to the story, not long after this, in the hijra year 1225 on Thursday, 15 Zulhijjah¹ at midday, Sultan Mahmud summoned Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar, who was at that time in Lingga, and called together the elders, the dignitaries and the prominent nobles. When they were all present, he said to his cousin Raja Jafar, the Yang Dipertuan Muda, 'Jafar, if it is the wish of Allah Almighty that I die in a few days, or shortly after that, I entrust Komeng (that is, his son Tengku Abd al-Rahman) to you, and my last testament is that if I die, you are to 300:11

301:1 make Komeng my successor in the kingdom'. When the Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar and the elders and the dignitaries heard this, they all wept a little. The elders present at the time were first, Encik Abd al-Manan, a locally born Bugis; second, Encik Kaluk, also a locally born Bugis; third, the Panglima Dalam; fourth, Panglima Perang Jamal; fifth, Suliwatang Ibrahim;¹ sixth, Syahbandar Muhammad,² and there was a Lord Sayid, Engku Sharif Muhammad Zain al-Kudsi.³

301:11 According to the story, when Sultan Mahmud had completed appointing his executors and had given his last testament, Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar returned to administer Riau, and there he remained. Shortly afterwards, Sultan Mahmud became ill, and his condition deteriorated daily. The people of the country were greatly distressed, especially the elders and the dignitaries, who all gathered within the palace to keep watch during His Majesty's illness. When his condition worsened, the elders sent a messenger to Riau inviting Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar to come. On arrival the messenger presented himself before Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar, and informed him that His Majesty was gravely ill. When Raja Jafar heard his news he was shocked and overwhelmed by sorrow. Impatient to leave for Lingga, and with no time to make vessels ready, he had a Chinese *pukat* row him and one or two attendants to Lingga while his brother Raja Ahmad followed. Not long afterwards they reached Lingga, where he went ashore to present himself before His Majesty Sultan Mahmud, whom he found in a serious condition. When Sultan Mahmud saw his cousin he struggled to say, 'Jafar, Komeng, Jafar, Komeng . . .', several times. Those were his words. Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar wept, and maintained a vigil close by His Majesty.

302:1 According to the historians, on Monday night, 18 Zulhijjah,⁴ at the time of the dawn prayers, His Majesty Sultan Mahmud left this transitory world to return to that which is eternal. *Verily we belong to Allah and to Him we return.* This was in the year of the hijra of the Prophet (*may Allah bless him and grant him peace*) 1225.¹ A great uproar broke out in Lingga because of His Majesty's death, with those in the palace and the town lamenting and weeping. All the people of Lingga, the honoured and humble, high and low, old and young alike shaved their heads. They gathered inside the palace to carry out the Yang Dipertuan Muda's commands concerning the preparation of Sultan Mahmud's body. When all the customs traditional at the funeral of a great king were complete, His Majesty's body was taken into the audience hall, where all the dignitaries, the princes, the elders, the nobles, and the inhabitants of the country had gathered. The Yang Dipertuan Muda invited Tengku Besar Abd al-Rahman to come into the audience hall. Then the Yang Dipertuan Muda ordered one of the princes to make a proclamation to the

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multitude present, so that all the people of the country, the sea-people and the soldiers would truly know that Tengku Abd al-Rahman, with the title Sultan Abd al-Rahman Syah, was the successor to his father the late Sultan Mahmud in the kingdom. And the multitude responded in agreement, 'May his sovereign power increase!' According to one established account, Sultan Abd al-Rahman was invested as successor to the kingdom even before Sultan Mahmud's interment.

When the public proclamation of Sultan Abd al-Rahman Syah had been completed, the Yang Dipertuan Muda ordered the late king's body to be carried to the grave with all the royal ceremonial funeral appurtenances, the drums, trumpets and so forth, and the regalia. When they reached that side of the Lingga mosque facing Mecca—the Tanda² side—they buried him there, and then all the people returned and donned court mourning according to the custom when a great Malay king dies. The Yang Dipertuan Muda ordered the Lord Sayids, hajis and *lebai* to recite the creed every night. He distributed alms to them all and to the poor for forty days, and also on the hundredth day after the funeral. 303:1

According to the story, Raja Husain,¹ a son of His Majesty the late Sultan Mahmud, came to Lingga and there met his brother Sultan Abd al-Rahman and the Yang Dipertuan Muda of Riau, Raja Jafar. The three princes wept, and Raja Husain then left to visit his late father's grave. Not long afterwards, Raja Husain left for Riau. Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar also returned there where he remained with Raja Husain, Temenggung Abd al-Rahman, and all the Bugis and Malay princes. Riau became prosperous, as many traders came from Java and from Siam, as well as Chinese *wangkang* and Bugis *perahu*, because Engku Karaeng Talibak was in Riau and because it suited them to trade using Riau as a base.² 303:11

During Sultan Abd al-Rahman's reign, the administration of the kingdom was carried out by Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar. With His Majesty on Lingga were Sayid Kuning (that is, Engku Sayid Muhammad Zain al-Kudsi); Suliwatang Ibrahim, the Lingga representative of the Yang Dipertuan Muda; his brother, Syahbandar Muhammad; an elder, Encik Abd al-Manan; the chiefs of Kampung Bugis, and so forth. Lingga was peaceful, drawing revenues from Singkep. The country's fortifications and Sultan Abd al-Rahman's palace compound were improved, and the fleet of war *penjajab* and the artillery made ready.³ The person responsible for all this was Encik Kaluk. The Yang Dipertuan Muda hoped that these measures would protect Lingga. Messengers, particularly Engku Sayid Muhammad Zain al-Kudsi and Encik Kaluk, were continually sent to Riau to present themselves before the Yang Dipertuan Muda. Nothing done in Lingga was kept secret, and if there was any matter of 304:1

some importance the Yang Dipertuan Muda himself came to Lingga. When it had been resolved, he would return again to Riau. That was the situation.

304:11 On Lingga Sultan Abd al-Rahman enjoyed performing devotional rites *day and night*.¹ Indeed, His Majesty was very pious, and on Thursday nights he never slept, but was completely absorbed with his devotions. At daybreak he would attend the Friday prayers, dressed in the Arab manner, in a turban and a long gown. Afterwards His Majesty and the state officials would pause at the grave of his father, the late Sultan Mahmud, to read the Koran and recite the creed. Only when this was finished would he return, with all the people of the country following him. Reaching the audience hall, the procession would halt, and the people would be offered food—bread with chicken sauce or rice soup. After this everybody would return home. However, those who had their own obligations to their relatives or friends, or had a private concern, or were prevented by some other reason, did not accompany His Majesty. And so it was every Friday.

305:1 Furthermore, His Majesty Sultan Abd al-Rahman enjoyed the company of Lord Sayids and Lord Sheikhs, and liked to join with them for meals and prayers. He also enjoyed appointing wise men as imams and himself calling people to prayers. His Majesty's voice was extremely powerful and impressively strong, and when he gave the prayer call his voice could be recognized from far away. In addition, His Majesty enjoyed visiting the homes of his relatives and those of the elders and dignitaries. Occasionally he asked them for a meal. He was very jolly, not only with his relatives but with his servants and slaves, because he liked to amuse them and enjoyed eating and associating with them. His Majesty frequently wept because of his feelings of humility before Allah Almighty, particularly when the preacher read the prayers. That was how it was. His Majesty's wife, Raja Antiah, daughter of Raja Buntit (the wife of Raja Sulaiman) had already had a son, named Tengku Besar Raja Muhammad, who had been born when the late Sultan Mahmud was alive.¹

Now as for the Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar, he administered Riau with his brothers Raja Idris and Raja Ahmad, together with Tengku Husain, brother of His Majesty Sultan Abd al-Rahman Syah, the Temenggung Abd al-Rahman, and dignitaries such as the Punggawa and the Syahbandar. They were all together on Penyengat Island, except for Raja Idris, who did not live there but on Senggarang (where he had built a palace) with all his people. Engku Karaeng Talibak also lived on Penyengat but he went to and fro to Tanjung Pinang, where he had a secondary wife.

According to the story, Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar was a kind

prince, very fond of his relatives and close friends and also of the Lord Sayids, both those from Arabia and those born locally. He was fond of the elders and treated them with respect, sometimes going to their houses where he would consult with them. Furthermore, he was not pretentious, and sometimes even ate the rice left by his slaves. He liked religious scholars and was dedicated to the pursuit of knowledge. He read books in Malay like the *Fundamentals of Religion* and the *Mir 'at al-Tullab*² with his teacher, Haji Abd al-Wahab, a prominent religious scholar of the time.³ He also enjoyed listening to the Lord Sayids relating stories of kings of olden times from the lands above the winds, and he welcomed people who excelled in the recitation of the Koran. If a skilled Koran reader came to Riau he was invited to stay for two or three months to recite, and the Yang Dipertuan Muda ordered his sons and officials to study with him. When the recitation had been completed, the Koran reader would be given hundreds of dollars. Furthermore, the Yang Dipertuan Muda was not above asking for things from those who were below him, or from the young. He even questioned children about the law, what was invalid, what was permissible, what was forbidden. It was his pleasure to send envoys to other countries with gifts and he enjoyed seeking out friends from among good people. Though most of his friends were Muslims, there were also white men, particularly in Malacca, such as the Governor, his Resident, and the merchants. Many Malacca merchants welcomed the friendship of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar. 305:11

This Yang Dipertuan Muda enjoyed drilling his guard of honour, which was trained by a white man, and he supplied them with uniforms and rifles, all of which was accomplished with the help of the dignitaries and merchants of Malacca. He sent four or five youths to study Dutch music in Malacca, that is, to learn to play drums, fifes, trumpets, violins, and other musical instruments.¹ The chief instructor was Pak Kedah, while the leader of the violin players was called Enam and the leader of the flutes and trumpets was K-t-n-y. Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar also liked strengthening and beautifying the country with fortifications and patrols, and the organization of the patrols followed those of Malacca. He also took pleasure from the construction of an armed *penjabab* of beautiful workmanship, carved and inscribed with gold paint, with the swivel guns mounted on columns and equipped with triggers. He also liked making weapons which could be worn at the waist, like kris, daggers and swords, and other beautiful and varied things which had never before been made by a prince. When he had finished them, he insisted that they be made into gifts and sent to kings, such as those in Pontianak, Pahang, Kedah, and other places, as well as the Bugis lands. That was how the situation was for some time. 306:1

307:1 According to the story, at the time Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar was king in Riau, a relative of Engku Karaeng, called Karaeng Candra Puli,² came from the Bugis homeland to live with him. A misunderstanding developed between him and Raja Idris, the brother of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar, concerning the administration of the Chinese. Engku Karaeng was furious with Raja Idris, and ordered Karaeng Candra Puli to attack him. Raja Idris in his turn was angry, and he took up arms against them. So war broke out in Riau between Engku Karaeng and Raja Idris, who began to construct stockades. Engku Puteri intervened to reconcile them, and there was a truce. But later Engku Karaeng made war against Karaeng Candra Puli, who left Riau. This was the end of that war, and I will not prolong it because I want to keep this account brief.

307:11 To turn to the story of the King of Malacca, that is, Major William Farquhar, an Englishman.¹ He set sail with a ship and soldiers and called in at Riau, but he did not himself meet Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar. He just sent as messenger his Syahbandar named Konik² (son-in-law of Adriaan Koek), with Encik Yahya³ his scribe, to convey his greetings and to say that he was going to Pontianak.⁴ Encik Yahya, returned from presenting himself before the Yang Dipertuan Muda, went aboard the ship and the King of Malacca sailed to Pontianak. When he arrived there it was dark, so he waited for daybreak before going ashore to meet the Sultan of Pontianak. However, in daylight he soon saw that there was a great number of Dutch warships anchored inshore, so he did not disembark but merely sent the Sultan a letter. Subsequently he sailed to Lingga and met His Majesty Sultan Abd al-Rahman to tell him of the Dutch situation, and of the possibility that they might come and take Riau and Lingga. His Majesty Sultan Abd al-Rahman answered, 'There is no need for you, my friend, to tell us any more about the matter. It would be best if you went to the Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar in Riau because I have given over all affairs of government to him, according to time honoured custom and tradition'.

308:1 After Major Farquhar heard His Majesty's words, he smiled and asked leave to return to his ship. He stopped at the Suliwatang's house to ask some people from Malacca to go to Riau. Afterwards he boarded his ship and set sail for Riau, where he met the Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar again in a warehouse on the shore.¹ They chatted in a secluded place, and then the Yang Dipertuan Muda took him to the roof of the building. He gave the Yang Dipertuan Muda a report about Dutch affairs and about the possibility that they might take Riau. 'What do you think, Raja Muda?' The Yang Dipertuan Muda replied, 'With regard to that matter, our friends are well aware of how we stand with the white men.

Even though our late father, Raja Haji, had a great deal of power, he could not stand up to them, and this applies even more at the present time'. The King of Malacca, smiling, answered, 'Do not think hastily, Raja Muda. You can respond to them by saying the English Company restored Riau to His Excellency Sultan Mahmud, the late ruler. If they want to use force to take it, then take up arms to oppose them and send word quickly to us. The English Company will come to help as best it can, because the Dutch intend to revoke the English Company's gift to the Malay king.'

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After the Raja Muda had listened to the King of Malacca, he was silent for a moment, and then answered, 'Very well. Later we will confer with our relatives and convey what we have both been discussing to His Majesty Sultan Abd al-Rahman in Lingga. We will then draw up a trading agreement'.² Afterwards the King of Malacca gave the Yang Dipertuan Muda several gifts, a rifle chased with silver, a blunderbuss with a bayonet, and other items—broadcloth, velvet; and gold brocade—as well as presents for the princes and dignitaries. After this he left for Siak, and then returned to Penang.

As for the Yang Dipertuan Muda, after the King of Malacca had sailed away, he conferred with Tengku Lung and the Temenggung Abd al-Rahman, his relatives and all the dignitaries and elders. They approved of the King of Malacca's advice and opinions. The Yang Dipertuan Muda then acted on the consensus that had been reached by all the people; if the Dutch government forces did indeed come to seize Riau, they would take up arms to oppose them. The Yang Dipertuan Muda built his stockades, ranged the cannon on the hill tops, and prepared the *penjajab*. He called together the sea-people, and had provisions and ammunition at the ready. The princes, dignitaries and nobles, and naturally the Bugis, all swore the oath of loyalty, each one with his own words. Then a letter was sent to Lingga to His Majesty Sultan Abd al-Rahman and to Engku Sayid Muhammad Zain al-Kudsi. When the Yang Dipertuan Muda's letter arrived, the dignitaries and the elders all made ready their stockades, ranged cannon at the Daik estuary, and took the *penjajab* off the slips. The sea-people were called together, the ammunition and provisions were prepared, and the rice granaries were filled. Everything was prepared and on the alert in readiness for a Dutch attack. Engku Sayid Muhammad Zain al-Kudsi and Encik Kaluk then went to Riau to meet the Yang Dipertuan Muda and there Engku Muhammad Zain al-Kudsi conferred with him concerning the conduct of the coming war. That was the situation.

309:1

309:11

According to the story, Yang Dipertuan Muda Jafar had a friend in Malacca, the Dutchman Adriaan Koek,¹ who had become a man of some

importance there. When Adriaan Koek heard the news that stockades were being built in Riau and Lingga to oppose the Dutch government, he sent a messenger to Riau with a letter to say he wanted to meet the Yang Dipertuan Muda and bring him news which would be to his advantage. The Yang Dipertuan Muda should not be anxious, and should not listen to rumours. The Yang Dipertuan Muda agreed to his coming. Not long afterwards Adriaan Koek came to Riau and met Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar. He spoke to the Yang Dipertuan Muda and advised
310:1 both him and Engku Sayid, saying, 'What caused you, my Lord and the Yang Dipertuan Besar, to be alarmed, to build stockades and make preparations for war? The Dutch government had absolutely no intention of destroying the kingdom of the Yang Dipertuan Besar at Lingga or that of my Lord. Nor would they impoverish either of you. Furthermore, it was not the English Company alone which restored Riau to Sultan Mahmud; the Dutch Company also restored it. There was only a slight difference in timing. The Dutch Company had the notion of restoring Riau long before the English Company. It is inconceivable that one great king who has given something to another king of equal status should then take it away. That is not the custom of princes, especially since the Dutch Company and the King of Johor have been friends of long standing. As for what your advisers have been telling you, my Lord, they
310:11 apparently want to use slander so that both Sultan Abd al-Rahman and my Lord will break off their friendship with the Dutch Company. That is what the troublemakers intend to do, and if you, my Lord, listen to their advice, there will be trouble between you and the Dutch Company. It would be much better if they truly did what they are saying and helped you. If this does not happen, my Lord will be alienated and your nephew in Lingga will eventually be ruined. Think on this carefully, because I am a friend of long standing, with the purest of motives, and for those reasons I came immediately to find you, so that I could warn you, my Lord, of the possible destruction of your kingdom. Furthermore, you have to think of your humble subjects in Riau and Lingga, all of whom would like to seek a livelihood in Java. If you quarrel with the Dutch Company, my Lord, what will happen to their livelihood? Would they not feel resentful towards you? For better or worse, you should stand independently, my Lord, as you have done before. Truly, the Dutch Company wants to stay in Riau, but this is because it wants to help my
311:1 Lord obtain revenues, make trade prosperous, and prevent evil people committing piracy, the scourge of all races. Furthermore, it wants to ensure that the revenues of Riau are restored to you, my Lord, so that your relatives can receive suitable support and what is their due. Then there will not be the confusion which exists now, with everyone trying

to rival you in government and authority. In this country two, three, and even four people have equal power, and eventually their activities will ruin the country, just as when Raja Idris, Tengku Lung, Engku Karaeng, and the Temenggung were all issuing orders within the one kingdom. Eventually there will be quarrelling and fighting, as happened before, with Engku Karaeng Talibak and Raja Idris. Did this not cause you hardship? The Dutch Company wants to help you, my Lord, in everything that I have mentioned, so that matters can be rectified, and if its representative can remain here he will be like a servant to you, so that your reputation, honour, kingdom and above all, the revenues will not be reduced in the slightest. This is my advice to you, my Lord. I realize that you would not do anything without following the opinion of your relatives and your elders who are under you, but in this regard the royal relatives and older subjects have not yet fully formulated and refined their thinking. Finally, what brought me here was the wish to extend the friendship between my Lord and the Dutch Company forever'.

311:11

According to the story, when the Yang Dipertuan Muda heard Adriaan Koek's comments, advice and complimentary words, he was touched. Engku Sayid Muhammad Zain al-Kudsi, Encik Kaluk, and Syahbandar Abdullah were all privy to the conference and they approved of Adriaan Koek's advice. There would be no war and they would certainly have accepted the Governor's proposals had he come to Riau treading the path of friendship. However, Tengku Lung and the Temenggung caught wind of this and there were disagreements. Some said it was right that the Yang Dipertuan Muda should comply, because he had no option. However, some whispered among themselves, criticizing the Yang Dipertuan Muda, Engku Sayid Muhammad Zain al-Kudsi, Encik Kaluk, and any others who had agreed to the Yang Dipertuan Muda's reason for taking Adriaan Koek's advice.

312:1

According to the story, not long afterwards Dutch forces came to Riau under Rear-Admiral Wolterbeek, who had become Admiral.¹ There was also a commissioner, Captain Elout, with the warships *Tromp* and *Wilhelmina*.² These were the largest, the others being smaller. When they were in the harbour, they fired a twenty-one gun salute, and were answered from the shore by twenty-one guns.³ Afterwards, Adriaan Koek's Chinese servant asked the Yang Dipertuan Muda if Datuk Syahbandar Abdullah could come out so that greetings could be conveyed. Adriaan Koek came in his own *sekoci* and met the Datuk Syahbandar. When they had finished exchanging greetings, the Datuk Syahbandar came ashore with Adriaan Koek and Mr Elout. They met Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar and chatted, and after the meeting the Datuk Syahbandar, Encik Kaluk and Haji Daeng, together with Mr Elout, went out again and

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brought all the elders ashore. The Yang Dipertuan Muda conferred with Engku Sayid and his royal relatives, and with Tengku Lung, Temenggung Abd al-Rahman, and all the elders. And they were resolute in their agreement that there was to be no war. Following this, the Yang Dipertuan Muda left for the Dutch ship with all his brothers and sons, the dignitaries and elders, and the Admiral conveyed his respects by firing the cannon. Once on board they were shown even greater respect. When they had all gathered and both parties were facing each other, they concluded a contract, putting their seal to twenty-three articles and a codicil of three articles, which formed a declaration of loyalty between the Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar and the Temenggung of Johor.¹ This finished, the Yang Dipertuan Muda went ashore and he was honoured with a cannon salute in the same way as when he had come. When all these matters had been completed, and the flag raised at Tanjung Pinang,² the Dutch Government forces returned to Malacca. The man who had been appointed Resident to stay in Riau was a soldier called Captain Königs[dörffer].³ He lived at Tanjung Pinang, where he made a few restorations to the old stockade. All the Bugis at Tanjung Pinang continued to live there. This took place in the hijra year 1234, the year Wau, on 29 Muharram.⁴ And thus I conclude.

To continue the story of the King of Malacca, Major William Farquhar. When he heard the news that a Dutch force had gone to Riau, he sent several spies there and from them learnt that the Dutch Government had been able to take Riau without a war because the Yang Dipertuan Muda had accepted their proposal to occupy Riau in the name of friendship. A mutually binding contract had been made. He pondered on this for a while and then sailed off in search of places where he could establish a settlement. When he reached Riau,⁵ he met the Yang Dipertuan Muda and asked, 'Why did you so readily accept the Dutch? Did you not promise that if the Dutch government came to take Riau, you would reply as we had already agreed? Why then, sir, did you not send word to us?' The Yang Dipertuan Muda replied, 'Our previous agreement applied only if we were taken by force, or in war. They only wanted to help us, as friends, to make Riau more prosperous and improve His Excellency Sultan Abd al-Rahman's kingdom. They said they would help do what we wanted'. He answered, 'True, but you could have waited; you did not have to make a contract. It would have been better if you had waited until we had come, because we had agreed on that. Furthermore, it was the English Company which restored Riau to the late Sultan Mahmud.' The Yang Dipertuan Muda said, 'There was no opportunity to inform you, because they wanted to make a contract immediately. There was no time to send a message'. The King of Malacca, William Far-

quhar, then replied, 'Surely there must have been one *pukat* among so many here which could have reached Malacca in three days'.

According to the story, when the Yang Dipertuan Muda heard the King of Malacca's words, he was silent for a moment and blushed. The King of Malacca then excused himself to the Yang Dipertuan Muda and went to meet Tengku Lung and Datuk Temenggung Abd al-Rahman at Kampung Bulang. According to one version, it was not the King of Malacca who went to see Tengku Lung and the Temenggung; he merely sent one of his scribes. The Yang Dipertuan Muda accompanied him to his ship when he was leaving and as he went aboard his *sekoci*, the King of Malacca took a ring from his finger and presented it to the Yang Dipertuan Muda. Then, after making his farewells, he sailed to Malacca.

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As for Temenggung Abd al-Rahman, after the King of Malacca had sailed away, he went to Singapore as was his habit. When the King of Malacca reached Malacca, he surrendered it to the Dutch Government because the English and Dutch emperors had made peace and had agreed to make exchanges and restore the lands below the winds to each other.¹ Afterwards the King of Malacca sailed off again towards Singapore. Mr Raffles was still in Penang, *en route* for Bengal, and during his absence Mr Farquhar was to be his representative. However, the time was ripe to put the matter which they had been discussing between themselves into effect.²

So Colonel Farquhar sailed to Singapore where he met Temenggung Abd al-Rahman. They conferred together and Farquhar's request for Singapore was granted and agreement reached about the installation of Tengku Lung as king. However, Colonel Farquhar was not yet sufficiently bold actually to settle everything he had discussed with the Temenggung, because he was waiting for Mr Raffles to arrive from Bengal with four *kapal* and two *keci*.¹ When these reached Singapore, Engku Temenggung and Major William Farquhar went aboard Mr Raffles' vessel and when they met, Farquhar gave Mr Raffles a report of his discussions with Engku Temenggung about the installation of Tengku Lung as King of Singapore. Mr Raffles was startled and said, 'You and the Temenggung have not yet carried this out?' And they answered, 'Because this is a matter of importance, we have not done anything yet. We wanted to wait for you, sir'. After Mr Raffles heard what the two of them had to say, he said, 'Now go and send someone suitable to fetch Tengku Lung immediately and bring him to Singapore so that we can complete this quickly. However, do not tell anyone about our operation, because if the Dutch find out about it, they will order the Raja Muda to restrain Tengku Lung'. Engku Temenggung answered, 'Very well', and he went ashore. He then sent Raja Ambung² to Riau to fetch Tengku Lung,

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and when Raja Ambung met Tengku Lung he informed him of all the secret plans of Mr Raffles, Colonel Farquhar, and the Temenggung. Tengku Lung was amenable and when night fell he set sail with Raja Ambung for Singapore, saying he was going fishing at Terkulai. He went straight to Singapore. When he arrived, the Temenggung and Mr Farquhar took him aboard the warship to meet Mr Raffles, who honoured Tengku Lung in the way kings are honoured, by firing cannon, beating drums, and so forth. Afterwards he was taken below and given a chair, sitting beside Mr Raffles and Mr Farquhar. Mr Raffles told him everything, using courteous words, advising him, and paying him delicate compliments. And Tengku Lung agreed to whatever Mr Raffles proposed, and so the affair was settled, and the discussions and agreements were put into effect.

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Then Tengku Lung, the Datuk Temenggung, and the Malays went ashore again to the Temenggung's house to attire themselves, while Mr Raffles and all his dignitaries went ashore and pitched tents in the middle of an open area. They then invited Tengku Lung, the Temenggung, the princes and any Malays who were there, and they all came.¹ When Tengku Lung arrived at Mr Raffles' tent, Mr Raffles and the white dignitaries came outside to pay their respects with every mark of honour. He was then taken inside the tent and each man took a chair. When the seating arrangements had been finalized Mr Raffles ordered one of the white men to bring out a document. The white man then produced two rolled documents, one in English and one in Malay. The Englishman first read the document in English, and afterwards Encik Yahya, Major William Farquhar's scribe, read the Malay document in a clear voice. The document read thus: 'May it be truly known to all men that the Governor-General of Bengal has appointed Tengku Lung and has entitled him Sultan Husain Syah, son of the late Sultan Mahmud Syah in the state of Singapore and all its subject territories.'² All the white men paid their respects and then Tengku Lung, the Temenggung, and the others returned. At the Temenggung's house, Tengku Lung conferred with him about fetching his wife and moving all his people. When they had reached a decision, Tengku Lung told the Temenggung to build a palace as a residence for his wife. In the days that followed all the contents of the palaces of both Tengku Lung and the Temenggung, together with all their people, were moved to Singapore. Kampung Bulang on Penyengat Island was deserted. The English established a settlement on Singapore, and many Malays, sea-people, and Chinese gathered there, receiving daily wages for constructing the settlement. Many traders came.¹

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To continue the story of Riau and Lingga. When it was established that Singapore had been taken by the English and that Tengku Lung

had been made king, the Dutch improved Tanjung Pinang.² Its prince was named Arung Belawah,³ and the Dutch established a customs house to inspect all the trading vessels which plied to and fro. That is how the situation was as the days went by. According to the story, not long after this Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar decided to go to Lingga because he wanted to have Tengku Besar Muhammad circumcised.⁴ He left his relative, Engku Sayid Muhammad Zain al-Kudsi, as his representative, together with his younger brother Raja Idris, who was ordered to move to Kampung Bulang on Penyengat and watch over the royal princesses in the Fort⁵ (that is, Engku Puteri, Engku Besar, and others). Afterwards, when the time was right, Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar and his family left for Lingga. When they arrived they went ashore to the palace which Encik Kaluk had prepared for them, and everything being settled, the women too disembarked. The Yang Dipertuan Muda met His Majesty Sultan Abd al-Rahman, the latter's wife Raja Antiah and his sister Engku Besar, together with all the princes and dignitaries. They discussed the circumcision of the Tengku Besar, His Majesty's grandson. When a decision had been reached, the ceremonies were set in process according to the customs traditional when great kings solemnize a ritual. When the initial ceremonies had been finished, and when the day was right, the Yang Dipertuan Muda circumcised his royal grandson (that is, Tengku Besar Raja Muhammad). The other princes circumcised with Tengku Besar Raja Muhammad were: Raja Mahmud, son of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar; Engku Wuk, that is Sayid Ahmad, son of Engku Sayid Muhammad Zain al-Kudsi; Raja Ali, son of the Yang Dipertuan Muda's brother, that is, Raja Ahmad's son; and Encik Wan Abd al-Rahman, the son of Encik Wan Ambung. There were others besides these, sons of Sultan Abd al-Rahman's servants and retainers. After the Yang Dipertuan Muda had finished circumcising his grandson and all the princes, he remained in Lingga.

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To continue the story of Riau, which the Yang Dipertuan Muda had entrusted to Engku Sayid Muhammad Zain al-Kudsi¹ and Raja Idris. Arung Belawah lived in Tanjung Pinang, while Resident Captain Königs-[dörffer] lived on top of the hill where he had previously built breastworks, initially just of earth, but he had added a firm palisade with cannon on top. It was manned by a number of his soldiers. According to the story, Arung Belawah suddenly conceived a desire for his first cousin (that is, Raja Fatimah, the daughter of Engku Karaeng), although she was already the wife of Nakhoda Ma'daung, a nobleman. None the less Arung Belawah still wanted her. Finally, Nakhoda Ma'daung and Raja Fatimah were divorced. Not long after their divorce had taken place, Arung Belawah married Raja Fatimah.² On the night of the wedding,

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Arung Belawah entertained the people of Tanjung Pinang and Penyengat at a party which he held at Tanjung Pinang, and he even had the cannon fired. The Resident, Captain Königs[dörffer], was startled and inquired, 'Why are the Bugis firing cannon to-night?' He ordered Arung Belawah to be summoned to his house, but Arung Belawah did not want to come because the wedding celebrations were still in progress.³ Instead, he sent his first cousin, Daeng Ronggik,⁴ and two or three nobles. When they reached the stockade gate, the soldiers would not allow them to take their kris inside, but ordered that they be removed. When Daeng Ronggik refused, the soldiers insisted, forcing him to take off his kris as he entered. Raja Ronggik was furious, as were the Dutch, and a scuffle broke out during which the Dutch tried to assault him, so he drew his kris and stabbed at them. An uproar broke out among the Dutch, and the soldiers came with rifles. Daeng Ronggik's men also drew their kris and attacked furiously, and Daeng Ronggik himself charged the hundreds of soldiers and was killed. The Bugis were in an uproar and spread it about that Daeng Ronggik was dead. Enraged, Arung Belawah attacked the Dutch stockade and fighting broke out between the Bugis and the Dutch.¹ Penyengat Island was also in a turmoil, with people saying hostilities against the Dutch had again broken out on Riau. The princes on Penyengat were at a loss, especially the Yang Dipertuan Muda's representative, Engku Sayid Muhammad Zain al-Kudsi. He sent a stream of messengers to Tanjung Pinang to the Resident and to Arung Belawah trying to end the conflict for the sake of everyone. The Bugis paid no attention but kept up their attack on the Dutch stockade, and closed in on it. They dug up the ground and built breastworks which encircled the Dutch position. The sounds of war continued for days, with the constant firing of rifles and muskets. Many Dutchmen were struck by artillery fire and killed, as were the Bugis.² Engku Sayid and Raja Idris did not know what to do, so Engku Sayid sent a messenger to inform the Yang Dipertuan Muda at Lingga, saying that the country was in confusion and that the Bugis and Dutch were at war. The messenger left immediately and Engku Sayid asked the Dutch for Daeng Ronggik's body so that it could be buried on Penyengat Island.

According to the story, news of the confusion in Riau reached Singapore and Tengku Besar, son of Tengku Husain, came with Tengku Yahya³ to smuggle Engku Puteri to the Singapore Straits. When this happened Engku Sayid, Raja Idris, the oldest princes, the dignitaries and the Datuk Syahbandar conveyed their considered decision that Engku Puteri should not be allowed to go to Singapore, although the party was already on board.¹ Tengku Besar then returned to Singapore, without accomplishing his plan, and Tengku Yahya dismantled the tin

ridge covering from the roof of Engku Puteri's house and took it to the Straits.

To return to the messenger from Riau, who had arrived and presented himself before the Yang Dipertuan Muda to inform him about events in Riau. After the Yang Dipertuan Muda had heard how matters were, he wanted to send his brother Raja Ahmad to Riau. When they arrived, Raja Ahmad saw that his sister, Engku Puteri, was already in her *perahu*. Tengku Besar then conferred with all his older relatives who were in Riau, as well as with the dignitaries, about restraining his grandmother from leaving and requesting her to come ashore. Thus Engku Puteri's departure for Singapore did not eventuate, but many of her servants and retainers escaped in their *perahu* and sailed to the Straits because it had been reported that one night the vessel *Bayan* had already been rowed to Singapore. The fleeing *perahu* thus followed it. That was the situation.

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As for the hostilities between the Dutch and the Bugis, before long a large *keci* and one smaller one arrived from Malacca. They went up the Riau River and when they were opposite the Bugis encampment the Dutch opened fire with their cannon. The Bugis could not withstand this and the soldiers were able to land while those in the stockades came out to attack the Bugis trenches. The Bugis fought furiously against the Dutch but they could not sustain it because so many had been killed. The Resident of Riau himself had been wounded in the chest, struck by a bullet, and many other Dutchmen were also wounded or dead. The Bugis then retreated and boarded their *perahu*, together with their families, and escaped via the Riau Terusan. They then veered left around Pengujan and on to Singapore. Thus the Bugis were defeated. Arung Belawah and the Bugis who had followed him remained in Singapore taking refuge under the English flag. The fighting in Riau ceased, and Tengku Besar returned to Lingga.

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As for Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar, not long after the war I have just mentioned, he asked His Majesty Sultan Abd al-Rahman's leave to return to Riau. This was granted, so the Yang Dipertuan Muda returned to Riau, taking his wife and sons. He remained there, discussing and conferring with his relatives, both old and young, the dignitaries and the elders, about ways of improving Riau, increasing the revenues and restoring communications with the Resident. They also discussed a matter about which the Dutch government constantly complained—the elimination of the piracy which was endemic in the kingdom of Johor, Lingga, and Riau.¹ Furthermore, they discussed ways of making His Majesty Sultan Abd al-Rahman's kingdom secure, his installation by beat of drum, and the necessity of obtaining the Johor state regalia,

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which was in Engku Puteri's keeping. It was time-honoured custom that if the Johor regalia was not present, the naming of the King of Johor was not legal and public. These were the matters that concerned them as the days went by.

322:1 According to dated records, in the year of the hijra of the Prophet (*may Allah bless him and grant him peace*) 1236,² His Majesty Sultan Abd al-Rahman set sail for Trengganu with his son, Tengku Besar, and his mother, Encik Mariam. Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar escorted them as far as Pahang where he met Datuk Bendahara Tun Ali and entrusted him with the responsibility of His Majesty's journey. The Yang Dipertuan Muda had to return to administer Riau and Lingga because there were so many problems with the Dutch. After the Yang Dipertuan Muda had gone, Sultan Abd al-Rahman continued on to Trengganu. One of the Yang Dipertuan Muda's sons, Raja Muhammad, stayed to accompany Sultan Abd al-Rahman to Trengganu. When they arrived, the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu³ welcomed them with much honour, inviting them to come and stay ashore, and giving them a compound and palace. Sultan Abd al-Rahman made the move ashore with his children and dignitaries. Not long afterwards, he married a sister of the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu,¹ and Tengku Besar Muhammad married Tengku Putih, a daughter of the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu.² The latter officiated at his daughter's wedding to Tengku Besar according to the customs traditional for ceremonies when a great king marries. Not long afterwards, the wife of His Majesty Sultan Abd al-Rahman died, returning to the mercy of Allah Almighty. *Verily we belong to Allah and to Him we return.* She was buried according to the customs when a princess dies. As for Tengku Besar, he later had a son, named Raja Mahmud.³ Thus I conclude.

322:11 To continue the story of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar. When he returned to Riau, he discussed matters with Engku Sayid Muhammad Zain al-Kudsi, his two younger brothers, and the dignitaries, and conferred about the sending of a mission to Batavia. It was during the hijra year 1238⁴ that Engku Sayid Muhammad Zain al-Kudsi set sail for Batavia as the envoy, with Raja Ahmad, brother of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar. The other members of the mission were one of the Yang Dipertuan Muda's sons, named Raja Jumat, with his brother, Raja Mahmud; two sons of Raja Ahmad, named Raja Muhammad and Raja Ali; and Engku Sayid Muhammad Zain al-Kudsi's sons, Sayid Husain Engku Irang, Sayid Hasyim Engku Nung, and Sayid Hasan. Another son, Sayid Abd al-Rahman, was leader of the advance mission which had gone on ahead with Sayid Mustafa and Sayid Abdullah, who were locally born Sayids from Kubu. Four *perahu* went; the Yang Dipertuan Muda's vessel, a *penjabab*

with an elephant-shaped bowsprit; Raja Ahmad's *perahu* (a *pinis*); the *perahu* of the Yang Dipertuan Muda's sons, a *belah semangka*; and finally, the *perahu* of Nakhoda Abbas, who was a noble from Lingga. They set sail, stopping only briefly at Lingga before sailing to Batavia via the Palembang Straits. They soon reached Batavia. The Syahbandar came on board with Sayid Hasan Habsyi, who by that time, it is said, already had the title Major. On meeting Engku Sayid and Raja Ahmad, he greeted them respectfully, and then brought them and all the princes ashore. They were dressed in Malay fashion with gold waist buckles, gold casing on their krises, and chain-mail trousers flowered in gold. Each had an attendant who carried his betel set and his long kris. When they landed, three carriages were waiting for them, each drawn by four horses and with a coachman wearing a braided cap. The envoys stepped into the carriages and then drove to a quarter called Krukut,¹ where a house had already been prepared for them, and the person responsible for seeing to their needs was Captain Umar Talib.² When Engku Muhammad Zain al-Kudsi, Raja Ahmad, and all the princes had arrived, they were lodged in this house that had been prepared for them, with beds and food fit for kings.

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About three days later a young Dutchman named Angelbeek³ came from Governor-General van der Capellan⁴ to invite Engku Sayid, Raja Ahmad, and the princes to present their letters and the accompanying gifts. Angelbeek brought the entire Riau mission to meet Governor-General van der Capellan, and they entered the Governor-General's residence. All the dignitaries present paid their respects, and soon afterwards Baron van der Capellan entered. Engku Sayid paid his respects to the Governor-General, who received him with honour and then told Engku Sayid, Raja Ahmad, and all the princes to take a chair, while he himself sat on a couch. Afterwards the letter from Riau was read and a cannon could be heard some way off. The gifts, two cuspidores patterned with golden leaves, were presented, and they took tea. When all this was done, Engku Sayid and Raja Ahmad returned to Krukut with all the princes and amused themselves sightseeing in Batavia.

On Sunday, Angelbeek came with Sayid Hasan Habsyi to collect Engku Sayid, Raja Ahmad and all the princes and take them by carriage to Jaga Monyet.¹ They stopped at the Governor-General's residence and went inside. All the dignitaries were already there, strolling around and talking in soft whispers. No one raised his voice. A moment later the Governor-General came in and the dignitaries all paid their respects. Following this, the Governor-General called Engku Sayid and Raja Ahmad to him, and shook hands with them both. An interpreter, called Mr Roorda,² came and the four of them stood chatting for a while. Then

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the Governor-General entered the inner part of his residence and a moment later two liveried Dutchmen came and told Engku Sayid, Raja Ahmad, and the princes to enter, together with all the Dutch dignitaries. They went inside, where there was a long table laden with food—rice, and side dishes. Afterwards the two liveried Dutchmen led each prince to a chair. The seating was arranged so that Governor-General van der Capellan sat in the middle of the table, a vase of flowers in front of him, and there was another very stout general of awesome appearance, whom people said was General de Kock,³ the general who had defeated Palembang. His wife was petite and pretty; Governor-General van der Capellan's wife was fat. She sat next to the stout general, while the latter's petite pretty wife sat next to Governor-General van der Capellan. Engku Sayid and Raja Ahmad sat on the other side of the stout general, followed by Sayid Hasan Habsyi and all the princes. The Dutch dignitaries all had their own chairs and there were more than eighty people eating. The two liveried Dutchmen walked around and when they were close to the princes, they whispered to them, 'Help yourself to whatever you can and want to eat. If there is anything, sirs, which you cannot eat or do not want to, just shake your head. Do not say anything when the servants offer it.'

After this they ate, and I do not know how many times the plates were replaced or how many times foods of different types and taste appeared! At about one o'clock, or thereafter, the meal ceased. The Governor-General was the first to push back his chair and he retired, followed by all the people. After the feast was over, they went out to the gallery which faced an open square. There they strolled around while attendants brought silver bowls containing spikes, like branches of a tree, and stuck to each branch was a cigar. These were handed around to all the strolling dignitaries, who each took one. It seemed only a moment until it was past five o'clock, when they were all to return home in their carriages. They occupied themselves strolling around until it was time to leave. The Governor-General then entered his carriage and four. He was preceded by running children and two Dutchmen with moustaches and shaggy beards who, with drawn swords, were mounted on white horses. They wore coats of mail which looked like silver. The dignitaries and other people strolled around until they reached an open plain,¹ with long grass, where there was beautiful music being played. Some of this music sounded sweet, some was grating, and some was shrill. There were various instruments, some like flutes, some like clarinets, some like trumpets, but which were pushed and pulled, some which were coiled,² some which were hung with quivering bells like a rice stalk, which tinkled as they were shaken.³ There were some triangular

instruments of iron, struck from inside;⁴ there were drums which did not sound like gongs; there were drums like those in a mosque, and brass instruments like Chinese gongs. When they were all played together it reverberated with an impressively loud noise; sometimes it was very sweet, evoking a sense of melancholy in those who heard it. That was what the music was like. When the sun had set, everyone returned home, and thus every Sunday was the same. A week later the entire mission was again called to the Governor-General's palace, in the same manner as before, and so it was on succeeding Sundays. 326:1

One night the Governor-General sent Sayid Hasan to fetch Engku Sayid, Raja Ahmad, and all the princes. They were taken to a place where *wayang* was performed; the Dutch call this *wayang* 'comedy'. The building had a pit with tiers of seats for the spectators. In front, directly opposite the *wayang*, were several fixed chairs and couches which could not be moved. This was where the Governor-General and all his dignitaries sat to watch. Hundreds of carriages came there that night, and men and women sat side by side in the audience. It was a wondrous performance. Ships appeared, there was rain, thunder, fighting, and other fantastic things, just as if they were real. When the story had finished, the curtain came down and music was played. After the music had ceased, the curtain was raised again to show another country, and there were also other acts. It continued in this manner until twelve o'clock, when it ceased and everyone returned to their homes. 326:11

Another night the Governor-General summoned them again to a house, a place where people went for food and entertainment. All the young Dutchmen there were dancing with their ladies, holding them in their arms and spinning around to the music. Then they ate until one o'clock, when everyone returned home. That was how it was. Engku Sayid, Raja Ahmad, and all the princes enjoyed themselves in Batavia for about a month before Engku Sayid could open the discussions on the matter they had come about. He went backwards and forwards to the Resident of Batavia and to all the dignitaries. Sometimes the dignitaries also came to Engku Sayid and Raja Ahmad. They went once more to visit the Governor-General himself, and talked over one thing and another. They accomplished all they had intended. The only unsettled matters were those which Engku Sayid and the Yang Dipertuan Muda of Riau had not yet finished considering. That was all that remained. 327:1

According to the story, Engku Sayid and Raja Ahmad were in Batavia for about three months. However, many of their people sickened and even died, contracting the 'Batavian disease'.¹ Some died of dysentery, some of fever, many of them Raja Ahmad's people. Two of his sons, Raja Muhammad and Raja Ali, themselves became ill, and one of

his secondary wives died. Raja Ahmad could not think what to do, and he constantly conferred with Engku Sayid Muhammad Zain al-Kudsi about hastening his return to Riau, because he could not bear to see his sons so seriously ill. Raja Ahmad discussed with Engku Sayid Muhammad Zain al-Kudsi the possibility of asking the Governor-General if he could go back early. Engku Sayid then conferred with Angelbeek, who agreed with him, and informed the Governor-General. The latter gave his approval, inviting them to come to Bogor first.² The Governor-General preceded them and Engku Sayid Muhammad Zain al-Kudsi, Raja Ahmad, and two sons of the Yang Dipertuan Muda followed later. When they reached Bogor, they amused themselves there for a while, before returning to Batavia. Engku Sayid visited the homes of the dignitaries everywhere, even calling on Ed[el]heer Muntinghe.³ Engku Sayid Muhammad Zain al-Kudsi later married again, a Batavian-born Sharifah.

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328:1 However, the condition of Raja Ahmad's son, Raja Muhammad, deteriorated daily. The doctor came repeatedly to see him and dispense medicine, but still he did not recover. Raja Ahmad wanted to return to Riau early, and the Governor-General agreed. Raja Ahmad then hired a *kakap*, captained by Sayid Abu Bakar, and set sail with the Yang Dipertuan Muda's sons and his own two sons, both seriously ill. He could not take his *perahu* back to Riau because so many of his people had died, so the Governor-General bought it from him for 1,000 dollars. Since Raja Ahmad had bought it from Pangeran Sharif Hasan of Palembang for 400 dollars, with a *kakap* as well, he made a considerable profit.

After a short voyage Raja Ahmad reached Lingga, but when he arrived his son Raja Muhammad died, leaving only his other son Raja Ali, who had recovered from his illness. Afterwards Raja Ahmad went to Riau to visit his brother, Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar, to tell him the details of what he and Engku Muhammad Zain al-Kudsi had done in Batavia. The Yang Dipertuan Muda then waited for his relation, Engku Sayid Muhammad Zain al-Kudsi.

328:11 As for Engku Sayid Muhammad Zain al-Kudsi, after Raja Ahmad had left him to return to Riau, his son Raja Hasan died. The elephant vessel could not be sailed back to Riau and the Governor-General took it over as he had done with Raja Ahmad's *perahu*. In these circumstances, Engku Sayid Muhammad Zain al-Kudsi asked permission of the Governor-General to return to Riau. The Governor-General agreed, and gave him passage in a new warship from Europe, the *Dolphin*, which had a double row of cannon. Engku Sayid left for Riau in this warship, with a Dutchman, Angelbeek,¹ a brother of the Batavian Angelbeek, as interpreter. In the meantime Engku Sayid had developed an eye infection. After a

short voyage they reached Lingga. Engku Sayid went ashore, while the Dutch warship sailed away.

According to the story, the King of Malacca, Timmerman Thyssen,² came to confer with the Yang Dipertuan Muda of Riau. He then took the Johor regalia from Engku Puteri in a way that did not undermine her position as a princess. The regalia was taken back to Malacca. When he had recovered from his eye infection, Engku Sayid went to Riau where he conferred and had discussions about how to bring Sultan Abd al-Rahman back from Trengganu,³ because he had sent Syahbandar Muhammad and Encik Jawa¹ to the Yang Dipertuan Muda asking that His Majesty be fetched. 329:1

Meanwhile, the Yang Dipertuan Muda conferred with Engku Sayid about again sending Raja Ahmad as an envoy to Batavia. He was to discuss the problem of fetching His Majesty Sultan Abd al-Rahman from Trengganu and the provision of a suitable *perahu* to accommodate him. When a decision had been reached, Raja Ahmad left for Batavia, renting Sayid Ahmad Habsyi's *keci*. Shortly after he had set sail he reached Batavia, where he was received by the Governor-General in the same manner as before. It did not take him long to complete all he had intended to do, so he bought a *keci* with the Governor-General's help, worth 19,000 rupiah. When everything was accomplished, Raja Ahmad asked leave of the Governor-General to return to Riau. This was granted, but while he was packing up to go back, Raja Ahmad fell ill with a severe fever. The captain of his *keci* was an Arab from Muscat,² Sheikh Kalifah, and since he had made this trip without any of the princes, Raja Ahmad only had with him his old servants, Encik Asar and Panglima Baman. They were extremely worried, and wanted to take him back to Riau. The Governor-General ordered Angelbeek to escort Raja Ahmad to the *keci*, and with them went an Arab Sayid called Umar. He had become friendly with Raja Ahmad when he had been going to astronomy lessons in Batavia with a Sheikh Abd al-Rahman from Egypt. Sayid Umar could not bear to see Raja Ahmad ill in the *keci*, so he accompanied him to Riau, nursing him during the voyage. 329:11

Raja Ahmad thus set sail from Batavia, and after a short voyage reached the Riau estuary. People went ashore to inform the Yang Dipertuan Muda, Raja Idris, Engku Puteri, Engku Besar, and Engku Puan of Selangor,³ Raja Ahmad's relatives. There was concern among the princes when they heard the news that the Yang Dipertuan Muda's brother was seriously ill. The Yang Dipertuan Muda, Raja Idris, the Datuk Syahbandar, Raja Ahmad's brother-in-law Sayid Abdullah, his son Raja Ali, and Raja Abd al-Rahman, the Yang Dipertuan Muda's son, as well as other princes and elders all came down. On reaching the *keci*, 330:1

they met Raja Ahmad, who had a high fever and was very thin. His relatives wept, and Raja Ahmad told the Yang Dipertuan Muda everything that had happened, and of his gratitude to the Governor-General, whose goodness had been unailing, especially during his illness, when His Excellency had sent an escort for Raja Ahmad's people, had given them sufficient provisions, money and food, and even supplied them with doves to eat and stretchers to carry people, to the value of 300 rupiah. Raja Ahmad also described how Sayid Umar had nursed and cared for him ashore and at sea. The Yang Dipertuan answered, 'Do not worry about it; I will repay their kindness and goodness towards you'. The Yang Dipertuan Muda had him brought ashore and when they had landed a messenger arrived from His Majesty's sister, Engku Puteri, asking the Yang Dipertuan Muda to bring Raja Ahmad up to her palace, where she cared for him. His relatives visited the palace every day, while Habib Sheikh¹ and Engku Sayid constantly came to see Raja Ahmad, as did Raja Idris, who was there day and night. The Resident, Mr Ranzouw, also came.² Afterwards, the Yang Dipertuan Muda said to the Datuk Syahbandar, 'I dreamt that when Ahmad returned from Batavia, he was not wearing a jacket. Apparently this is what it meant'. Several times the story that Raja Ahmad had died of a serious illness circulated among the people of Penyengat Island, but it did not happen.

330:11

According to the story, in the midst of all this the decree of Allah Almighty worked on His subjects and a few days later Raja Ahmad was blessed with good health. The Yang Dipertuan Muda was delighted, and he then married Sayid Umar to his niece, Tuan Sharifah of the people of the descendants of Yahya (the daughter of his cousin, Encik Perak¹). Following this, the Yang Dipertuan Muda conferred with the Resident of Riau about leaving for Trengganu to collect His Majesty Sultan Abd al-Rahman Syah. It was decided to send an armed *keci*, the *Orestes*, commanded by Colonel Verveer,² with three officers, Wijster, de Man and Boerhaven.³ There were two or three *jongheers*,⁴ that is, captains of *sampan*, the total complement being 120 white men and thirty Javanese. The *keci* was 21 *depa* long with nine cannon which were six *hasta* long on each side, their shot weighing eight pounds. There were soldiers, drums and sifes. The Governor-General Baron van der Capellan had ordered that this *keci* take the Yang Dipertuan Muda to Trengganu to fetch His Majesty Sultan Abd al-Rahman and bring him back to Riau.

331:1

331:11

When the time was right, the Yang Dipertuan Muda left for Trengganu in this vessel.⁵ A Riau *berik* carried the Yang Dipertuan Muda's secondary wives, and another carried Datuk Syahbandar Abdullah and one of the Yang Dipertuan Muda's sons, Raja Mahmud. Another two or three

large *perahu* acted as escorts. With the Yang Dipertuan Muda on the *keci* were three princes: his own son, Raja Jumat; his nephew, Raja Ali, son of Raja Ahmad; and his son-in-law, Sayid Mustafa.⁶ There were also locally born Bugis nobles—Encik Jawa, brother of Encik Kaluk; Encik Abd al-Rahman; Encik Ahmad; Encik Muhammad; Encik Ibrahim, the son of Datuk Syahbandar Abdullah; Encik Jafar, the son of Encik Usuh and nephew of Datuk Syahbandar Abdullah; and finally, Encik Hamid. The servants on board were Pak Asar, Ibrahim, Ahmad, Hikmat, Manit of the big nose, and also Raja Ali's attendant, Encik Abdullah, the son of a nobleman, Encik Abu Bakar.

The Yang Dipertuan Muda then set sail and reached the Trengganu estuary not long afterwards. All the cannon around the *keci* were fired, and the din in the Trengganu estuary was deafening. They were answered from the shore with the same number of shots. A *sekoci* could then be seen sailing towards the warship, flying a yellow flag. The Colonel asked the Yang Dipertuan Muda who was on board, and the Yang Dipertuan Muda replied, 'Tengku Besar, the son and heir of Sultan Abd al-Rahman'. The Colonel ordered the cannon to be loaded, and when Tengku Besar was a little closer they were fired in welcome, as a mark of respect. It was then ordered that they be reloaded in preparation for conveying respects on departure. When Tengku Besar reached the *keci*, he was respectfully shaken by the hand, and taken to sit next to the Yang Dipertuan Muda. They were both invited to come up and chat with the Colonel. 332:1

According to the story, when Tengku Besar came aboard the *keci* he was not wearing a jacket, and in low voices the officers questioned the princes, who were sitting under a small decking. One of the officers, called de Man, who had been arrested for defying the Colonel and locked up during the voyage to Trengganu, now asked, 'Why is the prince not wearing a jacket? It is disrespectful to the Colonel, who will certainly return the insult later'. A short time afterwards, when Tengku Besar wanted to disembark, the Colonel ordered that the gunpowder be unloaded from the cannon. Thus Tengku Besar did not receive a departing salute. The Yang Dipertuan Muda then went ashore, accompanied by his sons and all the noblemen. The Yang Dipertuan Muda visited His Majesty Sultan Abd al-Rahman and they talked for a while. The Yang Dipertuan Muda also visited Encik Mariam again. Only after this did he visit the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu. When he had completed all his visiting, he stayed with Sultan Abd al-Rahman Syah. As for the *keci*, the night after the Yang Dipertuan Muda had gone ashore, the mainmast was struck by lightning and snapped. Early next morning the officers went ashore to look for wood, and found some to replace the broken mast. After that they set sail to return to Riau. 332:1 333:1

In Trengganu the Yang Dipertuan Muda remained awaiting the arrival of the *keci* and the *berik*, which had just cleared the Trengganu estuary, and arrived later, as did the other *perahu*. The Yang Dipertuan Muda moved to a *belah semangka perahu*, taking with him a secondary wife, a locally born Chinese named Encik Khadijah. Not long afterwards the Datuk Bendahara of Pahang came to Trengganu where he visited the Yang Dipertuan Besar. The Yang Dipertuan Muda conferred with the Datuk Bendahara about bringing His Majesty the Yang Dipertuan Besar back to Riau and Lingga. After the conclusion of the discussions, His Majesty Sultan Abd al-Rahman, the Yang Dipertuan Muda and the Datuk Bendahara asked the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu's permission to leave Trengganu and return to Riau and Lingga. Tengku Besar and his wife, Tengku Tih, had already had a son whom they named Tengku Mahmud. At the time the Yang Dipertuan came to collect His Majesty Sultan Abd al-Rahman, Tengku Mahmud was just 40 days old. Tengku Besar also brought his wife, Tengku Tih, back to Riau and Lingga, since the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu had agreed that his daughter leave with her husband.

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When the time was right, His Majesty Sultan Abd al-Rahman, the Yang Dipertuan Muda and the Datuk Bendahara of Pahang, Tun Ali, together with Tengku Besar Muhammad, the latter's wife Tengku Tih and their son, Tengku Mahmud, set sail from Trengganu to return to Riau and Lingga.¹ The Bendahara of Pahang called in at Pahang and went up-country. When the Yang Dipertuan Muda reached the Pahang estuary, he sent one of his sons, Raja Jumat, to invite the Datuk Bendahara to accompany them to Riau. However, the Datuk Bendahara was sick and could not go. Raja Jumat returned to his father and informed him that the Datuk Bendahara would follow them. Sultan Abd al-Rahman and the Yang Dipertuan Muda then sailed directly to Riau. The fleet consisted of about 115 *penjajab* and *kakap* of various sizes, and when they were off Uban Point, people came from Riau to greet them; Raja Abd al-Rahman, the fully royal son of the Yang Dipertuan Muda, with his brother Raja Ali, and the Riau Resident sent his Syahbandar, named Bergen, on his behalf.¹ When His Majesty Sultan Abd al-Rahman reached the island of Penyengat off Riau,² the Yang Dipertuan Muda invited him ashore to the palace, while he himself moved to a white building on the shore. Tengku Besar went on directly to Lingga to visit his mother, and then immediately returned to Riau. The Resident of Riau came to call on His Majesty Sultan Abd al-Rahman and the Yang Dipertuan Muda, and after the formalities were over and they had been welcomed and greeted, the Resident returned. The Yang Dipertuan Muda began packing up and preparing all the articles of state, waiting for the regalia to

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come from Malacca, while all the *perahu* and vessels anchored off Penyengat.

According to the story, His Majesty Sultan Abd al-Rahman had not been in Riau long when a warship came from Malacca with an Admiral and his Commissioner, who brought His Majesty Sultan Abd al-Rahman Syah's regalia.³ When they arrived off Penyengat, they fired their cannon and were welcomed from the shore by the same number of shots. They went ashore to Tanjung Pinang, and following this the Admiral and the Commissioner visited the Yang Dipertuan Muda and Engku Sayid Muhammad Zain al-Kudsi. They discussed the return of the regalia and its restoration to His Majesty Sultan Abd al-Rahman Syah, and when that was settled, the Yang Dipertuan Muda sent Datuk Syahbandar Abdullah to raise the flag in Johor. The Datuk Syahbandar went to Johor, hoisted the flag there, and then returned to Riau.⁴ After this the Yang Dipertuan Muda had the audience hall prepared with canopied curtains, and the throne and chairs arranged until the hall was filled. Then the people all assembled in the palace and all the duties were assigned, for among the princes and nobles everyone had his official task. When everything was ready, the Admiral came to Penyengat with all his dignitaries, soldiers and sailors (that is, the Admiral and the crew of the warship). They brought the regalia ashore and the Admiral and Commissioner joined the procession in ceremonial litters, which were escorted by Raja Idris, and music was played along the way.

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When the litters reached the audience hall, the regalia was placed on a table and draped with the Johor flag, awaiting Sultan Abd al-Rahman. A minute later His Majesty came down, followed by all the princely officials. When they arrived in the hall, the Dutchmen all stood up as a mark of respect and the Admiral led His Majesty Sultan Abd al-Rahman by the arm and seated him on the throne. Several officials were ranged to the right and left of the throne; on the right side, going up to the hall and on the dais, were all the Dutchmen. Closest to the throne were the Admiral, his Commissioner, the Riau Resident, the Colonel of the warship, and the Colonel of the armed *keci*, followed by all the officers. On the left side, going up to the hall and on the dais, the Yang Dipertuan Muda was closest to the throne. After him were Tengku Besar, Engku Sayid, Engku Ngah (that is, Raja Idris),¹ and Raja Abd al-Rahman, the Yang Dipertuan Muda's son. Following them were all the Dutch civilians of Tanjung Pinang. The princely insignia bearers stood ranged on the left and right of the throne, and all the nobles, both those bearing spears and those not, stood on the ground. None of them were inside the hall. In a gallery on the left side of the hall was the royal orchestra, and Dutch musicians stood there too.

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336:1 When everything was organized and ready, the Admiral stood up and took a state sword with a long hilt and a chain (that is, a cross belt). He then approached the throne, and His Majesty Sultan Abd al-Rahman rose to his feet. The Yang Dipertuan Muda and the Resident and all those who had been sitting on chairs stood up. The Admiral then offered the sword and the cross belt to Sultan Abd al-Rahman, who received it, weeping. The Admiral was dumbfounded, but Engku Sayid Muhammad Zain al-Kudsi immediately came over to him, smiling, and explained, 'He weeps because he has tender memories of his father, and it is in accordance with the custom of Malay kings'. The Admiral nodded three times, and the Yang Dipertuan Muda and Tengku Besar both wept. The Admiral's speech as he restored the regalia to His Majesty Sultan Abd al-Rahman went thus:

I, Rear Admiral, representing the Governor-General in Batavia, and on behalf of the Government of the King of Holland, restore the regalia of Riau, Lingga, Johor and Pahang with all their subject territories to the hands of Sultan Abd al-Rahman Syah.

336:11 Following this, he announced, 'His Excellency Sultan Abd al-Rahman Syah!' And all the Dutchmen cheered, saying 'Hooray! Hooray!' three times. The drums and orchestra played briefly, and after a pause music was played again. Everyone resumed his seat, and the food was carried in. Engku Irang and Sayid Mustafa served the food to His Majesty and the Admiral. All the princes and Dutch dignitaries ate, and when they had finished they went down to the gallery which faced south. The Dutch ranks put on a display in front of the hall, there was an item of music, and then the army and navy enacted a mock battle, watched by the princes and dignitaries. On that day¹ the cannon on land and at sea were all fired, making an awe-inspiring noise throughout Riau. When these events were over, the Dutch dignitaries and the Malay and Bugis dignitaries, together with the princes, returned to their own homes. The ceremony was finished.

337:1 After this the Admiral invited the Yang Dipertuan Muda, Tengku Besar, Engku Sayid Muhammad Zain al-Kudsi and all the princes to have refreshments on board his ship. The Yang Dipertuan Muda, Tengku Besar and the princes prepared to embark and a *sekoci* took the Yang Dipertuan Muda, Tengku Besar, and Engku Sayid out to sea. As they approached the ship, the Yang Dipertuan Muda and Tengku Besar were greeted with a cannon salute. The princes went on board while the drums rolled and music was played until the refreshments were finished. The warship that day was bedecked with flags, and bunting was even strung around the tents. When the reception was over, the Yang Dipertuan

Muda and Tengku Besar went ashore, escorted by the Admiral in his *sekoci*. The Yang Dipertuan Muda and Tengku Besar were given a cannon salute until they berthed. After the Yang Dipertuan Muda and Tengku Besar had gone ashore, the *sekoci* returned to the ship. Thus the ceremonies were concluded.

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Within two or three days the Admiral set sail to return to Batavia and shortly afterwards His Majesty Sultan Abd al-Rahman left for Lingga with his son, Tengku Besar, and the latter's family. The Yang Dipertuan Muda escorted them to Lingga, returning to Riau when Yang Dipertuan Besar Sultan Abd al-Rahman had taken up residence in his palace. Thus the ceremonies for the installation of His Majesty Sultan Abd al-Rahman were carried out fully and correctly. He stayed in Lingga and the Yang Dipertuan Muda in Riau. And thus I conclude.

According to the story, after this the Yang Dipertuan Muda conferred with Engku Sayid Muhammad Zain al-Kudsi, his brothers and the dignitaries of Riau, and then sent Datuk Syahbandar Abdullah to raise the flag in Johor.¹ The Datuk Syahbandar did this and then returned to Riau. All the people in Johor acknowledged Riau. None the less, the Yang Dipertuan of the Straits and Temenggung Abd al-Rahman continued to exercise their authority in Johor according to accepted custom. This is what had been done when the Yang Dipertuan of the Straits had been with the Yang Dipertuan Muda in Riau, before the English had entitled him Sultan Husain. In these circumstances many reports came from the Singapore area, alleging that the English king wanted to divide the territory of the kingdom of Johor between Sultan Husain and Sultan Abd al-Rahman.¹ The reports became more persistent, which prompted the Yang Dipertuan Muda to confer with his relative, Sayid Muhammad Zain al-Kudsi, about sending the latter to Batavia yet again to investigate methods of eradicating the piracy emanating from the Lingga area. It involved the Sekanak² people, and others from around Lingga, as well as places near Riau, like Galang, Moroh, Sugi, Pekaka,³ and elsewhere. The principal leaders of the sea-people and the Chiefs of the King's vassals at Dempu⁴ would go to Batavia and confess that they had been responsible. After the consultations were finished, Engku Sayid sailed to Lingga to present himself before His Majesty Sultan Abd al-Rahman Syah and inform him of the discussions between himself and the Yang Dipertuan Muda. His Majesty approved, and when the time was right Engku Sayid set sail for Batavia⁵ together with the Chiefs of the King's vassals. The young men who went with him were Sayid Abdullah (Engku Ngah), Sayid Abdullah's son-in-law, Encik Hitam, and an agent, Yusuf (that is, a Chief Agent, not the office agent who worked under the Syahbandar).

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339:1 When Engku Sayid arrived in Batavia, he visited the Governor-General and was received according to the custom for envoys who had been before. He informed the Governor-General that he had been commanded by Sultan Abd al-Rahman and the Yang Dipertuan Muda of Riau to discuss various reports which were circulating, and piracy. 'These are the Chiefs of the King's vassals, who have been brought before you to confess and to affirm that they will seek to eradicate piracy'. The Governor-General acknowledged all Engku Sayid's information, except regarding the reports of division; as yet he had no answer. They would have to await future developments.

339:11 A few days later Engku Sayid returned to Riau and Lingga, and shortly afterwards a messenger from the Governor-General came to Riau, the astute young man called Angelbeek. He visited the Yang Dipertuan Muda, and informed him that the English and Dutch governments had agreed to divide the lands below the winds between Sultan Husain and Sultan Abd al-Rahman, with each having his own boundaries. The land of the Malays, the dark-skinned people, which lay to the starboard of Indiamen bound for China was the legal allocation of the Dutch government, while that on the port side was allocated to the English government. It was said that Sultan Abd al-Rahman would lose Johor and Pahang. Angelbeek had also come to increase the Riau revenues which went to the Yang Dipertuan Muda. Not long afterwards Angelbeek returned, escorted by a Riau *penjajab* to Muntuk, and then sailed back to Batavia where shortly afterwards he fell sick and died.¹

The islands of Karimun, Buru, and Kundur were included in the jurisdiction of Sultan Abd al-Rahman and the Yang Dipertuan Muda of Riau. However, the Yang Dipertuan of the Straits (that is, Sultan Husain), Temenggung Abd al-Rahman, their dependants and their people still acted according to the old customs, as they had when the Yang Dipertuan of the Straits still lived in Riau with the Yang Dipertuan Muda. At that time the relationship between them had been like a man with his dependants, especially since the Yang Dipertuan Muda was an uncle once removed of the Yang Dipertuan of the Straits. In addition, Temenggung Abd al-Rahman was a nephew twice removed of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar on the Bugis side, and had also become the son-in-law of the Yang Dipertuan Muda's sister.² There are few matters to discuss between a man and his children.

340:1 However, now when there were two kings in one kingdom, with the boundaries determined by two governments, the Dutch and English, the Yang Dipertuan Muda no longer wanted affairs to continue as before. But the Yang Dipertuan of the Straits cared nothing for these matters

and still continued to exercise his authority in the Riau sphere, in places like Pintu, Serah, Rampai, Duyung, and Galah.¹ He even ordered the tin on Karimun Island to be developed for export.² Several times the Yang Dipertuan Muda sent letters and envoys to the Yang Dipertuan of the Straits explaining about the boundaries, but to no avail. This was the basis of the disputes and quarrels between Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar and Sultan Husain. The Dutch Government became involved again and the affair took on greater proportions. There were preliminary discussions and an exchange of letters.

To return to the story of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar's brother, Raja Ahmad. During his illness while returning from Batavia, he had vowed that if he recovered, he would have an even greater obligation to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. When he had recuperated and his former good health had returned, he asked permission of his elder brother, the Yang Dipertuan Muda, and his sister, Engku Puteri. The latter answered, 'You should go to Java and make some money to cover your expenses'.³ The Yang Dipertuan Muda said, 'You had better take the *keci* you bought; it is no use leaving it idle'. Raja Ahmad answered, 'Thank you'. Engku Puteri gave him the capital, and the Yang Dipertuan Muda donated the *keci*, and so Raja Ahmad set sail for Java. He was accompanied by his son Raja Ali, his nephew Raja Muhammad (son of the Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar), a son-in-law, Sayid Abdullah (Engku Ngah, son of Engku Sayid Muhammad Zain al-Kudsi), and a commoner, the Koran reciter Abd al-Rahman, son of an old retainer, the muezzin of Riau. The skipper was a Bugis called Guru M-y-w-ng. When everything was ready for the voyage, Raja Ahmad set sail for Java with a letter from the Yang Dipertuan Muda to the Governor-General of Batavia—not an official diplomatic letter, but just a courtesy letter. In consultation with the Resident of Riau,¹ it had been decided that the letter could be handed to the local Resident wherever Raja Ahmad stopped.

After a short voyage Raja Ahmad reached Semarang, and his Bugis skipper took his papers and the letter for the Governor-General ashore to the Syahbandar. When the Syahbandar saw the letter to the Governor-General of Batavia, he took it to the Resident² who, having seen the instructions and the address on the letter, said, 'You go aboard the *keci*. I will send someone later to bring Raja Ahmad ashore. You know nothing about trade'.³ Wak Guru returned and told all this to Raja Ahmad who was concerned because he had only come to trade. Raja Ahmad then conferred with his son-in-law Sayid Abdullah as to how they were to reply the following day.

The next day Encik Ali (originally from Lingga but with a wife in Semarang) and a Bengali called Sayid Ali came to meet Raja Ahmad.

They said, 'His Honour the Resident invites you to come ashore and meet him at his home'. Raja Ahmad went ashore with all the princes and, when they arrived at the Resident's house, the latter himself came to the door. Taking Raja Ahmad by the arm, the Resident led him, together with his sons and son-in-law, inside the house. They were each given a chair and served cakes and tea. The Resident said, 'Raja Ahmad, about this letter to the Governor-General—I would not presume to receive it here. The best thing would be for you to take it to Batavia yourself'. Raja Ahmad answered, 'It is not convenient for me to sail backwards and forwards. I really want to continue on eastwards, and then return to the west again, otherwise it will be too complicated and I will stand to lose a lot of money'. To this the Resident replied, 'True, but there is an easy way. Leave your *keci* here for the moment, or send it on to the east. You can take the mail coach;⁴ you will be in Batavia in no time.

342:1 Do not worry about the cost, you will not have to spend a penny. I will cover all the expenses. Take a few people with you. I can pay for them all'. Raja Ahmad answered, 'I came to Java not as an envoy, but just to bring a message. My brother the Yang Dipertuan Muda of Riau consulted the Riau Resident, who said that we could just deliver the letter for His Honour the Governor-General to the local Resident anywhere in Java'. When the Resident of Semarang heard what Raja Ahmad said, he was silent for a while, and then spoke, 'I think it would still be best for you to go to Batavia, Raja Ahmad. Go overland, and then you can look around on the way. The countryside is truly beautiful, with mountains and hills, and you can just enjoy yourself'. Hearing this, Raja Ahmad was even

342:11 more perturbed, and answered, 'Your idea, sir, is a good one, but I have no desire to holiday any longer because I want to trade and earn the expenses for the pilgrimage. I can waste no further time, and I hope, sir, that you will help me to solve this matter'. The Resident of Semarang was silent for a while, apparently thinking. He then said, 'It is not important, but I would ask that you give me your signature to the effect that it was your own wish to go on directly to the east, and it would have been a great inconvenience to go on to Batavia because you want to make the pilgrimage'. Raja Ahmad said, 'Very well. You prepare a letter, and I will sign it'. So the Resident drafted a letter to the Governor-General, explaining Raja Ahmad's situation, and Raja Ahmad signed it. When this was done, Raja Ahmad asked leave to return. The Resident said, 'Very well'. They both stood up, shook hands, and wished each other goodbye and godspeed. Raja Ahmad left the Resident's house and

343:1 then enjoyed the hospitality of Dipati Terbaya, a Javanese prince who was fluent in Arabic, Bengali, English and Dutch. After this he was also entertained at the home of Ki Mas Haji Mataram. The Malays and locally

born Bugis of Semarang all came to the *keci* to visit Raja Ahmad, bringing whatever gifts they could.

Raja Ahmad soon left Semarang to sail towards the east, but when they were approaching Japara,¹ his son Raja Ali became ill with dysentery and they almost lost hope that he would live. Raja Ahmad was distressed, and called in at Japara to buy a coffin, because he thought that if his son died at sea his body should be taken back to Riau. However, by the decree of Allah Almighty, when the coffin was brought on board Raja Ali recovered, and they continued sailing towards Juana.² Here the Malay Captain, who was a Macassarese, and the Bugis who lived in Juana, like Wak Labak and others, came aboard to invite Raja Ahmad ashore. The head of the Dutch community in Juana, B-k-a-w-r³ (whom, it is said, was an adopted son of Raja Ahmad's brother, Raja Idris), met Raja Ahmad and as a sign of honour invited him into the fort.

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According to the story, it did not take Raja Ahmad long to take on a cargo of rice at Juana and set sail for Riau. He called in at Lingga to visit Sultan Abd al-Rahman Syah. Later His Majesty and his wife came down to Raja Ahmad's *keci*, where Raja Ahmad entertained them. Raja Antiah took a few things, about twenty small Japara boxes, and Semarang batik cloth. They were just trifles, for it is princely custom in Riau and Lingga that when a father, brother, or son has just returned from abroad, one can take any suitable item of little value. Thus it was with Sultan Abd al-Rahman and Raja Antiah, who were Raja Ahmad's relatives. After they had finished taking refreshments on the *keci*, Sultan Abd al-Rahman and his wife went ashore to the palace. Not long afterwards Raja Ahmad asked His Majesty's leave to make the pilgrimage. This was granted, because Raja Ahmad wanted to fulfil a vow and a religious obligation. He set sail for Riau and when he arrived there he made preparations for his journey. He then went to Singapore to find a passenger ship bound for Arabia. Engku Puteri and Datuk Syahbandar Abdullah escorted him as far as Nungsa where they holidayed, but in the meantime the Arab ship had sailed and thus Raja Ahmad missed the opportunity to make the pilgrimage on that occasion.

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To continue the story of Arung Belawah who, having fought against the Resident, had been defeated and had fled to Singapore where he remained. In these circumstances the Yang Dipertuan Muda conferred with the Resident about petitioning the Governor-General of Batavia in the hope that Arung Belawah might be pardoned, as he was one of the Yang Dipertuan Muda's close relatives. The Governor-General therefore pardoned Arung Belawah, who then came to Riau to present himself before the Yang Dipertuan Muda and the Riau Resident.¹ After this the government gave him a pension of 500 brass rupiah.² His daughter,

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Daeng P-c-w-ng-a-k was married by the Yang Dipertuan Muda to his own son, Raja Husain, and this was carried out according to the customs traditional when a prince marries. Arung Belawah remained in Riau, where the Bugis tended to gather around him. Engku Puan of Selangor afterwards gave him a secondary wife, Patam, and he later went to Lingga where he took another secondary wife, a Bugis named Setih. Subsequently, however, he became mentally ill and was incapable of dealing with day-to-day affairs, until he finally died in the reign of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abd al-Rahman.

345:1 Let us return to the tale of Raja Ahmad, the brother of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar. He made another trip to Singapore, this time escorted by Datuk Punggawa Ahmad, Haji Daud, an old retainer Pak Hitam, and other elders. When they reached Singapore, Raja Ahmad presented himself before the Yang Dipertuan of the Straits, and they exchanged greetings and good wishes for a safe voyage. Next Raja Ahmad met the Syahbandar of Singapore, whom people called Mr Sami.¹ He honoured Raja Ahmad and entertained him with cakes and tea, served by the Syahbandar and his wife themselves. After this, Raja Ahmad found a passenger ship bound for Penang (that is, Sayid Hasyim's *kapal*, commanded by Hasan Badui from Muscat). Raja Ahmad set sail for Penang, and the dignitaries and elders who had escorted him all returned to Riau. Travelling with Raja Ahmad were one of his children, Raja Ali; a son-in-law, Sayid Abdullah (that is, Engku Ngah, son of Engku Sayid Muhammad Zain al-Kudsi); and another of the latter's sons, Sayid Hamid, who was still an adolescent. To cover expenses for the journey, 345:11 Raja Ahmad had a total capital of 14,000 dollars, 10,000 provided by his sister Engku Puteri and the rest his own. Raja Ahmad took the following people with him on the trip, first, the Khatib Abd al-Rahman, a state official in Riau; second, the muezzin Abdullah, also a state official in Riau and one of Raja Idris' men; third, Haji Abd al-Jamil, son of the Riau scholar, Haji Abd al-Wahab; fourth, Encik Muhammad Salih, son of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar's teacher, who had studied the Koran in Trengganu; fifth, Encik Abd al-Bakar; sixth, Encik Kasim; seventh, Encik Mahmud, son of Encik Ka'bah, a locally born Bugis; eighth, Muhammad, son of Encik Makmur; ninth, Ahmad, also a son of Encik Makmur; tenth, a Javanese *lebai*, Lebai Ismail, who was now in Raja Ahmad's service.

Raja Ahmad soon reached Penang where Sayid Hasyim and Encik Abd al-Rahman of Malacca came down to greet him formally, and afterwards Sayid Hasyim brought him home and gave him a house. Raja Ahmad had a small quantity of tin which he had received in Singapore as payment for debts and Sayid Hasyim sold this for him. Collecting the

money together he gave it to Raja Ahmad. Then Encik Nurati, a former secondary wife of the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor, arrived with her daughter Raja Hamidah. The two of them had come to invite Raja Ahmad to stay at their house, saying, 'We really hope that before you leave, my Lord, you might be prevailed on to stay with us. We do not have anyone else since the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor died, unless you step into his shoes'. Hearing Encik Nurati's words, Raja Ahmad smiled and answered, 'I am reluctant to do so because Sayid Hasyim has given me a place, and there is no reason to leave. I would not feel happy doing it, but I will visit you in a day or two, before I sail. Could Ali stay here with your daughter in your house?' Encik Nurati asked Raja Ahmad's permission to return, and took Raja Ali in her carriage back to her house. There she looked after Raja Ali, and he ate together with her daughter Raja Hamidah according to the custom when people establish a close relationship. 346:1

The Yang Dipertuan of Kedah¹ invited Raja Ahmad to his palace and sent two carriages to fetch him. Raja Ahmad met the Yang Dipertuan of Kedah and was offered refreshments and treated with honour. Raja Ahmad afterwards returned to his house. Subsequently the Yang Dipertuan of Kedah had food sent to him, 100 *gantang* of fresh rice and a buffalo. Later the Yang Dipertuan of Kedah visited Raja Ahmad, who presented him with a dagger. He then gave Raja Ahmad a gift, an antique timepiece worth about 100 dollars. After this Lord Sayid Zain of the Aidarusi people, who had been born at Kubu and was an elder brother of Sayid Mustafa, asked Raja Ahmad's permission to marry Encik Nurati. Raja Ahmad agreed, and then married Sayid Zain to Encik Nurati. 346:11

Raja Ahmad did not stay long in Penang before he set sail for Jedda, hiring a Turkish boat called a felucca under the command of Captain Husain. Raja Ahmad had rented about half the space below decks, sufficient for about twelve people to hang their hammocks, and they had their own latrine at the stern. After a short voyage they reached Jedda, on 18 Syaban, in the hijra year 1243.¹ Raja Ahmad went ashore and all the Sheikhs² came to greet him formally, because they knew he wanted to go on the pilgrimage that year. Among those who came were Sheikh Ismail, Sheikh Ahmad Musyafi, and a messenger from Sheikh Daud. Each Sheikh wanted to take Raja Ahmad to his own house, but in the meantime Raja Ahmad had taken a liking to Sheikh Ahmad Musyafi, because the latter had once been a retainer and because he was a locally born Bugis descended from the Forty.³ Wearing the pilgrim's garb,⁴ Raja Ahmad travelled to *Mecca the Exalted*, with Sheikh Ahmad Musyafi. When they reached *Mecca the Exalted* they circumambulated the Ka'ba⁵ and 347:1

ran seven times between the hillocks Safā and Marwa.⁶ This done, Raja Ahmad recited the beginning of the creed. He stayed with Sheikh Ahmad Musyafi and all the Mecca Sheikhs came to visit him there. He later went to the home of the Mufti of the Syafi'i.⁷ When he had finished meeting everyone, he stayed in *Mecca the Exalted* waiting to leave for *Medina the Illustrious* to visit the grave of Allah's Prophet (*may Allah bless him and grant him peace*). He was only filling in time until the end of Ramadan.⁸

Meanwhile, Mecca was in a great turmoil because Sharif Yahya, a prince from *Mecca the Exalted*, had killed a sharif of his own family, named Sharif Syambar. He was killed in the Mosque al-Haram.⁹ His relatives from the same line, together with the representatives of Sultan Mahmud Khan,¹⁰ the King of Istanbul, all held him responsible. The Pasha's name was Ahmad Pasha, a nephew of Muhammad Ali, the prince who was Pasha of Egypt,¹¹ because as the representative of Sultan Mahmud Khan he guarded the mosque. Consequently, there was dissension between Sharif Yahya and the Pashas, which threatened to erupt into a great war. The men of religion, the muftis and the dignitaries of *Mecca the Exalted* were all worried. Sharif Yahya, in the meantime, had escaped from Mecca to Badr,¹² gathering soldiers from the thousands of Bedouins there and making the roads unsafe for people travelling to Medina.

All this caused Raja Ahmad much anxiety, because he dearly wanted to go to Medina, but the way was not safe. At the end of the month of Ramadan, Raja Ahmad conferred with the elders of Mecca about how he could get to Medina. By the decree of Allah Almighty, he found a way to go by joining several caravans bound for Medina, with about 2,000 camels.¹ Raja Ahmad then went to Medina with Sheikh Ahmad Musyafi and with his son, his son-in-law, and all his entourage. During the journey the caravans were on the alert, with loaded rifles and pistols, which they fired at intervals whenever they were apprehensive. There were caravans which had been cut off by Bedouin attacks on the road, and had been looted and robbed. After only a few days they reached Badr, where the caravans halted and the tents were pitched outside the town walls. At that time Sharif Yahya was in Badr conferring with the Badr leaders about his trip to Egypt. The following day, a Friday, Raja Ahmad went into the town of Badr with Sheikh Ahmad to pray in the mosque. There they met Sharif Yahya, as well as a son of Sayid Muhammad Attas, who had become one of Sharif Yahya's followers. He told Sharif Yahya that there was a prince from Riau, one of the Jawi lands,² who was a friend of his father, so Sharif Yahya gave Raja Ahmad and all the caravans with him safe conduct. When Raja Ahmad re-

turned to his tent Sharif Yahya sent a number of Bedouin soldiers to guard the camp, and they lit flares around until day broke. The next day the soldiers told them to set off, saying 'Do not be afraid of any Bedouin raiders'. Raja Ahmad set off in safety with all the caravans, and they reached the walls of Medina without anything happening to alarm them.

Raja Ahmad then visited the grave of Allah's Prophet (*may Allah bless him and grant him peace*). Following this he went to Baki'a, to the grave of the Companions.³ He then travelled to Mount Uhud to the grave of the uncle of the Prophet (*may Allah bless him and grant him peace*) who was called Our Lord Hamzah and who was martyred on Mount Uhud.⁴ Raja Ahmad made pilgrimages to all the places people visit, and when this was done he bought land for a hostel for the descendants of Sheikh Saman. After Raja Ahmad had been in Medina for about eleven days, he returned to *Mecca the Exalted*, and bought two houses, one of which he gave as a hostel to Sheikh Ismail. Ultimately this passed to the Mufti of the Syafi'i, while the other became the responsibility of Sheikh Muhammad Salih. Finally it too passed to the Mufti of the Syafi'i, who supervised it.

349:1

After this it was time to make the pilgrimage, and Raja Ahmad visited the shrines and then joined with the hajis, Muslims from all over the world, who had come to halt on the plain of Arafat.¹ He circumambulated the Ka'ba, and ran seven times between the hillocks Safa and Marwa. After throwing stones at Mina,² he entered Mecca and recited the beginning of the creed, wearing a turban. Raja Ahmad afterwards bought a piece of enclosed land at Mina on which he asked Sheikh Ahmad Musyafi to build a hostel. When all this was done, Raja Ahmad began the return trip to the Jawi lands, escorted by the Mecca elders as far as Jeddah. He then boarded a Turkish *berik* whose captain was Sayid Muhammad Ali. He again rented half the space below decks and they set sail.

349:11

According to the story, Raja Ahmad was the first prince from Riau and Lingga to make the pilgrimage. No one before him had done so. It could be said that he opened the way for other Riau princes to make the pilgrimage to *Mecca the Exalted*.

To continue the story of Riau. After his brother Raja Ahmad had left to make the pilgrimage to *Mecca the Exalted*, the Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar conferred with the Resident of Riau, Mr Elout, and with Engku Sayid Muhammad Zain al-Kudsi concerning the activities of the Yang Dipertuan of the Straits and his infringement of the boundaries which had been defined by the English and Dutch governments. The Yang Dipertuan of the Straits ignored the boundaries and had even

350:1 sent Sayid Akil to develop the tin on Karimun Island.³ It was the same with Serah, Rampai, Pintu, Duyung, Galah and places close to Karimun such as Ungaran, Buru, Mundur, as well as areas frequented by the sea-people, like Moroh and the Terung Islands.⁴ He still behaved as he had done when he was in Riau, and several times the Yang Dipertuan Muda sent him letters and advice, forbidding him to infringe the borders. He still did not pay any attention, and Sayid Akil even built houses on Karimun Island, assembling Chinese and Malays there to mine the tin.¹ This was the basis of the disputes and fighting between them both.

350:11 According to the story, the Yang Dipertuan Muda conferred with Resident Elout and Engku Sayid Muhanmad Zain al-Kudsi and all the Riau dignitaries, and they decided to send Engku Sayid to raise the flag on Karimun Island. Accompanying Engku Sayid were the Yang Dipertuan Muda's son, Raja Abd al-Rahman; some dignitaries—the Datuk Punggawa; Datuk Syahbandar Abdullah; Raja Ismail, a brother-in-law of the Yang Dipertuan Muda; and some nobles—Encik Ibrahim, Encik Syams al-Din, Encik Ahmad, and others. When they reached Karimun Island, Engku Sayid hoisted the black flag with its white corner,² and after this had been done he did the correct thing, sending a letter to the Yang Dipertuan of the Straits and advising the latter's representative, Sayid Akil, of what had been done.³

351:1 When this matter had been completed, Engku Sayid returned to Riau leaving behind a Bugis named Wak Puas with twelve or thirteen men to guard the flag. After Engku Sayid had left, Sayid Akil drove Wak Puas out and chopped down the flagpole. Wak Puas returned to Riau and informed the Yang Dipertuan Muda, Engku Sayid, and the Riau Resident. The Yang Dipertuan Muda and the Resident of Riau were furious, and made preparations for war. When everything was ready, the Yang Dipertuan Muda left with an armed flotilla. Sayid Akil had already prepared a stockade and had drawn up his *penjajab*. Raja Andut and Tengku Yahya were with him. When the Yang Dipertuan Muda reached Karimun Island, he went into battle, assisted by the Resident with an armed schooner¹ and cutter. The reverberations from the fighting shook Karimun Island, but after several days of combat neither side had been defeated. The Yang Dipertuan Muda conferred with the Resident of Riau about cutting around behind the island to put the soldiers and Riau men ashore. The Yang Dipertuan Muda's son, Raja Abd al-Rahman, was ordered to keep up a barrage from the sea. When the plan of campaign had been settled, the Yang Dipertuan Muda, the Resident of Riau, the princes, dignitaries, and nobles left, cutting across overland behind the stockades. It was a day of pouring rain when, with the Dutch soldiers, they reached the perimeter of the stockade. The soldiers all fired into

the stockade, then gained entry and made a furious assault. Many of the occupants died or scattered, fleeing from the stockade. Encik Abd al-Samad, a son of the Suliwatang of Lingga, was wounded and carried away by his men. The Yang Dipertuan Muda thus took the stockade, but there was still one more remaining. 351:11

Then Petta Maduk,² a Bugis prince who had come to Karimun to help the Yang Dipertuan Muda, asked leave to attack the remaining stockade. However, during the night Sayid Akil fled back to Singapore with all his *perahu*. Tengku Yahya had in fact already returned to Singapore, saying he needed reinforcements and that he had insufficient gunpowder. So he prevaricated. The princes who had joined the Yang Dipertuan Muda in the Karimun campaign were first, his fully royal son, Raja Abd al-Rahman; second, Raja Kasim; third, Raja Husain; fourth, Raja Yusuf and his sons-in-law, Raja Husain and Sayid Mustafa. Engku Sayid Muhammad Zain al-Kudsi's sons, Sayid Husain (that is, Engku Irang), who was also a son-in-law of the Yang Dipertuan Muda, and Sayid Hasyim Tengku Nung, were present. Raja Ismail and Raja Jafar, the Yang Dipertuan Muda's brothers-in-law, were also there, as was a Malay prince, Tengku Mahmud. He was a brother of that Tengku Yahya who was on the side of the Yang Dipertuan of the Straits, whereas Tengku Mahmud was on the side of the Yang Dipertuan Muda of Riau. The dignitaries, such as the Datuk Syahbandar and his son Encik Ibrahim, were all there, as well as many other locally born nobles whom I have not mentioned here because I want to keep it brief. When the Karimun war was over, the Yang Dipertuan Muda returned to Riau via Ungaran and Buru, leaving Raja Abd al-Rahman upriver in Karimun. Later Raja Abd al-Rahman returned and Raja Kasim was left to guard the island. 352:1

To continue the story of Raja Ahmad, brother of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar, who had sailed from *Mecca the Exalted*. Not long afterwards he reached Penang. When he arrived a man called Encik L-m-b-k, son of a Selangor imam, came aboard to present himself before Raja Ahmad and report to him that 'Your elder brother the Yang Dipertuan Muda is at war with the Yang Dipertuan of the Straits'. Raja Ahmad was shocked, and said to the hajis and the old retainers who were accompanying him, 'We will have to find a ship that is leaving for Singapore now. We need to return to Riau immediately. We will not go ashore here. We will just transfer directly from this *berik*'. Then Haji Abd al-Jamal and Sayid Abdullah wasted no time in hiring a boat and paddling around the ships anchored in Penang Harbour. 352:11

According to the story, at this point Encik Abd al-Rahman of Malacca came aboard the ship, wishing to invite Raja Ahmad ashore to his house. When he met Raja Ahmad he said, 'Would you like to come ashore

before you go?' Raja Ahmad answered, 'Can you please stay awhile? I am still waiting for Sayid Abdullah'. While they were talking, a messenger called Muhammad [Salih]¹ came from the Yang Dipertuan Muda and Engku Puteri to find Raja Ahmad and bring him 3,000 dollars in cash, in case he had spent all the money he had taken on the pilgrimage. Meeting Raja Ahmad, Muhammad Salih kissed his feet and said, 'Your elder brother the Yang Dipertuan Muda is at war with the Yang Dipertuan of the Straits, and furthermore, your elder brother Engku Raja Idris has died in Retih. His body was brought back to Riau and buried on the hill. Raja Sulaiman² has also died'.

353:1 Hearing that his brother Raja Idris had died, Raja Ahmad wept bitterly. A moment later Sayid Abdullah arrived and said to Raja Ahmad, 'There is a ship bound for Riau in two or three days. The captain's name is Sheikh Buazir'. Raja Ahmad answered, 'Good. There is no point in our moving ashore. We will transfer directly to the *kapal*. Sayid Abdullah, if you want to go ashore to visit the Yang Dipertuan of Kedah and Nurati, please do so now. Ali, if you also want to go ashore to visit your wife, do so, but come back quickly to-morrow'. So Sayid Abdullah and Raja Ali went ashore and Raja Ali spent the night there because he had taken a wife in Penang when they had stopped there earlier, en route for the pilgrimage. He boarded the *kapal* when it was due to sail and Raja Ahmad set off with Sheikh Uthman, who lived in Java. Near Selangor they encountered a *sekunar* from Singapore. The wind dropped, and so drifting slowly, the *kapal* and the *sekunar* drew closer. The pilot of the *sekunar* was named Encik Mukmin, a locally born Bugis from Malacca. When he saw that there were many hajis on Buazir's *kapal*, he lowered a *sekoci* from the *sekunar*'s stern and rowed across. He came aboard Buazir's *kapal* and presented himself before Raja Ahmad below deck. He told Raja Ahmad, 'Your elder brother the Yang Dipertuan Muda and the Yang Dipertuan of the Straits are at war on Karimun. Neither has yet been defeated, although people have died on both sides. There have been reports that on the Riau side the son of the Datuk Syahbandar has been killed'. After chatting for a while, he asked leave to return to his *sekoci* and they both sailed off.

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A few days later they reached Singapore. On the Sunday however, Raja Ahmad's *kapal* was in the Karimun sea and it was the very day that Karimun was defeated. The vessel carrying Raja Ahmad went on to berth at Singapore. News reached shore that Raja Ahmad had returned from the pilgrimage and that he was on Buazir's vessel. Sayid Yasin, a son-in-law of Engku Sayid Muhammad Zain al-Kudsi, came down to meet Raja Ahmad, and they exchanged greetings. Raja Ahmad then asked for the Singapore reports about the dispute between the Yang Dipertuan of the

Straits and his elder cousin the Yang Dipertuan Muda of Riau. Sayid Yasin told him what he had picked up—for instance, that people said Encik Ibrahim had died, but that this was untrue since no one had died except one Chinese from Karimun. However, there had indeed been deaths and casualties on the side of the Yang Dipertuan of the Straits, such as Ambuk Uluk, while Encik Abd al-Samad, son of the Suliwatang of Lingga, was one of those wounded. Afterwards Daeng Ronggik, son of Temenggung Abd al-Rahman, came to present himself before Raja Ahmad and assure him that neither he nor anyone from Teluk Belanga had been involved, because to do so would have been contrary to the regulations. Actually, the Yang Dipertuan of the Straits had not been responsible for the outbreak of war. It was his wife¹ and Tengku Yahya who had created the scandal, and it was their designs which the Yang Dipertuan of the Straits had followed. 354:1

After their conversation, Daeng Ronggik and Sayid Yasin went ashore and then the Yang Dipertuan of the Straits sent Encik Sulaiman to invite Raja Ahmad to come and meet him. Raja Ahmad was silent for a while, thinking, and then answered, 'I feel exhausted, and at the moment I am not able to present myself. Later, some other time, if life is granted to me, I will do so. But at present I feel giddy, because I have been at sea too long. Please excuse me and accept my apologies. Let my son-in-law, Sayid Abdullah, and my son Ali go in my stead to present themselves before the Yang Dipertuan'. So Sayid Abdullah and Raja Ali went ashore with Encik Sulaiman and when they reached the Yang Dipertuan of the Straits, he questioned Encik Sulaiman and Sayid Abdullah, saying, 'Where is uncle Mat? Did he not come ashore?' Encik Sulaiman and Sayid Abdullah answered, 'He has a headache and sent the two of us to present ourselves to you'. When the Yang Dipertuan of the Straits heard these words of respect, his eyes filled with tears and he wept. Later he entertained Sayid Abdullah and Raja Ali. Afterwards, they asked permission to go aboard their ship and rejoin Raja Ahmad. When they had embarked, the anchor was weighed and they set sail for Riau. In the Lobam Straits, they met Raja Husain, son of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar, and Encik Safar returning from the Karimun war. Raja Husain went aboard the ship to meet his uncle Raja Ahmad. He said respectfully, 'The Yang Dipertuan Muda is on the way back but has stopped briefly at Ungaran'. Having delivered his news, Raja Husain asked leave to return to his *perahu*, and together they sped towards Penyengat. 354:11

Early next morning the ship anchored off Penyengat, on the Kota Ranting side. Soon afterwards Raja Ali, son of the Yang Dipertuan Muda, came aboard to greet Raja Ahmad and invite him to come ashore with his sons and companions, who were now hajis. They disembarked and 355:1

went to Engku Puteri's palace in the Fort. She met them, delighted that her younger brother and his sons had all arrived. Afterwards the princes of Penyengat Island and the dignitaries and elders all came to meet Raja Ahmad. Then Raja Ahmad met Engku Sayid Muhammad Zain al-Kudsi, as did the latter's son, Sayid Abdullah. About two days later Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar returned to Penyengat from the war, and Raja Ahmad immediately went down to the shore to meet him. The Yang Dipertuan Muda was delighted that his younger brother had arrived, and together they walked to the home of Engku Sayid Muhammad Zain al-Kudsi to talk for a while. When they had finished talking, the Yang Dipertuan Muda returned to his palace on foot, with his younger brother Raja Ahmad. Reaching Kota Ranting, Raja Ahmad presented his elder brother the Yang Dipertuan Muda with two black slaves, one a Nubian and the other an Abyssinian;¹ a carpet from Istanbul; two rings set with large stones, one a glowing emerald and the other a rich ruby; a Turkish rifle chased with gold and two or three bolts of cloth to be made into jackets—bombasine, k-r-n-a-w-y-s,¹ silk—and various kinds of gold brocade from *Mecca the Exalted*, as well as water from the well of Zamzam,² toothpicks and even dried camel meat. He also gave presents such as he had to all his relatives, the dignitaries and the Penyengat elders, and all of them were happy because they had blessed things from *Mecca the Exalted*.

356:11 Not long afterwards the Yang Dipertuan Muda consulted Raja Ahmad about a marriage between Raja Ahmad's son, Raja Ali, and Raja Halimah, his own daughter. Meanwhile, Tengku Besar had arrived in Riau because he wanted to greet the Yang Dipertuan of Riau on his return from war. There was also something he wanted to discuss with the Resident of Riau. When he reached Penyengat, the Yang Dipertuan Muda accommodated him in a building on the seashore. There the Yang Dipertuan Muda, Tengku Besar, and the Resident of Riau discussed what had already been accomplished and what still remained to be done. Afterwards Tengku Besar left for Karimun Island but returned to Riau to ask if he could marry the Yang Dipertuan Muda's daughter, Raja Fatimah. Permission was granted and Tengku Besar was married to Raja Fatimah.³ After the traditional lustration, there was another wedding between Raja Ahmad's son Raja Ali and the Yang Dipertuan Muda's daughter, Raja Halimah. Engku Sayid Muhammad Zain officiated at the wedding, and Tengku Besar, the Yang Dipertuan Muda, the state officials and Raja Mahmud, Tengku Yahya's brother, were witnesses. After the official contract had been concluded, the marriage was consummated the next day and all the wedding ceremonies were concluded.

Not long afterwards the Yang Dipertuan Muda, Tengku Besar, and

the Resident of Riau discussed the making of a new contract which, it was said, would be a continuation of the old one. At the time of the meeting to draft the new contract, Engku Sayid Muhammad Zain al-Kudsi had returned to Lingga because of a misunderstanding with the Resident over something Engku Sayid had done on Karimun.⁴ Moreover, it was a time of deep sorrow for Engku Sayid because his son, Sayid Ahmad Tengku Wuk, had been killed by his friend, Ahmad, who had run amuck. Ahmad had been put to death as soon as Tengku Besar came to Riau. After the Yang Dipertuan Muda and Tengku Besar had finished conferring with the Resident of Riau, they drew up a new contract of about twenty articles. It was concluded on 11 Jumad al-awal, in the hijra year 1246¹ and Tengku Besar then returned to Lingga where he remained.

357:1

According to the story, after this Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar sent his son, Raja Ali, and his son-in-law Sayid Husain Tengku Irang with a letter to Batavia to the Governor-General, who was named van den Bosch.² This letter concerned Raja Jafar, the Yang Dipertuan Muda's brother-in-law, who had been arrested by the English Governor in Singapore because he had been the victim of malicious rumours concerning piracy. Raja Jafar was released. According to some accounts, it was all concerned with debts. Raja Ali was only in Batavia for a short time before returning to Riau with an answering letter from the Governor-General of Batavia concerning Raja Jafar.

357:11

Not long afterwards the Resident of Riau, Mr Elout, was replaced by Mr de Groot,³ and Resident Elout returned to Batavia. There had been a quarrel between Resident Elout and Engku Sayid Muhammad Zain al-Kudsi, but now the matter had been resolved, expunged by an exchange of letters, as is customary between friends when they return to their former good relationship. That was the situation. Resident de Groot was established as administrator of Riau in conjunction with the Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar, as was stipulated in the contract.

Now Sayid Abdullah, the son of Engku Sayid Muhammad Zain al-Kudsi and also Raja Ahmad's son-in-law, had not been in Lingga long when he passed away, returning to the mercy of Allah Almighty. *Verily we belong to Allah and to Him we return.* Not long after that Engku Sayid too passed away, returning to the mercy of Allah Almighty. *Verily we belong to Allah and to Him we return.* This was in the hijra year 1245, on Thursday night, 20 Muharram, at eight o'clock, on Lingga.¹ And thus I conclude.

358:1

According to the story, His Majesty Sultan Abd al-Rahman and his son Tengku Besar were discussing a betrothal between Raja Abdullah, a son of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar, and His Majesty's daughter, Raja Aisyah, who was generally known as Tengku Tengah. When they

had reached a decision, they sent a letter to Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar. This placed the Yang Dipertuan Muda in a difficult position because he had already conferred with Daeng M-r-a-c-k Dulung of Pammana about sending Raja Abdullah to the Bugis homeland to marry the daughter of a Bugis chief, since the latter was not a foreigner but a close relation. This news had become widely known in the Bugis lands. The chief had been pleased, and had already sent gifts as a token of the betrothal. When Raja Abdullah went, Daeng M-r-a-c-k was to go with him. It was in the midst of this that the proposal came from His Majesty Sultan Abd al-Rahman. The Yang Dipertuan Muda was afraid that if he did not agree it would cause offence and although it was true that the Bugis were relatives, they still lived a long way away and the betrothal had not been finalized. Daeng M-r-a-c-k had merely opened negotiations. The Resident of Riau was pleased about His Majesty Sultan Abd al-Rahman's proposal and was delighted that the discussions with the Bugis had been brought to a halt. The Resident waited for Sultan Abd al-Rahman's plan to come to fruition, for providing His Majesty remained alive, the right decision would be made. When it was all settled, the Yang Dipertuan Muda's anxiety vanished and he was fully convinced that he should comply with Sultan Abd al-Rahman's proposal. Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar then prepared to go to Lingga, taking his son Raja Abdullah to be married there. When everything was ready, Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar set out, although he was sick at the time with an inflamed hand and other minor complaints.

When he reached Lingga, he met His Majesty Sultan Abd al-Rahman and Raja Antiah. They conferred about commencing the wedding ceremonies but while they were doing so the Yang Dipertuan Muda's illness worsened. Added to this, he heard that his daughter Raja Maimunah had died following his departure for Lingga. Overcome with grief, his condition deteriorated, so he sent a messenger to take word to his sister Engku Puteri on Riau and to his wife, Engku Lebar. When they heard that he was ill, Engku Puteri, Raja Ahmad and the Yang Dipertuan Muda's wife, Engku Lebar, set sail.¹ Reaching Lingga, they all went ashore to see Raja Jafar. They stayed there and together with His Majesty Sultan Abd al-Rahman they cared for him. In several days the Yang Dipertuan Muda recovered somewhat, but was still not completely restored to his former good health. Afterwards, Engku Puteri returned to Riau² with Raja Ahmad and Raja Abd al-Rahman, son of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar, leaving only the latter's wife, Engku Lebar, on Lingga with her son Raja Ali.

Meanwhile, Encik Mariam, the mother of His Majesty Sultan Abd al-Rahman, returned to the mercy of Allah Almighty and was buried on

the side of the Lingga mosque which faces Mecca, at the feet of the late Sultan Mahmud.³ After this Sultan Abd al-Rahman and his son Tengku Besar began the wedding ceremonies, according to the customs traditional for a great king. That was the situation.

According to the story, in the midst of these preparations Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar had a relapse, but his condition was more serious than before, causing His Majesty Sultan Abd al-Rahman, Tengku Besar, his wife, and all the princes great anxiety. They wanted to put a stop to the ceremonies, but the Yang Dipertuan Muda would not permit it. 'Let them continue. If I have reached my destined hour of death, I only ask that I be allowed to conduct the marriage of Abdullah to Aisyah personally.' So the princes gathered in the palace with the Yang Dipertuan Muda to conclude the wedding contract between Raja Abdullah and Tengku Tengah. After they had all gathered, the Yang Dipertuan Besar Sultan Abd al-Rahman presented his daughter Raja Aisyah to Raja Jafar, and the Yang Dipertuan Muda joined her in marriage to Raja Abdullah. After the formal consent had been announced, all the people went home.

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According to the story, after the Yang Dipertuan Muda had contracted his son Raja Abdullah to Tengku Tengah, his illness became so much worse that he was on the verge of death. His sons, with His Majesty Sultan Abd al-Rahman and Tengku Besar, all assembled. Meanwhile, Raja Ahmad, the Yang Dipertuan Muda's brother, arrived from Riau in a small *sampan* with Haji Daud who before his pilgrimage had been one of the Yang Dipertuan Muda's military captains. Raja Ahmad went ashore to his brother the Yang Dipertuan Muda and when they met they both wept, as did all those present. Next the Yang Dipertuan Muda summoned his sons, the dignitaries, and the elders and any other princes on Lingga, as well as his relatives. When they had all assembled, the Yang Dipertuan Muda exchanged greetings with them all. His Majesty Sultan Abd al-Rahman and Tengku Besar wept bitterly as the Yang Dipertuan Muda struggled with death. Then he died, returning to the mercy of Allah Almighty. *Verily we belong to Allah and to Him we return.* His wife, Engku Lebar, supported him throughout his agony, while his son Raja Mahmud cradled his feet and another son, Raja Ali, held his hands. Raja Ahmad read the *Chapter for the Dying*.¹ After this, his son Raja Ali laid his head in Tengku Besar's lap and wept bitterly. The whole palace was filled with the sounds of the princes' and princesses' grief. When the Yang Dipertuan Muda's soul had departed from his body, Raja Ahmad and his sons shrouded him, and Tengku Besar went out to the open audience hall and told the dignitaries to lay out the body of the late Yang Dipertuan Muda, His Majesty Raja Jafar. The noise of lamenting

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391:1 welled up from the inhabitants of Lingga, and on that day they all shaved their heads. The death of the Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar occurred on Sunday, 13 Rajab, in the hijra year 1247.¹

Afterwards His Majesty Sultan Abd al-Rahman, Tengku Besar, Raja Ahmad and all the princes attended the burial and interment of the Yang Dipertuan Muda's body, according to the customs traditional when a great prince dies, reciting the creed, distributing alms, and holding a ritual feast for the soul. That was how it was. After these ceremonies had been completed, His Majesty Sultan Abd al-Rahman and Tengku Besar performed another wedding ceremony. In just a few days, when the time was right, His Majesty united his daughter Tengku Tengah with Raja Abdullah, according to the customs traditional for a royal wedding. That was how it was.

391:11 Following the completion of the ceremonies for Raja Abdullah, and after he had married his daughter to the son of Temenggung Abd al-Rahman,² Raja Ahmad asked leave of His Majesty Sultan Abd al-Rahman to return to Riau. Afterwards Raja Lebar, wife of the late Raja Jafar, and her son Raja Ali returned to Riau, while Raja Jumat, another son of the deceased, also returned to Riau. The princely brothers of the late Yang Dipertuan Muda and their sons remained in Riau on Penyengat Island.

After Raja Ahmad had returned to Riau with the sons of the late Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar, His Majesty Sultan Abd al-Rahman conferred with his son Tengku Besar about his plan to replace the late Jafar with the latter's fully royal son, Raja Abd al-Rahman. So Tengku Besar left for Riau to confer with the Resident of Riau and with Engku Puteri and Raja Ahmad, the dignitaries, and all the princes. They agreed to the proposal that Raja Abd al-Rahman should succeed the late Raja Jafar and become Yang Dipertuan Muda of Riau.

392:1 According to the story, after Tengku Besar had left for Riau, His Majesty Sultan Abd al-Rahman became ill, and after two or three days his condition further deteriorated, causing Tengku Besar's mother to send word to her son on Riau. The messenger went quickly, but before he returned, His Majesty Sultan Abd al-Rahman died, returning to the mercy of Allah Almighty. *Verily we belong to Allah and to Him we return.* An uproar broke out on Lingga with the lamenting of the inhabitants, especially in the fort and palace, where the wailing of the princes and elders, men and women, was overwhelming. Later the body of His Majesty the late Sultan Abd al-Rahman was prepared and placed in a coffin, but they waited for Tengku Besar to come from Riau before carrying out the burial.

Meanwhile, the messenger had arrived from Lingga and told Tengku

Besar that his father, His Majesty Sultan Abd al-Rahman, was critically ill. When Tengku Besar heard the messenger's news, he immediately returned to Lingga. Then another messenger arrived with the news that His Majesty the late Sultan Abd al-Rahman had already died. When Tengku Besar heard this he wept bitterly. Reaching Lingga, he went up to his father's palace to visit Her Majesty his mother, and they wept together with all the people there. Habib Sheikh and Raja Ahmad had accompanied Tengku Besar to Lingga, and as soon as they arrived Raja Ahmad visited his niece Raja Antiah, and they wept bitterly. When their grief was spent, Tengku Besar ordered that his late father be buried with all speed. Before the coffin was carried from the audience hall, Raja Ahmad, Habib Sheikh and the princes, dignitaries and elders all asked Tengku Besar to succeed to his father's title. Tengku Besar agreed to their request, and it was announced then and there that Tengku Besar would succeed his father with the title Sultan Muhammad Syah. Only after this had been done was the body of His Majesty the late Sultan Abd al-Rahman taken and buried at Cengkih Hill, and his posthumous title was the late Ruler buried at Cengkih Hill. Afterwards the creed was recited, alms were distributed, and the Koran was read. A ritual feast for the late king's soul was also held, according to the customs traditional at a great king's funeral. Thus it was following the burial. The death of His Majesty Sultan Abd al-Rahman took place on Monday, 16 Rabi al-awal in the hijra year 1248, at the time of the dawn prayers.¹

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When all these ceremonies were over, His Majesty Sultan Muhammad Syah sent a messenger to Riau inviting Raja Abd al-Rahman to be installed in Lingga as Yang Dipertuan Muda of Riau, succeeding his father the late Raja Jafar. So Raja Abd al-Rahman came to Lingga with all his relatives, and when he arrived he presented himself before His Majesty Sultan Muhammad Syah. Not long after this His Majesty began the ceremonies for the installation of the Yang Dipertuan Muda. When the time was right, Raja Abd al-Rahman was installed by His Majesty Sultan Muhammad Syah according to the customs when previous Yang Dipertuan Mudas had been entitled and installed. That was how it was, in the hijra year 1249.²

393:11

Now when the installation of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abd al-Rahman on Lingga had been completed, His Majesty Sultan Muhammad Syah conferred with Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abd al-Rahman about mounting an attack against Inuk,³ a place near Retih, on the Inuk River. This river was under the administration of the kingdom of Riau and Lingga, but the people had committed treason by opposing His Majesty Sultan Muhammad Syah. Their leaders were some Illanun princes named Raja Merkung and Raja Merasan. Action had to be taken because Raja

Merkung and Raja Merasan were large-scale pirates, not like those of Galang, Sekanak, and other places. They had much greater numbers and were stronger than the sea-people pirates,⁴ because the latter, who had been active during the reign of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar, rarely had large *penjajab* but only *lancang* and *kakap*, and most of their boats were *bedar*. It was from their lair at Bakung near Buaya Island that the pirates raided with their *penjajab*.¹

When the late Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar had learned of this, he had sent his son Raja Abd al-Rahman, who succeeded Raja Jafar as Yang Dipertuan Muda, to attack Bakung. This was done, and Bakung was defeated and the captains there annihilated. The settlement was razed, and is still in ruins at the time I am writing this history. No place similar to Bakung has since emerged as a centre for large-scale piracy. However, the Illanun pirates, Raja Merkung and Raja Merasan, were not of the same type as the captains of the sea-people I have mentioned. They were much more important and had more resources, because they were not Johor sea-people, but were of another race, besides being true Illanun princes. This was the reason they dared to rebel against His Majesty Sultan Muhammad Syah.

According to the story, the reason for the campaign against Inuk was because Raja Merkung was raiding with large vessels, that is, with *be-rangai* armed with cannon. He preyed on all the bays, river reaches, and subject territories of Riau and Lingga, and ruined several traders. His predations made the seas of Riau and Lingga unsafe. Once in the Dasi Straits² he encountered three trading *perahu* under Encik Ali, a locally born Bugis from Selangor. Raja Merkung attacked him and took his *perahu*, but the crew escaped. Raja Merkung then encountered a *perahu* belonging to Encik Ahmad, which he also attacked in the Dasi Straits. Encik Ahmad escaped and fled to Lingga in panic. Next Raja Merkung came across Encik Bakak's *perahu* in the Pintu Straits,³ and attacked again. Encik Bakak resisted with all his might, but what chance did he have as a trader, the son of a Bugis from the Tanda River in Lingga, against weapons of war? During the attack Encik Bakak was killed and his *perahu* plundered. Encik Bakak himself was strangled with his shoulder sash and left to rot. His penis was cut off and stuffed into his mouth. *There is no power and no strength except in Allah the High, the Mighty. May Allah frustrate their designs and curse the sinners.* Some of Encik Bakak's companions were killed, some were beheaded and some were tied up to be sold. One escaped by jumping overboard in the dark, and he brought back the news. Following this, Raja Merkung went to areas in the Riau vicinity, like Ungaran, Buru, Moroh, and Sugi. The sea-people there chased him out with their small *keci*, but they could not keep up

their resistance because he had heavy artillery, and they retreated in flight. He shouted out, 'Let the Yang Dipertuan Muda himself come out, or his younger brother Raja Ali and the Dutch! I will chop off their heads!'

According to the story, most of the sea-people were panic stricken; he had terrorized and humiliated them. Some of them entered his service, notably the head of the sea-people, Panglima [Raman],¹ and even a person of noble birth from Lingga, a locally born Bugis named Panglima Tengkok. His raiding increased in scale and news of it reached the Yang Dipertuan Muda and His Majesty Sultan Muhammad Syah. They were both furious and conferred together in Lingga about sending a letter to the Resident of Riau. They then made ready about thirty *penjajab* from Riau and Lingga, as well as others from the captains of Galang and a Dutch cruiser. The force assembled in Lingga and when everything was prepared, the Yang Dipertuan Muda ordered an attack on Inuk.² At the head of his own force was his uncle, Raja Jafar, son of the Ruler who died at Bayan Island, while Encik Muhammad Tahir and Encik Abbas led the Lingga force. They all left to attack Inuk. 395:11

As for Raja Merkung and Raja Merasan, after learning that His Majesty Sultan Muhammad intended to attack them, they made ready their stockades and organized their cannon, swivel guns, and *perahu*.³ When the force from Riau and Lingga arrived, battle commenced with exchanges of cannon fire mingling with the din of shouting and cheering. It was not long before Raja Merkung was on the point of yielding. Meanwhile, the Yang Dipertuan Muda of Inderagiri came to help the Riau and Lingga force. Now Raja Merkung was on really good terms with the Yang Dipertuan Muda of Inderagiri, and it occurred to the latter that he might be able to use this to some advantage. Since Raja Merkung had often been advised by the Yang Dipertuan Muda of Inderagiri in the past, he now came aboard the latter's *perahu*, where there were also people from Riau and Lingga, because they were conferring with the Yang Dipertuan Muda of Inderagiri. As soon as Raja Merkung came aboard the *perahu* of the Yang Dipertuan Muda of Inderagiri, he was overwhelmed and seized. Panglima Raman, Panglima Tengkok and Raja Saban were captured at the same time. They were bound and handcuffed. Thus Inuk was defeated, because its leaders had been captured. 396:1

After this, Raja Jafar conferred with Encik Muhammad Tahir with the result that Raja Merkung and his brother were taken to Lingga. When they reached the Lingga estuary, Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abd al-Rahman came out to watch the return of the fleet. Seeing Panglima Tengkok, the Yang Dipertuan Muda was furious, since Panglima Tengkok had originally been one of his personal attendants and had subsequently 396:11

left to go raiding and marauding with the Illanun princes. By doing so he had betrayed and opposed the Yang Dipertuan Besar and the Yang Dipertuan Muda, and they were furious with him. The executioner was ordered to kill him there and then, and so Panglima Tengkuk died at the Daik estuary, without even entering the country again. Raja Merkung, Raja Merasan, Raja Saban, and Panglima Raman were taken upriver. The following day the Yang Dipertuan Muda and His Majesty Sultan Muhammad conferred with all the princes and elders. They decided that Raja Merkung would be beheaded; Panglima Raman would be treated the same way. Raja Merasan and Raja Saban would be exiled to Batavia for life.

397:1 The following day, when the discussions had been completed, the Yang Dipertuan Muda announced that all the inhabitants of the country should assemble at Kampung China, where Raja Merkung's sentence should be carried out. The inhabitants gathered at Kampung China and the Yang Dipertuan Muda arrived in a single *sampan*, accompanied by all the princes. When they reached the place of execution, the Yang Dipertuan Muda ordered that Raja Merkung be beheaded. The man performing the execution was inexperienced, and was wondering how it should be done. Raja Merkung said to the executioner, 'Stretch my neck out a bit, so that it will be severed cleanly'. The executioner followed his instructions, but the cleaver struck the nape of his neck without breaking it, and Raja Merkung slumped to the ground. Once more the cleaver swung, striking him on the chest, and he died. The Yang Dipertuan Muda ordered that the head be severed from the body. This was done, and Raja Merkung's head was brought to the Yang Dipertuan Muda's *sampan*. He examined it carefully, as did the princes with him. Afterwards Panglima Raman was also beheaded, and he too died. It was then ordered that they be impaled before they were buried. The Yang Dipertuan Muda left, with orders that Raja Merasan and Raja Saban be taken to Riau and handed over to the Resident for exile to Batavia. Thus ends the story of the Inuk war.

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Shortly after this, the Yang Dipertuan Muda asked leave of the Yang Dipertuan Besar His Majesty Sultan Muhammad to return to Riau. Permission was given and the Yang Dipertuan Muda returned to Riau, where he visited the Resident and they discussed ways of eliminating small-scale piracy. Subsequently, many captains were arrested; some were put to death and some were taken to Batavia. It was said that of the captains and miscreants active in the reign of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abd al-Rahman, only one remained on the Yang Dipertuan Muda's list, and one on the Resident of Riau's. That was the situation, and thus I conclude.

TRANSLATION

To continue the story of His Majesty Sultan Muhammad Syah, who was to travel to Pahang and Trengganu, and call in at Johor to visit the graves of former Malay kings there. According to the story, when Sultan Muhammad left for Pahang, a dispute broke out in Trengganu involving prince against prince.¹ The conflict had its origins in the death of the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu, Sultan Ahmad. He was the father of Tengku Tih, the wife of Sultan Muhammad Syah. Sultan Ahmad himself was the son of the late Ruler with the Red Eyes, as he was known, who was the son of Tun Dalam with the personal name Raja Mansur and posthumously entitled the Bearded One. The latter was the son of Sultan Zain al-Abidin, who had been made king by the Bugis Yang Dipertuan Muda Opu Daeng Cellak. The Raja Tua, Daeng Menampuk, in consultation with all the Bugis had been sent to make him king. Sultan Ahmad was the grandson of Tun Dalam (Yang Dipertuan Kecik of Trengganu) and had several brothers—the Yang Dipertuan Muda, Tengku Mansur, Tengku Abbas, Tengku Ismail and others. He also had a brother who had married a Bugis princess in Riau named Raja Tengah.

398:1

According to the story, after the death of Sultan Ahmad Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu, he was succeeded by his brother. When this brother died, he was succeeded by a son, Tengku Daud. However, after about forty days Tengku Daud also died. At that time there remained only a brother of Sultan Ahmad, Tengku Mansur, and his other son, called Tengku Umar. In these circumstances Tengku Mansur wanted to become king, and he had the support of many elders who thought him suitable because he was the eldest. But at the same time Tengku Umar also wanted to become king, and he too had support as the son of the deceased ruler. So there was dissension among the dignitaries and elders of Trengganu. They consulted and conferred, talking about ways of bringing peace to the country. Then Tengku Mansur was made Yang Dipertuan Tua and Tengku Umar was made Yang Dipertuan Besar. Two kings were governing the one country, and it was this which lay at the basis of the disputes.

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According to the story, after a time the quarrels between the followers of the Yang Dipertuan Tua and the Yang Dipertuan Besar developed into a war. Fighting broke out with the firing of cannon, swivel guns, muskets, and the stabbing of spears and javelins. The slaughter continued throughout the night, until daybreak. The Yang Dipertuan Besar was defeated and fled to Besut,¹ and from thence to Kemaman where he settled and operated as a pirate preying on people who traded with Trengganu's subject territories. Trengganu waters were unsafe, and many of Allah Almighty's servants were killed violently and unjustly. In Trengganu they started building stockades.

399:1

399:11 In Lingga, His Majesty Sultan Muhammad Syah was preparing his vessels, about forty-seven *penjabab* and *kakap*. When everything was ready, he set sail for Pahang,² stopping to visit the graves in Johor. On reaching Pahang, he was welcomed by the Datuk Bendahara Tun Ali and honoured according to the customs traditional when a great king is greeted. His Majesty remained there. Subsequently the Yang Dipertuan Besar of Trengganu, after his defeat by his uncle the Yang Dipertuan Tua, came to Pahang to present himself before Sultan Muhammad Syah. His Majesty conferred with Datuk Bendahara Tun Ali, and with all the princes accompanying him. One of them was a locally born Bugis from Riau named Raja Jafar, the son of the Ruler who died on Bayan Island. They consulted about whether the people of Trengganu would help make peace between the Yang Dipertuan Tua and the Yang Dipertuan Besar, Tengku Umar. When a decision had been reached, Sultan Muhammad Syah sent Sayid Abdullah Engku Hitam and Sayid Hasyim Engku Nung, the sons of Engku Sayid Muhammad Zain al-Kudsi, as envoys to Trengganu. When they arrived, Yang Dipertuan Tua Raja Mansur honoured them and welcomed them according to the customs for receiving a great king's envoy. When the letter had been read out in the audience hall, the Yang Dipertuan Tua asked the envoys to wait so that he could formulate a reply in consultation with his ministers. Only after eighteen days was an answer given to His Majesty Sultan Muhammad Syah's letter. The mission returned to His Majesty, who read the letter through and understood from it that Yang Dipertuan Raja Mansur would not accept Yang Dipertuan Tengku Umar into Trengganu. In the letter it was stated that if His Majesty Sultan Muhammad had favoured anyone but Tengku Umar, even a black slave, he would have obliged, but for Tengku Umar it was out of the question.

400:1 When Sultan Muhammad had heard the letter from the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu, Raja Mansur, he knew that the latter had absolutely refused to make peace with his nephew, and he was silent. Then His Majesty left for Kemaman. (According to one account, Sultan Muhammad left for Kemaman when the envoys Sayid Abdullah and Sayid Hasyim sailed for Trengganu.) He was there only a short time¹ when 400:11 Tengku Umar circulated the rumour that a Siak prince called Tengku Mansur, had been involved in a shameful affair with a woman. His Majesty was furious with Tengku Mansur, and ordered that he be killed. Thus Tengku Mansur died. (Tengku Mansur had held the same rank as his relative, Raja Lung, the son of the Ilanun, Tuk Lukus. His mother was Raja Maimunah, daughter of Sultan Yahya, the Yang Dipertuan of Siak.) His Majesty Sultan Muhammad restored his relationship with Raja Lung so that the latter would not be offended, and all was set to rights.

His Majesty had not been in Kemaman long before he returned to Lingga. When he reached Pahang, he fetched Datuk Bendahara Tun Ali and they sailed to Lingga together. Tengku Umar and all his relatives accompanied His Majesty Sultan Muhammad to Lingga. They stopped at Riau, where His Majesty visited the Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abd al-Rahman, and the Resident. The Yang Dipertuan Muda's brother Raja Ali, and his cousin Raja Ali, son of Raja Ahmad, escorted Sultan Muhammad from Riau to Lingga. When His Majesty Sultan Muhammad Syah reached Lingga, both Raja Alis returned to Riau. In Lingga Sultan Muhammad conferred with the Datuk Bendahara about the circumcision of his son, Tengku Mahmud, and his installation asking. When a decision had been reached, His Majesty sent a messenger to Riau to invite Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abd al-Rahman to Lingga. The latter accepted, and just before he was due to arrive in Lingga, His Majesty Sultan Muhammad began the ceremonies according to royal ceremonial tradition. Shortly after these had commenced, and when the time was right, Tengku Mahmud was circumcised, according to the customs traditional at a great king's circumcision. Not long afterwards, His Majesty Sultan Muhammad Syah and the Datuk Bendahara installed His Majesty's son Tengku Mahmud to the beat of drums, according to the custom for drumming in a great king.¹ Only then was he circumcised.

401:1

After this was completed, Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abd al-Rahman reached Lingga, but the only ceremony which remained was the lustration. Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abd al-Rahman performed it, and this completed the drumming in and circumcision. I will not prolong the account, because I want to keep it brief. When the ceremonies were concluded, the Yang Dipertuan Muda asked permission to return to Riau and not long afterwards the Datuk Bendahara asked leave to return to Pahang. He stopped briefly at Riau to visit the Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abd al-Rahman, and afterwards asked leave to sail directly to Pahang. As for His Majesty Sultan Muhammad Syah, he remained in Lingga administering the government for his son Sultan Mahmud Muzaffar Syah, because the latter was still legally under age. And thus I conclude.

401:11

According to the story, in the year of the hijra of the Prophet (*may Allah bless him and grant him peace*) 1251,² His Majesty Sultan Muhammad conferred with Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abd al-Rahman about sending a mission to Batavia concerning the eradication of piracy, because the Dutch Government had been complaining to His Majesty Sultan Muhammad about it.³ When a decision had been reached, Haji Ibrahim, son of Syahbandar Abdullah,⁴ was sent to Batavia. He took passage on a *keci* whose captain was a Gresik¹ man from Riau. After a short voyage they reached Batavia. Haji Ibrahim disembarked according

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to the customs traditional for an envoy, and visited Governor-General Baud² and his dignitaries. He conveyed the message he had been given by His Majesty Sultan Muhammad Syah and Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abd al-Rahman. However, I will not give a long account of this, because I have to be brief. Colonel Elout took Haji Ibrahim's mission to Solo,³ and not long afterwards they returned to Riau, together with a Commissioner called Major Kolff.⁴ Subsequently a successor to the old Resident arrived, whose name was Goldman.⁵ He was to implement the regulations which would eliminate piracy and which would be of lasting benefit to His Majesty Sultan Muhammad Syah and Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abd al-Rahman, and to all the leaders of the sea-people in the Lingga and Riau area.

402:11

As for Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abd al-Rahman, after the envoy Haji Ibrahim had sailed for Batavia, he sent his younger brother Raja Ali Engku Kelana to inspect the seas for pirates and trouble makers. He had orders to eradicate piracy throughout Riau and Lingga's subject territories. Accompanying Raja Ali were Raja Ali, son of Raja Ahmad, the brother of the late Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar; a son of the late Jafar, called Raja Yusuf; and Raja Abdullah, also a son of Raja Ahmad. Raja Ali Engku Kelana toured all the Riau and Lingga domains, visiting both good and bad sea-people. Where they had behaved, they were administered fairly and their services acknowledged; where things had been unsatisfactory, the law for miscreants was applied and people were arrested and taken to Riau. All their resources which had been used for their illegal activities, their heavy artillery and large *perahu*, were confiscated. Some of the chiefs were dismissed⁶ because their crimes were so blatant. They were replaced by those whose goodness was obvious and who commanded the loyalty of their followers. The conferences and consultations continued like this until Lingga was reached.

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When he arrived, Raja Ali presented himself before His Majesty Sultan Muhammad Syah and told him what Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abd al-Rahman had instructed. Sultan Muhammad Syah approved of all he had done, and after that Raja Ali Engku Kelana married his first cousin, Raja Cik, daughter of Temenggung Abd al-Rahman and his wife Encik Wuk (herself the daughter of Encik Buntit, sister of the late Raja Jafar). Their marriage ceremony was carried out with the blessing of His Majesty Sultan Muhammad Syah and according to the customs traditional when a prince weds. Afterwards harmony prevailed, as is usual when a husband and wife love each other. They stayed in Lingga.

To continue the story of Haji Ibrahim's mission which had set sail from Batavia to return to Riau with Commissioner Major Kolff. They

had been at sea only a short time when they reached Riau, and Major Kolff went to visit the Resident of Riau and Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abd al-Rahman. Not long afterwards, Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abd al-Rahman left to present himself before His Majesty Sultan Muhammad Syah, together with Major Kolff and the outgoing and incoming Residents. When they reached Lingga, the Yang Dipertuan Muda conferred with His Majesty Sultan Muhammad and the Major about using Dutch Government help to enforce law and order among the leaders of the sea-people and thus eradicate piracy, as was stipulated in the contract between His Majesty Sultan Muhammad Syah, Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abd al-Rahman, and the Dutch Government. This contract, which concerned maritime regulations, was distinct from the former one.¹ When they had finished drawing up the contract, Major Kolff returned to Batavia with the outgoing Resident of Riau, while the Yang Dipertuan Muda and the new Resident returned to Riau to implement the work which had been arranged in Lingga. Previously, in the time of the late Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar, before the present contract had been made, steps to eliminate piracy had already been taken, and these had been continued up to the time of Yang Dipertuan Besar Sultan Muhammad and Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abd al-Rahman. Several leaders had been exiled, arrested or killed, the latter recorded in the register of decisions concerning criminal sentences which was kept by the Yang Dipertuan Muda and the Resident of Riau. In the time of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abd al-Rahman, any Javanese who had been taken to Retih by the Illanun were repatriated. Raja Jumat was sent to Retih to rescue them by force, and so all the Javanese who were victims of piracy were recovered.¹

According to the story, the situation being what it was, there were also many pirates on the English side of the division, around Malacca and elsewhere. The Governor of Singapore² was angry because traders frequently complained to him.³ He himself went on patrols and even wanted to inspect the notorious pirate lairs. Before he personally went out, an English warship would first go to the dependencies of Riau, like Sugi and so forth, which were pirate areas. When Raja Ali had inspected these places, the piracy had stopped, but while he was in Lingga it had begun again, and this was the reason for the English Company's anger. However, His Majesty Sultan Muhammad Syah and the Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abd al-Rahman, together with the Resident of Riau, continued to implement measures to eradicate piracy.

His Excellency Governor Bonham of Singapore left Singapore in a warship, the *Andromache*, and sailed to Galang which was in Riau territory.⁴ There he conducted a campaign against Galang and the

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surrounding areas.⁵ The sea-people scattered in flight, although some offered resistance and wounded two or three Englishmen. News of this reached the Resident of Riau and he and the Yang Dipertuan Muda were in a quandary. They conferred about whether to send a message to His Excellency on the English warship, and decided to send Haji Ibrahim, son of Datuk Syahbandar Abdullah, with a letter.⁶ When he reached the English warship, Haji Ibrahim went aboard to meet His Excellency Governor Bonham. They conversed briefly, and then the Governor told Haji Ibrahim to return, but without giving him an answering letter. Haji Ibrahim was reluctant to go without a reply. His Excellency Governor Bonham, smiled and clapped him on the back, saying, 'Spoken like a true envoy'. Then he gave him a letter in reply. Haji Ibrahim left, and the warship did not sail towards the Lingga area but returned to Singapore on the lookout for Malay *perahu* with matting sails. They opened fire with their cannon on any they encountered and destroyed them. As for Haji Ibrahim, when he returned he reported on his journey. The Yang Dipertuan Muda and the Resident of Riau then asked him to go to Lingga to supply information about everything the English were doing, because at this time the Illanun pirates were also disrupting the seas, and *perahu* from Lingga were going out on patrol, supplementing those of the Yang Dipertuan Muda. Meanwhile, the latter heard that Sultan Muhammad Syah was intending to visit Riau with his mother, and this increased his anxiety. Haji Ibrahim set sail immediately for Lingga, and he came across the Lingga patrols.¹ When they had listened to Haji Ibrahim, they all returned to Lingga immediately.

On his arrival, Haji Ibrahim reported as he had been instructed by the Yang Dipertuan Muda and the Resident of Riau. His Majesty Sultan Muhammad did not know what to do. Haji Ibrahim subsequently returned to Riau, and after his departure Sultan Muhammad decided that he would take his royal mother to Riau. He prepared about twenty *penjajab* and *kakap*, and when everything was ready he set sail with Raja Ali Engku Kelana, and all the princes who had come with him, and Yang Dipertuan Besar Sultan Mahmud Muzaffar Syah. The fleet set sail from Lingga for Riau. On reaching the Sambur Straits,² they stopped to allow the women to go ashore and bathe. However, news came that a warship was scouring the seas, firing on any Malay *perahu* with matting sails. Engku Ali Raja Kelana commissioned one of his relatives, Raja Ali Haji, to go ahead to find the Yang Dipertuan Muda, taking the women so that they would arrive first. Meanwhile, the Datuk Syahbandar came to present himself before His Majesty Sultan Muhammad Syah and inform him of what the English were doing. His Majesty was worried and said,

'How can the English do such a thing? We are already taking steps to eradicate piracy, and they come and act like this'.¹

Now as for Raja Ali Haji, son of Engku Haji Ahmad, he had set sail from the Sambur Straits, and when he reached Pangkil Island² he came across the Yang Dipertuan Muda and Haji Ibrahim, and in another *perahu* the Resident of Riau. Raja Ali Haji went into the cabin to talk to the Yang Dipertuan Muda and Haji Ibrahim. A moment later the Resident of Riau, Mr Goldman, came aboard the Yang Dipertuan Muda's *perahu* and went up on to the bridge with a telescope and examined the area around Lobam Island. He then shouted, 'Haji Ibrahim! Haji Ibrahim! Ask the Yamtuan to come up here and have a look! What course is that warship on? Is she headed for here or the Straits?' The Yang Dipertuan Muda climbed up to the bridge and the Resident passed the telescope to Haji Ibrahim, who looked through it and said, 'Sir, I think they are heading for the Straits'. The Resident said, 'Have you looked carefully?' Haji Ibrahim answered, 'Truly, Sir, the bows are pointing towards the Straits'. The Resident returned to his *perahu* and set sail for Tanjung Pinang, while the Yang Dipertuan Muda and Raja Ali Haji returned to Penyengat. As they sailed they could hear the sound of firing from the ship.

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When they reached Penyengat, the Yang Dipertuan Muda went ashore to his palace with Raja Ali Haji. Shortly afterwards Batin Kongsan presented himself before the Yang Dipertuan Muda, bareheaded, with his trousers dripping wet. The Yang Dipertuan Muda asked, 'Why are you like this?' He answered respectfully, 'Forgive me, my Lord, an English warship fired on me close to the estuary, and my *perahu* was smashed to smithereens by bullets as big as husked coconuts. I swam to shore, and came here, but my *perahu* has been destroyed. The warship sailed towards the Straits.' After the Yang Dipertuan Muda had heard this, he fell silent for a moment, distressed by what the English were doing. As for His Majesty Sultan Muhammad Syah, he left the Sambur Straits and anchored at Riau in Penyengat harbour. The princes and princesses on Penyengat Island all came aboard to extend a formal welcome to His Majesty Sultan Muhammad Syah and his mother, Engku Dalam Raja Antiah.³ Following this, Engku Dalam went ashore to the palace at Kota Ranting to greet Engku Puteri, Engku Besar, and Engku Lebar.⁴ Each of them had her to stay for one or two nights, and they all feasted and enjoyed themselves according to the custom when a princess meets her close relatives. That was how it was.

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Now, as for His Majesty Sultan Muhammad Syah and Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abd al-Rahman, they were conferring with the Resident of Riau about the behaviour of the English and about measures to eradi-

cate piracy. Meanwhile, an English warship came to Lingga and went up the Lingga River with a full complement of soldiers.¹ At that time the Regent of Lingga was Raja Abdullah, a son of the late Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar. The Colonel came ashore to meet Raja Abdullah and to enquire after His Majesty Sultan Muhammad Syah. Raja Abdullah answered, 'His Majesty is in Riau, involved in discussions with the Resident about piracy'. Then a proclamation was displayed there concerning the prohibitions against piracy, and it was read out. After that the Colonel returned to Singapore. Raja Abdullah sent a messenger to Riau with a letter for His Majesty Sultan Muhammad Syah, informing him of the visit of the English warship to Lingga. When His Majesty Sultan Muhammad had read Raja Abdullah's letter, he conferred with the Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abd al-Rahman and the Resident of Riau about sending an envoy to Batavia. Haji Ibrahim, the son of Datuk Syahbandar Abdullah and Encik Syams al-Din, the son of Encik Kaluk, were to go. When a decision had been reached, they hired the schooner of Captain Telir, a white man, and set sail for Batavia.² As for His Majesty Sultan Muhammad Syah, he returned to Lingga with his mother Engku Dalam, escorted by Raja Ali. After a short time in Lingga Raja Ali returned to Riau.

The envoys Haji Ibrahim and Encik Syams al-Din reached Batavia and delivered the letters from the Yang Dipertuan Besar and Yang Dipertuan Muda, describing the activities of the English. The Governor-General¹ sent them to Salatiga² to Mr Elout and Resident de Groot because at the time they were the best informed regarding Riau and Lingga affairs. When the envoys met Mr Elout they told him of the business which had brought them and explained what the English were doing. Mr Elout answered, 'What the English are doing is quite wrong, and the Dutch Government is also wrong, but it is His Excellency the Sultan who is most at fault. Do not persist in making any further accusations. Ultimately it is His Excellency the Sultan who will bear the brunt of it, unless he enforces the regulations for the complete eradication of piracy which is abhorred by all races, and unless he increases the money for assistants for himself and his sea-people. Let Mr Kolff go to help His Excellency the Sultan and the Raja Muda implement the regulations'.

After the discussions with Mr Elout were finished, the envoys went to Semarang and from there to Batavia. Shortly afterwards they returned to Riau with Major Kolff. They reached Riau after a short voyage and His Excellency Major Kolff conferred with the Yang Dipertuan Muda and the Resident of Riau about measures to eradicate piracy and about how they could be implemented. When the discussions were over, the Yang Dipertuan Muda, Major Kolff, and His Excellency the Resident of

Riau left for Lingga to present themselves before His Majesty Sultan Muhammad Syah and confer with him about matters previously discussed with the Yang Dipertuan Muda. His Majesty approved of all the measures (that is, those already taken by the Yang Dipertuan Muda, Major Kolff and the Resident of Riau).³ That concluded the matter of maritime treaties in so far as the eradication of piracy was concerned. The stipulations in the contracts were put into practice, and when everything was done the Yang Dipertuan Muda, Major Kolff, and the Resident of Riau returned to Riau. Shortly afterwards Major Kolff returned to Batavia.

After this His Majesty Sultan Muhammad Syah left for Singapore¹ where he fetched Raja Maimunah, the daughter of Tengku Besar of Singapore who had died at Teluk Belanga, and brought her back to Lingga.² She was married to his son, Yang Dipertuan Besar Sultan Mahmud Muzaffar Syah,³ according to the customs traditional when a great king marries, with the ceremonies, the henna staining, the union, the lustration, and so forth. She was immediately accorded the queenly title of Tengku Empuan. The ceremonies were thus complete.

409:1

According to the story, in the month of Jumad al-awal, in the hijra year 1254,⁴ the Resident of Riau conferred with the Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abd al-Rahman about the Government's intention of occupying Inderagiri. The Yang Dipertuan Muda and the Resident of Riau then left for Lingga to confer once again with His Majesty Sultan Muhammad Syah. When they had finished, the Yang Dipertuan Muda and the Resident of Riau set sail for Inderagiri with a fleet of several *perahu* and *keruis*, a warship and a *sekunar perang*. When they reached Inderagiri, duress was not needed as the Yang Dipertuan of Inderagiri agreed to a Dutch post, after which the Yang Dipertuan Muda and the Resident of Riau returned to Riau. The Dutch administered Inderagiri, placing an Assistant Resident there, whose name I do not have. Not long afterwards they left Inderagiri, but this was not because the contract had been broken.⁵ That was how it was.

409:11

To continue the story of the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu (that is, Raja Umar) in Lingga. He had not been living there long when Sultan Mansur of Trengganu died and the dignitaries replaced him with his son, known as Yang Dipertuan Pelat.⁶ When Yang Dipertuan Raja Umar learnt of this, and heard that the most influential elders in Trengganu had passed away, and that the country was weakened, he left for Trengganu with his brother, Tengku Mahmud. They took Trengganu, and Yang Dipertuan Pelat fled to Kelantan. Yang Dipertuan Raja Umar stayed in Trengganu as king.¹ And thus I conclude.

410:1

After this, by the decree of Allah Almighty (*may He be praised and*

exalted), the mother of Sultan Muhammad Syah died, returning to the mercy of Allah Almighty. *Verily we belong to Allah and to Him we return.* His Majesty Sultan Muhammad Syah buried her according to the customs when a great queen dies. He remained in Lingga in sorrow because of his royal mother's death.²

410:11 Now as for Raja Abdullah, the brother of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abd al-Rahman, he had married Tengku Tengah, daughter of the late Sultan Abd al-Rahman Syah, and they had four sons, as has already been recorded in the genealogical section. Then by the decree of Allah Almighty, who executes His power over His subjects, Tengku Tengah became ill and shortly afterwards died, returning to the mercy of Allah Almighty. *Verily we belong to Allah and to Him we return.* She was buried according to the customs when a princess dies. Later, Raja Abdullah was married again, to the daughter of the Laksamana of Lingga. However, after the marriage he was unhappy and he returned to Riau where he stayed on Penyengat Island, studying religion with one of his relatives, Raja Ali Haji, who taught him variations in the form of words, Arabic grammar,³ theology, a little law and mysticism. The variation in words were from those of Zawzani,⁴ the Arabic grammar was 'Awāmil,⁵ and the *Ajurrūmiyya*,⁶ together with the commentaries. There was also the theological work the *Umm al-barāhīn*,⁷ with commentaries, and a little of the *Jawharat al-tawhīd*,⁸ with a few short commentaries. The mysticism was the *Bidāyat al-hidāyat*⁹ and the *Minhāj al-'abidīn*,¹⁰ written by Imam al-Ghazali, who is the *Proof of Islam*, and a little of some other works. After that he went back to reading Arabic grammar, that is, the *Alfiyyah*¹¹ in verse, by Ibn Malik. He did not complete his study, but during the period of about a year finished approximately two sections. He was then inspired to go to *Bayt al-Haram*¹² in *Mecca the Exalted*. He asked permission of His Majesty the Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abd al-Rahman to make the pilgrimage, and this was given. When the time was propitious, he left for the pilgrimage, sailing for *Mecca the Exalted* in an Arab ship. He visited the holy places and following this went to *Medina of the Messenger* to visit the sacred grave of the Prophet Muhammad (*may Allah bless him and give him peace*). Then he returned to Mecca. He arrived back during the month of the pilgrimage and so he performed the haj. When this was done, he remained in *Mecca the Exalted* for a year studying a little religion, reciting the Koran, and improving his reading with the Koranic readers there. That was the situation in *Mecca the Exalted*.

411:1

To continue the story of His Majesty Sultan Muhammad Syah in Lingga. By the decree of Allah Almighty (*may He be praised and exalted*), His Majesty fell ill with an ulcer (that is, the royal illness), which affect-

ed him on the left side. With each successive day the illness worsened, causing great concern to the inhabitants of the country, the dignitaries, elders and especially the residents of the palace—His Majesty's brothers, children, and older relatives. They all assembled to sit and wait, maintaining a vigil throughout each night, consulting with each other about various kinds of medicine. However, these did not alleviate the illness, which grew steadily worse. Meanwhile, the Yang Dipertuan Besar Sultan Mahmud Muzaffar sent a messenger to Riau to convey word of the illness of his father, Sultan Muhammad Syah, to the Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abd al-Rahman. When the messenger arrived, the Yang Dipertuan Muda left immediately for Lingga. At the time there was a south wind blowing up south-east of Air Putih,¹ and he was delayed at sea.

411:11

Now, as for His Majesty Sultan Muhammad Syah, after his son's messenger had left for Riau, his condition became critical, and when his hour had come, he died, leaving this temporal state for that which is eternal. *Verily we belong to Allah and to Him we return.* This occurred on Tuesday night, 2 Jumad al-akhir, in the hijra year 1257.² An uproar broke out in Lingga, with wailing and lamenting at His Majesty's passing. All the populace wept, especially the residents of the town and the palace—the older relatives, mothers, the children, and all the dignitaries and elders. Mourning began that very day, with people shaving their heads. Afterwards Sultan Mahmud Muzaffar Syah carried out the ceremonies over his father's body before it was interred at Cengkil Hill with his late grandmother. When the body had been purified and shrouded, and when prayers had been said over it, it was placed in a coffin and carried in a royal funeral litter with all the insignia placed on it, beneath the eight open umbrellas fringed with white, which are reserved especially for a great king. It was borne along by people on foot to Cengkil Hill, where it was buried. Following the completion of the burial, the prayers for the dead were read, and all the living returned home. Some individuals received alms and a ritual feast was held as is the custom when a great king dies.

412:1

According to the story, before the seventh day after the death, Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abd al-Rahman arrived from Riau and went to present himself before His Majesty Sultan Mahmud Muzaffar Syah. When they met, they both wept. Then Sultan Mahmud said, 'The best thing would be for you to administer the state, as is proper'. So the Yang Dipertuan Muda did what was appropriate, affirming the administration of the late ruler.

Shortly afterwards, Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abd al-Rahman asked leave of the king to return to Riau, to which His Majesty agreed. On reaching Riau, the Yang Dipertuan Muda sent one of his younger rela-

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tions, Raja Ali Engku Kelana, to Lingga to act as his representative there. One of his cousins, Engku Haji Ali, accompanied Raja Ali to assist him in his work. Raja Ali sailed for Lingga and when he arrived he presented himself before His Majesty Sultan Mahmud Muzaffar Syah, who gave him responsibility for all Lingga's internal affairs. So, to put it briefly, it was settled and thus I conclude.

413:1 To continue the story of Daeng Ronggik, whom some called Daeng Kecik, a name he had received due to his maternal forebear, the Daeng Kecik¹ who was the son of Raja Maimunah, daughter of Opu Daeng Parani and Tengku Tengah Tun Irang, daughter of the late Sultan Abd al-Jalil who died at the Pahang estuary, killed as a result of the war with Raja Kecik, Yang Dipertuan of Siak, whose story has already been related. The present Daeng Kecik² lived at Teluk Belanga. Governor Bonham had consulted the Datuk Bendahara of Pahang, Tun Ali, about making Daeng Kecik Temenggung, and when a decision was reached, Daeng Kecik was appointed Temenggung Seri Maharaja.¹ Following this he left for Lingga to present himself before Sultan Mahmud Syah and to visit Raja Ali, the husband of his sister Raja Cik. In Lingga he was welcomed with honour by Sultan Mahmud Muzaffar Syah and Raja Ali, and they enjoyed themselves with feasting and entertainment, according to the customs traditional when a king receives his relatives. Shortly afterwards, the Temenggung Seri Maharaja asked leave of Sultan Mahmud and Raja Ali to return to Singapore, and they agreed. When he reached Singapore, he remained at Teluk Belanga.

413:11 As for Sultan Mahmud, after the Temenggung Seri Maharaja had left, he also wanted to go to Singapore. But this did not seem right to the Yang Dipertuan Muda's representative, Raja Ali, who submitted to Sultan Mahmud, 'Making frequent pleasure trips to Singapore, which is outside your territory, is not becoming for a king. It would be much better to improve our own state and make it prosperous.' Sultan Mahmud paid no heed to Raja Ali's submission, but none the less left for Singapore with his young attendants. Raja Ali sent a message to his cousin, His Majesty the Yang Dipertuan Muda, and also informed the Temenggung Seri Maharaja, asking him to keep an eye on what Sultan Mahmud was doing in Singapore, for he would understand that the ruler was young and that those with him were just youths, and inexperienced.

414:1 When the Yang Dipertuan Muda heard his cousin's message, he was worried, and the Resident of Riau² was also rather disturbed, because Sultan Mahmud could no longer be restrained from any of his ill-considered actions. The Tengku Temenggung of Singapore, furthermore, was continually giving the princes good advice, trying to persuade them to return to Lingga and stay in their own country. However, in this

case too His Majesty paid no attention, but continued to enjoy himself in Singapore. He travelled about, visiting not only suitable places but also unsuitable ones, and this was not the custom or tradition for a king when abroad.¹

It was because of this that a messenger came from His Excellency Governor Bonham of Singapore, ordering Sultan Mahmud to return to Lingga immediately. Only then did Sultan Mahmud leave and return to Lingga, where he lived as was his usual custom, spending his days with his young attendants in idle amusements.² Later, Sultan Mahmud wanted to return to Singapore for another pleasure trip. Raja Ali did not approve of His Majesty's actions, because he had received many reports about the king; if he went to Singapore there might be some unsavoury episode which would damage the royal reputation. I need say no more; Sultan Mahmud was a young man and those who accompanied him were young servants and attendants who could diminish the kingdom's prestige because they were ill-versed in the traditional customs. That was the reason Raja Ali could not approve of His Majesty Sultan Mahmud continually making pleasure trips to Singapore. Nevertheless, Sultan Mahmud insisted on leaving and Raja Ali could restrain him no longer, so he sent his relative, Raja Ali Haji, to inform the Yang Dipertuan Muda and the Resident of Riau.

414:11

When Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abd al-Rahman heard what Raja Ali Haji had to say, he discussed it with the Resident of Riau and then left for Lingga. When he arrived, he presented himself before His Majesty Sultan Mahmud and before the latter's mother, Tengku Tih. He told her that her son was always wanting to go to Singapore without good reason; it was not proper for a great king to act thus. On several occasions the Yang Dipertuan Muda and the Resident issued counsel and advice to his mother and to Sultan Mahmud himself, with the result that he abandoned the idea of going to Singapore. The Yang Dipertuan Muda stayed in Lingga and administered the state. At that time Sultan Mahmud had numerous disagreements with Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abd al-Rahman and the Resident of Riau concerning administration, ideas, aims, and policies. I need say no more about how the ideas of the young conflict with those of their elders, who are accustomed to ruling, while the young are not. They do not welcome the advice or counsel of their elders, but together with their youthful attendants, are intent on following their own desires. This was the reason, then, that disagreements arose.¹

415:1

To continue the story of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abd al-Rahman's brother Raja Abdullah, who was in *Mecca the Exalted*. After a year there he left for Jeddah and returned directly to the lands below the winds.

He brought with him a learned man, called Sheikh Ahmad Jibrati, and a Banjar man, son of Sheikh Muhammad Arsyad of Banjar,² who is famous below the winds for his knowledge and has written several books on religious law and so forth. His son's name was Lord Syahab al-Din, and it was he whom Raja Abdullah brought to Riau. Shortly after his arrival at Riau, Raja Abdullah set sail for Lingga with his elder brother
415:11 Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abd al-Rahman. This was the second time since the death of the late Sultan Muhammad that the Yang Dipertuan Muda had gone to Lingga. Raja Abdullah stayed with him in Lingga, and on this occasion the princes all assembled there.

According to the story, Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abd al-Rahman was on Lingga for two or three months, and he had more and more disagreements with Sultan Mahmud. The Yang Dipertuan Muda was concerned and continually sent reports to the Resident, trying to find some way of reforming Sultan Mahmud so that he would remain in his kingdom. The Resident of Riau, too, was constantly sending messages advising Sultan Mahmud to stay in his kingdom and govern it justly. It was on these grounds that Sultan Mahmud still had disagreements with Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abd al-Rahman. Then at about this time Sultan Mahmud's youthful attendants spread the story that the Yang Dipertuan Muda's house would be attacked at night, and they were insulting, maligning his good name. The Yang Dipertuan Muda was furious and was going to order that any attack on his house be resisted by force. However, he accepted the advice of one of his relatives, Raja
416:1 Ali Haji, and one of the elders, the nobleman Encik Jawa, that he should avoid creating an incident, and so there was no trouble. The following day the Yang Dipertuan Muda returned to Riau, as if their behaviour had affronted him.

When they met in Riau, the Resident realized how improperly Sultan Mahmud had treated the Yang Dipertuan Muda. The latter conferred with his family and with the Resident, and reached a decision to invite Sultan Mahmud to renew the oath of loyalty which had previously existed between Bugis and Malays (that is, between the Yang Dipertuan Muda and the Yang Dipertuan Besar). Following this, the Yang Dipertuan Muda left with his family and about thirty armed war *perahu*. They were accompanied by the Resident of Riau in a war *sekunar*, which was commanded by Mr Ferdoch.¹ They reached Lingga at nightfall and the Yang Dipertuan Muda's flotilla dropped anchor in the Daik estuary.
416:11 Sultan Mahmud came out there to welcome Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abd al-Rahman, and behaved as though he regretted his past actions. When he met Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abd al-Rahman, he invited him to sail upriver but the Yang Dipertuan Muda asked leave to wait,

and Sultan Mahmud waited with him so that they might sail up together in daylight. The following day the Yang Dipertuan Muda sailed upstream with Sultan Mahmud, and when they arrived, the Yang Dipertuan Muda's vessel berthed at Pangkalan Dalam with the rest of the fleet and the war *sekunar*. Later, Ferdoch anchored out to sea off Kelombuk.²

The Yang Dipertuan Muda stayed in Lingga, administering Sultan Mahmud's kingdom. Shortly afterwards he invited Sultan Mahmud to renew the traditional oath of loyalty between the Yang Dipertuan Muda and the Yang Dipertuan Besar (that is, the pledge between the Bugis and Malay rulers). So they swore their oath in the audience hall, beneath the fringed umbrellas of state, together holding the glorious Koran, as is the custom when renewing an oath. Immediately afterwards the cannon were fired to mark the safe conclusion of the oath.

417:1

The Yang Dipertuan Muda remained in Lingga discussing how they could eradicate piracy, but the armed Dutch *sekunar* returned to Riau after the Yang Dipertuan Muda had concluded his oath of loyalty with Sultan Mahmud. Subsequently, the Yang Dipertuan Muda also went back to Riau. On his return he built a residence and a mosque, at the same time pursuing his doctrinal studies with learned men, such as those he had made his teachers. He enjoyed the company of scholars and Lord Sayids like Habib Sheikh Syakaf, Sayid Hasan al-Hadad, and hajjis such as Lord Kiai Beranjang, Haji Syahab al-Din, the Bugis Haji Abu Bakar, Sheikh Ahmad Jibrati, and others, particularly his relative Raja Ali Haji. He was inseparable from them day and night, questioning them about those laws which had been classified as religious laws, as well as other matters. He helped each of them with as much money as he could, and as was appropriate. That was the situation. I will not prolong the account because I want to keep it brief.

417:11

According to the story, it was not long after this that Sultan Mahmud came to Riau. He asked that a boat, worth about 36,000 silver rupiah, be purchased, so the Yang Dipertuan Muda bought it.¹ Then the Yang Dipertuan Muda became ill and, by the decree of Allah Almighty, after only a few days he died, returning to the mercy of Allah Almighty. *Verily we belong to Allah and to Him we return.* That was on 2 Jumad al-akhir, at ten o'clock on Sunday night in the year 1260.² A commotion broke out in Riau on Penyengat Island as the princes and all the people wept. Sultan Mahmud and his relatives buried the Yang Dipertuan Muda according to the customs traditional when a great king dies. About a month later, Engku Puteri also died, at three o'clock on Monday morning, 28 Rajab in the same year.³ Her brother Engku Haji Ahmad and his family buried her in her Fort and a vault was made. That was the situation.

418:1 After the death of Raja Abd al-Rahman, the Resident of Riau, as the Dutch Government's representative, asked Sultan Mahmud who would succeed the late Yang Dipertuan Muda.¹ Sultan Mahmud requested time to consider and to confer with all the princes on Penyengat, but he could not reach agreement either with them or the elders. During this time the Resident constantly pressed for a decision on the succession but Sultan Mahmud did not want to finalize it.² Eventually, he proposed three candidates who would await his decision; first, Raja Ali, a brother of the late Yang Dipertuan Muda; second, another brother, Engku Raja Haji Abdullah; and third, Raja Idris, son of the deceased. After nominating his representatives, Sultan Mahmud departed for Singapore.

418:11 When the Resident learned what Sultan Mahmud had done, he was far from pleased, because there was still nothing definite to tell the Governor-General³ in Batavia. The Resident then asked the princes and elders on Penyengat Island whether there was any precedent for Sultan Mahmud's actions. The princes, dignitaries, and elders replied that nothing like it had ever happened before. The Resident then indicated that he wished the princes to come to an agreement as to whom they thought should be appointed as Raja Muda. The majority of them suggested Engku Haji Raja Abdullah, brother of the late Yang Dipertuan Muda, but Raja Haji Abdullah said to his kinsmen: 'The Resident of Riau seems to want our collective opinion about whom should become Raja Muda. I myself am out of it, as long as my elder brother Ali is here. I have no wish to take precedence over him.' Raja Jumat, the eldest of Raja Jafar's sons and a brother of the late Raja Abd al-Rahman, but from a different mother, replied, 'As far as I am concerned, it would be wrong to have anyone but my younger brother Ali'. His relatives and the princes then answered, 'We all feel the same way. It would be less than proper to have anyone other than Raja Ali.' Raja Ali Haji then spoke, 'Sirs, if you are really speaking sincerely, you should each put your signature to what we have agreed'. All the princes replied, 'Very well'. So Raja Ali Haji fetched writing materials and paper, and each of the princes signed. Thus the matter was agreed, at nine o'clock on Wednesday, 9 Jumad al-akhir, in the year of the hijra of the Prophet (*may Allah bless him and grant him peace*) 1260,¹ in the audience hall of the late Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abd al-Rahman.

419:1

When the deliberations were finished, Engku Haji Raja Abdullah sent Haji Ibrahim, son of Datuk Syahbandar Abdullah, to the Resident with the letter containing the princes' decision. When the Resident of Riau received the letter, he was pleased and said, 'Haji Ibrahim, the princes' decision accords with my own and with that of the Dutch Government'. Then he continued, 'Of the Sultan's three candidates, the only one I

could accept was Raja Ali, but Raja Abdullah should not feel slighted because on two counts the actions of His Excellency the Sultan were not in accordance with our statutes. We requested that only one person be chosen as Yang Dipertuan Muda. His Excellency the Sultan proposed three, as if to ridicule the government. Second, the Sultan selected three candidates who were all worthy of becoming Yang Dipertuan Muda, and all three were left with the authority of a Raja Muda, the Sultan deliberately seeing to it that the Riau princes would quarrel and that there would be dissension within the state. It was as well that the princes of Penyengat had the intelligence to come to an agreement, because if they had not His Excellency the Sultan would have certainly succeeded in creating contention among them. One further matter; when the late Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abd al-Rahman was still alive, he had already appointed his brother Raja Ali to the position of Kelana in his administration. It is only proper that he should succeed him in the kingdom. Why was His Excellency the Sultan not content to follow the principles and ways of his respected forebears? Haji Ibrahim replied, "That is something about which I dare not speak. Your Excellency will understand why". Then Haji Ibrahim returned and reported the Resident's words to Engku Haji Raja Abdullah and to all the princes. Thus it was definitely settled that Raja Ali should be appointed Yang Dipertuan Muda of Riau because he was the choice of the princes as well as being acceptable to the Dutch Government.

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According to the story, while Sultan Mahmud was holidaying in Singapore,¹ he visited the Temenggung, Tun Ibrahim, the brother-in-law of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali. Sultan Mahmud told him how he had nominated three candidates for the position of Yang Dipertuan Muda because he needed time to consider. Temenggung Ibrahim replied, 'It is my opinion that if an alternative is still open, Raja Ali should succeed the late Yang Dipertuan Muda, for indeed there is no one else suitable or even willing'. After hearing Datuk Temenggung Ibrahim's opinion, Sultan Mahmud was silent. He later returned to Lingga escorted by the Temenggung.

Shortly after their arrival at Lingga, the Temenggung asked leave to return to Singapore, intending also to call in at Riau and visit Raja Ali. Sultan Mahmud then wrote a letter, inviting Raja Ali to come to Lingga for the presentation of his regalia and his installation as Yang Dipertuan Muda of Riau. He gave the letter to Datuk Temenggung Ibrahim and further requested him to urge Raja Ali to come to Lingga within the month. So the Temenggung left Lingga for Riau and there went ashore to visit Raja Ali. He presented Sultan Mahmud's letter and said, 'Sultan Mahmud commanded me to ask you to hasten to Lingga within the

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month'. Raja Ali replied, 'I will obey his command, but I want to assemble my relatives, however distant they may be, because I am going to be appointed leader.² If I cannot ask my own family, whom can I invite to celebrate the installation?' Temenggung Ibrahim answered, 'That is quite true'. When his conversation with Raja Ali was finished, the Temenggung asked leave to return. He then went back to Singapore and stayed at Teluk Belanga.

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As for Raja Ali, after Temenggung Ibrahim's return to Singapore, he assembled all his princely relatives and conferred with them about going to Lingga. When they had reached agreement, Raja Ali set sail and on his arrival in Lingga, he presented himself before Sultan Mahmud and a document of loyalty was drawn up. Afterwards Sultan Mahmud installed Raja Ali and invested him with the regalia, making him Yang Dipertuan Muda of Riau and Lingga and all their dependencies, according to the customs traditional for the Yang Dipertuan Mudas of old. And thus it was. The ceremonies began on 17 Rajab, continuing until Wednesday, 23 Syaban in the year 1261,¹ when the investiture was formalized. And thus I conclude.

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When all the ceremonies were over, Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali asked leave of Sultan Mahmud to return to Riau. Permission was granted and the Yang Dipertuan Muda set sail. When he arrived in Riau he was welcomed respectfully by the Resident, and a cannon salute was fired both from the Hill² and from the cruisers, with answering salvoes from Penyengat. Playing their gongs the Chinese put to sea in scores of *sampan pukat*, bedecked with flags, to welcome the Yang Dipertuan Muda. He then came ashore to pay his respects to his uncle, Engku Haji Ahmad, and to his mother, Raja Lebar. Afterwards he returned to his residence to entertain all his relatives. And thus I conclude.

In the course of his reign, Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali instituted some important measures which enhanced the great name of the kingdom and strengthened the Faith. His brother, Engku Haji Raja Abdullah (generally called Engku Haji Muda) implemented the measures for him, beginning with the regularization of income for his relatives from the Riau revenues,³ in any cases where this had not been done by the late Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abd al-Rahman. He renewed their allowances where it was appropriate and possible. He did the same with the regulations concerning official state positions which were held by his relatives, and he consulted widely. Only then did he delegate responsibility to those who were worthy in the elders' estimation, and in the eyes of intelligent and discerning people. Moreover, he took pleasure in holding wide-ranging discussions on problems affecting the state, and he enjoyed asking elders and high officials for their ideas and opinions. He

personally went to the homes of elders and dignitaries such as Syahbandar Abdullah and Punggawa Ahmad⁴ as well as visiting his senior relatives to seek their advice.

Before Raja Ali had become Raja, the late Raja Muda Abd al-Rahman had appointed him Kelana with the task of overseeing the outer territories. He had called on the elders and dignitaries at home, asking their advice and guidance, and had only then set out on his tour. Furthermore, he delighted in the company of learned men, both respecting and honouring them. Once, when he was acting as Regent on Lingga, he met a learned man from Banjar, Haji Hamin, whom on the advice of his cousin Raja Ali Haji he now brought back with him and to whom he paid an allowance. The Yang Dipertuan Muda revered the wise Lord Haji and would not walk in front of him. He never missed the Friday prayers, remaining humble before Muslim scholars and was most polite and courteous towards his uncles, such as Raja Ismail and Raja Jafar. In the same spirit he was not comfortable sitting on a chair if his seniors were on the ground or if Lord Sayids were present. It was characteristic of him to enjoy having meals with his relatives, who would come to him on a certain day, and likewise he too would visit them in their houses. During his reign he upheld the Islamic faith, attending the mosque on Fridays and ordering women to be veiled. He completed the construction of the mosque, left unfinished because of the death of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abd al-Rahman and later had a bridge constructed of wood and stone, so that the faithful could walk there in comfort when the tide was out.¹

In the time of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali, many religious scholars came. After consulting his cousin, Raja Ali Haji, he paid their expenses and ordered all state officials to study religion, recite religious books, and improve their recitation of the glorious Koran.² He himself loved the quest for knowledge. His cousin, Raja Ali Haji, selected several learned men, like Sayid Abdullah of Bahrain and others, to settle on Penyengat and teach for a year. When they left they were given 400 to 500 dollars. Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali prohibited the wearing of gold or silk; he exiled all miscreants and would no longer tolerate pastimes like gambling and cock fighting, which were forbidden. If a Muslim were discovered gambling or cock fighting, he was punished accordingly. Even when celebrating the marriages of his own sons he would not permit any gambling or cock fighting. Pirates were punished, either by being handed over to the Resident of Riau for exile, or else by being beheaded. This happened several times and served as a deterrent to others. Furthermore, Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali abhorred those who indulged in pleasures which led to loose behaviour between

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men and women, and those who sang and crooned *pantun* with veiled invitations to adultery. On occasion he sent people to confiscate the lutes played by those who were serenading near the homes of decent folk so that the young would hear no scandal and so that there was nothing unseemly in the state.

423:11 All this was done because he benefited from the company of learned men, liked to hear their moral instruction and advice, and took pleasure in listening to moralizing works. Indeed, Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali received a gift of about 40,000 rupiah from the Government because of his wise counsel and co-operation with the Resident of Riau. From the Governor-General¹ in Batavia he received a valuable silver tea and coffee set,² and from the King of Prussia he received a clock which chimed automatically and was ornamented with a mechanical golden singing bird.³ He also received a beautiful crown which he wore in the mosque on Penyengat, and some gold and silver cloth. Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali received a gift from a Dutch prince called Hertoch,⁴ a pistol chased with silver which a Pasha had given to Hertoch. From the Government Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali received an increase of 6,000 rupiah from the Riau revenues in recognition of the good counsel and courtesy which the Resident and his own relatives had received from him.

424:1 Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali also took a keen interest in all his overseas relatives, like those in the Bugis lands, affirming the old traditional customs by the exchange of envoys. Hardly a year passed without visitors from the Bugis lands, and the ties of brotherhood with the Bugis were not broken. This was also true of other countries, such as Siak and Selangor. During Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali's reign the Yang Dipertuan of Selangor came to Riau several times (he had also come once during the reign of the late Yang Dipertuan Muda, when he married his distant cousin, Raja Aisyah,¹ and later returned to Selangor). Then when he heard that Raja Ali had become Yang Dipertuan Muda of Riau, he came again. Shortly afterwards he returned to Selangor. This frequent visiting was also typical of Raja Ali's Singapore relatives, like Temenggung Ibrahim and others.

424:11 On one occasion he sent his cousin, Raja Ali Haji, to Singapore and Temenggung Ibrahim sent two of his sons, Tun Abu Bakar and Tun Abd al-Rahman, back to Riau with Raja Ali Haji to visit the Yang Dipertuan Muda and present themselves. When they reached Riau the Yang Dipertuan Muda was delighted to receive them and took them to meet the Resident of Riau. Later the two princes returned to Singapore. Meanwhile, the Temenggung of Singapore and Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali exchanged keepsakes, things that were both meet and right. That was the situation.

Shortly afterwards, Sultan Mahmud wanted to marry his daughter, Tengku Ambung, to Raja Muhammad Yusuf, son of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali. The latter was in Lingga at the time and he had his son Raja Muhammad Yusuf brought there. When he arrived, Sultan Mahmud married him to his daughter, Tengku Ambung, following the ceremonies traditional at a royal marriage.² They were made one according to the customs when great kings are united. When this was done, the Yang Dipertuan Muda asked leave to return to Riau, where he remained, strengthening the Faith by commanding people to pray. A watch was even maintained each morning to ensure that people performed the dawn prayers.³ That was the situation for some months, even years.

Some time afterwards, Sheikh Ismail, one of the most learned among the Jawi scholars,⁴ came to Singapore and stayed with Temenggung Ibrahim. He sent a letter to Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali saying that he would like to come to Riau as well. Hearing Sheikh Ismail's letter, the Yang Dipertuan Muda was overjoyed, and talked it over with his relatives. He then sent his *perahu keruis* to Teluk Belanga to fetch Sheikh Ismail. When the Sheikh was in Riau waters off Terkulai, the Yang Dipertuan Muda paddled out to welcome him, and they exchanged greetings. Sheikh Ismail was then brought ashore to stay in a place within the law courts. Every day the princes and dignitaries assembled to ask him questions about the law concerning what was valid and what was not, and what was permitted and what forbidden. As well, Sheikh Ismail gave instruction to the Yang Dipertuan Muda's brother, Engku Haji Abdullah, and to Engku Haji Ali, from several short books, such as those of the Muhammadiyah brotherhood¹ and the obligatory religious duties from Sanusi's text,² and a little from some others because time was short. After this, the Yang Dipertuan Muda entered the Naksyabandiyyah brotherhood³ and all the princes on Penyengat studied mysticism. They recited the *khatam tawajuh*⁴ each Friday and Tuesday, and daily prayed as a community.

Subsequently Sheikh Ismail returned to Singapore and stayed with Engku Temenggung at Teluk Belanga. Engku Haji Abdullah and Engku Haji Ali also went to Singapore. There the Datuk Temenggung invited Engku Haji Muda Raja Abdullah to stay with him, while Engku Haji Ali went to Engku Temenggung.⁵ There was feasting and jollity every day as is the custom when princes gather with their relatives. That was the situation. Afterwards Engku Haji Abdullah returned to Riau with Engku Haji Ali. Engku Haji Muda performed all the devotions and recitations of the Naksyabandiyyah, and it was he who became leader of the brotherhood on Riau.

Later, the Yang Dipertuan Muda left for Singapore with the Resident

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of Riau.⁶ When they arrived the Datuk Temenggung brought the Yang Dipertuan Muda to stay in his palace and there was a banquet every day, as is the custom when princes come together. Not long afterwards, with the Temenggung escorting them as far as Nungsa Island, the Yang Dipertuan Muda left to return to Riau with Sheikh Ismail, and there the Yang Dipertuan Muda remained. Engku Temenggung subsequently came to Riau again and was honoured by Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali, who invited him ashore and gave him a palace. Meanwhile, however, the Yang Dipertuan Muda's mother became ill and died.¹ After the burial, and on the seventh day after the death, Engku Temenggung asked leave of the Yang Dipertuan Muda to return. After making his farewell visit, he set sail for Singapore and stayed at Teluk Belanga. That was how it was.

During this time Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali and the princes were extremely close. One of the achievements of the Yang Dipertuan Muda's reign was that princes were forbidden to take deliveries to the Tujuh Islands and to question people engaged in trade.² Instead he instituted a system of tribute from the sea-people of the Tujuh Islands. He delegated responsibility for this task to his second cousin, Sayid Hasyim whom people called Engku Nung, the son of Engku Sayid Muhammad Zain al-Kudsi, and to his first cousin, Raja Andut, the son of Engku Haji Ahmad. In the same way revenue was raised from dry rice fields and from the Chinese for all kinds of timber. All these measures were initiated in Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali's reign.

According to the story, at this time Karimun Island was virtually moribund. There were no revenues and only about four to six families of sea-people lived there, the others having all dispersed elsewhere. They could not be prevented from leaving because they were oppressed by the princes who frequented those seas and by marauders who constantly raided the island. Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali was informed of what was happening on the high seas, and he consulted his relatives Engku Haji Muda Raja Abdullah, Engku Raja Ali Haji and all the dignitaries. When a decision had been reached, the Yang Dipertuan Muda gave over Karimun Island to Raja Abdullah and Kundur Island to Raja Ali Haji and Raja Abdullah jointly, to be developed and populated as a permanent holding. The revenues were to be divided into five, as was stipulated in their letter of authorization. Kundur, however, was excluded from the fivefold division.

After this Raja Abdullah left for Karimun Island (Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali had given him Kundur somewhat earlier), and when he arrived he brought together all the Karimun people who had been scattered far and wide. He paid the debts of all who owed money and or-

dered them to return to Karimun; that was the situation for several months as he spent money to re-assemble the people. Gradually they gathered, as he governed them justly, and eventually Karimun became well-populated.¹ The Chinese also came, asking whether they could buy timber and wood, and paying tolls, and Karimun increasingly attracted trade. Later a Dutchman arrived, son of Resident van den Berg,² to request whether he could mine tin on Karimun Island. The Yang Dipertuan Muda conferred with Raja Ali Haji and the Riau dignitaries. When a decision was reached, they drew up a contract with van den Berg, who went to Karimun and built some huts in which he lived, at a place called Munas.³ It was not long before people gathered there and with each passing day the number grew until there was a population of several thousand. That was the situation. I will not prolong the account, because I have to keep it brief.

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As for Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali in Riau, he made a point of conferring every day with his relatives and the Resident of Riau. Sheikh Ismail constantly went back and forth between Singapore and Riau. Once he went to Kedah but returned to Riau again, where he later married the daughter of Lord Khatib Abd al-Rasyid and had a son, whom he named Muhammad Nur. Subsequently he returned to *Mecca the Exalted*, taking his family. The Yang Dipertuan Muda provided him with about 4,000 dollars and considerable equipment. One of the Yang Dipertuan's sons went with him to make the pilgrimage, but preceded him to *Mecca the Exalted*. There he died, returning to the mercy of Allah Almighty. His name was Raja Mansur.¹

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To continue the story of Sultan Mahmud in Lingga, who conceived the idea of going to Trengganu with his mother. When the time was right, he left Lingga for Trengganu. On his arrival, the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu² honoured both Tengku Tih and Yang Dipertuan Besar Sultan Mahmud Muzaffar Syah. They stayed in Trengganu, being regaled and entertained as is customary when a king is newly united with his close relatives.³ That was how it was. Shortly afterwards, Sultan Mahmud returned, stopping briefly at Riau before sailing on to Lingga, where he stayed. But later he left again on a pleasure trip to Singapore. There he joined a Christian religious society called Freemasons⁴ and became friendly with a Parsee called Cursetjee⁵ who was not a Muslim. When he returned to Lingga he built a residence which was just like the home of a white man.⁶ It was spacious and beautifully constructed. Never had the kings of Riau and Lingga constructed such a residence, complete with fine and beautiful furnishings and stocked with the food and drink of white men, and with paintings on the walls. When white men came, like the Resident of Riau and others, they were received and

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entertained in this residence. He also kept several large dogs there and cared for them as would a white man.⁷ And thus, in brief, I conclude.

429:1 To continue the story of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali in Riau. By the decree of Allah Almighty (*may He be praised and exalted*) the Yang Dipertuan Muda became ill. The cause of his illness was exhaustion. A Dutch doctor came to prescribe medicines, but these did not cure him and his condition deteriorated as the days went by. Then boils erupted, and these became increasingly serious. His close relatives and the princes on Penyengat were all distressed. By the evening of 1 Zulkaedah,¹ Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali knew that his illness was critical, and he summoned his cousin, Raja Ali Haji, and asked him to read the *Chapter for the Dying*. After reading it, Raja Ali Haji blew all over the Yang Dipertuan Muda's body,² saying prayers of intercession. The Yang Dipertuan Muda then questioned Raja Ali Haji about the belief of the Sunnis³ and of the community and he was told about the principles of religion. Raja Ali Haji resolved this, using examples drawn from the Koran. Then Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali asked another question concerning the spiritual value of the affliction of illness. So Raja Ali Haji explained to him the difference between afflictions that aimed at correction, those that brought one nearer to Allah, and those which were intended to be a punishment. Later the Yang Dipertuan Muda asked about the interval of time immediately after death, and was told, 'It is thus and thus'. Following this, Raja Ali Haji returned home.

429:11 By Saturday night, 3 Zulkaedah,⁴ the Yang Dipertuan Muda was very close to death and all his family gathered to be with him. Engku Haji Muda Raja Abdullah, Engku Haji Ali, Orang Kaya Muda Haji Ibrahim, and Raja Husain were close by him, while his sons were also present. Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali bestowed his blessing on them all. Afterwards Engku Haji Ahmad came and the Yang Dipertuan Muda asked to kiss his hand and they exchanged blessings and wept. His aunts and female relatives, old and young without exception, wept too. Then he gave his final testament, which was written down as he lay close to death. Encik Haji Muda Raja Abdullah came closer to him in concentrated meditation,⁵ while Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali began reciting the liturgy *Ism al-dhat*,⁶ his beads in his right hand. He was lying on a long iron couch, and a moment later his soul departed while he was still holding his beads. His brothers and sons all lifted him from the couch and placed him on his bed. And truly, he had died. *Verily we belong to Allah and to Him we return*. His body was wrapped in a shroud, and his family and relatives and all the people in the country, male and female, lamented noisily. The cannon were fired and there was tumult on Penyengat that day. Engku Haji Muda sent a message to inform the

Resident of Riau at Tanjung Pinang and when the Resident heard, he had the flag at the Tanjung Pinang fort flown at half mast. The cannon were fired at intervals, alternating with the salvoes from Penyengat. There was turmoil on Penyengat that day and all the people shaved their heads. 430:1

On the following day, Engku Haji Muda assembled all the princes, the dignitaries, the elders, the nobles, and the entire population for the burial of the late ruler. These people all assembled and went inside the palace. Soon afterwards the Resident of Riau¹ and all the Tanjung Pinang dignitaries arrived, wearing ceremonial dress. When everyone had assembled and the lustration, the shrouding and the prayers were over, the body was placed on a curtained bier of copper, because the Yang Dipertuan Muda's last testament had contained two requests; first, that his body should not be borne on a litter, as had the bodies of previous kings. Second, that if the Resident of Riau wanted to provide an escort of soldiers and drums to the grave as had been done for his brother, the late Abd al-Rahman, to say 'Thank you very much, but there is no need'. Engku Haji Muda Abdullah ensured that the Yang Dipertuan Muda's wishes were observed, and he was therefore not buried according to the customs observed at previous royal funerals. 430:11

The death of the late Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali had occurred on 3 Zulkaedah, on Saturday night at eleven o'clock, in the year 1273.² All the people of Penyengat and the Dutch dignitaries escorted the late ruler to the grave where he was buried. After the creed had been whispered to the body, the people and the Dutch dignitaries all returned to Tanjung Pinang to discuss the selection of a suitable successor. The Resident of Riau was of the view that there was no one more suited than Engku Haji Muda Raja Abdullah, because he was conversant with the routine of government and in addition was a learned man. However, he would await the opinion of His Excellency Sultan Mahmud in Lingga.

Raja Abdullah Engku Haji conferred with his relatives on Penyengat and with the appropriate elders, and then sent a letter with keepsakes to Sultan Mahmud on Lingga.¹ He also sent keepsakes to Singapore with a letter. The messengers set sail. When the Lingga messenger arrived, there was a commotion as word circulated about the death of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali. His wife wept with all those in his Lingga residence and they held a religious feast and chanted praises to Allah, as is the custom when a great king dies. When Sultan Mahmud heard the letter from Riau, he wished to go there and a *perahu* was sent from Riau to fetch him. On his arrival Engku Muda Raja Haji Abdullah and Engku Haji Ali came aboard to present themselves and invite him to come ashore to the palace. At that stage he had not yet landed, but then pro- 431:1

ceeded to do so and settled in the palace at Kampung Bulang. There all the princes on Penyengat came to present themselves and await his announcement as to who would succeed the late ruler. But no announcement of a decision was forthcoming, and the princes were upset because their leader had not yet been determined. That was the situation.

431:11 According to the story, Sultan Mahmud had decided that the person he wanted as successor to the late Raja Ali was the prince Raja Muhammad Yusuf, his son-in-law. However, Raja Muhammad Yusuf was unwilling to succeed as long as his uncle Engku Haji Muda was alive. He was even willing to be estranged from his wife and risk incurring Sultan Mahmud's anger rather than be alienated from his uncle, Engku Haji Muda. This frustrated Sultan Mahmud's plan, and prevented him determining the Yang Dipertuan Muda's successor. The Resident, too, was pressing for a decision on a successor to the late Raja Ali.

432:1 Sultan Mahmud had no desire to settle it because the princes and elders on Penyengat had already decided for several reasons that the only fitting successor to the late Raja Ali was Engku Haji Muda. Firstly, Engku Haji Muda was already versed in the ways of government. Secondly, he was skilled in both religious and traditional law. Thirdly, as long as he was alive not one of the princes, young or old, including the Sultan's own favourite, wished to become Yang Dipertuan Muda. Fourthly, the Government representative approved the decision of the people of Riau and he upheld Article 7 of the contract, which dealt with conditions for the appointment of the Raja Muda. If the Dutch Government did not approve of the Sultan of Riau and Lingga's choice, there could be no appointment unless Sultan Mahmud followed the Government's directive. For these four reasons, the Resident approved of Engku Haji Muda Raja Abdullah as a successor to his brother the late Raja Ali, and requested that Sultan Mahmud should appoint him forthwith, lest affairs of state be further impeded. But Sultan Mahmud paid no attention to the advice of the Resident or the people, but still wanted his own way. This was at the root of the conflict between Sultan Mahmud and the Resident of Riau and all the princes and elders on Penyengat.

432:11 In the meantime, there was much Sultan Mahmud said and did which met with the approval of neither the Dutch Government nor the people.¹ Then he wanted to go to Singapore and leave the matter undecided. The Resident tried to dissuade him from going before he had settled such a grave matter, which was weighing heavily on the state of Riau and Lingga. Sultan Mahmud, however, paid no heed to the Resident's advice, but still insisted on going to Singapore. All this caused much concern to Engku Haji Muda Raja Abdullah, who feared a breach

between Sultan Mahmud and the Dutch Government. He therefore ventured to offer a letter of advice which read: 'With regard to the matter of the position of Raja Muda; we are completely yours to do as you will, as if indeed we and our sons and brothers have not already done so. I beg you, do not quarrel with the Dutch Government and do not break the contract which your forbears entered into and which you yourself ratified on several occasions.'

Sultan Mahmud paid no heed to Engku Haji Muda's request but still wanted to leave for Singapore the next day. Engku Haji Muda was silent and could not think what to do. 433:1

Meanwhile, Sultan Mahmud had sent a messenger to the Resident of Riau asking for the Riau revenue money. The Resident replied, 'The Riau revenues have already been pledged in the contract; under Article 16,¹ the money belongs to the Yang Dipertuan Muda, but at present there is not one. So now, quickly appoint someone, so that we may hand the money over to him as specified in the contract.' When Sultan Mahmud heard the Resident's reply, his fury increased and he said many unbecoming things which I will not record in this chronicle. Suffice it for those with intelligence to imagine what people say when they quarrel.

The Riau revenues were withheld for about two months, and the princes and elders of Penyengat suffered hardship because they were all accustomed to receive their monthly allowance regularly. Now it was being withheld because Sultan Mahmud had not determined a successor to the Yang Dipertuan Muda, causing distress on Penyengat. Many of those who were pressed came to pester Engku Haji Muda, who distributed about 1,700 dollars to his unfortunate relatives. Where he was short he borrowed a sum of about 1,000 dollars from the Chinese. 433:11

Sultan Mahmud wished to hasten to Singapore the next day but the Resident detained him, asking him to finalize the appointment because the people on Penyengat were in difficulties, particularly Engku Haji Muda Raja Abdullah. He was at the mercy of his relatives since in the late Raja Ali's will he had been nominated to care for all his family. Sultan Mahmud took no notice of the Resident's restraints, but sailed to Singapore in his *sekunar*.² Engku Haji Muda sent for his nephew, Raja Muhammad Yusuf, and said, 'Try to follow His Majesty Sultan Mahmud. Later I will send you some small *perahu* and as much money as I am able for expenses'. So Raja Muhammad Yusuf set out to accompany the Sultan, with a message from Engku Haji Muda. 434:1

According to the story, when Sultan Mahmud set sail the Resident of Riau felt humiliated because his attempts to restrain His Majesty had been disregarded. This dishonoured the customs and traditions of

dignitaries and if the Resident was thus shamed, it reflected upon the Dutch Government. Moreover, the Dutch Government had a plan for Sultan Mahmud based on a royal decree, which would not harm his kingdom.¹ But Sultan Mahmud had refused to accept it and this was another factor which offended and embarrassed the Dutch Government. According to the story, it was this matter, and Sultan Mahmud's actions, which were to have far-reaching consequences.

434:11 When Sultan Mahmud reached Singapore, he stayed with his non-Muslim friend Cursetjee, the Parsee who was a Zoroastrian. Meanwhile, Cursetjee tried several times to coax Raja Muhammad Yusuf into agreeing to succeed the late Raja Ali, but at this he became very angry and refused, saying, 'Cursetjee, do not speak to me like that again! My uncle will succeed my late father. As long as my uncle is alive, I have no wish to succeed my father'. That was his response, and Cursetjee was silent.

435:1 The Resident, in the meantime, had also sent a message to Singapore inviting Sultan Mahmud to return to Riau and requesting him to nominate his representative there, the next Raja Muda. But still Sultan Mahmud did not wish to appoint his representative from among the Riau princes. In actual fact, he was conferring and consulting with a prince called Raja Ahmad, the son of Raja Zainal (a Malay prince who was the son of Raja Ahmad, who was the son of Sultan Sulaiman by a secondary wife, not a fully royal son by Encik Puan Perak). The mother of this Raja Ahmad was Raja Bulang, the daughter of Raja Tua Abd al-Wahab, son of Raja Tua Encik Andak who was the son of Raja Tua Daeng Menampuk Matoa, and thus the descendant of the Bugis Raja Tua who had become the Matoa² of the five princely Bugis brothers. Subsequently there was much bitterness with the late Yang Dipertuan Muda the Bearded One, and so Encik Andak was banished from Riau to Palembang, as has already been recounted.¹ This then was the Raja Ahmad who had been put forward as a candidate by Sultan Mahmud in his discussions about the position of Raja Muda. The Resident's messenger returned to Riau without a decision or directive.

435:11 According to the story, on Sunday, 15 Safar² a steamer, the warship *Celebes*, reached Riau from Batavia and berthed at Tanjung Pinang. It brought a Commissioner, His Excellency Major Willem,³ who conferred with the Resident of Riau about Sultan Mahmud's behaviour. Meanwhile, on Tuesday, 17 Safar⁴ a *katar* which Sultan Mahmud had borrowed from his friend Cursetjee arrived from Singapore bringing Raja Ahmad Tengku Lung to Riau to be his representative there. Raja Ahmad said he was prepared to act as Sultan Mahmud's representative in Riau and would stand up to the Resident. Even if the dispute went as far as Batavia, he would handle it; Sultan Mahmud was not to worry.

When Raja Ahmad reached Riau, he went ashore to Tanjung Pinang to meet the Resident of Riau and announced that he was Sultan Mahmud's representative for Riau affairs, giving the Resident a letter from the Sultan. When the Resident had read it, he understood its import. Then Raja Ahmad Tengku Lung returned to his *perahu* to await the Resident's reply to Sultan Mahmud's letter. After Raja Ahmad had gone, the Resident sent for Raja Abdullah Engku Haji Muda. When he came, the Resident said, 'Have you met Raja Ahmad Tengku Lung?' Raja Abdullah said, 'No'. So the Resident said, 'Perhaps you should present yourself to him'. Then he showed him the letter from Sultan Mahmud which Raja Ahmad had brought. Raja Abdullah read, after the salutations, as follows:

... Next, we wish to inform our honoured friend that when we were in Lingga you called us to Riau to discuss a successor to the Raja Muda. When we arrived in Riau you broached the matter of the Dutch king's decree. This came at a time when the late Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali was no longer capable of receiving it, let alone ourselves. Furthermore, you have asked for a representative in Riau, so we have sent Raja Ahmad Tengku Lung to be our representative there. It is our wish that you transfer the Riau revenues and the money of the sea-people to him.

436:1

This was Sultan Mahmud's letter to the Resident of Riau. It is approximately the text, but I cannot vouch for it because I had it verbally from Raja Abdullah Engku Haji. I did not copy it from the actual document.

Then the Resident of Riau said to Raja Abdullah Engku Haji Muda: 'This is His Excellency our Commissioner who has been sent by the Government to divest His Excellency the Sultan of Riau of his realm because of his misconduct. There are nine matters which implied disrespect for the Government and its representative. Tomorrow the proclamation will go out.' Raja Abdullah was shocked when he heard this and fell silent. Then he asked the Resident's leave to return to Penyengat where he assembled all his relatives and told them that Sultan Mahmud was going to be deposed by the Dutch Government. They were stunned, because nothing like it had ever happened before. Then they discussed and conferred about it, and finally sent a letter containing three points to the Resident of Riau. 'Firstly, that our good name and traditional custom will never be lost; secondly, that the Government should support Raja Abdullah and his successors in any future crises; thirdly, that our names will not be linked with any action the Dutch Government takes so that we cannot be accused of treason or desertion.' The Resident accepted all their requests. The letter was written amidst extreme turmoil on Tuesday night, 17 Safar at three o'clock.¹

436:11

437:1 The following day, Wednesday, at seven o'clock, the Commissioner set sail with another white man, Mr von de Wall,² who was an expert in the Malay language. They sailed to Singapore in the war steamer *Celebes*, and when they arrived they both called on the Governor of Singapore.¹ Then they set out to find Sultan Mahmud, trying everywhere, even the Temenggung's house, but without success. Finally they found him at Cursetjee's house on the Hill. The Commissioner then read the proclamation deposing Sultan Mahmud.² The Sultan's expression altered only slightly when he heard it.³ Then the Commissioner returned to Riau, leaving a copy of the proclamation with Sultan Mahmud. They reached Riau that evening.

437:11 The following day, Thursday, at eight o'clock, the Resident and the Commissioner invited Raja Abdullah Engku Haji Muda to come to Tanjung Pinang where the Resident honoured him as he would a Yang Dipertuan Muda. He then said, 'His Excellency the Sultan has been deposed and in Lingga and Riau there is neither a Yang Dipertuan Besar nor a Yang Dipertuan Muda.⁴ The Government now appoints Raja Abdullah as the Yang Dipertuan Muda to rule the kingdom of Riau and Lingga and its dependencies according to time-honoured custom and tradition.' Then the letter of appointment was read so that all might hear it, and the cannon in the fort were fired. Next the Resident of Riau said to Raja Abdullah, 'Now I want to go to Lingga with you, the Yang Dipertuan Muda, to find which of the late Sultan Abd al-Rahman Syah's grandsons would be suitable to appoint as King of Lingga'.

438:1 When a decision had been reached, Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abdullah, the Resident of Riau, the Commissioner and Mr von de Wall set sail for Lingga in a steamship.⁵ On their arrival, Raja Abdullah went ashore to visit Tengku Sulaiman, who was generally known as Tengku Muda.⁶ He was the son of the late Sultan Abd al-Rahman Syah and was thus the uncle of the deposed Sultan Mahmud and was also a former brother-in-law of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abdullah. The two conferred and when it was agreed that Tengku Sulaiman was willing to succeed his nephew as king, Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abdullah went to the Resident and Commissioner to tell them that he had made his choice and that it was Raja Sulaiman, son of the late Sultan Abd al-Rahman of Cengkil Hill. The Commissioner and the Riau Resident accepted his choice. Then on 21 Safar,¹ the Commissioner, the Resident of Riau, and Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abdullah appointed Tengku Sulaiman as Yang Dipertuan Besar of Riau and Lingga with all their dependencies. He was given the title of Sultan Sulaiman Badr al-Alam Syah. This action was in accordance with the command of Allah Almighty in the glorious Koran. *Thou givest sovereignty unto whom Thou wilt and Thou with-*

*dravest sovereignty from whom Thou wilt. Thou exaltest whom Thou wilt and Thou abasest whom Thou wilt. In Thy hand is the good. Lo! Thou art able to do all things.*² (The meaning of Allah Almighty's command in the glorious Koran is: Bring sovereignty to whomsoever you wish and honour whomsoever you wish and humiliate whomsoever you choose, but all devotion should be to Allah Almighty. In truth it is You, oh my God, who has the greatest power over us all.) And thus I conclude. 438:11

The task of appointing and confirming the king was done. However, there still remained the installation by beat of drum, according to time-honoured custom and tradition. After that the Resident of Riau and the Commissioner returned to Riau, leaving the Yang Dipertuan Muda in Lingga because he still had to make the oath of loyalty with Sultan Sulaiman Badr al-Alam Syah. He was also putting things to rights in Lingga and conferring about the appointment of dignitaries and elders there.

As for Raja Ahmad Tengku Lung, who had been Sultan Mahmud's representative in Riau, when he saw that Sultan Mahmud had been deposed, he returned to Singapore to present himself before him. But Raja Ahmad came to Lingga again in a *katar* because he wanted to confuse the people of Lingga. However, he encountered the Commissioner's warship and the Dutch seized his *katar*. Raja Ahmad Tengku Lung then jumped overboard, fled in panic to the shore, and escaped. The Dutch hoisted up the *katar* and slung it from their *keci*. Eventually, when everything had settled down, they returned it to its owner in Singapore. 439:1

As for Sultan Mahmud, after the Commissioner who had dismissed him had left, he went to Lingga in a *sampan panjang*. There he heard that his uncle had already become king, so he returned to Teluk Belanga in Singapore. His son-in-law, Raja Muhammad Yusuf, returned to Riau to meet his uncle, Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abdullah, and stayed there waiting for Raja Abdullah to come back from Lingga. A few days later the Yang Dipertuan Muda reached Riau and when he arrived at Penyengat he was greeted by his close relations, together with all the princes and elders there as well as the Chinese and ordinary people. He then left for his palace to meet his female relatives, his wife, and his daughters.

Now as for Sultan Mahmud, when he arrived in Singapore he sent a messenger to fetch his mother, Tengku Tih, from Lingga and bring her to Singapore to Teluk Belanga in a steamship which he had hired. One of Temenggung Ibrahim's sons was sent to fetch her and on his return trip he stopped briefly at Riau to visit the Yang Dipertuan Muda.¹ 439:11

As for the Yang Dipertuan Muda, when he had recovered from the turmoil and fatigue of the affair, he conferred with the Resident of Riau about inviting Sultan Sulaiman Badr al-Alam Syah to Riau to be installed by beat of drum with the Resident, as the Government's representative, as witness. The Riau Resident agreed to the Yang Dipertuan Muda's proposal and gave him a war steamer with which to fetch the Yang Dipertuan Besar. The Yang Dipertuan Muda sent one of his relatives, Raja Abdullah,² along with it. The ship set sail for Lingga and when it arrived Sultan Sulaiman was brought aboard, and they sailed to
 440:1 Riau. On their arrival, the Yang Dipertuan Muda welcomed them with cannon and musical instruments. Tengku Sulaiman then went ashore and stayed in the Yang Dipertuan Muda's palace while the Yang Dipertuan Muda prepared everything necessary for the installation of a Yang Dipertuan Besar according to time-honoured custom. When all was ready the ceremonies commenced with entertainments such as *wayang*, *joget*, and so forth. Night and day people assembled in the palace.

When the time was right and at a propitious moment, the Yang Dipertuan Muda proceeded with the arrangements for the installation of a great king. After the lustration and robing had been completed, Tengku Sulaiman was taken down to the audience hall and seated on the throne of state with the princely office bearers on the right and left, each one with his own insignia. Ranged in front of the audience hall were all the princes and dignitaries, awaiting their summons from the two heralds. After this Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abdullah said to his cousin Raja Ali Haji, 'We should make the proclamation here, and in the Islamic way, so that our undertaking will have Allah's blessing'. Raja Ali Haji answered, 'Very well'. Following this, Raja Ali Haji and one of the religious scholars, a Kabul man from Kandahar¹ called Sayid Ghalam al-Rasul, stood together in front of the throne while Raja Ali Haji proclaimed the installation formula, which went thus:
 440:11

We who are people of position and trust, appoint and proclaim Your Most Honoured Highness as King of Riau and Lingga and all its dependencies, with the title Seri Paduka Sultan Badr al-Alam Syah. We all hope Your Most Noble Majesty will follow the commands of Allah Almighty and his Prophet, according to the glorious Koran and the traditions of the Lord of the Prophets.²

With his hand he indicated the glorious Koran, which was on the lap of a prince. Immediately afterwards he read the prayers and then left the top tier of the hall for a lower level.

The Yang Dipertuan Muda then came forward and paid homage, followed by all the princes and dignitaries. The orchestra played and the

cannon were fired; how impressive it sounded that day!³ Only after people had completed paying homage did they go up to the palace to eat the ceremonial rice. When this was finished, the installation by beat of drum was concluded. The Yang Dipertuan Muda sent official letters to all the river reaches, rocky islets and islands. It was announced that there was a new king entitled His Most Royal Majesty Sultan Sulaiman Badr al-Alam Syah and that he replaced Sultan Mahmud Muzaffar Syah. All of these places remained loyal except Retih, where the ruler, Raja Lung, was an Ilanun prince whose mother was a Malay princess from Siak. The late Sultan Muhammad had bestowed on him the title Panglima Besar and had given Retih over to him.¹ Panglima Besar refused to make obeisance to Sultan Sulaiman Badr al-Alam Syah because he believed the reports which said that Sultan Mahmud could still obtain assistance and aid from the English and French, who would help restore his kingdom. Other reports and letters from Singapore told him to hold firm, not to waver, and help would be forthcoming from Sultan Mahmud. The Panglima Besar believed in this and held fast to it.

441:1

When the Yang Dipertuan Muda learned of Panglima Besar's attitude, he sent someone with a letter of advice, and instructions that Panglima Besar should make obeisance to Sultan Sulaiman. But still Panglima Besar refused. Several more times the Yang Dipertuan Muda sent him letters and ordered trustworthy people to try to persuade him, but Panglima Besar paid no heed and answered the letters rudely. After that the Dutch Government also gave him advice and reprimanded him. They even went to Retih, but he still would not listen. He then built a stockade to defy the Yang Dipertuan Muda and the Resident of Riau, until eventually the affair became serious.

441:11

Meanwhile, Sultan Sulaiman Badr al-Alam Syah asked leave of the Yang Dipertuan Muda, for he wished to return to Lingga, and this was granted. On 12 Ramadan the Yang Dipertuan Besar, the Yang Dipertuan Muda and all their ministers concluded a new contract with the Dutch Government. This was in the year 1274.² Then Sultan Sulaiman set sail for Lingga, escorted by the Resident in an armed *sekunar* which, after their arrival, returned again to Riau.

As for the Yang Dipertuan Muda, after the departure of Sultan Sulaiman Badr al-Alam Syah, he conferred with the Resident of Riau (that is, Mr Tobias)³ about strengthening the country. He also discussed what should be done about the situation in Retih. In the meantime, he continued to perform his religious duties with all his relatives, in accordance with the devotional rites of the Naksyabandiyyah brotherhood. Every Tuesday and Friday he said the weekly liturgy,¹ and pursued his studies

442:1

442:11 in the audience hall. It was his cousin, Raja Ali Haji, who taught him and read out the books to his relatives and the state officials. The books he used were about law, concerning what was proven, not proven, permitted or forbidden, and from the book *The Revitalization of the Religious Sciences*² he read the three sections which deal with social customs, social behaviour and those human qualities which lead to perdition. He upheld the Friday prayers, sometimes reading the sermon himself and sometimes acting as a leader for the congregation. Moreover, he told his relatives on several occasions, 'After I have been Yang Dipertuan Muda for a year, I want to step down. If the Yang Dipertuan Besar and the Dutch Government are agreeable, I would like my nephew Muhammad Yusuf to succeed me, for none of my own sons seems quite right. I want to move to Bintan, or somewhere else quiet, so that I can pursue my religious devotions'. Shortly after this he issued his last testament to his relatives, both male and female, and there remained only the testament for his son Raja Haji Muhammad Tengku Nung who had not yet returned from *Mecca the Exalted* at the time the testament was being issued. However, when he heard that his uncle the late Raja Ali had died, and learned that his father Raja Abdullah had succeeded him, he came back but was not in time to meet his father. The testament was meanwhile entrusted to Raja Ali Haji.

443:1 According to the story, Panglima Besar of Retih had constructed two extensive breastworks and had ranged his cannon and assembled his people. He bought ammunition in Singapore to offer resistance should the Yang Dipertuan Muda and the Dutch Government attack. News of this became widely known and reached the Yang Dipertuan Muda and the Resident of Riau. They were both furious and discussed the mounting of a campaign against Panglima Besar. The Yang Dipertuan Muda prepared as many war vessels as he could, small *perahu* which could carry cannon and swivel guns, and gathered together all the Bugis in Riau. The Resident did likewise.¹ At the time, the Dutch Government vessels in Riau consisted of a war steamer, the *Sumbing*, under the command of Mr Kroef,² an armed *keci*; an armed *sekunar*; and several *keruis*, all of which were ready and waiting for orders. The Yang Dipertuan Muda's intention was to appoint someone of both Malay and Bugis blood as the battle commander, namely, the prince Raja Muhammad Yusuf. However, the strategist was Raja Husain³ because the Yang Dipertuan Muda said Raja Muhammad Yusuf was not experienced in warfare. That was how it was.

According to the story, when the Yang Dipertuan Muda was in the midst of these preparations, by the decree of Allah Almighty he became ill, afflicted with the disease of princes, called *pak ipa*, on his back.⁴ As

the days went by his condition worsened. Incantations were used several times but he did not improve and, indeed, became worse. His relatives were distressed by the situation because they were ready to launch the campaign, and the Resident of Riau was also upset, sending the Dutch doctor to examine the Yang Dipertuan Muda, but even this did not effect a cure. Day by day he became worse, so that he himself did not believe he would recover from his illness. One day the Yang Dipertuan Muda summoned his cousin, Raja Ali Haji, and said to him, 'We should marry your son Hasan to my daughter Maimunah immediately, while I am still alive to witness it'. And Raja Ali Haji answered, 'I will do whatever you say'. On Thursday night, then, Raja Hasan was to be married to the Yang Dipertuan Muda's daughter, Raja Maimunah, so that they could be united straightaway. The Yang Dipertuan Muda's wife, Raja Hawa, daughter of Engku Haji Ahmad, asked whether they might not postpone it for a while, in the hope that through the munificence of Allah Almighty, the Yang Dipertuan Muda might improve a little. Furthermore, everything necessary for the wedding was not prepared, and if it were to be carried out in such haste and not as it should be, she would be humiliated. She therefore begged her husband, with tears in her eyes, to wait. I need say no more about how it is with women, whose thinking is not as well developed as that of men. The Yang Dipertuan Muda made no further mention of an immediate marriage. 443:11

On one occasion the Resident of Riau came to visit the Yang Dipertuan Muda to see how he was. He entered the palace and met the Yang Dipertuan Muda who told him that he wanted the war to go ahead. The Resident answered, 'I think it would be best to be patient and wait for a while. Perhaps you will feel slightly better, Your Excellency, and we will be able to carry out the campaign. Try to be patient, Sir, and do not let it disturb you.' When the Yang Dipertuan Muda heard the Resident, he replied, 'What I ask is that if it is at all possible, the Government should conduct the war now, even though I am ill. If I die I will be succeeded by someone like me. The best thing is for me to organize something soon. Do not let this prevent you, Sir, from holding discussions and issuing orders concerning the war'. He then sent a letter to his cousin Raja Ali Haji concerning the measures which had been taken. The letter read: 444:1

Raja Muhammad Yusuf will be my successor; Raja Haji Ali will be in charge of legal matters, and Raja Husain will control the ordinary people who are being taken on the campaign. Sayid Uthman Engku Ambung and his cousin Raja Husain are to control matters concerned with finance and expenditure. Haji Ibrahim Datuk Kaya will investigate the documents dealing with litigation. 444:11

That was how the contents were set out. The scribe then copied the letter, and immediately afterwards the seal was placed on it. It was then read out to the Resident of Riau who accepted it. He then made his farewells and took the letter with him. The conduct of the campaign was thus settled.

445:1 After the Resident of Riau had left, the Yang Dipertuan Muda's illness became increasingly worse until he was on the verge of death. He sent a messenger to summon Raja Ali Haji who was then asked by the Yang Dipertuan Muda to draw up his last will and testament for the Government's representative. His last request to the Government, should Allah Almighty take him in the next couple of days, was that if at all possible Raja Muhammad Yusuf and no one else should succeed him as Raja Muda in Riau. Raja Ali Haji did all this and afterwards the document was copied by the scribe, sealed, and signed. When this was done, Raja Ali sent the Yang Dipertuan Muda's first cousin, Raja Husain, to take the document to the Resident of Riau who received it. It was written on Monday, 27 Muharram in the year 1275.¹

However, after his will was made, the Yang Dipertuan Muda's condition deteriorated and he was very close to death. Calling Raja Ali Haji closer, he asked him to cradle his head on his lap. They talked quietly about the interval between death and resurrection, that is, the *ba'ada al-maut*, and recalled legal rulings with all the sheikhs, members of the Brotherhood. Afterwards the Yang Dipertuan Muda made a last request: 'After I am dead, marry my children Hasan and Maimunah without delay. Do not postpone it any further by complying with the whims of an ignorant woman. I have already finalized the marriage contract. In fact, I wanted them to be united but her mother was bent on postponing it until I was well. Because of her vagaries I will not be able to see them married. Thanks be to Allah that He spared me to see the marriage contract made.'

445:11 After this he asked for his beads, and his wife, weeping, handed them to him. He then asked Raja Ali Haji, 'What time is it?' and Raja Ali Haji replied, 'Almost eleven o'clock'. Then he said, 'I am not well to-day, please do not go to the Friday prayers now. Do not leave me'. Raja Ali Haji answered, 'Very well'. A moment later the Yang Dipertuan Muda said, 'My chest feels tight'. About half past one he died, immersed in the recitation of the liturgy *Nafi ithbat*,² and then going on to the liturgy *lsm al-dhat*.³ At that moment his soul left this transitory world for that which is eternal and the pronouncement was made: 'He has returned to the mercy of Allah Almighty. *Verily we belong to Allah and to Him we return.*' Raja Ali Haji placed a pillow under the Yang Dipertuan Muda's head and shrouded him. The shrieking and wailing of his family as well

as the princes and princesses, the children of the late Abd al-Rahman and the late Raja Ali, their mothers and brothers and all the palace residents, continued until he was buried. Outside the palace the sound of screaming and weeping was overwhelming. Several times Raja Ali Haji and his father Engku Haji Tua forbade it but the people would not be silenced.⁴ The reader will understand; Raja Abdullah was not only the Yang Dipertuan Muda but also a spiritual leader, greatly loved by his relatives and sons, the Guide of all the members in the Naksyabandiyah brotherhood.

Afterwards the cannon were fired and word was sent to Tanjung Pinang to His Excellency the Resident of Riau. When he had been informed, the cannon at Tanjung Pinang were fired at intervals and the flag was lowered to half-mast. There was an uproar in Riau, with people saying that the Yang Dipertuan Muda was dead. They shaved their heads, and the princes, dignitaries, and elders all assembled so that the Master (the late Yang Dipertuan Muda) could be buried quickly. They were not able to bury him that day so they waited until the following day when the people, the Dutch dignitaries and the Chinese, as well as the Keling, all gathered on Penyengat. The late Master was bathed, shrouded, and prayers were said. After that he was brought to a grave inside the Fort and buried in the same way as his brother, the late Raja Ali, had been. He was interred within the Fort near his great-aunt, Engku Puteri, in the same vault.

446:1

After the whispering of the creed, the people all went outside. The Resident of Riau and his dignitaries, however, stopped at Raja Ali Haji's house till it was overflowing with Dutchmen and princes. The Resident then called Raja Ali Haji into a room and said, 'Engku Haji, to-day I want you all to determine the Raja Muda and make known the last requests of the late Master. It would be best for you to invite all the princes and your relatives to wait in the Yang Dipertuan Muda's audience hall to give a formal welcome to the Government's representative'. After listening to this, Raja Ali Haji, the Resident and his dignitaries all went outside. Raja Ali Haji then invited his cousin, Raja Husain, and Raja Muhammad, sons of the late Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar, to walk with him to the late Master's audience hall at Kota Ranting. They were followed by a crowd of princes and people. On reaching Kota Ranting at Kampung Baru, the princes arranged themselves in rows before the audience hall, waiting for the Government representative and all his dignitaries to arrive. A moment later the Riau Resident came, accompanied by all the Dutch dignitaries, both military and naval. When they had almost reached the audience hall, a cannon salute was fired in their honour and the orchestra played. The Resident of Riau and his digni-

446:11

447:1

taries stood opposite the princes while they met and exchanged greetings. Then Raja Ali Haji stood apart from the princes and Dutch dignitaries and said, 'These are the relatives of the deceased ruler; here are the sons of the late Raja Abd al-Rahman, and here are the sons of the late Raja Ali'. The Dutchmen all nodded, and then the Resident took Raja Muhammad Yusuf by the arm and led him up to sit beside him on a couch, while the princes each took a chair.

447:11

The Resident then said to Raja Ali Haji, 'Where are the six representatives of the late Master?' Raja Ali Haji indicated them all and the Resident stood up and announced clearly, 'May it be known to all the princes and dignitaries of Riau that on this day and at this hour I, as the Government's representative, determine the Government's choice, which is in accordance with the deceased ruler's last request that Raja Muhammad Yusuf be the Government representative and his successor. I trust that all of you, as his senior relatives, will guide him and give him the benefit of your advice, because he is still a young man'. The princes all replied that they agreed with what the Resident had said. The Resident asked leave to return and a farewell salute was fired. That concluded the ceremony for appointing a representative. All the princes, however, remained to confer with one another, brother with brother, about executing the late Master's last wishes and the conduct of the war.

According to the story, the late Master's relatives had sent a letter to Lingga and a *keruis* to fetch Sultan Sulaiman Badr al-Alam Syah. Shortly afterwards Sultan Sulaiman reached Riau and went to Penyengat Island. He went ashore to visit the late Master's grave and wept bitterly. When he had finished reciting the first chapter of the Koran, he left for the late Master's palace to join his wife, Raja Perak, who was staying there because she was the late Master's niece (that is, she was the late Raja Ali's daughter). Raja Ali Haji and Raja Husain came to request a conference concerning the conduct of the campaign. Sultan Sulaiman answered, 'Later—let me confer with the Resident first'. So Sultan Sulaiman conferred with the Resident of Riau about the conduct of the war and they decided to go ahead. After that Sultan Sulaiman left for Lingga, where he remained.

448:1

Raja Muhammad Yusuf, the Yang Dipertuan Muda elect, Raja Husain and Raja Ali Haji and the dignitaries of Riau conferred with the Resident about determining a date for the attack on Retih. When they reached a decision the fleet set sail in two groups. The force from Riau was commanded by Raja Husain, son of the late Raja Jafar, and consisted of thirty-eight *perahu* of various sizes. Raja Husain was accompanied by any of his own sons who could properly be taken on a campaign and by Raja Abd al-Ghani, son of the late Raja Idris. He also took Bugis

spearmen, led by Captain Abd al-Karim and Penghulu Abd al-Majid. The Dutch Government force consisted of a war steamer under the command of Mr Kroef, a *berik*, the *Haai*, and a *sekunar*, the *Padang*. These three vessels had a complement of 500—600 white men and their soldiers. There were almost as many Malays and Bugis so that the total force attacking Retih amounted to more than 1,000 people.

448:11

On Saturday, 1 Rabi al-awal at eight o'clock in the morning in the year 1275¹ they set sail with all the Malay *perahu* being towed by the steamships. They reached Retih on the night of Tuesday 5, and at six in the morning.² They went upstream and at eleven o'clock the fighting began. Afterwards the Riau people went ashore and built a stockade to oppose those of Retih. The noise of warfare boomed out,³ but neither side yielded. Then at six in the morning, the Illanun princes and their captains made a fierce assault on the Riau stockade. There were fatalities on both sides, the Bugis losing six or seven men. Thirteen Illanun princes and their captains were shot by the Riau force and the Malay captains, who were sniping from the upper platform of the stockade.⁴ The Illanun could endure no more and fled, carrying away their wounded and scattering in all directions. About 100 Illanun had been involved in the assault, but they all fled when their princes and captains were killed. The warship *Sumbing* then returned to Riau briefly to pick up reinforcements and more supplies. Raja Husain sent a letter to Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Muhammad Yusuf and to Raja Ali Haji, telling them of the progress of the war and about the shortage of opium and other foodstuffs. He also requested more men and Gempita Sakti, the cannon from the Riau regalia. When they received Raja Husain's letter Raja Muhammad Yusuf and Raja Ali Haji immediately sent whatever he had ordered and whatever Riau men were available.¹

449:1

According to the story, at the very time when Riau was in the midst of all this activity, Raja Haji Muhammad, the late Master's son, arrived back from *Mecca the Exalted*. He came ashore to meet the Yang Dipertuan Muda and his mother, Raja Hawa, and they wept together. Following this, Raja Ali Haji returned the late Master's written testament to his son Raja Muhammad Tengku Nung, together with all the property bequeathed to him, such as *perahu* and other items. Then Raja Ali Haji conferred with Tengku Nung and Raja Muhammad Yusuf about uniting Raja Hasan and Raja Maimunah as soon as there was some respite from the turmoil in Riau. Subsequently, when there was a lull, the two were married without delay.

449:11

The steamship which had returned to Riau then left again for Retih, where it resumed battle, with the roar of the cannon resounding from both sides. Later the commander of the warship conferred with Raja

Husain about skirting behind the stockades to land the soldiers there.² When a decision was reached, hundreds of Dutch soldiers and Riau men were put ashore, with some ordered to fight from the water. Firing was maintained between the cannon in the stockades and the *perahu* in the river. The men cutting across by land behind the stockades reached the palisades and fired their muskets in formation, gaining entry to the stockades and charging inside. The fighting was fierce, both muskets and bayonets being used. The Riau men stabbed with their *krises* and spears, while the *Illanun* hacked with their broadswords. The musket shots snapped out, and many *Illanun* (about 113) were killed.³ Panglima Besar was also struck by a bullet and he fell to the ground and died. Dutchmen too lost their lives; the exact number is not certain. The stockades were taken and Retih was thus defeated, on 30 Rabi al-awal, 450:1 in the year 1275.⁴ Panglima Besar's body was taken to a river called Mulia,¹ where it was left until it rotted, the reason being that when he had been killed the Dutch had brought his body on board their *sekoci* where his clothes—his chain-mail trousers, his golden oval buckle, and his kris with its gold scabbard—had all been taken. Only then had the body been carried to the Mulia River. That is the story.

After the defeat of Retih, Raja Husain took all Panglima Besar's women and other people to Riau. The Dutch Government forces reached Riau first, with those of Raja Husain following somewhat behind. The prisoners were taken and handed over to Raja Muhammad Yusuf at Riau, on Penyengat. They were eventually repatriated to Retih. Now when Sultan Sulaiman heard of Retih's defeat, he left for Riau to meet the Riau Resident and thank the Government for its help. Having done this, he left for Lingga, where he remained.

450:11 Not long afterwards the Resident of Riau and Raja Muhammad Yusuf travelled together to Lingga.² There the Raja Muda received his title and was installed according to the customs traditional at the installation of previous Raja Mudas. This occurred on Saturday, 11 Jumad al-awal, at three o'clock, in the year 1275.³ After the completion of the installation, the Resident and Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Muhammad Yusuf left for Retih where they were going to reorganize the administration and the revenues.⁴ This done, they both returned to Riau and governed it jointly. Not long afterwards, Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Muhammad Yusuf left again for Lingga with his wife and children in a rented ship, the *M-r-z-w-f-y*.⁵ On their return to Riau they went ashore to the late Raja Jafar's palace at Kota Ranting.

To continue the story of His Majesty Sultan Mahmud who had been deposed by the Dutch and was now in Singapore. He had not been long there, at Teluk Belanga, before he moved again to Pahang. From Pahang

he went with his mother to Trengganu and there he remained.⁶ He then thought of going to Siam to meet the Siamese king. The princes and dignitaries did not approve of this, but Sultan Mahmud was none the less intent on going.¹ He paid no heed to their various submissions, saying, 'Where else can I turn?' And, he continued, 'When I was in Pahang I sent Muhammad to Siam and now the King of Siam's messenger, Wan Abdullah, has arrived. It would be disrespectful of me not to go, and anyway my relative Ngah² is not going to help me.' Wan Abdullah, the royal Siamese messenger, made obeisance and said, 'Please, my Lord, leave at once and pay no attention to Phraya³ Trengganu's objections. When you reach Siam, Chuchiuit⁴ will assist you'. So Sultan Mahmud accepted Wan Abdullah's advice and the people of Trengganu no longer came to make their submissions.

451:1

Sultan Mahmud wanted to leave immediately, taking all his people and his sister, Tengku Safiah, with him. The Yang Dipertuan Muda of Trengganu⁵ came, made obeisance, and said, 'Please do not take your sister. My Lord well knows that the King of Siam is of a different faith and for that reason no one has ever presented themselves before him in the company of a woman, much less a princess'. But Sultan Mahmud paid no attention to any of the submissions of the Yang Dipertuan Muda of Trengganu, for he had his own plans. So the Yang Dipertuan Muda, the princes, and the dignitaries said no more. Then Sultan Mahmud set sail in a steamship and in about two days he reached Kelantan, where he stopped for four days. The King of Kelantan⁶ came to pay his respects and to try and prevent His Majesty from taking his sister Tengku Safiah to Siam, because it was not done to present oneself to the King of Siam in the company of a woman. But there was no response from Sultan Mahmud.

451:11

After this, Sultan Mahmud left Kelantan for Siam, which he reached in about fifteen days. Wan Abdullah went ashore to tell the Chaokhun Kalahom,⁷ a senior minister, that Sultan Mahmud had arrived.⁸ The Chaokhun Kalahom then informed the King of Siam, who sent a steamer to fetch them and in about an hour they reached the Chaokhun Kalahom's compound. They were there about seven days before they met the Siamese king. The latter received Sultan Mahmud with great honour.¹ He was seated below the king to begin with, but was later taken up to sit beside him. With Wan Abdullah as interpreter, he was invited to converse. The first question concerned his age, to which Sultan Mahmud replied, 'Thirty-eight years'. He was then asked how long it had been since he left Lingga, and Sultan Mahmud replied, 'About seven months'. When asked the reasons for his deposition, Sultan Mahmud answered, 'It was my fate'. The King of Siam then said, 'We have heard from the

452:1

Phraya of Trengganu that you do whatever pleases you without consulting the dignitaries or elders of the country and without regard for the common good you pursue your own ends. You have got what you deserved. If you would like to know what a king should be, model yourself on my younger brother, the heir apparent,² and observe carefully how he behaves towards his ministers, dignitaries and elders, consulting them about everything he wants to do. We cannot simply do what we ourselves wish; if we behaved like you, we might well be killed by the ordinary people. They would replace us with our children or our relatives, because they are the same as us, make no mistake. Do not be offended, Sultan Mahmud, I only wish to advise you about the future. It is fruitless to regret what has happened in the past.¹ When they had finished their talk, Sultan Mahmud returned to his house in the Chao-khun Kalahom's compound. Sultan Mahmud continued to stay in Siam.

According to the story, when Sultan Mahmud had been there about a month a messenger came from the king asking for Tengku Safiah, Sultan Mahmud's sister, so that the king might take her as his wife.³ Sultan Mahmud was troubled and answered, 'She is already married', to which the King of Siam replied, 'She is not married; we know everything about her'. He then made the request again, more forcefully, and Sultan Mahmud, powerless to resist further, gave her up. The King of Siam then took Tengku Safiah as his wife.⁴ About two days later the king sent a messenger to summon Sultan Mahmud to his palace for discussions. He promised to assist Sultan Mahmud, but he was to remain patient and stay in Siam 'Because we received information from the French that Sultan Mahmud himself was at fault. Thus, if matters are to be put to rights it will be a grave undertaking.' That is what the King of Siam told him, so it is said.

About nine months later Sultan Mahmud was still waiting in Siam, but nothing at all happened. Then he wanted to return to Pahang because it was in turmoil,¹ and he told the King of Siam that he wanted to go, saying 'I would like your help and advice'. The Siamese king replied, 'Very well, but you should go to Trengganu first and you can get whatever you need from Singgora'. The King of Siam gave him a seal and Sultan Mahmud set sail with the official seal and flying the royal Siamese flag.² He was escorted by a Siamese steamship and whenever he made a stop at a Siamese dependency, he was received with respect. He stopped for about five days in Kelantan before continuing to Trengganu where he was welcomed by the Yang Dipertuan Muda.³ Escorted by the Siamese soldiers, Sultan Mahmud went ashore to visit his mother. When he met the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu the two princes wept. The Yang Dipertuan offered Trengganu to Sultan Mahmud, who made

no response. The Siamese ship later returned. Sultan Mahmud had been in Trengganu for about a month when he contracted dysentery; his nails disintegrated and the whites of his eyes could not be seen. Only when he was treated by a messenger from the King of Ligor⁴ did he recover.

According to the story, about two months later a steamship arrived from Singapore to fetch Sultan Mahmud, saying that it had been ordered to do so by the King of Siam. Sultan Mahmud answered, 'If you have a letter from the King of Siam, I will go, but if there is none I do not wish to do so'. The Englishmen said, 'If you are not on board within two days, we will fire on Trengganu'. They then returned to their ship and Sultan Mahmud went to find the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu. However, they had a difference of opinion and the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu went inland to find the Tuan Besar. When two days had elapsed and Sultan Mahmud had not come on board, the steamship opened fire.¹ Sultan Mahmud set out overland and any Trengganu people he met joined him. They reached M-r-w-m-r-y-n,² and that night he met the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu, who sent him to Besut. When he arrived, there was much talk that Sultan Mahmud would attack Trengganu and that the Yang Dipertuan of Trengganu would similarly take up arms.

454:1

Then a steamship arrived from Siam³ to fetch Sultan Mahmud, who returned with it to Siam. However, while he was there his illness persisted and it was only after treatment by a younger brother⁴ of the Siamese king that he recovered. After about a month he was cured and he again asked the King of Siam if he could return to Pahang, but the Siamese king would not give him an answer. Sultan Mahmud then set sail from Siam with two companions, Daeng Muhammad and Ismail.⁵ When they reached Singapore they stayed at Siglap for four days and then went on to Kesang.⁶ There they visited Yang Dipertuan Tengku Ali⁷ and made an agreement whereby if Yang Dipertuan Tengku Ali became king, Sultan Mahmud would be his minister, and vice versa. Later he went to Pahang with the prince Tengku Abd al-Jalil and about forty people. When they reached Pahang, they stayed with Encik Wan Ahmad. Soon after this, Sultan Mahmud fell ill again. He had reached Pahang on 10 Muharram,⁸ but on 5 Safar, on a Wednesday night at eleven o'clock,⁹ he died.

454:11

When the funeral was over, Wan Ahmad sent a letter to Trengganu. The news also reached Sultan Mahmud's daughter, Tengku Ambung, the wife of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Muhammad Yusuf, in Riau; later the Temenggung's letter arrived there too. Sultan Mahmud's death was thus confirmed and the Yang Dipertuan Muda chanted praises to Allah

and held a ritual feast according to the customs traditional at the death of a great king. That was how it was, put briefly and in a few words.

455:1 According to the story, that was the end of the Sultan Mahmud affair and concludes his story. Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Muhammad Yusuf¹⁰ remained in Riau with his wife, daughter of the late Sultan Mahmud. He was established in his government of Riau and all its dependencies, maintaining the standard of administration which had been set by his forbears. As for the Yang Dipertuan Besar Sultan Sulaiman Badr al-Alam Syah,¹ he was established in Lingga and constantly exchanged messengers with His Majesty the Yang Dipertuan Muda and the Resident, concerning state matters and other subjects.

As for Temenggung Abu Bakar in Singapore, he succeeded his father Temenggung Ibrahim Engku Daeng Kecik with the title Temenggung Seri Maharaja,² King of Johor, and he continued his father's policies towards his relatives in Riau, exchanging messages with them. That was how it was day by day and remains so at the time of compiling this historical chronicle.

455:11 We have reached the end of this book *The Precious Gift* and have completed the tales and stories about the Malay kings and the Bugis, which involved the descendants of the five brothers, the Opus, the princely Malay descendants of the late Abd al-Jalil who died at the Pahang estuary, and those of the late Raja Kecik of Siak. If in the future any of my descendants wish to add anything to this chronicle, they may. However, it must be done well, written lucidly and correctly, and set out in accordance with the facts, so that it can be followed and *in order that it may be used till the passing of our time and days. May Allah bless our Lord Muhammad, Lord of Mankind, as well as his family and Companions, the virtuous and generous, Amen, finis, Amen.*³

[Manuscript C adds these lines and ends]

The copying was completed on 19 Jumad al-awal, in the year 1342 which is the same as 28 December 1923. Finis.

[Manuscripts A, B and D continue]

This chronicle was completed by the hand of the writer on:

Ms A: 17 Rajab the Blessed, a Sunday, at ten o'clock in the hijra year 1283.⁴ Finis. The copying was completed at Riau, on Penyengat Island, on 8 Syaban the Venerable, a Thursday, at eleven o'clock in the year 1313⁵ by the lowly Ali, son of the late Raja Haji Muhammad of Riau. Amen, finis, Amen. His Excellency A. L. van Hasselt is the current Honourable Resident of Riau and Lingga and all their subject territories.

Ms B: 15 Rajab the Blessed on Friday, at eleven o'clock in the hijra year of the Prophet, *may Allah bless him and grant him peace,*

1307 (the Christian year 1890, 7 March).

The manuscript was completed on 17 Rajab, a Sunday, at ten o'clock in the year 1288,⁶ this much the lowly writer knows.

Ms D: 17 Rajab the Blessed, a Sunday, at ten o'clock, in the hijra year 1283.⁷

[Manuscripts B and D then add]:

If any descendants or others read this historical chronicle they should then hold a ritual feast for the dead and offer prayers for the living. [Manuscript B adds further] that they all may have perfect safety in this world and that to come. *And it is Allah who grants success.*

[Manuscript B alone continues]:

Riau, Penyengat Island, 9 Jumad al-akhir, in the year 1306.¹ This is a small addition. When the above mentioned Sultan Sulaiman Badr al-Alam Syah died in the month [] of the year 1303,² His Majesty was succeeded by his grandson Raja Abd al-Rahman, son of the Yang Dipertuan Muda of Riau Raja Muhammad Yusuf and his wife Tengku Ambung, daughter of the late Sultan Mahmud mentioned earlier. He had the title Sultan Abd al-Rahman Muazzam Syah, and it was he who performed music and employed a white man to teach some of the young boys in Riau to play wind instruments.³ It was he who initiated the building of a large stone palace on Lingga, which is still under construction while this history is being compiled. At this time the Dutch have increased His Majesty's *bendela*⁴ to fifteen and that of the Yang Dipertuan Muda to thirteen. *And Allah is the best witness.* 456:1

This book was written at Kelang in the state office of the most illustrious Emperor of Kuala Lumpur, the new port, during the time of His Excellency William Edward Maxwell, C.M.G., who is Resident of Selangor⁵ and all its dependencies. 456:11

The lowly writer who for his sins and human frailties has need of Allah Almighty, a weak slave, Syams al-Din, son of Imam Musa of Larut, wrote this and thus concludes:

This ends the history of Bugis and Malays
Which I wrote with a mournful heart
Because it was His Excellency's wish
That what was past should be recorded.
The composition was not easy
I was often despondent,
Anxious and worried while trying
To think of beautiful words.
These things I have made known
And I offer them to His Excellency,
This is what he asked for
I hope they may be of benefit.

IV

FOOTNOTES *

Folio 1

1. Throughout the translation, phrases in Arabic in the Malay text have been indicated by italics.

2. 23 December 1865 A.D. All Muslim dates have been converted as accurately as possible according to Wüstenfeld-Mahler (1961), although sometimes the date and day of the week given in the *Tuhfat* does not correspond with this calendrical system. However, according to Damais (1956, pp. 363-4 fn. 1) a discrepancy of two days either way between a local Muslim date and Wüstenfeld's tables is not significant because in Muslim countries the beginning of every month is determined by the sighting of the new moon. The *Tuhfat* also uses the 8-year Muslim calendar cycle, where the years are named after eight Arabic letters of the alphabet. Each letter has an ascribed value as follows; *alif* = 1; *ha* = 5; *jim* = 3; *za* = 7; *dhū'l-awal* = 4; *ba* = 2; *waw* = 6; *dhū'l-akhir* = 4. The 8-year cycle is repeated within a 120-year overall era, and the first day of each 8-year cycle has the value of *alif*. In the present 120-year era the first day of each cycle began on a Thursday (a *khamisiah* letter). Each 120-year era is known by the name of the day which begins its first 8-year cycle, hence the *arbi'ah* (Wednesday) and *khamisiah* eras (see further *ENI* under *Naptoe*).

Folio 2

1. See Map 1. Comparison of names, reign lengths and details of particular episodes show that for its history of Malacca the *Tuhfat* relies selectively on a Siak version of the *Sejarah Melayu* (*SM*) called the *Siak Chronicle*, rather than on the so-called Shellabear, Abdullah, or Raffles 18 versions. This *Siak Chronicle* has been identified by Roolvink as MS. von de Wall 191 (1967, p. 309). Much of that MS is now illegible and a copy, Leiden Cod. Or. 7304, was therefore consulted instead.

2. Possibly a reference to Abdullah bin Abdulkadir Munshi's edition of *SM* printed in Singapore in 1831 (*Sedjarah Melaju*, 1952).

3. Sumatra.

4. The omission of *SM*'s story of the miraculous arrival of the Malay regalia on the hill of Siguntang may be a reflection of the story's familiarity, but it may also reveal the author's bias, since the story of the receipt of the Bugis regalia is given in detail (see fo. 48).

*The footnotes follow the folio pagination of Sir William Maxwell's manuscript of the *Tuhfat al-Nafis* (MS B, see Translators' Note, 9). For ease of reference the folio page numbers are given in the margins of the English translation and the edited Malay text presented in Volume II.

5. The correct form of her name is *Shahrbānū* (Lady of the Land), a name well known in Persian literature which has been incorporated into stories throughout the Indonesian archipelago (Brakel, 1977, II, p. 19).

6. Buckley (1969, pp. 18–19) cites a tradition on Singapore which attributes the doubled form to a king's saying 'pura-pura' (a pretence) when told that a wild animal he had seen was a lion (*singa*).

Folio 3

1. For variation in names and elaboration of detail, the reader is referred to *Sedjarah Melaju* (1952), Shellabear (1961) and Winstedt (1938), the Abdullah, Shellabear and Raffles 18 versions of *SM* respectively.

Folio 4

1. In traditional Malay society it was considered proper that the manner in which a condemned man met his death should reflect his status. According to Tomé Pires (Cortesão, 1944, II, p. 262) only commoners were publicly executed.

Folio 6

1. On the east coast of Sumatra (see Map 2).

Folio 7

1. Other versions of *SM*, including Cod. Or. 7304 (fols. 118–21) give the story of Daeng Mempawah in detail. He was the son of the Raja of Bajang in Sulawesi, he was only twelve years old, and his father had just died when he was chosen to be presented to the Sultan of Malacca (Roolvink, 1967, pp. 308, 322–4). The fact that the epic Malay hero Hang Tuah was alleged to be Bugis was obviously an important feature of the Bugis legitimizing myth.

2. See Map 1.

Folio 8

1. The order of events after the accession of Sultan Mahmud differs slightly from that of Cod. Or. 7304 and *SM*. According to *SM*, the Princess of Gunung (Mount) Ledang asked for several different betrothal gifts from the ruler of Malacca, among which was a cup of his son's blood.

2. A derivative of Kalinga, once an important trading kingdom north of the Godavari delta in India, but in the Malay context Keling generally refers to the Tamil-speaking areas of southern India.

3. Malacca fell on 10 August 1511 after a month's siege.

Folio 9

1. See Wilkinson, 1959, II, p. 1173.

2. For locations, see Map 2, Insets A and B. The *Tuhfat* gives a very abbreviated account of the peregrinations of Sultan Mahmud and his son after the capture of Malacca. It is also far less detailed than *SM*, which in turn does not mention some incidents recorded in Portuguese sources. For a detailed discussion, see Macgregor (1955, pp. 67–75) and also Andaya (1975, p. 21).

3. Reigned c. 1529–64/5.

4. The Malay title, Raja Laut, has been translated as Admiral when used to refer to a European. See glossary.

Folio 10

1. Kupuk seems to be *SM's* Kupak, which according to Shellabear (1961, p. 287) is on Bintan. The incident to which the *Tuhfat* refers is probably the Portuguese victory of 1526.

2. According to Portuguese records, although in the Johor area, Sultan Ala al-Din did not have a permanent settlement at this time. Between 1530 and 1536 he was living well upstream of Johor Lama. After two Portuguese attacks on his settlements in 1535 and 1536, which are not mentioned in the *Tuhfat*, the Sultan seems to have left the upper reaches of the Johor River and moved about between various places (1536-40). The earliest acceptable date for the establishment of his capital at Johor Lama seems to be about 1540 (Macgregor, 1955, pp. 84, 114-15).

3. In 1545 the Portuguese Captain of Malacca wrote that he feared the power of the King of Johor, who had assembled 300 'lancharas' which were daily expected to attack Malacca (Macgregor, 1955, pp. 83-4).

4. He reigned from about 1564 to 1569/70. Macgregor (1955, p. 88) speculates on what appears to be a brief change of ruler during this period.

5. See Map 2, Inset 4. There are royal graves at Seluyut, which suggests it was once a royal residence, perhaps secondary to Johor Lama (Macgregor, 1955, p. 85).

6. Probably 1570/1. There may have been two rulers of this name, as given in Cod. Or. 7304, although only one is mentioned in Portuguese sources (Macgregor, 1955, p. 88). Current knowledge of events in Johor in the mid-sixteenth century is very limited, but the *Tuhfat* does not mention several important episodes recorded in Portuguese sources, such as Johor's attack on Malacca in 1551 and Acehneŕe attacks on Johor in 1551 and 1568. During the last attack the ruler was taken as a prisoner to Aceh, where he died.

7. Probably in 1587.

8. See Map 2, Inset A. In c.1589 Sultan 'Ala Jalla', as the Portuguese called him, replaced his ruined capital, burnt by the Portuguese in 1587, by a new one at Batu Sawar (also called Makam Tawhid). This remained the capital of the Johor kingdom until c.1617 (Macgregor, 1955, pp. 114-15; Gibson-Hill, 1955, p. 157).

9. According to Kelantan legend, Raja Husain of Johor was appointed Regent to his second cousin, Wan Kembang, the four-year-old daughter of the deceased Kelantan ruler. Raja Husain's reign is estimated at 1580-1610 (Shukri, 1971, p. 34).

Folio 11

1. c.1597-c.1613.

2. The Rayun River is a small tributary of the Johor River, about 20 km. upstream from Kota Tinggi (Anas, 1958, p. 14). See Map 2, Inset A.

3. On 6 June 1613 Sultan Iskandar Muda of Aceh (1607-36) destroyed Batu Sawar and the royal family was taken captive to Aceh. According to contemporary accounts, it was here that Sultan Ala al-Din died; Raja Abdullah was later installed as ruler by the Acehneŕe (Gibson-Hill, 1955, p. 158; Andaya, 1975, pp. 24-5). An Acehneŕe poem, the *Hikayat Malem Dagang*, describes how Sultan Iskandar destroyed Johor's fortifications after a year of occupation so that his enemies would be denied any place of refuge (Snouck Hurgronje, 1906, II, pp. 85-6).

4. According to Gibson-Hill, Abdullah incurred the displeasure of Sultan Iskandar Muda by returning his Acehnese bride, Iskandar's sister. This was the reason for Abdullah's move to Lingga in 1617 or 1618 (Gibson-Hill, 1955, pp. 139, 158). Lingga was destroyed in January 1623 and the ruler died in March of the same year. Despite these Acehnese attacks, Johor was at this time a prosperous port (Andaya, 1975, p. 25).

5. Reigned 1623-77.

6. Jambi attacked Johor Lama on 4 April 1673 after many years of hostility and retaliatory raids, and Sultan Abd al-Jalil and his brother the Raja Muda fled to Pahang. In August or September of that year the Laksamana, Tun Abd al-Jamil, was dispatched to re-establish a settlement on Bintan. The complex relations between Johor and Jambi and the important role of the Laksamana during the late seventeenth century are discussed by Andaya (1975, Chs. IV and V).

7. The nineteenth Bendahara of Johor, whose grave is at Padang Saujana, Johor (Atan, 1970).

Folio 12

1. 1676/7. Dutch sources (see Andaya, 1975, p. 105) give the death of the Raja Muda as late 1675, *PSNJ* (p. 43) as 1673. The *Tuhfat's* date comes from *HNJ* (p. 57). As Andaya (1975, p. 100 fn. 4) points out, the *Tuhfat* has confused this Raja Ibrahim, who died as Raja Muda, with his namesake who became ruler in 1678.

2. 1677/8. Sultan Abd al-Jalil died on 22 November 1677 (Andaya, 1975, p. 114).

3. Jambi was finally conquered in a war of revenge in 1679. The defeat of Siak refers to the rout of a rebel prince in 1683 (Andaya, 1975, pp. 122, 132; *HNJ*, p. 57; *PSNJ*, p. 43).

4. Sultan Ibrahim died on 16 February 1685 in Pahang. It was suspected that three of his wives had conspired to poison him. The 5-year-old son of one of his wives became ruler, while the childless principal wife, daughter of the Laksamana, became Regent (Andaya, 1975, pp. 138-49).

5. 26 July 1697. The role of Bendahara Tun Habib in Johor history is discussed by Andaya (1975, pp. 141-80).

6. 1699. For the location of Kota Tinggi, see Map 2, Inset A. A grave said to be that of Sultan Mahmud can still be seen there. For further details, see fols. 43-4.

7. 3 September 1699.

Folio 13

1. Although the office of Bendahara was originally held by a commoner, the line had become mingled with the royal house. The mother of these children must have been a principal wife and herself of royal birth.

2. According to Andaya's reconstruction (1972, p. 75), the new Bendahara was the Sultan's brother, Tun Mas Anum, who had formerly been Temenggung. His position as Temenggung was assumed by another brother, Tun Abdullah; Tun Mahmud became Raja Indera Bungsu and in 1708 was appointed Raja Muda. Tun Mas Anum died on 28 January 1708 and was succeeded as Bendahara by Temenggung Tun Abdullah (Andaya, 1975, pp. 211, 244).

3. Possibly Tun Mutahir, Temenggung in 1741 (*PSNJ*, pp. 45, 60).

Folio 14

1. Possibly the narrator of Cod. Or. 1724 (2) (B. Andaya, 1976, p. 89 fn. 54).

Folio 15

1. *Tuhfat* MS B adds 'who, when he died, was succeeded by Raja Abd al-Rahman, son of the Yang Dipertuan of Riau, Raja Muhammad Yusuf. He is entitled Sultan Abd al-Rahman Muazzim Syah and performs music'. Sultan Abd al-Rahman was installed on 18 February 1885. See also fo. 456.

2. He was expected to succeed his brother but died on 12 October 1882 (Mailrapport 836, 1883).

3. Commonly called Tengku Cik (Linehan, 1973, p. 60).

4. On Singapore's south coast, near present-day Keppel Harbour (see Map 3).

5. See fo. 322.

6. In 1883 Tengku Said and Tengku Ibrahim were still living but the former was considered too old and sick to succeed to the throne and the latter was mentally unbalanced and himself had no heirs (Mailrapport 186, 1940).

7. Tengku Mahmud, Yamtuan Muda of Trengganu, brother of Baginda Umar (1839-76).

Folio 16

1. See fo. 452.

2. Raja Muhammad Yusuf was installed as Yang Dipertuan of Riau and Lingga in December 1858 (see fo. 450).

3. For Sultan Husain's marriages, see below, fo. 354 fn. 1. Tengku Abd al-Jalil, the son of Tengku Wuk, went to Trengganu about 1838 and was ranked high in Kemaman. His wife was related to the Trengganu ruler Tengku Mahmud who was expelled in 1839. In 1852 Tengku Abd al-Jalil was banished from Pahang and went to Muar where his eldest son married the daughter of the Temenggung of Muar (Wake, 1966, p. 350).

4. In Minangkabau (see Map 2).

5. For further details, see fols. 43-6 and fns. below.

6. Cod. Or. 7304, fo. 403 ff.

Folio 17

1. Possibly Cod. Or. 1724 (2), the *Karangan Engku Busu*, although identification is doubtful since this text is later called the *Chronicle from Riau and Lingga* (fo. 227 and Matheson, 1971, p. 383).

2. The title of Puteri Jamilan (the *Tuhfat's* Janilan) apparently emerged only after about 1683, being an honorific given to the mothers of both the Raja Alam and Raja Suruasso. All three were entitled to call themselves Emperor of the Minangkabau. For a full discussion, see Andaya (1975, Appendix E and pp. 267-8).

3. See Maps 1 and 2.

4. See Andaya (1975, p. 262, p. 275 fn. 42 and p. 276 fn. 43) for the significance of the Minangkabau regalia. The ability to withstand contact with the sacred regalia, which included the pillar of stinging nettles, was proof that an

individual was of royal blood. The presence of noxious plants and insects was a reminder that pain and suffering would befall any who swore a false oath.

Folio 18

1. That is, Sapurjaba (Andaya, 1975, pp. 262–3). This sword was said to have been a gift from the King of Kuantan.

2. See Map 2. Pasisiran Laut here refers to the lowland east coast of Sumatra. According to the *Siak Chronicle*, if the people here refused to follow Raja Kecik, they would be cursed by the *bisa kawi*, a legendary power which punished those who altered traditional custom (Andaya, 1975, p. 263 and 276 fn. 46).

3. Andaya (1975, p. 261) suggests that in Palembang Raja Kecik may have joined the following of the popular Pangeran Dipati Anum who had been forced to flee in 1710.

4. Called Raja Muhammad in VOC records.

5. See below, fo. 59 fn. 1. This Bugis name has been Malayized since in Bugis only *ng* and *hamzah* occur as final consonants (Noorduyn, 1955, p. 9).

Folio 19

1. See fo. 168.

2. European sources (e.g. Crawfurd, 1971, p. 314; Logan, 1849, p. 634) written at the same time as the *Tuhfat* note that the terms *orang laut* and *rakyat* were used interchangeably, and the distinction between them and the Malays was quite clear. 'Sea-people' therefore seemed to us the best translation.

3. See Maps 2 and 3. Gontong is an island in the Siak River, about 5 km. from the mouth. The modern name of Sanglar is Sanglang and the two islands, Sanglang Besar and Sanglang Kecil, lie on the western side of the southern entrance to the Durian Straits.

Folio 20

1. See fo. 170. Matan is a district and town in western Kalimantan (see Map 4).

2. See fols. 182, 188 and also Map 4 for place names.

3. This title, which could be translated as 'the most senior prince' does not occur again in the *Tuhfat*.

Folio 21

1. See fols. 182–9 and Maps 1 and 4 for place names.

2. At the time of the Prophet's hijra, the people of Mecca claimed descent from a common ancestor whom they called Kuraish, who had installed the Kuraish clans in Mecca by force of arms (*Shorter Enc. of Islam*, p. 368).

3. See Map 1. Luwu, the traditional heart of which is the coastal strip between Wotu and Malili, is regarded by the Bugis of Sulawesi as the homeland of Bugis culture. Though eclipsed politically by the rise of Bone in the seventeenth century, Luwu nonetheless retained its prestige (Noorduyn, 1955, p. 47). Mal-langeke was an earlier site of the Luwu capital (Esser, 1940, p. 187 and van Lijf, 1953, p. 37).

Folio 22

1. The Queen of Sheba. The Malay-Indonesian legend recounted by van Wijk (1881) says that originally Balkis lived outside the city of Saba (Sheba) in the Yemen, in a wondrous palace built by her grandfather, the king of the genies. Later, when Balkis had the King of Saba killed, she moved into his palace and ruled in his stead.

2. The use of the south-west monsoon for trading led early navigators to divide southern Asia into lands 'to its windward' (*di atas angin* = Arabia, Persia, India) and 'to its leeward' (*di bawah angin* = Malay-Indonesian archipelago) (Wilkinson, 1959, I, p. 33).

3. Braddell (1947, pp. 14-15) mentions the well-known Bugis tradition of their descent from Balkis and presents an argument for its plausibility.

4. Believed to be the old name for Celebes or Sulawesi (Zainal Abidin, n.d., p. 8).

5. The early names in this Malay adaptation of a Bugis genealogy are those of gods and heroes in the *I La Galigo* cycle, a pre-Islamic epic which is one of the most voluminous poems in world literature. A summary is given by Matthes (1885, p. 432 ff.). Comparison with the *Tuhfat* shows some confusion. For instance, Sitti Mallangke does not appear in the pre-historical world of the *I La Galigo*, and in the Bugis epic the early names are not linked by descent. Patoto, the dispenser of Man's lot, was the Creator and Palinge was not his mother but his consort. Palinge was the sister of the Ruler of the Underworld who took as his wife Patoto's sister. According to Dr Noorduyn (pers. comm., June 1972) the Bugis genealogy in *SMdB* is more accurate than that in the *Tuhfat*.

6. Batara Guru, the eldest son of Patoto and Palinge, was sent to earth on a rainbow in a piece of bamboo which came to rest at Luwu. Batara Guru married his cousin, daughter of the Ruler of the Underworld, and their son had the title Batara Lattu. Batara Guru and his wife did not remain on earth but returned to heaven, leaving their children in Luwu. Batara Lattu had twins, a boy and a girl, and the son, Sawerigading, left Luwu swearing never to return because he had been forbidden to marry his twin sister. His journeys through Sulawesi, the Moluccas, East Java, Sunda, and Malacca are described in the *I La Galigo*. Both Sawerigading and his son La Galigo are regarded as ancestral founders and bearers of Bugis culture. See further Korn (1952) and Adriani (1932).

Folio 23

1. ri = in or of. Ware was a capital of Luwu (Noorduyn, 1955, p. 68). Except for specific place names and identifiable titles, we have not attempted to correct Malayized forms of Bugis words. See translators' note.

2. Esser (1961, p. 384) gives a location near Luwuk on the Balantak Peninsula.

3. The posthumous name of the first Islamic ruler in Luwu was Matinroe ri Ware, but no personal name is given. He is said to have embraced Islam one year before the ruler of Gowa, who was converted c.1605 (Noorduyn, 1955, p. 93 fn. 1). It is possible that he may be identified as La Maddusila (Zainal Abidin, n.d., p. 7).

4. We have not been able to discover a possible derivation of this word.

5. For place names, see Map 1. The island of Butung is closely associated with

the career of the seventeenth century Bugis ruler and hero, Arung Palakka.

6. A title rather than a name, meaning umbrella (Malay = *payung*). In Luwu the ruler had the title Pajung if he was married to a princess of royal blood and crowned with the proper ceremonies. Otherwise he was called Datuk (*ENI*, II, p. 428).

7. Civilian native officials in Batavia were given Dutch military titles (de Haan, 1922, I, p. 472).

Folio 24

1. From Bugis *warani* = valiant (Noorduyn, pers. comm., June 1972). Extensive research carried out by Dr L. Y. Andaya in 1970-1 and a close examination of the royal genealogies of Gowa, Tallo, Bone, Wajo, Luwu, Pammana, and Lamuru revealed no clear connection with the genealogies listed in the *Tuhfat* and *SMdB*. Dr Andaya has come to the conclusion that the princes were from minor royal families, possibly from Pammana and Lamuru.

2. Dr Noorduyn considers this name Malay rather than Bugis.

3. A well-known Bugis name, meaning 'to resist' (Noorduyn, pers. comm., June 1972).

4. Meaning 'red' in Bugis (*ibid.*)

5. Pammana is one of the major principalities in Wajo, the old name of which was Cina (Noorduyn, 1955, p. 45).

6. In later Riau history this was the title borne by the designated successor of the Yang Dipertuan Muda (Ibrahim, 1868-72, p. 321 and below, fo. 52 fn. 2).

7. 1871/2.

8. See Map 4.

Folio 25

1. Later (fo. 107) she is called Encik Utih.

Folio 26

1. He died in 1895.

2. Sultan Syarif Kasim (1864-89), Sayid Ali's grandson.

3. See Map 4.

4. Menambun's descendants are listed in both Cod. Or. 1754 (*HODM*) and Netscher (1852, pt. 2). There are some minor differences in the three genealogies.

Folio 27

1. See Map 4 and fols. 97-103.

2. On the Kapuas River (see Map 4).

3. See Map 4.

Folio 28

1. On Sumatra's east coast (see Map 2).

2. See below, fo. 116 fn. 3.

3. Encik Aisyah married Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Haji in 1745 but died not long afterwards (see fo. 121).

Folio 29

1. The marriage between Raja Maimunah and Sayid Husain took place in September 1823. Sayid Mahmud was born in November 1824 and Sayid Alwi in April 1827 (Hs. 369 fo. 19).

Folio 30

1. The quotation is from the Koran 3:168.
2. On Sumatra's east coast (see Map 2). This Jambi ruler may possibly be identified with the one given below, fo. 156 fn. 1.
3. Also called Tengku Antiah or Tengku Tih.
4. Raja Jafar's mother came from Inderagiri and according to van Ranzouw was called Encik Gandira (Hs. 369 fo. 11).
5. The mother of Raja Idris and Raja Pahang was called Encik Uning and was also from Inderagiri. Raja Pahang died as a child (Hs. 369 fo. 12).
6. Raja Ahmad's mother, Encik Mariam, was from Riau. Raja Ahmad was more generally known as Raja Hitam (Hs. 369 fo. 12).
7. On Sumatra's east coast (see Map 2).
8. See below, fo. 157 fn. 1.
9. See fo. 267. One daughter of the marriage married Sayid Ali of Siak but she died without children (Hs. 369 fo. 16).

Folio 31

1. Van Ranzouw gives her title as Engku Puan and says that she was Raja Haji's fourth daughter, her mother being from Inderagiri. One son was born of this marriage, but died at four months (Hs. 369 fo. 17 and below, fo. 329 fn. 3). There appears to be some confusion in this list, since the names of Raja Buntit, Raja Aminah, Engku Tengah and Raja Pasir are repeated.
2. According to van Ranzouw, Raja Pasir's mother was a secondary wife. There were no children from her marriage with Raja Sayid and they were later divorced. She then returned to Penyengat (Hs. 369 fo. 18). Inderagiri is on the east coast of Sumatra (see Map 2).
3. Raja Abdullah was the son of Sultan Ibrahim of Selangor (d. 1826). Raja Basuk's formal name was also Ibrahim (Hs. 369 fo. 23).
4. She later married Sultan Muhammad of Riau and Lingga (1832-41). See fo. 356.
5. The son of Raja Idris, Raja Haji's second son, by a secondary wife (Hs. 369 fo. 15).
6. After Raja Jafar's death sometime before 1827, Raja Saudah married an Arab, Sayid Muhammad Habshi, and they had one son, Sayid Umar (Hs. 369 fo. 24).

Folio 32

1. Possibly an error for Salihah.
2. They had one daughter, Saripa, and a son, Sayid Idris (Hs. 369 fo. 24).
3. The author of an allegorical poem on birds, *Syair Burung*, which was composed on Penyengat in 1859 (Kl. 171 and Overbeck, 1934, pp. 108-48).

Folio 33

1. See Inset, Map 3. In European writings the island is also called Mars, and there are variations in spelling. Its Malay honorific was Indera Sakti, and during the nineteenth century it was the royal island where the Yang Dipertuan Muda of Riau lived (Wilkinson, 1959, I, p. 424).

2. The marriage took place on 12 August 1824 (Hs. 369 fo. 18).

3. Born January 1826 (Hs. 369 fo. 18).

4. See fo. 428.

5. *Tuhfat* MS. B adds 'who is still living at the time of compiling this genealogy'.

6. This marriage is confirmed by Netscher (1854, p. 153). However, Sultan Mahmud also married the daughter of the Tengku Besar of Singapore (see fo. 409).

Folio 34

1. The marriage took place on 17 August 1826 (Hs. 369 fo. 19).

2. A nickname. He is possibly the Raja Muhammad Sayid listed in a genealogy drawn up by Netscher (1855, p. 411).

3. i.e., the Master of a Muslim brotherhood, a spiritual guide or instructor. Raja Abdullah was the leader of the Naksyabandiyyah *tarikah* (see fo. 425).

4. Netscher lists a Raja Aisyah and a Raja Zubaidah not mentioned here (1855, p. 411).

Folio 35

1. Van Ranzouw lists two other lawful wives, both with the title Daeng. The list he gives differs from that in the *Tuhfat* (Hs. 369 fols. 14–15).

Folio 36

1. Possibly the author of the poem attributed to Raja Ali Haji, *Syair Abd al-Muluk*, although van Ronkel gives her name as Salihat (1909, p. 321 and Roorda van Eysinga, 1847, pp. 285–526).

2. An abbreviation of *lebih* = 'more', 'additional'.

Folio 37

1. Raja Halimah, his first cousin.

2. The author of *Syair Saudagar Bodoh* (The Poem of the Stupid Merchant), written on Penyengat about 1861 (Kl. 164).

3. *Tuhfat* MS. B adds 'who cared for all his brothers and sisters after his father, Raja Ali Haji, had died. He passed away in *Mecca the Exalted* in the area of *Medina the Illustrious* in 1300, on 14 Muharram [25 November 1882]'.

4. *Tuhfat* MS. B adds 'who also became the wife of her first cousin Raja Hasan, the son of Raja Andut, the son of Raja Ahmad. The ninth was Raja Alwiah, who passed away, struck down by smallpox'. Netscher (1854, p. 116) describes the rate of infant mortality during a smallpox epidemic. During August and September 1849 on Penyengat alone six to seven children were dying each day 'so that the toll was 350–400'.

5. *Tuhfat* MS. B adds 'When he was sixteen Daeng Menambun was sent by his [half] brother Raja Husain to the Dutch government school at Bukit Tinggi to

become a teacher. He was there for five and a half years, returning safely to Riau in 1305, one thousand three hundred and five [1887/8] to become a teacher at the school on Penyengat. The third was a daughter, Raja Afifah, generally known as Raja Kecil; the fourth was Raja Hitam and the fifth, Raja Sharifah, generally known as Raja Mandak'.

The prestigious Bukit Tinggi Normal School was originally established by the Dutch in 1856. Improvements were made during the 1870s and it was commonly called the Sekolah Raja, the princes' school. The aim was to 'civilize' its pupils through exposure to western education (Graves, 1971, pp. 265, 348-9).

Raja Hitam, whose formal name was Raja Khalid Hasan, later became a prominent anti-Dutch leader (B. Andaya, 1977, p. 127).

6. One of these, Raja Safiah, is the author of a *Syair Kumbang Mengindera* (Kl. 190) which deals with the amours of a bumble-bee and is dated 1859.

7. The elder son of Temenggung Abd al-Rahman, Daeng Abdullah, later proved to be of unsound mind (see below, fo. 413 fn. 1 and also fo. 391).

Folio 38

1. She is the only child of Raja Ahmad listed by van Ranzouw in 1827 who was not born of a secondary wife (Hs. 369 fo. 16).

2. In Sulawesi, Suliwatang was a noble title, the representative of a Lord. In Riau-Lingga it came to be used for the Yang Dipertuan Muda's deputy (Ibrahim, 1868-72, I, p. 33).

3. *Tuhfat* MS. B adds 'the first being Raja Mahmud, the second Raja Ngah, and the third Raja Uda'. *Muda* = young is often shortened to Uda and both forms are used as given names, especially for males (Hodgson, 1967, p. 110).

4. *Tuhfat* MS. B adds that this marriage occurred before Raja Ahmad's marriage to Raja Hawa. See also fo. 328.

Folio 39

1. *Tuhfat* MS. B adds 'had two children by Encik Hamidah, who was in Lingga. One was called Raja Selamah and the son was called Raja Sayid; he was eventually brought to Riau, where he married Raja Wuk, the daughter of the late ruler Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali.'

2. The absence of any further mention of Raja Isa is significant. According to van Ranzouw he would have succeeded his father Raja Ali as Yang Dipertuan Muda but when he was accused of piracy the office went to Raja Haji's son Raja Jafar (Hs. 369 fo. 24).

3. At the northern extremity of the island of Batam.

4. Or Sani, fo. 40.

5. Mandau and Gaong are two rivers which flow into Amphitrite Bay on the east coast of Sumatra (see Map 2). The *orang laut* from this area are termed the *Suku Enam* (Six Clans) because of the six main rivers there. In the nineteenth century these *orang laut* wandered throughout the archipelago and according to one report were at odds with other groups (Begbie, 1967, p. 272).

6. Raja Sulung was born about 1812, since he was 15 in 1827. Raja Basuk was arrested in May 1820 at Raja Jafar's request and detained by the Resident. In May 1824 he was sent to Batavia as a state prisoner. His crime is not mentioned (Hs. 369 fo. 23).

Folio 40

1. Lukut is a tin mining centre in Negri Sembilan (see Map 1). Raja Jafar was given the area as an apanage and Raja Jumat helped develop it (see fo. 279). Raja Jumat later married the daughter of the Selangor ruler, Sultan Muhammad, and died in 1864 as the unofficial ruler of Lukut. Raja Abdullah controlled Kelang between 1849-50 and died in 1869 (Khoo, 1972, pp. 71-5, 141-2).

2. Reigned 1826-57.

Folio 41

1. Raja Musa lost his reason and in 1827 van Ranzouw noted that he was being kept by his relatives on Penyengat and was living separately from his wife. Encik Fatimah later married a Bugis prince, Karaeng Candra Puli, who afterwards returned to Sulawesi (see fo. 307). Encik Fatimah and the daughter of the marriage then moved to Malacca (Hs. 369 fo. 21).

2. Forty men are said to have accompanied the Bugis princes on their voyage to the west (see fo. 49).

3. He married Raja Maimunah, daughter of Raja Musa and Encik Fatimah. They had four sons and one daughter (Hs. 369 fo. 20).

4. These names are all confirmed in Hs. 369 fo. 20. By 1827 Raja Muhammad had already died and his widow and children were living on Penyengat.

5. See fo. 39.

6. Raja Penuh's marriages to Raja Abdullah of Kedah and Raja Ali the son of Yang Dipertuan Muda Daeng Kamboja are omitted here. See fols. 186-7 and 241 fn. 7.

7. On the Martapura River in southern Kalimantan (see Map 4).

Folio 42

1. Or Raja Andak (see fo. 25).

2. See above, fo. 40 fn. 2 and Khoo (1972, *passim*). Sultan Muhammad's son by Raja Siah (or Aisyah), Raja Abd al-Samad, became ruler of Selangor in 1857.

3. There appears to be some confusion here with Raja Ahmad son of Raja Haji who married Panglima Perang Malik's daughter (see fo. 36).

Folio 43

1. Sultan Mahmud, son of Sultan Ibrahim, succeeded to the Johor throne in 1685 at the age of five and reached his majority in 1695. Contemporary European reports stress his sadistic nature and it also appears that he was a homosexual. The *Tuhfat*'s account of his murder is taken from Cod. Or. 7304 and this latter version is discussed by Andaya (1975, pp. 139-40, 181-2, 186-90).

2. *hulubalang yang kebal*. Tomé Pires in sixteenth-century Malacca remarked on a group of noblemen whom he called *cabaees* who 'have given everyone to understand that they cannot die by the sword . . . There are few cabaees and they are much feared' (Cortesão, 1944, II, p. 266).

Folio 44

1. In October 1699, shortly after the assassination, the Dutch in Malacca were told that the Johor nobles had carried out the regicide because of the ruler's

tyranny, his arbitrary killings, and his outrageous practices towards their wives (Andaya, 1975, p. 186). According to an English country trader who visited Johor in 1703, Sultan Mahmud broke both the arms of a girl whom his mother had sent to sleep with him as a cure for his homosexuality. The girl's father then stabbed the ruler the next day (Hamilton, 1930, p. 52).

2. Andaya (1975, p. 188) suggests that the title *Seri Bija di Wangsa* may have been given to a prominent leader of the *orang laut* or sea-people who were a principal component in the ruler's power base. Cod. Or. 7304 relates how the *Seri Bija di Wangsa* refused to commit treason and before he was killed by the nobles, condemned them for their disloyalty (fols. 406-7 and below, fo. 54 fn. 3).

3. Cod. Or. 7304 adds that the kris struck Megat Seri Rama's foot and he lived in agony for a further four years, with grass growing in the wound because he had committed treason. The Sultan did not die immediately but was taken to the palace where he informed some of the mosque officials of what had happened. They wrote it down so that it could be passed on to his descendants.

4. July-August 1699. The four Fridays which fell in Safar are 31 July, 7 August, 14 August, and 21 August. All are possible dates for Sultan Mahmud's death.

5. Thursday, 3 September 1699.

6. The title given to the head of the *orang laut*.

Folio 45

1. Cod. Or. 1724 (2), elsewhere called the *Chronicle of Engku Busu*, fols. 6-7.

2. In a letter to Malacca received on 4 December 1717, Raja Kecil said he had been sent by the Pagar Ruyung ruler to avenge the death of his father Sultan Mahmud. Letters from Puteri Jamilan to the Dutch also indicated that Raja Kecil was Sultan Mahmud's son, although there was at the time no suggestion from her that he had been raised at the Minangkabau court. By 1745, however, the Dutch were repeating Raja Kecil's own claim that this was so (Netscher, 1870, p. xiii).

3. See above, fo. 13 fn. 2. According to Dutch reports, these were all Sultan Abd al-Jalil's brothers. The youngest, the Raja Indera Bungsu, became Syahbandar in 1707 and Raja Muda in 1708, and even in 1706 was considered the most powerful of the brothers (Andaya, 1975, pp. 207-11, 244).

4. According to *HNJ* and *PSNJ*, which supply most of the *Tuhfat*'s dates until about 1750, the move to Pancor occurred during the first year of Sultan Abd al-Jalil's reign. Andaya (1975, pp. 199, 205), suggests that it was sometime between October 1701 and December 1705.

5. Dutch records note that the fire occurred at about eleven o'clock on the morning of 13 March 1709. A detailed description of the palace is found in *HNJ* (p. 58) and *PSNJ* (pp. 44-5). *HNJ* dates the construction at 1112 (1700/1) and says that the palace was destroyed by fire in 1120 (1708/9). The move back to Riau was suggested by the Raja Muda because this would be a more advantageous site from whence to withstand the threatened Siamese invasion. Despite opposition from some nobles, the court finally made the move which is dated at 17 June 1709 by *PSNJ* (Andaya, 1975, pp. 213-14).

6. The outside pressures on the Raja Muda at this time are described by Andaya (1975, pp. 213-14). The Bugis and Minangkabau were moving into

Johor's territories in large numbers, although according to Dutch sources Patani was an ally. However, rebellious Johor subjects had formed an alliance with the Siamese.

7. 1122 = 1710/1 A.D. Andaya (1975, pp. 211–28, 237) suggests that in quelling these rebellions the Raja Muda reinforced his own position. The campaign against Inderagiri in 1714 (1126 A.H.) was fought because the Sultan of Inderagiri, whom the Raja Muda supported, had been deposed. The Raja Muda's attempts to have him reinstalled were eventually unsuccessful.

8. Dutch reports date the move at 21 July 1716 (Andaya, 1975, p. 241).

9. 1715/6. The details of this campaign by Johor against the Bugis in Linggi are given by Andaya (1975, pp. 231–40).

Folio 46

1. Andaya, however (1975, p. 241) paints a picture of a growing lack of confidence among the people of Johor because of their own inability to push back their enemies.

Folio 47

1. To = 'people of'. A Malay investigation of 1715 noted that Daeng Marewah's father had held the state of Pammana and Lamuru as apanages (Andaya, 1975, p. 229).

Folio 48

1. A large tree with white flowers, *Dillenia* sp., often used in Malay art design (Wilkinson, 1959, II, p. 1109).

2. The significance of the finding of such an object, called a *gaukang*, which could become the palladium of a Bugis or Macassar community, is discussed by Andaya (1975a, p. 118).

3. *SMdB* (p. 6) adds that to this day Taji Kerami is included in the Mempawah regalia, while the dagger remains part of the regalia of the Yang Dipertuan of Riau.

4. Dutch records note that Daeng Marewah's father was also a nephew or cousin (*neef*) of the then ruler of Bone, La Patau Idris (r. 1672–1714), who had succeeded Arung Palakka in 1696 (Andaya, 1975, p. 229).

Folio 49

1. In 1715 Malay informants told the Dutch that Daeng Marewah's father had left Bone because a large amount of booty he had obtained during a campaign with the previous ruler of Bone, Arung Palakka La Tenritatta (d. 1696), had been confiscated by his successor La Patau (Andaya, 1975, pp. 229 and 247 fn. 126).

2. The Dutch were also told that Daeng Marewah's father had gone to Siantan with thirty people. The ruler of Bone had sent Daeng Marewah to persuade his father to return but when his father refused Daeng Marewah decided to remain in Siantan.

3. *SMdB* gives a detailed account (p. 9) of the Bugis stay in Cambodia, where the five brothers posed as traders and were taken under the protection of the Syahbandar.

Folio 50

1. Minangkabau were sufficiently numerous in Cambodia for the Khmers to have a special word for Sumatrans, which meant 'Malays from the land of the buffalo' (Moura, 1883, p. 457). The story of the victorious cock which demonstrates its owner's spiritual power over his opponents is well known in Malay society (Ahmad, 1964, pp. 398, 403; Mees, 1935, pp. 56, 146-7; Osman, 1961, pp. 82-5). The victory of the Bugis cock over that of the Minangkabau through the power of the spurs, formed from the same material as the *gaukung* found in Pammana, foreshadows the defeat of the Minangkabau prince Raja Kecil by the Bugis princes.

2. i.e., the Malay word for Cambodia.

3. From the Koran 2:156.

4. Cod. Or. 1724 (2) fo. 24 mentions that he was rewarded when the Bugis finally reinstated Sultan Sulaiman in Johor, and *PSNJ* (p. 61) says he died 8 July 1741.

Folio 51

1. See Map 2. This account, taken from Cod. Or. 7304, is given in detail by Andaya (1975, p. 260).

2. The chewing of betel was widespread in traditional Malay society and the articles necessary for betel preparation played an important ceremonial role. In Malay courts betel sets of exquisite workmanship were often heirlooms or formed part of the regalia. When the ruler held audiences the betel attendant, usually a young page, stood beside the throne (see further Sheppard, 1972, pp. 164-70).

3. Cod. Or. 7304 relates how the ruler of Johor immediately noticed Raja Kecil's resemblance to the assassinated Sultan Mahmud.

Folio 52

1. Belidah is a tributary of the Musi River. The Sultan Lambayang of the *Tuhfat* (Cod. Or. 7304 gives Sultan Lumbang) resembles the Raden Lambu of Palembang chronicles (Veth, 1850, p. 201) who was known as Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin when he succeeded as ruler (Woelders, 1975, p. 481). However, local memory seems to have confused Sultan Mahmud and his nephew and rival, Pangeran Dipati Anum, whose wanderings are recorded in Dutch sources (Andaya, 1975, p. 261). According to another Palembang text, Sultan Anum escaped to Jambi where he continued to foment rebellion against Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin (Woelders, 1975, p. 81).

2. Pariaman is on the west coast of Sumatra (see Map 2). The name Kelana Jaya Putera first appears in Dutch records in 1720. There is no mention of Daeng Marewah's involvement with Dutch forces, although he had once been on a campaign to Java with Arung Palakka (d. 1696). It was in fact the latter who aided the Dutch at Pariaman in August 1666 in reprisals for Acehnese destruction of Dutch factories in the area. Memories of Daeng Marewah appear to have been merged with the Arung Palakka legend (Andaya, 1975, p. 229).

Folio 53

1. See above, fols. 17 fn. 4 and 18 fn. 1, and also Andaya (1975, pp. 262-3).

2. *Terubuk* is a variety of herring, for which Bengkalis was well known (Over-

beck, 1934, p. 115).

3. Raja Kecil had gained control over the flourishing trading port of Bengalis by 1717. This district, formerly under Johor, had been particularly shocked by Sultan Mahmud's murder (Andaya, 1975, pp. 189, 250).

Folio 54

1. Here Raja Ali departs from his text, Cod. Or. 7304, fo. 426. In the latter the Bugis promise to assist Raja Kecil if Daeng Parani is given the title of Yang Dipertuan Muda. When this was settled, the Bugis left for Langat in Selangor to recruit a force from the Bugis community there.

2. The significance of the desertion of the *orang laut* and the strategy of Raja Kecil's attack on Johor as described in both the *Siak Chronicle* and VOC records are analysed by Andaya (1975, pp. 250-64). In Cod. Or. 7304 Raja Kecil performed miracles to convince people of the truth of his claims but there is no evidence of deception. The *Tuhfat* thus throws doubt on Raja Kecil's credentials.

3. According to the *Tuhfat*, the Laksamana was Raja Kecil's grandfather. In *SMdB* and Cod. Or. 1724 (2) it is the Bendahara rather than the Laksamana who aids Kecil in order to avenge himself on his younger brother, Sultan Abd al-Jalil, for occupying a position the Bendahara considered his by seniority. Cod. Or. 7304 also blames the Bendahara for the betrayal of Johor and according to European records the Bendahara committed the *orang laut* to Raja Kecil's cause; an *orang laut* leader, Seri Bija di Wangsa, also joined Raja Kecil as did other prominent nobles (Andaya, 1975, p. 256).

4. The *orang laut* were traditionally responsible for patrolling the Straits (Andaya, 1975, pp. 46-51).

5. According to Cod. Or. 7304, Pangkalan Rama was near the royal landing stage.

Folio 55

1. A cultural phenomenon relatively common in traditional Malay society, which Wilkinson (1959, I, p. 25) calls 'indiscriminate murder by a desperate man who neither expects nor desires mercy'.

2. Two small islands in the Johor River, Kayu Anak Kecil and Kayu Anak Besar, separated by a narrow strait, and about ten km. from Johor Lama (*HNJ*, p. 129 fn. 2:16; see also Map 2). According to Cod. Or. 1724 (2), the Raja Muda loved his wife so much that all her weaving equipment was made of gold. Raja Kecil said that if she had lived he would have taken her as a wife.

3. The Raja Muda, a controversial figure, is denigrated in both the *Tuhfat* and Cod. Or. 7304, although contemporary Europeans praised his acumen and ability as a ruler. He fled from Johor on 4 March 1718 and it fell to Raja Kecil soon after (Andaya, 1975, p. 267).

4. In July 1718 the Syahbandar of Johor, then in Pahang, informed the Dutch that Raja Kecil had made Sultan Abd al-Jalil Bendahara once more. Raja Kecil had razed the royal residence but had married Abd al-Jalil's daughter. He had then left for Siak (Andaya, 1975, pp. 279-81).

5. *Hari raya* can mean simply a holiday, usually associated with some Muslim festival, but here probably refers to Hari Raya Besar, the celebration which occurs after the fasting month.

Folio 56

1. The movement of Bugis groups into Selangor and Linggi is described by Andaya (1975, pp. 220–2, 229–32).

2. A meeting between Raja Kecil and the Bugis took place in Siak some time after July 1818 but the Bugis refused to surrender their ally, Bendahara Tun Abdullah, and war broke out soon afterwards (Andaya, 1975, p. 282).

Folio 57

1. Cod. Or. 7304, fo. 431.

2. According to the Bendahara's report of August 1718, Raja Kecil had taken the royal family with him to Siak. Recaptured by Daeng Marewah, they were taken back to Riau by Bendahara Tun Abdullah (Andaya, 1975, p. 283).

3. During this period Daeng Parani had been in Palembang assisting the rebel prince Pangeran Dipati Anum. In August 1718 the Resident of Palembang informed Batavia that Daeng Parani had left for Sukadana in the Lampung district of South Sumatra with a large war fleet (KA 1803 OB 1719, Res. of Palembang to Batavia, 30 August 1718, fols. 98–9).

Folio 58

1. During the early eighteenth century Sukadana, Matan, and Simpang formed one kingdom which was known by the names of its successive capitals—Sukadana, Matan, Muara Kajung, and Tanjung Pura. Saribas had at one time been a tributary of Johor but through a royal marriage in the seventeenth century it came under Sukadana. A relative of the deposed Sultan Muhammad Zain al-Din was put in charge of Sukadana on behalf of Banten. Muhammad Zain al-Din summoned Bugis aid to recover his kingdom and it is this struggle which the *Tuhfat* describes (Veth, 1854, pp. 237–71). The *Tuhfat*'s source for its history of the west coast of Kalimantan is Cod. Or. 1754 (*HODM*).

2. See Maps 1 and 4.

Folio 59

1. Daeng Mattekuh was from Wajo, and his enmity with the other Bugis leaders, who were from Bone, was to continue for several years afterwards. He was a younger brother of the famous Arung Sengkang of Wajo (Andaya, 1975, p. 320 fn. 134).

2. See Map 4.

Folio 60

1. Mempawah was ruled by the Penembahan of Sanggau, whose daughter had married Sultan Muhammad Zain al-Din of Matan—Sukadana. Puteri Kesumba, wife of Opu Daeng Menambun, was the child of this marriage. When the Penembahan of Sanggau died, the ruler of Matan bestowed Mempawah on his Bugis son-in-law who ruled it with his wife and her mother from a new capital, Sebukit. Bugis settlers joined Opu Daeng Menambun and developed the state which became one of the most important places on Kalimantan's west coast (Veth, 1854, I, pp. 241–2).

Folio 61

1. According to the reports of the exiled Syahbandar in August 1718, Raja Kecik's wife had fled to her father of her own volition. Raja Kecik had gone to get her back with a large number of armed men. When Sultan Abd al-Jalil saw this he was afraid and fled to Trengganu taking only his two sons and leaving the rest of his family (Andaya, 1975, p. 280). The detailed story of the abduction is in Cod. Or. 7304, fols. 430-4. *PSNJ* (p. 45) refers briefly to a move to Seluyut made on 21 March 1717 during the Minangkabau attack.

2. Bendahara Tun Abdullah, the Raja Indera Bungsu and other members of the royal family had sought refuge in Malacca (Andaya, 1975, pp. 281, 286).

3. *HNJ* describes how Sultan Abd al-Jalil set up his new capital in Trengganu, appointing ministers and officers and bringing individuals from Kelantan (Andaya, 1975, pp. 285-6). According to Sheppard (1949, p. 8) Abd al-Jalil moved from Trengganu to Pahang because the Trengganu ministers and high officials would not accept his authority. His attempts to obtain European support are described by Andaya (1975, p. 286). The move to Pahang occurred on 11 July 1721 (*PSNJ*, p. 46).

4. Dutch records confirm this. The Raja Indera Bungsu then went on to Trengganu (Andaya, 1975, p. 315 fn. 30).

5. Chased out of Siak by an usurper, Raja Kecik returned to Riau where he obtained the support of a large number of *orang laut*. He regained power in Siak a few months later (Andaya, 1975, p. 287) and then returned to Riau which he transformed into an island fortress.

Folio 62

1. The Governor of Malacca reported the sending of this message in October 1719 (Andaya, 1975, p. 316).

Folio 63

1. *Wirid* refers to a section of the Koran recited at specific times of the day or night devoted to private worship. For Sufi brotherhoods these spiritual exercises or formulaic prayers assumed a special significance (Wehr, 1966; Trimmingham, 1971, pp. 214-15).

2. The *Siak Chronicle* (Cod. Or. 7304, fo. 434) further says that Raja Kecik sent the Laksamana and Seri Bija di Wangsa to Pahang to bring Sultan Abd al-Jalil back to Riau. In this account the Sultan repents of having stolen his daughter from her husband Raja Kecik and acknowledges that he himself deserves death. The Laksamana and Seri Bija di Wangsa openly accuse him of treason and after a hard fight Sultan Abd al-Jalil is killed.

Folio 64

1. The date given in *SMdB*, *HNJ* and *PSNJ* is 1133 (A.D. 1720/1). According to Dutch records this event occurred in November 1721 (*SMdB* p. 16; *HNJ* p. 60; *PSNJ* pp. 46-7; Andaya, 1975, p. 292).

2. The last mention of Tun Abdullah in Dutch sources is his departure for Pahang in 1721. It is possible that he was murdered there with Sultan Abd al-Jalil or died shortly afterwards because in 1722, following Sultan Sulaiman's return to Riau, there was a new Bendahara called Tun Abbas (Andaya, 1975, p. 293).

3. The Bugis *aruk* ceremony was a ritual of homage to the king during which the *kanjar* dance was performed. The dancer swore allegiance with no fixed ceremonial words but with anything that came to mind, his hand striking the hilt of his kris and his foot stamping the ground as he demonstrated his willingness to follow his leader into battle (Cense, 1966, p. 424; Andaya, 1975, p. 317 fn. 66 and p. 334).

4. In times of disaster or danger the Luwu regalia was covered with the warm blood of a sacrificed animal. This blood was believed to have life-giving properties which would strengthen the magical power of the regalia (Spat, 1918, pp. 68–9).

5. Though Daeng Menampuk is accorded a minor place in the *Tuhfat*, Dutch records show that he was of equal status with Daeng Marewah and to some extent his rival. His father, once a representative of the Soppeng ruler, was said to have had both his lips cut off in about 1690 because of some damning remark. Andaya (1975, pp. 229–31, 284, 297–8) suggests Daeng Menampuk's father may have been the Regent of Lampoko who insulted the famous Bugis leader Arung Palakka. Because of this incident, Daeng Menampuk and his brother left Sulawesi, travelling to East Java, Banten, other unnamed countries, Selangor and finally reaching Linggi about 1711. Rivalry developed between Daeng Menampuk and Daeng Marewah when the latter made an independent arrangement with Bendahara Tun Abdullah for ousting Raja Kecil. Menampuk's low status in the *Tuhfat* may be due to continuing enmity between the two families and to the exile of Daeng Menampuk's descendant, another Raja Tua, for treachery in about 1767.

6. Massuro' = Bugis 'to send'; Mangnatu' = 'to arrange'.

Folio 65

1. From the Bugis *anreguru*. See glossary.

2. See Map 3, Inset.

3. The inlet between Tanjung Pinang and Senggarang (see Map 3).

4. Fighting had continued intermittently between the Linggi Bugis and the Minangkabau since the fall of Johor in 1718. *HNJ* (p. 60), *SMdB* (p. 16) and *PSNJ* (p. 47) all say that Raja Kecil had been ruling for only six months when the Bugis challenged him. Cod. Or. 7304 (fo. 435) says he had been king for a year prior to Daeng Parani's attack. According to VOC records the final battle began in December 1721 (Andaya, 1975, pp. 289–90).

5. Malays reported to the Dutch that about forty-six Bugis boats were attacked by the Minangkabau fleet at the island of Pengujan (KA 1872 OB 1723, Malacca to Batavia, 23 March 1722, fols. 73–7).

Folio 66

1. See Map 3, Inset. The island of Bayan is at the mouth of the Riau River, about half a mile east of Tanjung Pinang.

2. Stockades were also built by the Bugis at Tanjung Montoy. The Dutch reported a lull of two days before the battle began again (Andaya, 1975, p. 292). *PSNJ* (p. 47) says there had been two days' fighting before the Bugis built their stockades.

Folio 67

1. Dutch records reinforce much of the information supplied by the *Tuhfat*, and provide further details omitted in the *Tuhfat*'s account of Bugis heroism; for

instance, Malays later told the Dutch that the Bugis plundered Riau for five days, robbing and killing all the Minangkabau there (see further Andaya, 1975, p. 292).

2. 1721.

3. Cod. Or. 7304, fols. 436–8 says that Daeng Parani retreated to Selangor to build up his forces because he could no longer withstand the Minangkabau attacks. In July 1722 Daeng Marewah wrote telling the Dutch of the attack on Riau and that he had now returned to Linggi leaving Daeng Parani on Riau with 500 Bugis to protect the newly installed Sultan Sulaiman (Andaya, 1975, pp. 295, 299).

Folio 68

1. This appears to be an extension of an earlier incident described in Cod. Or. 7304, fo. 435 where Raja Sulaiman went to Pahang to get the Bendahara after his father's murder. The identity of Bendahara Pekuk (= with the malformed limb) is unclear. According to Cod. Or. 7304 (fols. 409, 435), he was a son of Sultan Abd al-Jalil and thus a (half?) brother of Sulaiman. He had been made Bendahara after the regicide but when Encik Pung fled he resigned, to be replaced by his own eldest son (but see above, fo. 13 fn. 2).

2. Raja Kecik would have been assisted in his escape by the *orang laut*, intimately acquainted with the dangerous waters of the Lingga Straits (Andaya, 1975, p. 44).

Folio 69

1. Cod. Or. 7304, fols. 435–6.

2. There is no evidence that Raja Kecik re-established himself in Riau after his flight in January 1722. A letter from him received in Malacca on 18 June 1722 tells of his return to Siak (Andaya, 1975, p. 299). This episode in the *Tuhfat* is an adaptation of one described in Cod. Or. 7304, fols. 435–8.

3. The source of this episode is not known, although it also occurs in *SMdB* (pp. 31–3). Such an incident may have occurred during one of three Minangkabau attacks made on Lingga prior to the Bugis attack on Riau (Andaya, 1975, pp. 290, 291, 298).

Folio 73

1. See Map 2.

2. Van Anrooij (1885, pp. 266–70, taking the story from Cod. Or. 7304, fols. 439, 442) says that Raja Kecik had the harbour master brought back and would have killed him to fulfil a vow he had made to drink the harbour master's blood. However, he yielded to pleas for mercy and fulfilled his vow by having a cut made in the harbour master's finger and drinking the blood from the wound. The harbour master took an oath of fealty to Raja Kecik and promised to provide sixteen virgins for all future kings of Siak.

3. See Map 2. Buntan on the Siak River remained Raja Kecik's capital and while he was there he established the Minangkabau *suku* administration in Siak, using the four *suku*, Lima Pulu, Pasisir, Tanah Datar, and Kampar. Each was administered by a chief who shared half the revenue from his *suku* with the ruler (Netscher, 1870, p. 54 fn. 1).

4. These islands are strung out across the entrance to Bintan Bay (see Map 3, Insets 1, 3 and 6).

5. There is no mention in Dutch sources of any second attack. The *Tuhfat's* claim that this was so seems to have resulted from an effort to reconcile several different versions of the events.

Folio 74

1. A tree from the seeds of which oil is extracted (Wilkinson, 1959, I, p. 586).

2. Catfish, genus *Plotosus*, notorious among Malays for the wounds inflicted by the poisonous serrated spines of its dorsal and pectoral fins (Wilkinson, 1959, I, p. 1057).

3. According to legend, *Iela majnun*, the first swivel gun cast in the Malay world for a Malay ruler, was said to have been made by a local coppersmith modelled on one supplied by a Captain Lucas. It was named after the hero and heroine of a well-known romance about Laila and her lover Majnun, and the name was extended to swivel guns generally.

Folio 75

1. According to van Anrooij (1885, p. 268), this is present-day Pekan Baru on the Siak River (see Map 2).

2. This incident is similar to one in *SMdB* (pp. 33–5), but in the latter Raja Kecil flees into the jungle, abandoning most of his belongings, including a gold and silver box. He was not followed.

Folio 76

1. For a discussion of *daulat*, the special power of Malay kings, see Wilkinson (1932, pp. 78–82).

2. He was Sulaiman's uncle, the elder brother of Sultan Abd al-Jalil who died in 1721 (Andaya, 1972, p. 75).

Folio 78

1. Further details of the ceremony are given in *SMdB* (pp. 40–4). A document quoted by Netscher (1870, p. 59) gives the installation date as 4 October 1722 (24 Zulhijjah 1134). Andaya (1975, p. 298) argues that the co-operation between Sulaiman and the Bugis at this point was purely fortuitous, that it was not previously planned, and that both sides saw it as contributing to their mutual advantage.

2. In the traditional Malay wedding the feet and hands of bride and bridegroom are stained with henna on the evening of the wedding (see Sheppard, 1972, p. 103).

Folio 79

1. Daeng Menampuk was in fact given the title Sultan Ibrahim Syah and was installed at the same time as Daeng Marewah (see above, fo. 64 fn. 5; Andaya, 1975, p. 298 and *PSNJ*, pp. 47–8).

2. The written oath of loyalty was venerated by the Bugis and their descendants because it provided the legal basis for the position of the Yang Dipertuan

Muda. It was renewed by each new ruler and Yang Dipertuan Muda and the history of these renewals is preserved in von de Wall MS. 62 I. One MS. of the *Chronicle of Kutai* has an addition which begins 'This is a contract between the Bugis and the King of Kutai' and is similar to the one described in the *Tuhfat*, legally guaranteeing them a place in Kutai. It may have been a common practice for Bugis, after frequent expulsions from other areas, to have such a document drawn up (Mees, 1935, pp. 110, 264-5).

Folio 80

1. The Malacca administration received a letter on 23 July 1722 from Daeng Marewah at Linggi. However, the following episode in the *Tuhfat* appears to relate to earlier events in 1715 when it was reported that Daeng Marewah, *en route* to Mocha in Yemen, had stopped for a time in Selangor. Here a message was received from the younger brother of the Kedah ruler, asking for military assistance in an effort to seize the Kedah throne. If victorious, the Kedah prince promised to compensate the Bugis with a certain quantity of tin. When he failed to do this, the Bugis looted Kedah before their return. Kedah dynastic histories make it impossible to identify the 'younger' and 'older' brothers with any certainty but in 1720/1 Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin Syah, younger brother of the ruler who died in 1779, Sultan Muhammad Jiwa, was ruling. According to one Malay account, Sultan Muhammad went on a journey and when his father died in 1706 in his absence the nobles installed his younger brother, Sultan Ahmad, as ruler (Andaya, 1975, pp. 298 and 318 fn. 91; Hassan, 1968, pp. 94-7).

2. See glossary.

Folio 81

1. According to Cod. Or. 1754 (fo. 23) and *SMdB* (p. 52), Daeng Parani asked the Sultan of Kedah to place all the Bugis in Kedah under Parani's jurisdiction.

2. Cod. Or. 1754 (fo. 26) and *SMdB* (p. 55) relate that the Riau Bugis divided this three *bahara* of dollars amongst all the Bugis in Kedah. According to Dutch sources, it was the Bugis failure to divide the booty with the Johor ruler which caused the trouble between them (Andaya, 1975, pp. 230-2).

Folio 82

1. Her name is given as Tengku Aisyah (Hassan, 1968, p. 94).

Folio 83

1. See above, fo. 60 fn. 1. Mempawah was not strictly the territory of the Sultan of Matan, having come to him by marriage through Puteri Kesumba's mother (Daeng Menambun's mother-in-law). When the Mempawah ruler, Puteri Kesumba's grandfather, died, Daeng Menambun went there with his wife and mother-in-law to rule instead.

2. Dutch sources report that in early December 1722 Raja Kecil left Siak and went to Kedah with 110 ships to marry Tengku Masuna, a niece of the Kedah ruler, and to seek assistance against the Bugis.

3. Hearing of Raja Kecil's activities in Kedah, the Bugis sent a fleet of fifty ships under Daeng Menampuk. He was later joined by Daeng Marewah and Daeng Parani in March 1723 (Andaya, 1975, pp. 301-2).

4. Bulang is an island south of Singapore (see Map 3). The quarrel mentioned here occurred sometime between 17 March 1723, when Malacca received a letter from Sultan Sulaiman expressing his gratitude towards the Bugis for restoring his position, and 22 July 1723 when he wrote again explaining that he had fled to Bulang because he could not tolerate the affronts he had to suffer from the sixty-odd Bugis remaining in Riau. Together with some *orang laut* he had tried to attack Riau and rescue his family, but the Bugis threatened to ignite the ammunition storehouse unless he retreated. Sultan Sulaiman then asked for assistance from the VOC against the Bugis.

Folio 84

1. Detailed accounts of the war are given in Cod. Or. 1754, fols. 23–6, Cod. Or. 7304 (fo. 443), and *SMdB* (pp. 51–5). It ended inconclusively in January 1724 but it appears that the younger brother, whom the Minangkabau supported, retained control of the throne. The VOC records here are vague (Andaya, 1975, pp. 302 and 319 fn. 100).

2. *HNJ* (p. 62) says that he died in 1136 (1723/4). According to Cod. Or. 7304, he was shot by Raja Kecik who did not wish to engage in the duel to which Daeng Parani challenged him because he thought he had little chance of victory if Parani wore his chain-mail shirt (*baju rantai*) (Andaya, 1975, p. 303).

Folio 85

1. According to Dutch sources, the first to leave Kedah were the Bugis forces in January 1724, apparently because of discontent about the protraction of the war (Andaya, 1975, pp. 302, 305).

2. 1723/4.

3. 13 May 1725.

4. The Bugis had sent a force to attack Raja Kecik in Siak in June 1724 following their return from Kedah, but Raja Kecik escaped to Lingga. Gathering support from *orang laut* groups there and in Siantan, he attacked the Bugis who had established themselves on the island of Ungaran. Victorious, he returned to Siak which the Bugis then attacked on 16 September 1725. Their attack was aborted because of strong winds and Raja Kecik unsuccessfully besieged Riau again in late 1725 (Andaya, 1975, pp. 307–8).

5. 30 August 1725.

Folio 86

1. He returned in late 1725 (Andaya, 1975, p. 308).

2. In January 1727 the Dutch reported further preparations for war in both Siak and Riau (Andaya, 1975, p. 308).

3. 1725/6.

4. This episode comes from *PSNJ* (p. 50). See also Andaya (1975, p. 251).

5. The *besi kawi* was a piece of rusted iron with supernatural power which was part of the Johor regalia. Whenever one of the ruler's subjects took an oath, the *besi kawi* was immersed in water and the resulting mixture was given to him to drink. If the oath were broken, the subject would become ill and if he were a

chief all his people would be affected (von de Wall, *Woordenboek, nder kawi*). In Minangkabau society it was a supernatural power which would punish those who transgressed customary laws (see above, fo. 18 fn. 2). The full text of the letter and the oath it contained are given in *PSNJ* (pp. 49–50).

6. *Matoa* is a Bugis word meaning 'old', but also 'headman' or 'chief' (Noor-duyn, pers. comm., June 1972).

7. According to *PSNJ* (p. 50), this episode occurred in 1138 A.H. (1725/6). However, Dutch sources describe how Raja Kecik attacked Riau again in 1727, demanding the return of his wife and other members of the royal family, and forcing the Bugis to sue for peace. Cod. Or. 7304 (fols. 440–2) mentions that Tengku Kamariah wrote to Raja Kecik saying if he wanted her he should take her by force. Because of his great love for his wife, Raja Kecik attacked Riau (see further Andaya, 1975, pp. 308–10).

Folio 87

1. *PSNJ* (p. 50) says that Raja Kecik also returned the Bala Seribu, the long kris which was part of the Johor regalia.

2. 1726/7. Another attack was made by Raja Kecik at the beginning of 1728 but he was routed by the Bugis (Andaya, 1975, p. 311).

3. *Terusan* means a canal, usually cut between two streams or to avoid a bend in the river. In Riau it was the name given to a narrow channel separating the island of Senggarang from Bintan. It offered a means of surprise attack on Riau because big ships could enter Bintan Bay unnoticed from above the island of Bayan (Netscher, 1870, p. 204 and Map 3, Inset).

4. See glossary.

5. He was the younger half-brother of Sultan Abd al-Jalil (died 1721) and thus Sultan Sulaiman's uncle. According to Trengganu histories, he was given Trengganu as an apanage after 1699 and was later installed with the help of the Queen of Patani, with whom he had spent some time as a youth and whose daughter he had married (Misbaha, 1968, pp. 38–47, 52).

6. *SMdB* (p. 8) adds that Opu Daeng Biasa also helped the Dutch in an attack on the royal residence at Solo. The only Sunan with the title *Kuning* who was in conflict with the Dutch in Java was the 13-year-old Raden Mas Garenda, a grandson of Sunan Mas (Amangkurat III, 1703–8) who was persuaded to join rebellious Chinese after their uprising in Batavia in 1740. The rebellion was crushed in 1743 and Sunan Kuning was exiled to Sri Lanka (Ceylon) (de Graaf, 1949, pp. 238–41 and Ricklefs, 1974, p. 38).

7. *SMdB* adds that it was Kapitan Panjang who led the Chinese attack on Kota Intan, one of the four bastions of the Casteel in Batavia (p. 95). The role of Kapitan Panjang, Ni Hoe Kong, in the Chinese uprising of 1740 is recalled in a Malay poem (Rusconi, 1935). For further details, see Tan (1953 and 1954).

Folio 88

1. Gustaaf Willem Baron van Imhoff was Governor-General of Batavia from 1743–50.

2. One of the four principal language areas in South Sulawesi, on the west coast (see Map 1).

Folio 89

1. Cod. Or. 1754 (fo. 38) and *SMdB* (pp. 95–6) explain that when the five Bugis brothers had visited their uncle Daeng Biasa in Batavia *en route* to Cambodia and the Malay Peninsula, they had contracted debts with Dutch traders there. Daeng Biasa had undertaken to meet his nephews' commitments, but in return for Biasa's aid during the Chinese riots the Dutch paid the debts for him. Being under an obligation to Daeng Biasa, Menambun accedes to his cousins' request.

Folio 90

1. Each of the four bastions of the Casteel in Batavia was named after a jewel—Diamond (*Intan*), Ruby, Sapphire, and Pearl (de Graaf, 1958, p. 156).

2. According to Cod. Or. 1754 (fo. 39), Kampung Baru (= the new village) was within Kampung Bugis, which had been first settled in 1663 by Bugis allies of the Dutch and which still bears the name Kampung Bugis (de Haan, 1922, I, p. 482; Rusconi, 1935, p. 66).

3. Rice stained with saffron, which plays an important part in many Malay ceremonies.

4. *Bebek* = district heads, a corruption of the Dutch *wijk* = district. From 1655 native *wijkmeesters* were appointed to help govern Batavia's native population (de Haan, 1922, I, p. 471; Wilkinson, 1959, I, p. 100).

5. Cod. Or. 1754 (fo. 42) lists the items in demand in Mempawah—copper plates, salt, tobacco, batik goods, gamelan instruments, and various kinds of gongs.

6. The capital of Mempawah (see Map 4 and above, fo. 60 fn. 1).

Folio 91

1. Anas (1958, p. 42) locates Pinang Sekayuk 19 km. east of Mempawah. According to Cod. Or. 1754 (fols. 36–7), Pangeran Dipati was a distant relative of Opu Daeng Menambun's mother-in-law. When her father the Penembahan of Sanggau and ruler of Mempawah died, Pangeran Dipati assumed rule over all the Dayaks formerly subject to Mempawah. When Opu Daeng Menambun took over that state, the Pangeran was slow to relinquish his control of the Dayaks.

2. Anas (1958, p. 42) suggests that this is on an island in the delta of the Kapuas River, 19 km. south-west of Pontianak.

Folio 94

1. This episode is based on Cod. Or. 1754 (fo. 46), although the contents of the letter are not quoted there. A meaningful translation of this letter is difficult.

Folio 95

1. To the north of Mempawah (see Map 4).

Folio 96

1. In Inderagiri on Sumatra's east coast (see Map 2).

2. South-west of Riau (see Map 3). *HNJ* (p. 63) and *PSNJ* (p. 51) give the year of Daeng Marewah's death as 1141 (1728). Dutch records confirm this, and supply the month, October (Andaya, 1975, p. 312).

Folio 97

1. At the time the Dutch expected that To Passerai, an uncle of Queen Batari Toja of Bone, who had established himself as ruler of Linggi with the title Sultan Ibrahim Tomini, would succeed. He had previously been allied with Raja Kecik but was now willing to offer the Dutch all Selangor's tin if they would help him assume Marewah's position (KA 1993 (2) OB 1729, Malacca to Batavia, 11 November 1728, fo. 36; KA 2086 (2) OB 1733, Malacca to Batavia, 28 January 1732, fo. 8).

2. Landak, according to Veth (1854, I, p. 193, 228–37) had been linked to Sukadana, but at the end of the seventeenth century it asked Banten to aid it in a war against Sukadana. By 1699 Landak, like Sukadana, was also subject to Banten.

3. This Dayak group has not been identified. Cod. Or. 1754 (fo. 50) reads Menyuki, while *SMdB* (p. 108) has Banyuki.

Folio 100

1. *Benang putih* is white undyed yarn to which any colour may be given, the implication here being that Ratu Bagus was willing to comply with all the Yang Dipertuan Muda's wishes.

Folio 102

1. Both Cod. Or. 1754 (fo. 57) and *SMdB* (p. 113) read *Kuala Sumpak di Tambaong Bangsal*. According to Anas (1958, p. 45) the Sumpak or Sumpah River is a tributary of the Mempawah, its confluence at Kuala Sumpah being 51 km. upstream from the settlement of Mempawah. Tambaong Bangsal is a village 56 km. east of Mempawah (see Map 4).

2. Not located.

3. The closest identification of Sirai is Sirih, an island near Sukadana. Mate-toa' has been identified as a stream flowing into the Kendawangan River. Sengat remains unidentified, while Tayan and Meliau (also Meliow and Malia) are on the Kapuas River (see Map 4; Anas, 1958, p. 46; *Aardrijkskundige Namen*, 1923).

Folio 103

1. Cod. Or. 1754 (fols. 60–1) describes the manner in which the Dayaks swore this oath. With a rock in their right hands and an egg in their left, they stood on a river bank. As they repeated the oath, they smashed the egg and threw the rock into the river, in much the same manner as the Bugis did (Andaya, 1978, p. 279 and Schwaner, 1853, I, pp. 213–14).

2. Cod. Or. 1754 ends with the Yang Dipertuan Muda's return to Riau.

Folio 104

1. 1728/9.

2. 1730/1.

3. See above, fo. 59 fn. 1. In 1731 Daeng Mattekuh had established himself as ruler of Selangor but later that year he was expelled by To Passerai, head of Linggi, and retreated to Siak where he sought help from Raja Kecik and married his daughter to Raja Mahmud, Raja Kecik's son. Daeng Mattekuh and Raja Kecik

combined on several occasions to attack Linggi and Selangor but Dutch sources do not mention a campaign from Riau against Daeng Mattekuh in Selangor until 1742 (see letters between Malacca and Batavia in KA 2086 OB 1732, fols. 2, 19-20; KA 2132 OB 1733, fols. 17-19; KA 2462 OB 1743, fols. 10-11 and 100-6).

4. 1731/2.

5. In 1142 (1729/30) Daeng Mattekuh had married a certain Engku Tengah with the Raja Tua's permission (*HNJ*, p. 64 and *PSNJ*, p. 51).

Folio 105

1. 24 May 1733. The date comes from *PSNJ* (p. 52). MSS. C and D have 1146, but 21 Ramadan for that year fell on a Friday, while it was a Sunday in 1145.

2. Sultan Mansur's mother is said to have been a Patani princess (see above, fo. 87 fn. 5). He was the youngest of four sons and was born about 1727. According to Trengganu legend even as a child he showed remarkable powers and a learned man officiating at the birth predicted he would become a famous ruler who would rid the seas of pirates. On the death of their father, Tun Dalam's three elder brothers decided to acknowledge him as the future ruler but because he was still a minor the government was placed under the control of their uncle, the Bendahara of Johor (Misbaha, 1968, pp. 59-60; Dunmore, 1973, p. 148; Sheppard, 1949, p. 11).

3. The Friday of the *Tuhfat* and *PSNJ* (p. 53) does not tally with the Christian date Tuesday, 3 May 1735 (see above, fo. 1 fn. 1). According to von de Wall MS. 62 I (sections 5 and 6), the Raja Tua was buried at the Baharu River.

4. Kratz (*PSNJ*, pp. 52, 105, 133) places the trip to Siantan the year before the Raja Tua's death, the departure being on 12 June 1734. The Yang Dipertuan Muda's trip to Selangor was made the same year.

5. In 1735/6. Ungaran is south-east of Kundur and Durai is just south of Ungaran (see Map 3).

6. The date is given in *HNJ* (p. 65) and *PSNJ* (p. 53), but 1 March 1736 fell on a Thursday.

7. On Riau's north-western coast (see Map 3).

8. See above, fo. 39 fn. 5. Buru and Karimun are islands to the north-east and north of Kundur respectively (see Map 3).

9. This must be a different Raja Indera Bungsu from the man who had been so powerful in 1708 and had fled to Trengganu in 1721 (see above, fo. 45 fn. 3 and fo. 61 fn. 4). Dutch sources mention that this Raja Indera Bungsu was a brother-in-law of Sultan Sulaiman and a favourite of both the ruler and Daeng Cellak. His personal name was Tun Hasan and on 23 August 1748 he was installed as Bendahara, becoming one of the most influential men in the kingdom (KA 2427 OB 1742, Report by son of Malay Captain at Malacca, 2 March 1741, fols. 10-11 and letters from Malacca to Batavia in KA 2567 OB 1748, fo. 38 and KA 2610 OB 1749, fols. 243-4; Netscher, 1870, p. 70; *PSNJ*, p. 74 and fo. 215).

Folio 106

1. Presumably *orang laut* groups. This episode is an elaboration of one in *HNJ* (p. 66) and *PSNJ* (p. 53). Early in 1735 the Governor of Malacca noted that Raja Kecil's fleet had been repulsed by Riau forces, and since then he and Daeng

Mattekuh had been pirating (KA 2207 OB 1736, Malacca to Batavia, 20 January 1735, fols. 50-1).

2. An island in Bintan Bay, separated from Riau by the narrow Terusan channel (see Map 3).
3. These Straits are between the islands of Kundur and Durian.
4. 23 June 1735.
5. Between Rempang and Galang (see Map 3).

Folio 107

1. 29 June 1735. *SMdB* (p. 122) says that Raja Kecil's men felt humiliated during this attack because they had broken the oath sworn by Raja Kecil in the mosque and because the people of Riau, picnicking on Penyengat, regarded the battle as an entertainment.

2. 9 September 1735. The date is from *HNJ* (p. 67); *PSNJ* (p. 54) gives 22 Rabi al-akhir (11 September).

3. *HNJ* and *PSNJ* give Saturday, 1 Muharram (12 May 1736) as the date of the messenger's arrival.

4. *HNJ* (p. 67) and *PSNJ* (p. 54) also include Encik Unuk, Daeng Marewah's son (see below, fo. 116 fn. 3).

Folio 108

1. 27 October 1736.

2. April 1737. Raja Ibrahim was one of the leading princes of Riau, accompanying Sultan Sulaiman on several voyages (*PSNJ*, p. 59 and fo. 117).

3. 20 May 1737. *SMdB* (pp. 123-5) goes on to describe the religious ceremonies carried out at a holy (*keramat*) site on Pengujan. See also fo. 117.

4. The date given in *PSNJ* (p. 54) is 13 July 1737. We have located only a Tanjung Sebadam $1^{\circ} 42'N$ lat., $103^{\circ} 55'E$ long., which is east of Johor Bahru.

Folio 109

1. Panglima Besar Raja Emas was in charge of Raja Kecil's war fleet (KA 1922 OB 1728 (3), Malacca to Batavia, 31 January 1727, fols. 8-9).

2. A small stream near the village of Bulang, about 2 km. east of Tanjung Pinang (Anas, 1958, p. 50).

3. On Penyengat. It later became the residence of Tengku Puteri, daughter of Raja Haji (Roorda van Eysinga, 1847, p. 285 and fols. 297 and 407).

4. On Penyengat.

5. A *kota berjalan* consisted of an old vessel carrying a huge floating fort armed with heavy artillery (Netscher, 1870, p. 119).

Folio 110

1. Simpang Kiri is a canal. There is a Tarum River $1^{\circ} 58'N$ lat., $102^{\circ} 38'E$ long. in Johor.

2. 14 August 1737 (*PSNJ*, p. 55). *HNJ* (p. 70) gives 17 Rabi al-awal (27 July).

3. 15 August 1737 (*PSNJ*, p. 55). *HNJ* (p. 70) says Raja Alam fled on 11 Zulkaedah (2 March 1738). This is the last event recorded in *SMdB*. *HNJ* and *PSNJ* also mention that towards evening the Chinese settlement was burnt down.

Folio 111

1. Von de Wall MS. 62 I (section 7) says that he was installed on Saturday, 10 Zulhijjah 1147 (= Tuesday, 31 March 1738). *PSNJ* (pp. 52, 56) gives the date as 26 Zulcaedah (17 March), and says that Tun Abdullah, Daeng Menampuk's nephew, then took over duties of government from the Yang Dipertuan Muda.

2. 10 April 1739.

3. 23 April 1739. *HNJ* (p. 71) records that he died on the previous day, Wednesday, and was buried on the Thursday. He died at the time of the afternoon prayers (that is, between twelve and three p.m.). See also *PSNJ* (p. 58). He was succeeded by Encik Musuk (see fo. 121).

Folio 112

1. The source for these Siak episodes is Cod. Or. 7304 (fols. 450 ff.).

Folio 113

1. About 1737 (Netscher, 1870, p. xiii). According to this Dutch source, Raja Kecil later went to Batu Bahara to seek a cure.

Folio 114

1. He died about 1746 (Netscher, 1870, p. 77).

2. Probably the Lawang Island situated at the confluence of the Pulau Lawang River and the Kampar River, almost due south of Buntan (de Stuers, 1849, Map of Central Sumatra).

3. Cod. Or. 7304 (fo. 452) explains that Raja Beralih was the son of the Minangkabau Yang Dipertuan Sakti and that he was installed at the same time as Raja Kecil. The *Tuhfat* (fo. 17) gives Raja Beralih as one of Raja Kecil's earlier names.

4. Possibly a reference to *PSNJ* (pp. 73 and 76) or *HNJ* (p. 96).

Folio 115

1. 8 July 1740. The date is in *HNJ* (p. 73) and *PSNJ* (p. 59).

2. These princes, mentioned from time to time in *HNJ* and *PSNJ*, often accompanied Sultan Sulaiman on his voyages. Tun Sulung Muda was the son of the Datuk Paduka Maharaja; Tun Pasang was the son of the Datuk Sewa Raja and grandson of the Datuk Bendahara; Tun Hasan was the son of the Seri Nara Diraja; Tun Abd al-Majid, the son of Temenggung Tun Mutahir, had earlier married the Bendahara's daughter and later married Sultan Sulaiman's daughter (*PSNJ*, pp. 60, 69, 72).

3. 8 September 1740.

4. 26 February 1741. Sultan Sulaiman had left for Trengganu on 6 October 1740, arriving there on the 17th (*HNJ*, pp. 74-5 and *PSNJ*, p. 59).

5. Lung Pandak arrived from Kelantan on 7 January 1741 (*HNJ*, p. 75 and *PSNJ*, p. 59) to make obeisance. He was said to be the last of the local chiefs in Kelantan, the title deriving from the Thai honorific Luang (Rentse, 1944, pp. 31, 52-3, 57). *HNJ* and *PSNJ* both give the date for Sultan Mansur's installation as 10 Zulhijjah (26 February 1741). His title of Yang Dipertuan Kecil was presumably intended to complement that of Yang Dipertuan Besar, held by Sultan Sulaiman.

Folio 116

1. *HNJ* (p. 79) and *PSNJ* (p. 62) give the year as 1155, which would make the date 18 March 1742. Daeng Cellak was at this time attempting to oust Daeng Mattekuh from Selangor, which he did in 1743 (B. Andaya, 1979, p. 73).

2. Arung Ma Palla, a fugitive from Bangka who had been a follower of To Passerai, succeeded as head of Linggi about 1734. He fell out with Raja Kecik and settled in Linggi with a small force of about ninety men (KA 2207 OB 1736, Malacca to Batavia, 23 March 1734, fols. 5-6 and 20 January 1735, fols. 52-3). The episode is taken from Cod. Or. 1724 (2), fo. 27.

3. Daeng Marewah's son, Encik Unuk, had launched an attack on Perak in 1739 but had been poisoned there. Daeng Cellak made a punitive expedition to Perak in 1749 and apparently again in 1743. This episode in Perak history as described in Malay and Dutch sources is discussed by B. Andaya (1979, pp. 72-3).

4. The Orang Sewa Raja was a close associate of Sultan Sulaiman and employed as a royal envoy (*PSNJ*, pp. 52, 60, 62, 69, 71).

Folio 117

1. The envoy left on 3 October 1742 and returned to Riau in December/January (*HNJ*, pp. 80-1 and *PSNJ*, p. 62).

2. *HNJ* (p. 81) and *PSNJ* (p. 62) say that the rise in rice prices began in 1139 (1726/7) and continued to rise until 1156 (1743).

3. 20 May 1743.

4. *PSNJ* (p. 64), *HNJ* (p. 83) and above, fo. 108 fn. 3. The dates are 3 and 7 June 1743.

Folio 118

1. See glossary of boat terms. This passage is very similar to one in *SMDB* (p. 84). Dutch records of the time are replete with complaints about the inroads made by Riau on Dutch (and especially Malaccan) trade. Riau was increasingly important as an exchange centre, especially for English country traders.

2. An extract from the leaves of the gambier plant was used in tanning and in the preparation of betel nut for chewing.

3. Riau benefited from the exodus of Batavian Chinese after the 1740 riots (see above, fo. 87 and its fn. 7), since many migrated to Riau (Lewis, 1970, p. 162).

4. 1745.

Folio 119

1. 19 May 1745.

2. 1865/6.

Folio 120

1. *PSNJ* (p. 70) gives the departure date as around December 1745 or January 1746. In September 1745 Sultan Sulaiman wrote to Batavia telling the Dutch of Bugis plans to leave for Selangor and possibly for Sulawesi. He asked the Dutch to help strengthen Riau's defences against marauding pirates and on 14

December 1745 ceded Siak to the VOC in return for their help in regaining Selangor, Kelang and Linggi from the Bugis (Netscher, 1870, p. 72).

2. The episode is taken from *PSNJ* (p. 70).

3. The date is 14 May 1745. For details on the Muslim calendrical system, see above, fo. 1 fn. 2.

4. 19 May 1745. The inference in the *Tuhfat* is that Sultan Mansur was implicated in Daeng Cellak's death, and there was a rumour current at the time that the Yang Dipertuan Muda had been poisoned (Netscher, 1870, p. 71 and B. Andaya, 1976, p. 96). *HNJ* (pp. 83, 85) says that Sultan Mansur was in Trengganu and did not return until afterwards.

5. Tuesday, 24 March 1746.

6. The son of the former Raja Muda who died at Kayu Anak, the younger brother of Sultan Abd al-Jalil (*PSNJ*, pp. 62, 70, 71).

Folio 121

1. Friday, 1 July 1746.

2. 4 August 1746. *PSNJ* (p. 72) also mentions that he was buried the next day, Wednesday. Encik Musuk was succeeded by Daeng Menampuk's son (see fo. 124).

3. The year given in *PSNJ* (p. 73) is 1160 and the date 25 Zulkaedah. This would convert these Muslim dates as Saturday, 31 July; Sunday, 17 October; and Sunday evening, 28 November 1747. 20 Zulkaedah 1160 = 23 November 1747.

4. 18 January 1748.

5. February 1748.

6. The *Tuhfat* appears to use the title Kelana to refer to a deputy. However, on 21 March 1748 the Dutch reported that Daeng Kamboja had recently been given the title Kelana (KA 2610 OB 1748, Malacca to Batavia, 21 March 1748, fols. 243-4).

7. 11 March 1748.

8. The son of Daeng Marewah (see fols. 28 and 116 fn. 3). Engku Aisyah is not listed among what van Ranzouw terms Raja Haji's 'lawful wives' (Hs. 369, fo. 11).

Folio 122

1. The location of this place is not known. Possibly Maran in Pahang? Encik Sejuk is not listed among the 'seven lawful wives' given by van Ranzouw (Hs. 369 fo. 11). The episode is taken from *HNJ* (p. 84).

2. It was during these years, from 1745 until about 1760, that Malay-Bugis hostility was greatest. Although Dutch sources suggest that many Malay nobles later allied with the Bugis (see below, fo. 133 fn. 2), it appears that Sultan Mansur of Trengganu initially had the court's support. However, his increasing power and his authoritarian attitude in the Assembly of Nobles alienated his supporters.

Folio 123

1. Ori Sumatra's north-east coast (see Map 2).

2. But see below, fo. 137 fn. 1. The argument that Sultan Sulaiman remained

grateful to the Bugis was a vital component in the creation of a body of stories justifying the Bugis presence in Riau.

Folio 125

1. Saturday, 4 October 1748. *PSNJ* (p. 73) gives the year as 1160, which would make the date Saturday, 31 July 1747 (see above, fo. 121 fn. 3). It appears that the *Tuhfat* has assumed that an attack such as that of 1754 on Siak by a combined Dutch and Johor force took place at this time. There is no mention of such a campaign in VOC sources, although Sultan Sulaiman was anxious to recruit Dutch support.

2. Presumably a reference to an Act of 1746, in which the Dutch promised to assist Sultan Sulaiman against his enemies.

3. A reference to later events, after an attack in 1754 when the VOC and Sultan Sulaiman combined to drive Raja Alam out of Siak where he had established himself after 1753. Raja Buang was then placed on the Siak throne again.

4. A tributary of the Siak River (see Map 2).

5. *PSNJ* (p. 73) gives Wednesday, 25 Zulkaedah = 28 November 1747, a Sunday. It also notes Raja Buang came to Riau to present himself before the Sultan shortly after this. The contract allowing the VOC to establish a post on Gontong Island and giving the Dutch toll-free trade in Siak was signed on 3 November 1754 (Stapel, 1955, pp. 22-3).

Folio 126

1. The chronology of these events in the *Tuhfat* is confused, but after Sultan Mahmud had been restored in Siak in 1754 his piracy continued. It was this as well as his attack on Gontong in 1759 which led the Dutch to support his half-brother Raja Alam again (Netscher, 1870, pp. 100-3).

2. The attack took place on 6 November 1759. Netscher (1870, pp. 104-6) gives an eyewitness account of the massacre that closely parallels the one in the *Tuhfat*, which is taken from Cod. Or. 7304 (fols. 464-6). Of fifty-five men, only four survived and among the dead was the Dutch factor, Hansen, whose negligence in allowing the Siak men into the fort was strongly criticized by his superiors.

Folio 127

1. Sheikh Salim, an Arab, also played an important role against the Dutch during the 1761 VOC attack on Siak (see below, fo. 166 fn. 2).

2. See below, fo. 220 fn. 4.

3. Small wafers made from rice grains picked just before ripening, then pounded and toasted.

Folio 128

1. According to Dutch sources, Alam's piratical activities began about 1745 in Siantan where he had established himself with about 500 followers (Netscher, 1870, p. 76). Again, the *Tuhfat*'s chronology is confused.

2. In 1747, against the advice of the Malacca government, Sultan Sulaiman

attacked Raja Alam at Siantan. The Dutch sent the Sultan gunpowder and provisions but avoided more direct contributions (Lewis, 1970, p. 190). Daeng Kamboja would not support the attack because Raja Alam was his brother-in-law, having married his sister Daeng Khadijah.

3. The significance of this episode as a means of reinforcing a cowardly image of Sultan Mansur and his followers is discussed by B. Andaya (1976, pp. 93-4).

Folio 129

1. Saturday, 5 October 1748.
2. January 1749.
3. 1 February 1749.
4. Tuesday, 20 May 1749. Daeng La Kanna (= Bugis, 'a shield') was Suliwang of Selangor, ruling jointly with Daeng Kamboja and acting as Regent in Daeng Kamboja's absence. He was also known as Daeng Sulli = Deputy (KA 2592 OB 1748, Malacca to Batavia, 13 October 1747, fo. 470; Netscher, 1870, p. 89).
5. = 8 July 1749. *PSNJ* (pp. 60 and 76) gives the date of Daeng Kamboja's departure as 18 Rajab 1162 (3 July 1749) and says that Tunku Raja Muhammad (the son of the Raja Muda who had died in 1718) left separately on 28 Rajab (13 July).

Folio 130

1. In Cod. Or. 7304 it is Raja Mahmud (Raja Buang) who swears allegiance to Sultan Sulaiman.
2. The main village on Siantan (see Map 1). *PSNJ* (p. 76) gives the date of the attack as 23 October 1749.

Folio 131

1. Tuesday, 17 November 1750. *PSNJ* (p. 76) has the correct year, 1162, which makes the date Tuesday, 27 November 1749.
2. Wednesday, 9 March 1751. *PSNJ* (p. 76) has the correct year, 1163, which makes the date Sunday, 19 March 1750. It also notes that Sultan Sulaiman had been away from Riau for eighteen months.

Folio 132

1. This episode comes from Cod. Or. 7304 (fo. 469). According to Dutch records Raja Buang, the Siak ruler, left Siantan in August or September 1750 (KA 2654 OB 1751, Malacca to Batavia, 6 September 1750, fo. 397).
2. Possibly Raja Abd al-Rahman, Sultan Sulaiman's younger brother (see B. Andaya, 1976, p. 89 and fn. 54). Engku Busu was bitterly opposed to the Minangkabau because they had humiliated him as a child. In his chronicle he expresses his undying gratitude to the Bugis for his liberation. He was also adamantly opposed to Sultan Mansur of Trengganu (Tun Dalam) because the latter married his daughter to a son of Raja Kecil. Because of Sultan Mansur's alliance with Raja Ismail of Siak, Engku Busu moved from Trengganu to Dungun.

Folio 133

1. Presumably the Tengku Wuk, also known as Tengku Hitam, who came to Trengganu from Riau in the early nineteenth century and received the Dungun River as an apanage. He later became involved in the civil disputes in Trengganu in the 1830s (Sheppard, 1949, p. 29).

2. A Dutch report of 1759 said that the Bendahara (probably Tun Hasan, see above, fo. 105 fn. 9) had two sons, the Temenggung and the Raja Indera Bungsu. All were closely in league with the Syahbandar, and this group was said to be supporting the Bugis. Cod. Or. 1724 (2) also specifically mentions the Bendahara's involvement (fo. 30 and KA 2885 OB 1761, Daily Journal of A. Salice, 1 May 1759). It is thus evident that there was no clear Malay-Bugis division and that some of the Malays were willing to co-operate with the Bugis leaders.

3. Conical wide-brimmed hat made of rattan or bamboo (Wilkinson, 1959, II, p. 1210).

Folio 134

1. i.e., the ruler of Trengganu, Tun Dalam.

2. Dutch sources do not describe the internal conflict in Riau during this period, being more concerned with the dynastic struggles in Siak. However, it is clear that the Dutch had for some time regarded Sultan Mansur Syah as the Johor heir, which probably accounts for Raja Abd al-Jalil's willingness to co-operate with the Bugis and their Malay supporters (B. Andaya, 1976, p. 99). If Kratz's suggestion (*PSNJ*, p. 136) is correct, Raja Abd al-Jalil was born in 1738, which would have made him an adolescent during the quarrels of the 1750s.

Folio 136

1. *Tuhfat* MS. D here inserts: 'Forgive me, my Lord, here is a *pantun* from the old people:

A giant fern, a gourd-like fern
Ferns seen on trunks of trees
Let the wicked one go
Look to the future consequence.

That was what was said.'

2. Cod. Or. 1724 (2), fols. 30-8.

Folio 137

1. VOC records relating to Riau at this time concentrate on its relations with the Dutch rather than internal politics and attempts to draw specific connections with incidents described in the *Tuhfat* may be misleading (see Introduction). It is clear that in late 1754 or early 1755 Daeng Kamboja and most of the Bugis left Riau with a large fleet of heavily armed ships. In January 1756 Sultan Sulaiman secretly visited Malacca where he signed a treaty ceding Siak to the VOC. He returned to Riau suddenly when news was received that the Bugis were raiding Riau in his absence (Letters from Malacca to Batavia in KA 2753 OB 1756, fo. 327 and KA 2776 OB 1757, fols. 30-4; *HNJ*, p. 84).

2. In August 1758 Ary Verbrugge was sent on a mission to Riau and was greeted on board his ship by Sultan Mansur Syah and the Temenggung, son of the

Bendahara. Their discussions centred around Sultan Sulaiman's plans to leave Riau, and the Dutch were then requested to strengthen his position militarily so that he could maintain himself against Bugis opposition.

3. Verbrugge reported that Raja Haji had wanted his mother to join him but she wished to stay on Riau with her family. Raja Haji's relatives numbered about 150, but Verbrugge said they were so mixed with Malays that they were all 'like one family' (KA 2827 OB 1759, Report by Ary Verbrugge on his Mission to Riau, 13 October 1758).

4. Verbrugge left Riau in late September 1758.

5. Netscher (1870, p. 78) refers to it as the Setimun River. Raja Haji built a fortress there and Netscher gives a plan of this in Appendix XVI. See also Cod. Or. 1724 (2), fo. 38.

Folio 139

1. The episode is from Cod. Or. 1724 (2), fo. 42. According to Dutch sources Sultan Mansur and his following arrived in Malacca in June 1756. During this time the Dutch were pressing for an attack on Linggi, as the Bugis had been raiding Malacca's suburbs.

2. William Dekker, 1754-8.

3. In October 1754 Sultan Sulaiman had said that if the VOC helped him against his rebellious subjects, whether Bugis, Malay or Minangkabau, he would be responsible for the costs (Netscher, 1870, p. xxxii). After Daeng Kamboja had gone to Linggi he had been told to acknowledge Johor as sovereign, but had refused to do so.

Folio 140

1. See Map 2, Inset B. Sultan Mansur and the Dutch had summoned the ruler of Selangor to a discussion at Tanjung (Point) Keling on 2 July 1756 and it was from here that Raja Haji slipped away to Linggi. Nowhere in the VOC records is there any mention of the alleged plan to arrest Raja Haji or any request that this should be attempted. B. Andaya (1976, pp. 94-5) discusses the manner in which the *Tuhfat* expands the source texts, Cod. Or. 1724 (2), fols. 42-7 and *HNJ* pp. 85-6, to present Sultan Mansur in a poor light.

2. In the meeting at Tanjung Keling, Sultan Mansur warned the ruler of Selangor of a proposed Dutch-Malay attack on Linggi and advised him to stay neutral in any war between the VOC and the Bugis. Raja Said, the son of Daeng Marewah and himself one of the Selangor Regents did, however, contribute to the fighting.

3. The combined expedition, consisting of 7 Dutch ships, 100 militia from the Malacca garrison, and 25 boats belonging to the ruler of Trengganu, attacked Linggi on 23 July 1756. The Dutch version of the war, based on extracts from Malacca's Daily Journal, is given by Netscher (1864, pp. 290-326).

4. Treaties between the VOC and Rembau during this period make a distinction between the nine geographical divisions (*negeri*) of Rembau and its four clans (*empat suku*). See Stapel (1955, pp. 149-51, 424). The *Tuhfat* makes several references to the Chief (Penghulu) of the Four Clans, both in Rembau and Pedas, but it is not clear whether more than one Penghulu is meant.

Folio 141

1. Raja Alam had assembled a fleet of 70–80 ships in August 1756 at the Bukit Batu River in Batu Bahara, but these were chased from the Siak River by a Dutch fleet. Raja Alam then joined Daeng Kamboja in Linggi. The date of his marriage to Daeng Khadijah is not certain (see above, fo. 128 fn. 2).

2. A phrase of ridicule, referring to the penis.

3. See Map 2, Inset B, under Trangkerah. The suburb was called 'Tranqueira' (Portuguese for rampart or palisade) because it was protected from pirate attacks by an encircling wall (Cardon, 1934, p. 7). This attack occurred on 2 November 1756 (Netscher, 1864, p. 296).

Folio 142

1. A village about 6.5 km. west of Malacca (Anas, 1958, p. 57), which formed the base camp for the Bugis siege.

2. A place about 3 km. from Malacca on the Durian Tunggal Road (Hervey, 1883, p. 265). The Bugis method of battle was to send out marauding parties, sometimes 300 strong, from their stockades, and the Dutch would reply by dispatching groups of soldiers from Malacca to skirmish with the Bugis.

3. See Map 2, Inset B. The hill is so named because it served as a Chinese cemetery (Gibson-Hill, 1956, p. 169).

4. A village on the outskirts of Malacca, now on the main road to Muar and Singapore (Anas, 1958, p. 58). For Ketapang Bay, see Map 2, Inset B. Contemporary Dutch records note that the Bugis were defeated at Peringgi and retreated to the sea, from where they later built various forts at Batang Tiga, Kelebang, and Ketapang Bay (Netscher, 1864, pp. 298–309).

5. Raja Said (see above, fo. 140 fn. 2) arrived before the beginning of November 1756 to join the Bugis at Kelebang (Hervey, 1883, p. 261).

6. In his missive of 4 February 1757 the Governor of Malacca commented that Raja Alam and his Batu Bahara men had been continually raiding, killing, and burning near Malacca's outskirts.

7. A letter from a VOC employee simply says that in 1757 'one of the Raja Muda's sons' had died at Linggi (KA 2827 OB 1759, Head of Linggi Garrison to Malacca, 27 January 1758).

8. Commonly used of Malacca Portuguese, who were usually of mixed blood, and Catholics in general (Wilkinson, 1959, II, p. 800). The *Tuhfat* has telescoped two Dutch attacks into one. The first was on 20 December 1756 against Kelebang. This was so badly executed that Batavia replaced the military commander of Malacca and sent 200 reinforcements and six vessels from Malacca to end the fighting. These arrived in July 1757 when a second successful attack was made on Kelebang. A successful Bugis offensive had been executed earlier in December 1756 (Netscher, 1864, pp. 304–11).

9. Probably a reference to the Bugis attack on Malacca between January and July 1757.

Folio 143

1. In February and April, and again in August 1757, both the Dutch and Daeng Kamboja (with his allies Raja Hadil of Rembau, the Raja Tua of Kelang,

and Raja Alam of Siak) had initiated negotiations aimed at reaching a compromise. These efforts foundered over the VOC's determination that the Bugis should acknowledge Johor's sovereignty and Daeng Kamboja's insistence on Dutch neutrality in Johor and Siak affairs (see further below, fn. 3 and letters from Malacca to Batavia in KA 2801 OB 1758, fols. 18-19, 20-49, 105-6, and KA 2827 OB 1759, fols. 10-11).

2. Despite Dutch attempts to stop him leaving Muar he escaped in October (KA 2801 OB 1758, Malacca to Batavia, 18 October 1757, fols. 107-8).

3. Linggi had been more or less constantly blockaded since 1756 but because of Daeng Kamboja's apparent vacillation concerning peace the VOC decided to attack, and on 19 November 1757 a strong expedition left Malacca. The successful offensive, with reinforcements from Sultan Mansur of Trengganu, was launched in early December. As Sultan Sulaiman's representative, Sultan Mansur then ceded Rembau, Linggi, and Kelang to the Dutch. On 1 January 1758 in the Dutch fort at Linggi, Daeng Kamboja acknowledged Johor's suzerainty (Stapel, 1955, pp. 150-2).

4. Sultan Sulaiman and Sultan Mansur both visited Malacca after the peace negotiations and returned to Riau in January 1758 (KA 2827 OB 1758, Malacca to Batavia, 6 February 1758, fols. 20-1).

5. Sultan Mansur had been wanting to return to Trengganu for some time but Sultan Sulaiman had consistently protested that Riau was too weak to withstand a Bugis attack and that he needed Sultan Mansur to stay as leader. Sultan Sulaiman himself was threatening to leave Riau unless he received additional support from the Dutch (*ibid.*, Sultan Sulaiman to Malacca, Received 2 July 1758).

Folio 144

1. This episode is taken from Cod. Or. 1724 (2), fols. 45-7. By the end of 1758 the Dutch reported that only 500 people remained in Riau, 200 of them Sultan Mansur's followers.

Folio 145

1. Rather than being his father's heroic defender, the Raja di Baruh seems to have been a weak young man, completely under the thumb of those nobles who resented the power assumed by Sultan Mansur in Riau (KA 2885 OB 1761, Daily Journal of A. Salice, 1 May 1759).

2. Among them Engku Busu, the narrator of this episode from Cod. Or. 1724 (2).

3. In October 1759 Sultan Mansur wrote from Trengganu to say that he had left Riau and that the Raja di Baruh had been installed as heir (KA 2858 OB 1760, King of Trengganu to Batavia, 8 October 1759).

4. A meeting took place in January 1758 in Malacca and on 8 January a contract was signed by the Selangor ruler acknowledging Johor as his suzerain (Stapel, 1955, pp. 152-5). No Dutch official apart from those bringing letters from Malacca is specifically mentioned as inviting them to come, although Abraham Weindly was in Riau in November 1757 *en route* to Trengganu.

5. Pedas is north of present-day Johor (see Map 1).

Folio 146

1. Jalan Bunga Raya is now one of the main streets of Malacca but in the mid-eighteenth century it led to the country estates north of Malacca.

2. There had been a previous arrangement that Sultan Sulaiman would pay for wars waged by the Dutch against his rebellious subjects. VOC sources of the period mention that Sultan Sulaiman owed 640 rijksdaalders for the gunpowder and cannon he had bought from them (KA 2982 OB 1764, Malacca to King of Trengganu, 16 August 1763).

Folio 147

1. She was probably the daughter who was escorted from Riau by the Malacca customs officer Ary Verbrugge to join her father in Linggi in June 1759 (Netscher, 1870, pp. 93-4).

2. *Layar sirik* = a sail made of pieces of matting stitched together.

3. 2 July 1753. This is clearly an error. The contract was signed on 11 November 1759 (Netscher, 1870, p. xxxix).

Folio 148

1. Many reports of the period attest Riau's poverty (see for example, KA 2885 OB 1760, King of Johor to Malacca, Received 2 February 1759).

2. *Setu* = an edible marine plant; *nibung* = a palm, the stem used for lathes and the leaves for thatching (Wilkinson, 1959, II, pp. 807, 1095).

3. There appears to be some omission in all manuscripts of the text at this point.

Folio 149

1. See Map 3.

2. According to Dutch reports, Raja Haji, sent out by Daeng Kamboja, was in the Singapore Straits in November 1759 (KA 2884 OB 1761, Malacca to Batavia, 8 April 1760, fols. 102-3). He was received in Riau by Sultan Sulaiman in December 1759 or January 1760.

Folio 150

1. i.e., of Daeng Marewah and Daeng Cellak, the first and second Yamtuan Mudas. This episode comes from *HNJ* (pp. 93-4).

2. i.e. the Raja di Baruh.

3. A letter from Daeng Kamboja in January 1760 said that Raja Haji had written of his reconciliation with Sultan Sulaiman and his plan to leave for Selangor (KA 2885 OB 1761, Daeng Kamboja to Malacca, 21 January 1760).

Folio 151

1. In March 1760 the Dutch received reports that Raja Abd al-Jalil (the Raja di Baruh) was in the Singapore Straits with twenty-five ships awaiting an anticipated attack by Sultan Muhammad of Siak (ibid., Malacca to Batavia, 7 March 1760, fo. 90).

2. Raja di Baruh wrote to the Dutch on 24 March 1760 saying he had received Raja Haji but was still suspicious of the latter's intentions.

Folio 152

1. A letter from Daeng Kamboja arrived in Malacca on 17 December 1760 telling of his plans to return to Riau. However, he did not do so until the beginning of 1761 (KA 2885 OB 1760, Malacca Resolutions, 17 December 1760, fo. 9; KA 3045 OB 1766, Gov. Boelen's Memorie, 25 January 1765, fo. 133).

Folio 153

1. He died on 20 August 1760 (Netscher, 1870, p. 1Q7).
2. Court mourning (*kabung*) consisted of a white headband worn around the forehead.

Folio 154

1. He died about 29 January 1761 and at the time it was rumoured that he had been poisoned by Daeng Kamboja 'who wished to become master of Riau' (Netscher, 1870, p. 107; B. Andaya, 1976, p. 101).

2. Daeng Kamboja returned to Riau on 22 February 1761 (Netscher, 1870, p. 109).

3. This date of about 1761 for Sultan Mahmud's birth is confirmed by Dutch records, which note that he was 13 years of age in 1773 (KA 3281 OB 1774, Malacca to Batavia, 2 September 1773, fo. 160).

Folio 155

1. The upbringing by Sultan Mahmud's aunts is confirmed by Dutch records, which mention Tengku Hitam in particular (KA 3310 OB 1775, Malacca to Batavia, 31 January 1774, fo. 79).

2. Van de Velde (1847, p. 72) describes two Chinese villages, one actually in Tanjung Pinang and the other situated further north up Bintan Bay.

3. During the early 1760s trade in Riau was gradually improving and by Daeng Kamboja's death in 1774 it had become a rendezvous for ships from all over the archipelago and for the increasing English traffic (Lewis, 1970, pp. 202 ff.).

4. Situated at Riau Lama (van de Velde, 1847, p. 71) north of Tanjung Pinang. Strategically placed upriver, the site was also politically significant because it was the seat of the old sultanate (see fo. 54). Both Daeng Kamboja and the Temenggung had been made regents for the child ruler, but when the Temenggung went to Pahang to assume the position of Bendahara Daeng Kamboja was left in sole command of Riau. In a letter dated 22 May 1764 he styled himself 'Yang Dipertuan Muda, who occupies the royal thrones of Johor and Pahang and their dependencies' (KA 3045 OB 1766, Gov. Boelen's Memorie, 25 January 1766, fols. 133-4; Netscher, 1870, p. 166).

5. Sea voyages and trips along river networks and sea coasts to supervise administration were a standard practice in Malay courts. Normally a large number of the court accompanied the ruler and it became a time of celebration as well as providing an opportunity for showing the flag (B. Andaya, 1979, p. 197).

6. See glossary.

Folio 156

1. Possibly the 'Sultan Anum Siri Ingalaga' who signed a treaty with the VOC in 1763 (Stapel, 1955, p. 232).

2. Van Ranzouw's list of 1827 notes that she was Raja Haji's fourth wife and the eldest sister of the then Sultan of Jambi (Sultan Agung Seri Ingologo, 1812-33). She bore one son, Abd al-Rahman, who died at the age of four months; she herself died shortly afterwards (Hs. 369, fo. 11). At about the same time Raja Haji's sister, Tengku Mariam, married the Pangeran Ratu of Jambi (KA 3310 OB 1775, G. L. Velge's Report on Riau, 8 November 1773, fo. 54).

3. This episode is also narrated in *HNJ* (p. 98), Cod. Or. 1999 (fo. 18) and in von de Wall (1891, p. 312).

Folio 157

1. She is listed as Raja Haji's second wife and according to van Ranzouw was commonly called 'Encik Ghoen' (see fo. 30). In *HNJ* (pp. 91-2) Raja Haji's marriage to Raja Halimah precedes his conflict with the four Minangkabau princes.

2. The Cenako River is a small tributary of the Inderagiri River (see Map 2) and Pekan Lais must be in the same vicinity.

During this period there seems to have been some objection among the Bugis leaders to Daeng Kamboja's dominant position. Raja Haji's brother, Raja Lumu, made himself an independent ruler of Selangor in 1766 (see fo. 186). Angered over the sudden deaths of Raja Ahmad and Raja di Baruh, and apparently suspecting Daeng Kamboja of complicity, Raja Haji left Riau. It may be significant that after Raja Haji's return to Riau in 1767 his Jambi title was not recognized (as above, fo. 156 fn. 2; see also fols. 158 and 179 fn. 1).

Folio 158

1. A small river and village near the mouth of the Kampar River (see Map 2). The Minangkabau *lebai* (a devoutly religious man who has an extensive knowledge of Islam) is mentioned briefly in Cod. Or. 1999 and von de Wall (1891, p. 312).

2. i.e., the Chief of the Angels.

3. There is no mention in Dutch sources of any such warship, but the incident is probably based on the dispatch of a letter by the Governor of Malacca, Thomas Schippers, in 1769 demanding that Daeng Kamboja pay Sultan Sulaiman's debts (mentioned in KA 3196 OB 1771, Malacca to King of Trengganu, 29 March 1769). The episode, taken from Cod. Or. 1724 (2), fo. 54 provides a justification for Bugis control of Riau during Sultan Mahmud's minority.

Folio 160

1. Sultan Sulaiman's debts remained unpaid for years. Daeng Kamboja refused outright to pay them while Sultan Mansur agreed to pay but procrastinated. The debts were finally paid in 1788 (KA 3704 OB 1789, Malacca to King of Trengganu, 11 March 1788).

Folio 161

1. The opium trade in the Malay archipelago increased markedly in the eighteenth century and Riau was an important exchange centre. Opium brought by English country traders from India was traded there for tin and spices which were then transported to China (B. Andaya, 1979, pp. 326-8 and Lewis, 1970, pp. 206-7).

2. Cod. Or. 1724 (2), fo. 54 and *HNJ* (pp. 103-4).

Folio 162

1. This episode comes from Cod. Or. 1724 (2), fols. 57–8. According to this text, the Bendahara Muda then went on to Pahang saying he was going for only two or three months. Daeng Kamboja begged him to return quickly because Sultan Ahmad was still young, but he did not, even when the Bendahara Tua died.

2. There is a tradition that he was murdered, which Raja Haji apparently believed (see above, fo. 157 fn. 2 and Netscher, 1870, p. 109). The anti-Bugis Cod. Or. 7304 (fo. 476) accuses Daeng Kamboja of poisoning the young Sultan.

3. According to later reports, Sultan Sulaiman left two other sons; Raja Hamid, son of a secondary wife in Pahang, and Raja Muhammad of Riau (KA 3310 OB 1775, Malacca to Batavia, 31 January 1774, fo. 77).

4. *Kain lepas* is a seamless cloth, or cloth of one piece (see von de Wall, *Woordenboek*, 2, p. 487).

Folio 163

1. Here the Malay texts give *Baru*, a contracted form of *Baharu*. We have not normalized.

Folio 164

1. Their maternal grandfather was Daeng Parani, while their father had been Temenggung of Johor (see fo. 26).

2. If the ruler was a minor it was customary for him to be nursed on the Regent's lap.

Folio 165

1. Cod. Or. 7304 fols. 470–6 is the source for these Siak episodes.

2. He died on 23 November 1760 (Netscher, 1870, p. 111). The *Syair Perang Siak* describes the treatment for his illness. He developed the symptoms of *latah*, a form of neurosis in which the victim suffers paroxysms which are often mimetic and provoked by some trivial incident. The Dutch regarded it as a 'family illness' in Raja Kecik's descendants (Effendy, 1969, pp. 23–4; Wilkinson, 1959, II, p. 660; B. Andaya, 1979, p. 120 fn. 53).

3. Presumably a reference to Raja Alam's triumphant return to Siak under Dutch auspices in 1761 (Netscher, 1870, p. 129).

Folio 166

1. David Boelen, 1758–64. By 1760 Siak pirates, undaunted by the Company's patrol ships, were so active in the southern approaches to Malacca that they prevented most vessels from reaching that port. To overcome this and in retaliation for the massacre of the Gontong Island garrison in 1759, the VOC decided to form an alliance with a possible alternative ruler. After Raja Alam had convinced the Dutch that he could rally sufficient support from elsewhere to seize the Siak throne, a treaty was signed with him on 16 January 1760. The VOC would help Raja Alam return to Siak in exchange for toll-free trade, a garrison on Gontong, and assistance in controlling piracy. Preparations were then made for an expedition to Siak (Netscher, 1870, pp. 110–14).

2. The attack was launched in April 1761 and a comprehensive account is given by Netscher (1870, pp. 115 ff.), based on the journal of Jan Visboom, the

leader of the Dutch forces. Reinforcements, including several ships under the King of Asahan, arrived in June. In the campaign the Dutch lost twenty-five men and over thirty were wounded. A Malay account of the war, appended to one of the Raja Kecil story, is found in rhymed form in the *Syair Perang Siak* (von de Wall 273; Klinkert 153 and 154; Effendy, 1969).

Folio 167

1. Tengku Ambung Besar married Raja Muhammad Ali, son of Sultan Mahmud Raja Buang (Cod. Or. 7304, fo. 454) before the civil war described in the *Tuhfat* (fols. 112-13).

2. Cod. Or. 7304 (fo. 473). The campaign lasted from January to June 1761 (Netscher, 1870, pp. 115-24).

3. Sri Lanka (Ceylon) remained a place of exile until 1796.

4. After his defeat and the fall of Siak to the Dutch on 17 June 1761, Raja Ismail retreated to the island of Lawan in July, but was expelled by Raja Alam's son, Muhammad Ali, who established himself there in early August. Muhammad Ali did not rejoin his father until some time in 1762. He received an official letter of pardon from the Malacca Governor in April of that year and Raja Alam then made him Yang Dipertuan Muda (Netscher, 1870, p. 129).

Folio 168

1. According to *HNJ* (p. 103), Raja Ismail left Lawan Island and sailed to Riau but was refused asylum there. Daeng Kamboja, now on good terms with the VOC, could not offer shelter to one of their enemies nor tolerate the enemy of his own ally, Raja Alam, so Ismail was told to sail to Siantan.

2. Not located. Possibly Pasir Mas in northern Kelantan? Raja Ismail was reported to be in the Trengganu area in late 1763 (KA 2982 OB 1764, Malacca Resolutions, 6 August 1763, fo. 225 and below, fo. 195 fn. 1).

3. Called Tun Tipah in Trengganu genealogies (Misbaha, 1968). The episode comes from Cod. Or. 7304 (fols. 475-6). The Dutch received a report of this marriage in March 1764 (KA 3014 OB 1765, Malacca to Batavia, 31 March 1764, fo. 38).

4. Chinese provincial regulations stipulated that a vessel's provenance, name and registration number should be engraved on both sides of the bow and then filled in using paint of a different colour. Because Fukien junks were green with red characters and Kwangtung vessels were red with blue characters, they were often termed respectively 'green-' and 'red-headed' (Cushman, 1975, pp. 68-70).

Folio 169

1. See glossary.

2. This is from Cod. Or. 7304 (fo. 477).

Folio 170

1. Raja Ismail was reported to be in the Lingga area in June 1767 (KA 3107 OB 1768, Malacca to Batavia, 30 November 1767, fo. 675).

2. In a letter to Sultan Muhammad Ali, Raja Ismail said he wanted to help control piracy. In May 1767 Sultan Mansur of Trengganu had also written to Siak trying to reconcile the cousins (*ibid.*).

3. He died at Sinapalan on the Siak River at the end of 1765 or early 1766 (Netscher, 1870, p. 133).

4. The death of Muhammad Ali's mother Khadijah (Daeng Kamboja's sister), shortly after that of Raja Alam, would have lessened the ties between him and the Bugis, and Malacca fully expected him to ally with his cousin Raja Ismail. An anecdote in *HNJ* (p. 103) mentions that Sultan Muhammad Ali would not allow his uncle Daeng Kamboja into Siak to visit Daeng Khadijah's grave because he was afraid of an attack. Sultan Muhammad in his letters to Malacca maintained that he was ready to accept Dutch advice and to remain neutral in the conflict (KA 3137 OB 1769, Malacca Resolutions, 7 November 1767).

Folio 171

1. As early as 1763 the Dutch had received reports that Sultan Mansur and Raja Ismail planned to attack Riau and then Siak. It was said that the Bendahara of Pahang was also involved (*ibid.*, 16 November 1767; KA 2982 OB 1764, Malacca Resolutions, 25 October 1763).

2. The story of the discovery of Malay treachery and the disgrace of the Raja Tua is taken from Cod. Or. 1724 (2), fols. 62-3, and is supported by VOC records (see below, fo. 174 fn. 1).

Folio 174

1. Cod. Or. 7304 (fo. 479) explains that the Bugis were keeping the Malay women hostage to deter Raja Ismail from attacking Riau. If he did, the women were to be burned. In a letter to Malacca in early November 1767 Raja Ismail described how the King of Trengganu and the Bendahara of Pahang had ordered him to sail into Riau waters, from whence he had written to Siak. His fleet, consisting mainly of *orang laut* led by the Raja Negara, had gone to Singapore where he had been met by two of Sultan Sulaiman's relatives bringing a letter from the Raja Tua and other members of the deceased ruler's family (KA 3137 OB 1769, Malacca Resolutions, 16 November 1767).

Folio 175

1. The story of Daeng Kamboja's battle with Raja Ismail at Singapore is told in at least three MSS.—Cod. Or. 7304 fo. 479, *HNJ*, p. 104; and Cod. Or. 1724 (2), fo. 64. The *Tuhfat* uses the last version, the most brutal. According to Dutch reports, the Punggawa of Riau (commander of Riau's sea power) had sailed from Selangor to Riau but stopped at Singapore to consult Raja Ismail privately about requests contained in Sultan Sulaiman's will. If these were not implemented, he said, he would go over to Raja Ismail's side (KA 3137 OB 1769, Malacca Resolutions, 16 November 1767; KA 3107 OB 1768, Malacca to Batavia, 30 November 1767, fo. 678).

Folio 176

1. This episode appears in Cod. Or. 1724 (2), fo. 64. Daeng Madik is mentioned earlier in the *Tuhfat* (see fo. 40).

2. Raja or Tengku Abdullah, commonly known as Tengku Lah, was later to become one of the most notorious pirates in the area (B. Andaya, 1976a, pp. 181-2).

Folio 178

1. This area on the east coast of Sumatra is so called because of its conspicuous red cliffs (see Map 3). Dutch records support the *Tuhfat's* version of a Bugis victory, but Daeng Kamboja later claimed that he had only attacked Raja Ismail because he believed that the Dutch would reinforce his own fleet of sixty ships (KA 3137 OB 1769, Malacca to Batavia, 28 March 1768, fo. 26; KA 3166 OB 1770, Daeng Kamboja to Malacca, Received 26 January 1768). In Cod. Or. 7304's pro-Siak version of the battle it is the Bugis who are forced to retreat, the Siak forces only disengaging because of a shortage of gunpowder and a lack of reinforcements from Pahang and Trengganu (see further B. Andaya, 1976, p. 92).

2. The Raja Negara and his *orang laut* remained personally loyal to Raja Ismail. For some time after the Singapore battle was over they remained in the area preying on passing ships but soon afterwards, when Raja Ismail went to Trengganu, they followed him there. The Raja Negara died in Trengganu about 1770 and the Dutch noted that from that time the 'piratical' activities of the *orang laut* were markedly reduced, suggesting that their leadership was weaker after this period (KA 3107 OB 1768, Malacca Resolutions, 3 August 1767, fo. 686; KA 3310 OB 1775, G. L. Velge's Daily Journal, under 16 October 1774).

Folio 179

1. In November 1767 the Dutch Council in Malacca noted that Raja Haji was at that very point *en route* from Inderagiri with 'a considerable might' to help his father-in-law Daeng Kamboja.

Folio 180

1. Dutch informants said there had been two battles before Raja Ismail escaped to Siak. The first had taken place twelve days after his meeting with the Punggawa but Raja Ismail gave no warning (thus flouting the custom of Malay warfare). In November 1767 Raja Ismail wrote to the Dutch from Siak asking for forgiveness and for their support for Sultan Sulaiman's family against the Bugis (KA 3137 OB 1769, Malacca Resolutions, 16 November 1767; KA 3107 OB 1768, Malacca to Batavia, 30 November 1767, fo. 681).

2. 1866/7.

3. From Cod. Or. 7304 (fo. 487).

Folio 181

1. The Dutch had advised Sultan Muhammad Ali to remain neutral but prepared for an attack (KA 3137 OB 1769, Malacca to Batavia, 28 March 1768, fo. 28).

2. There is a Merbak River in Johor, 2° 22'N lat., 103° 20'E long., and a Merbak Point on the northern tip of Bangka, see Map 1.

Folio 182

1. Between the Jambi and Retih Rivers (see Map 2).

2. As far as the Dutch were concerned, Raja Ismail was a pirate (KA 3226 OB 1772, Malacca's answer to Extracts from Batavia's General Missive, n.p., n.d.).

3. Cod. Or. 7304 (fo. 490).

4. After an armed uprising in 1754 the Dutch post in Jambi had been withdrawn. The VOC sent an unsuccessful expedition against Jambi and subsequently imposed a blockade. In 1763 a contract was signed with Sultan Anum Seri Ingologo allowing the Dutch to occupy the Jambi fort and giving the VOC control of the local pepper trade (Stapel, 1955, pp. 85–7, 233–7). In 1767 the Malacca government remarked on Raja Ismail's support from the rulers of Jambi, Palembang, Batu Bahara and Trengganu (KA 3137 OB 1769, Malacca Resolutions, 16 November 1767).

5. On the delta of the Musi River (see Map 2).

Folio 183

1. In November 1767 the Dutch noted that Raja Ismail had recently been given 3,000 Spanish reals by the Sultan of Palembang (KA 3137 OB 1769, Malacca Resolutions, 16 November 1767).

2. On the island of Bangka (see Map 1). 'To seek one's fortune' (*mencari rezeki*) is a euphemism for piracy (see further B. Andaya, 1976a, p. 167 and above, fo. 182 fn. 2).

3. 1721/2.

Folio 184

1. 1723/4.

2. 13 May–30 August 1725 (see fo. 85).

3. 1726/7.

4. 16 June 1737.

5. 1161 = 1748 A.D. 8 Rabi al-akhir seems to be an error for 18, since the dates were taken from *PSNJ* (pp. 54–5). The year should then be 1150 and the dates 13 July and 15 August 1737 (see also fols. 108–10).

Folio 185

1. The year was 1767 (see fols. 170, 174–9).

2. See fols. 25, 39, 41. He had married the daughter of Daeng La Kanna, the Suliwatang of Selangor, and was formally known as Raja Abdullah (KA 3310 OB 1775, Malacca to Batavia, 31 January 1774; KA 3166 OB 1770, Res. of Perak to Malacca, 9 August 1768).

3. A rock lying off Cape Bidara, about 22.5 km. from Malacca. The *Tuh-fat*'s version of the story is taken from *HNJ* (pp. 105–6). The Malacca Governor, Thomas Schippers, told Batavia that in April 1768 a Dutch vessel had encountered three cruisers near the Linggi River under the command of Daeng Kamboja's sons, Raja Andut and Raja Usuh. The latter, challenged by the Dutch, said they had no passes because their flags were sufficient. When they refused to go to Malacca to obtain passes, the Dutch seized two of the crew as hostages during negotiations. That night, however, the Bugis fled, abandoning their vessels which were then taken to Malacca and confiscated. Daeng Kamboja, infuriated by the insult, wrote to both Batu Bahara and Siak asking for help to attack the Dutch. When these appeals were unsuccessful, he sent a curt letter to Malacca asking for restitution of his sons' belongings, which Batavia ordered should be done (Letters between Daeng Kamboja and Malacca in July 1768 and Secret Resolutions, 1 and 7 July

1768 in KA 3166 OB 1770; KA 3169 OB 1770, Malacca to Batavia, 17 March 1769, fo. 278).

4. Dutch sources simply note that on 29 November 1769 two of Daeng Kamboja's sons together with a Punggawa 'Tho Chitty' arrived in Malacca to reclaim the confiscated vessels and goods. Daeng Kamboja acknowledged the return of these on 1 December 1769 (KA 3196 OB 1771, Malacca to Batavia, 31 January 1770, fo. 77).

Folio 186

1. This marriage took place in 1769 after the dissolution of her marriage to Tengku Abdullah of Kedah (see further B. Andaya, 1976a, p. 167).

2. Daeng Kamboja had been alienated from Raja Lumu of Selangor by the latter's declaration of independence (see fo. 187). However, he was so angered over the confiscation of his sons' vessels in 1768 that he renewed his relationship with Selangor. In June 1768 two Riau envoys appeared in Selangor with a fleet of fifteen ships to persuade Raja Lumu to join an attack on the Dutch post in Perak. It was possibly about this time that the marriage was arranged as a sign of reconciliation (B. Andaya, 1979, p. 294). Selangor refused assistance because it was allied with Perak, which in turn had a treaty with the VOC.

3. An island off the Perak coast, usually called Dinding in Dutch records, a place often used by neighbouring courts for picnics and excursions. Envoys were sent from Selangor to Perak in September 1766 in an effort to restore good relations between the two states and to ask if the Selangor ruler could visit Perak (see further B. Andaya, 1974, p. 44). *HNJ* (pp. 99–100) is the source of the *Tuhfat*'s story.

4. Despite Dutch opposition a reply was sent to Selangor expressing Perak's agreement, although the Perak ruler, Sultan Mahmud (1765–73) was not anxious to have a Bugis fleet in his country. Raja Lumu arrived unexpectedly at Pangkor about 24 October and insisted on entering Perak. Sultan Mahmud agreed and Raja Lumu sailed upriver on 6 November (B. Andaya, 1974, pp. 46–7).

Folio 187

1. Declaring himself independent of Riau, Raja Lumu received an orchestra of sacral instruments (*nobat*), regalia, and a royal title from the ruler of Perak (B. Andaya, 1974, p. 48).

2. He left on 1 December 1766. The *Tuhfat* version differs from that in *MMI* which says the Perak ruler did not accompany Sultan Salih al-Din back to Selangor. The Dutch records agree with the Perak version. The differing accounts are compared by B. Andaya (1974, pp. 48–53).

3. A grandson of the Perak ruler was married to Raja Sharifah, Sultan Salih al-Din's daughter, to cement the friendship (B. Andaya, 1974, p. 48 and fo. 41).

4. Tengku Abdullah was the son of a secondary wife and there were other princes whose birth gave them greater rights to the Kedah throne, although Tengku Abdullah was the royal favourite (B. Andaya, 1976a, p. 174).

5. The fleet of about eighty ships passed Perak in January 1767. There is no evidence from Dutch sources that the ruler of Kedah, Sultan Muhammad Jiwa, accompanied his son (B. Andaya, 1976a, p. 175).

6. Tengku Lung Putera is specifically mentioned in Kedah and VOC sources as a claimant to the Kedah throne, while Tengku Mangku Putera, whom the Dutch also mention, probably held a high position. Their later careers are discussed by B. Andaya (1976a, p. 174 and fn. 64).

7. The son of Daeng Marewah. 'Chau' (a Siamese title used in Kedah) Bunga is also mentioned in Dutch sources (KA 3169 OB 1770, Malacca to Batavia, 16 March 1769, fo. 289).

8. After Tengku Abdullah succeeded to the Kedah throne in 1779, this Kedah Laksamana was to play an important role in the establishment of the English post on Penang (Bonney, 1971, *passim*).

Folio 188

1. The wedding is described in *MM* (p. 188). Perak sent a large contingent of 450 people which set off on 18 April 1767 (B. Andaya, 1979, p. 275).

2. Tengku Abdullah's absence in Kedah was probably due to his father's age, threats of rebellion from other princes, and the danger of a Siamese invasion (B. Andaya, 1976a, pp. 176-7).

3. The Dutch first learned of the divorce in March 1769 (B. Andaya, 1976a, p. 177).

4. This episode is taken from Cod. Or. 7304 (fols. 494 ff.).

Folio 189

1. He is said to have arrived in Mempawah in 1754/5.

2. In 1734 or 1735 Sayid (or Sharif) Husain bin Ahmad al-Kadri of Hadramaut (who was also called Habib), is said to have come to Matan as a religious leader. Here he performed a miracle, was given a beautiful Dayak slave as his wife, and by her had a son. In 1743 Sayid Husain was put in charge of Matan's religious affairs. He moved to Mempawah in 1749, where he was warmly welcomed. Sultan Alwi of Palembang (famed as a religious centre during the eighteenth century) sent an embassy in 1752 to try to persuade him to settle in Palembang, but he preferred to stay in Mempawah (Willer, 1854, p. 517; see further Netscher, 1855a, pp. 285-95).

Folio 190

1. One chronicle says the war between Palembang and Mempawah dragged on for years until Mempawah was finally defeated by Palembang, aided by Raja Ismail (Netscher, 1855a, p. 296; Willer, 1854, p. 520; Cod. Or. 7304, fo. 494).

2. i.e. Habib Husain.

3. According to Cod. Or. 7304 (fo. 494), Raja Ismail had been on Tambelan a year before sailing to Mempawah and in later years Sultan Muhammad Ali of Siak told the Dutch that Raja Ismail had stayed in Mempawah 'for some time' (KA 3310 OB 1775, Malacca to Batavia, 31 January 1774, fo. 12).

Folio 191

1. 1754/5. Willer (1854, p. 519) gives 1769.

2. Specifically a Siantan, and therefore presumably an *orang laut* title (Ibra-

him, 1868-72, p. 341). In Cod. Or. 7304 (fols. 500-1) the Orang Dewa Perkasa is regarded as a traitor against Raja Ismail. By building a stockade he was rebelling and he therefore had to be put to death.

Folio 193

1. See above, fo. 168 fn. 3. Dutch sources give her name as Raja Nih, the genealogy as Tengku Tipah. She was said at the time to oppose her marriage to Raja Ismail because he was already married to the daughter of a certain Raja Bungsu, a son of Raja Kecil by a secondary wife (KA 3045 OB 1766, Malacca to Batavia, 6 April 1765). According to Cod. Or. 7304 (fols. 443 and 517) Raja (or Tengku) Bunga's foster mother was a Tengku Sahuik. There was one daughter of the marriage between Raja Ismail and Tengku Tipah, called Tengku Puteri.

Folio 194

1. See glossary.

2. In October 1765 the Governor of Malacca wrote to Batavia saying he had been reliably informed that the marriage had taken place. It was said to be a reward for Raja Ismail's help in Trengganu's war against Kelantan. The *Tuhfat* places the war after the marriage. According to Cod. Or. 7304 (fols. 501-2) the wedding was arranged because Raja Ismail had given Sultan Mansur some cannon.

3. Cod. Or. 7304 (fo. 502).

Folio 195

1. Since the seventeenth century Kelantan had been partly under Patani and partly under Trengganu. According to Rentse (1934, p. 57) some time after 1740 Lung Bahar of Patani came to power in Kelantan but was murdered by his son-in-law, Lung Drahman (i.e. Abd al-Rahman) who then assumed rule himself. Both Patani and Trengganu regarded Lung Drahman as a threat, so they supported Lung Yunus, son of the murdered Lung Bahar, as nominal ruler of Kelantan. In October 1764 the Dutch were told that Raja Ismail was in Trengganu and planned to attack Kelantan. Sultan Mansur said Raja Ismail had arrived in Trengganu in 1763 and that shortly afterwards war with 'Klong Abd al-Rahman' had broken out (KA 3014 OB 1765, Report by H. W. Kaaks on Mission to Siak, 22 October 1764, fo. 50; KA 3075 OB 1767, King of Trengganu to Malacca, 22 October 1764).

2. Cod. Or. 7304 (fo. 503) says that the rumour concerned an incestuous relationship between Tengku Salih and Tengku Daud.

3. Cod. Or. 7304 (fo. 503) gives Tengku Anid.

4. It would seem that Raja Ismail is trying to pass over the episode by saying Tengku Salih died naturally and not by strangulation with a bowstring (*kujut*), which was a punishment for an adulterous woman.

Folio 196

1. i.e. Tengku (Cod. Or. 7304, fo. 504 and above, fo. 176 fn. 2).

2. Cod. Or. 7304 (fo. 506). For a discussion of the manner in which the *Tuhfat* elaborates on the Siak version to strengthen its picture of a cowardly and treacherous Trengganu faction, see B. Andaya (1976, pp. 91-2).

Folio 198

1. More commonly *pencak silat*, a lethal combat exercise.
2. According to Kelantan histories, the daughter of Lung Yunus, Cik Ku Wan Tih, was married to Tengku Muhammad, Sultan Mansur's son, and in time he became ruler of Kelantan. No mention is made of Raja Ismail in Kelantan accounts, although a nineteenth century Thai chronicle mentions an attack by Sultan Mansur (Marriott, 1916; Rentse, 1934; Shukri, 1971, pp. 64–7; Wyatt, 1974, p. 4 and also Cod. Or. 7304, fo. 511).
3. Cod. Or. 7304 (fols. 10–11) says that after this second campaign Sultan Mansur installed his son Muhammad as ruler of Kelantan.
4. Raja Ismail remained in Trengganu until late 1773 (see following fn.). Cod. Or. 7304 goes on to describe how he sailed to Siam and returned bringing Siamese refugees to Trengganu. Raja Ismail sent 150 of these refugees to the Sultan of Palembang who responded with gifts for Ismail, including a cargo of tin with which Ismail proposed to finance his attack on Siak (fols. 507–8).
5. Sultan Mansur said that Raja Ismail left Trengganu because a messenger came from Siak asking him to collect his sister, Sultan Muhammad Ali's divorced wife. Sultan Mansur had advised him to be reconciled with his cousin in order to wipe out the shame of his defeat in Singapore in 1767 (KA 3335 OB 1776, King of Trengganu to Malacca, 2 October 1774). Raja Ismail appeared in Siak waters in December 1773 with seventeen ships (KA 3310 OB 1775, Malacca to Batavia, 31 January 1774).
6. In south-west Kalimantan (see Map 4).
7. As the *Tuhfat* describes later (fo. 201), the Bugis had attacked Kedah in 1770. Sultan Muhammad Jiwa was so embittered by this that he wrote to the English in 1772 arguing that Raja Ismail, descended from 'the great kings of Johor and Rhio' should be made ruler in Riau (Bonney, 1971, p. 47). Sultan Muhammad was also hoping to obtain Raja Ismail's support for an attack on Selangor.
8. There is some confusion in all MSS. at this point. MS. C has k-w-n-t-ā, while there is a lacuna in MS. D. The location is unidentified. In a letter to the Dutch, Daeng Kamboja openly accused the Selangor ruler of supplying Raja Ismail with assistance (KA 3362 OB 1777, Daeng Kamboja to J. B. de Wind, Captain of Malacca, Received 31 January 1776).

Folio 199

1. In central Sumatra, on the Rokan River (see Map 2). In January 1774 Sultan Muhammad Ali of Siak had come to Malacca personally to tell the Governor that he feared an attack by Raja Ismail in about four months, and in November of that year Raja Ismail did make some raids around Bengkalis. His brief stay in Palembang was confirmed by Sultan Muhammad Ali during his Malacca visit. In August 1775 the Governor of Malacca noted with pleasure that Raja Ismail was now remaining quietly in Rokan (KA 3310 OB 1775, Malacca to Batavia, 31 January 1774, fols. 11–12; KA 3335 OB 1776, King of Siak to Malacca, 8 November 1774; KA 3359 OB 1777, Malacca to Batavia, 2 February 1775).
2. The introduction to *Sejarah Bugis* (one of the versions of *SMdB*, see Saidin 1971a, pp. 339–50) states that the author was inspired to compose his work after reading Sayid al-Sharif Abd al-Rahman's '*sejarah sebelah timur*' (*History from the East*). Sayid al-Sharif Abd al-Rahman was a son of the Sultan of Pontianak and a

cousin of Raja Ali Haji. Sayid Abd al-Rahman's work was itself based on an earlier work by someone who owned a text composed by Opu Daeng Menambun. This was probably the *Hikayat Opu Daeng Menambun*, a copy of which survives as Cod. Or. 1754. The 'eastern history' is thus a text from Pontianak based on *HODM* (or a very similar work) and used by Raja Ali to compile *SMdB*. For the evolution of *SMdB* itself, see Beardow, forthcoming.

3. There is some reason to believe that this debt from the Kedah wars of 1715 and 1723 was a genuine one, and the Bugis did not regard such debts lightly. Dutch records also suggest that Sultan Salih al-Din had been insulted when the Kedah prince Tengku Abdullah failed to return to his wife in Selangor. The Bugis found ready allies within Kedah among those princes who felt Tengku Abdullah's claims to the throne were unjustified. Tengku Abdullah had since married the Kedah Laksamana's daughter (B. Andaya, 1976a, pp. 177-8).

4. War was declared in July 1769, although since early that year the Bugis leaders had frequently conferred and Sultan Salih al-Din had been equipping his forces and recruiting European mercenaries. The Selangor fleet, which included several Kedah princes, sailed to Riau to join Daeng Kamboja. As was usual a formal letter announcing the declaration of war was sent to Kedah by Raja Haji and Raja Said, the Raja Muda of Selangor. On receiving it, Sultan Muhammad Jiwa immediately prepared his defences, and said that if the Bugis did not come he would attack Selangor (B. Andaya, 1979, pp. 294-5).

5. On 18 October 1770 Sultan Salih al-Din and Raja Haji entered Perak with a fleet of seventy ships after sending a letter announcing that they wished to obtain the Sultan of Perak's blessing for their enterprise. The visit is described in *MM* (p. 190 and see further B. Andaya, 1979, p. 297).

Folio 200

1. Raja Haji left Perak on 5 November 1770 to join Raja Said's fleet which was coming from Selangor. For further details on the relations between Perak and the Bugis, see B. Andaya (1979, pp. 298-9).

2. i.e. 'born at sea'.

3. This is corroborated by a Chinese trader coming from Kedah in November 1770 (KA 3229 OB 1772, Report by a Chinese inhabitant of Malacca, 22 November 1770).

4. There was at this time a large and influential Indian trading community in Kedah, the majority of whom were from the Coromandel Coast.

Folio 201

1. Kedah was a principal port on the trade route to China and an exporter of rice and tin (Lewis, 1975, pp. 39-40).

Folio 202

1. In January 1771 the Dutch reported that the Bugis, with a fleet of about 200 ships, were already masters of Kedah's outer defences. The well-known 'castle' at the mouth of the river had fallen without resistance, followed by the stockades at Limbongang, Alor Setar, and Pekang. It was reported that many Bugis had been killed in the fighting, however, including four or five of Raja Haji's best captains (Osbeck, 1771, p. 217; KA 3229 OB 1772, Malacca to Batavia, 11 February 1771, fols. 2-3; KA 3252 OB 1773, Res. of Perak to Malacca, 1 February 1771).

Folio 203

1. He was later said to have retreated to Perlis (B. Andaya, 1976a, p. 179).
2. Raja Haji encountered problems when many of his men attempted to escape with their booty and to prevent this he had to hang chains across the river. Prior to the attack he seized an Indian ship bound for Coromandel and a Chinese junk. After the attack had begun the Dutch reported that nineteen Indian vessels from Coromandel, including fourteen already loaded, were captured (KA 3229 OB 1772, Malacca to Batavia, 11 February 1771, fols. 2-10; Preamble to Chinese Report, 22 November 1770; KA 3252 OB 1773, Res. of Perak to Malacca, 1 February 1771).
3. Sultan Salih al-Din left Perak on 31 December 1770 (KA 3252 OB 1773, Res. of Perak to Malacca, 8 January 1771).
4. According to Dutch records, the Kedah forces rallied at Anak Bukit and drove the Bugis back. In March 1771 the Bugis were forced to withdraw because of a lack of manpower. Kedah, however, had been totally destroyed and even by 1787 had not recovered. It was during this period that the Kedah ruler appealed to the English (B. Andaya, 1979, pp. 303-4; B. Andaya, 1976a, p. 179; Bonney, 1971, pp. 32-45).
5. i.e. Daeng La Kanna of Selangor. Merbuk is a river south of Alor Setar (see Map 1). According to Dutch sources the Bugis, with a fleet of thirty *baluk*, three captured Coromandel vessels and three brigs then moved on to Larut (B. Andaya, 1976a, p. 175).

Folio 204

1. Tengku Lung Putera had been in Larut pirating but in September 1772 joined the Kedah refugees at Bernam where they had been since June (B. Andaya, 1976a, p. 18; KA 3252 OB 1773, Res. of Perak to Malacca, 10 June 1771).
2. Raja Ibrahim was already married to Raja Andak, a daughter of Daeng Kamboja (see fo. 186), but disagreements over Ibrahim's piracy and Sultan Salih al-Din's display of independence led to a divorce in 1776 (KA 3362 OB 1777, Daeng Kamboja to J. B. de Wind, Captain of Malacca, Received 31 January 1776).

Folio 205

1. Born on 20 June 1742, he was the son of Sharif Husain al-Kadri (see fols. 27 and 189). After travelling to Tambelan, Siantan, and Riau he spent about six years moving between Palembang, Mempawah and Banjarmasin. After the death of his father in 1771 he went to Mempawah and on 24 December left to found Pontianak. He died in 1808 and was succeeded by his son Kasim (Willer, 1854, pp. 520-8; Netscher, 1855a, pp. 297-9; Veth, 1854, I, pp. 249 ff.; van den Berg, 1886, p. 202 fn. 1).
2. The name comes from the manuscript used by Netscher (1855a, p. 297). Willer (1854, p. 521) gives Ratu Sahari Banon while Veth (1854, I, p. 251) gives Ratu Sarib Anum. The marriage took place about 1767.
3. See Map 4.
4. He had left for Sanggau in July 1777 and the battle took place shortly afterwards (Netscher, 1855a, p. 299).
5. See above, fo. 199 fn. 2.

Folio 206

1. See glossary. We are grateful to Dr L. F. Brakel for an explanation of 'gonggong'. They are singers who perform only on a royal voyage, to the accompaniment of labors.

2. The grave of Sharif Husain al-Kadri, Sharif Abd al-Rahman's father, who died in 1770 (Willer, 1854, p. 521). According to van den Berg (1886, p. 201 fn. 1), it was situated at Batu Layang near Pontianak and was a popular place for pilgrimages.

Folio 207

1. Cod. Or. 7304, fols. 491-3.

2. Cod. Or. 7304 (fo. 492) adds that these were water, wood, and food.

Folio 209

1. The battle which ensued took place in 1777-8 (Willer, 1854, pp. 526-7). Cod. Or. 7304 (fo. 513) and Veth (1854, I, pp. 266-7) relate that Tengku Musa and Raja Isa, both brothers of Raja Ismail, joined Raja Haji for the attack on Sanggau but were killed. They were buried at Batu Layang.

2. According to the al-Kadri family history, Pangeran Sharif Abd al-Rahman defeated Sanggau himself on 11 March 1778 after several battles prior to his meeting with Raja Haji at Labai Island (Netscher, 1855a, pp. 299-300).

Folio 210

1. On the Kapuas River, between Tayan and Meliau (see Map 4).

2. 24 February 1778.

Folio 211

1. 11 March 1778 (see above, fo. 209 fn. 2).

2. An island in the Kapuas River, exact location unknown (see Map 4). Both Willer (1854, p. 527) and Veth (1854, I, p. 267) refer to this island as Jambi.

Folio 213

1. This installation is dated at 18 Syaban 1192 which corresponds to 12 September 1778 (Netscher, 1855a, p. 300).

Folio 214

1. Daeng Kamboja died on 30 June 1777, aged about 80. Although he had many enemies, he was considered one of the most powerful rulers in the Malay world. In November 1777 it was reported that messengers had been sent to bring Raja Haji back from Mempawah, which conflicts somewhat with the dates given in Kalimantan histories (KA 3392 OB 1778, Malacca to Batavia, 20 December 1777; KA 3310 OB 1775, Malacca to Batavia, 31 January 1774, fo. 10; KA 3387 OB 1778, Res. of Perak to Malacca, 14 November 1777).

Folio 215

1. *PSNJ* (p. 74). See also above, fo. 105 fn. 9.

2. Dutch sources only mention that Raja Haji spent some time in Siantan (KA 3392 OB 1778, Malacca to Batavia, 20 December 1777).

3. Raja Haji's succession was not undisputed. His brother Sultan Salih al-Din was said to be pressing his claims, and most Malays had expected that Daeng Kamboja's son, Raja Ali, would succeed. The latter was popular and Malays believed he had the interests of Sultan Mahmud at heart (KA 3392 OB 1778, Malacca to Batavia, 20 December 1777; Nederburgh Archives 419, Gov. Crans' Memorie, 10 February 1777).

Folio 216

1. i.e. Syahbandar. The Dutch later praised him as an 'honourable Bugis' (KA 3657 OB 1788, Malacca to Res. of Riau, 9 February 1787).

2. It was possibly at this time that Sultan Mahmud married Engku Puan, daughter of the Pahang Bendahara, who died long before her husband and was buried in Pahang's royal graveyard (Hs. 369, fols. 2-3).

Folio 217

1. Raja Haji arrived in about December 1778 (KA 3448 OB 1780, Malacca to Batavia, 28 December 1778).

2. A small island now known as Kota Piring (the Fort of Plates), upstream from Tanjung Pinang and said to have taken its name from the plates which decorated its walls, as the *Tuhfat* describes. In January 1969 when visiting Kota Piring, V. Matheson was told that there had once been a palace there defended by a fort on a larger adjacent island.

3. Sometime between 15 July and 13 August 1779.

4. 1778.

Folio 218

1. The flourishing state of Riau's trade during this period has been described by Lewis (1970a).

Folio 219

1. For *kati*, see glossary. Quarter (*suku*) = a quarter real, the silver Spanish dollar which was the main unit of currency at the time.

2. Sultan Mansur Syah of Trengganu, who had at one point made a claim to the Riau throne because his wife was Sultan Sulaiman's daughter (Nederburgh Archives 419, Gov. Crans' Memorie, 10 February 1777).

Folio 220

1. Cod. Or. 1724(2), fo. 77. Sultan Mansur had indeed written to the Dutch in 1774 denouncing Daeng Kamboja as a murderer and asking them to help him 'set a king on the throne of Johor as of old'. In 1778 he promised the English exclusive trading privileges in Trengganu if they would help him against Raja Haji (KA 3335 OB 1776, King of Trengganu to Malacca, 2 October 1774; Harlow, 1964, I, p. 99).

2. Possibly an error for Kunta (see above, fo. 198, fn. 8).

3. In January 1778 Raja Ismail went to Trengganu to fetch his wife and settle her in Rokan. A letter to Malacca received in July of that year was written from Tanah Putih (KA 3417 OB 1779, Res. of Perak to Malacca, 7 February 1777;

KA 3446 OB 1780, Sultan Abd al-Jail at Tanah Putih to Malacca, Received 18 July 1778).

4. From Cod. Or. 7304 (fo. 514). The al-Sakkaf family came from Hadramaut, and this particular individual, Habib Umar al-Sakkaf or Sayid Umar (Sayids in the Hadramaut were entitled Habib) was the son of a certain Muhammad Ba Husain. Raja Ismail appointed him Regent of Rokan about 1780, and he later became a trusted envoy of Raja Ismail's son, Sultan Yahya (van den Berg, 1886, p. 32; Netscher, 1870, p. 137; KA 3545 OB 1794, Malacca to Batavia, 14 October 1782, fo. 24).

Folio 222

1. Formerly an important gold centre in central Sumatra north of Pagar Ruyung (see Map 2). This and the following episodes are taken from Cod. Or. 7304 (fols. 513-17).

2. On 19 August 1779 Malacca received news that Raja Ismail had taken forty boats and gone from Rokan to Siak. Three days later, assuring the Governor that he would honour all existing treaties between the VOC and Siak, he wrote informing the Dutch of his victory (KA 3446 OB 1780, Raja Ismail to Malacca, Received 19 August 1779, and 22 August 1779; Netscher, 1870, p. 134).

3. Raja Ngah = the younger, but not the youngest, son of a princely house.

Folio 223

1. Tengku Lah had been in Kedah and Perak waters intermittently from 1775 to 1779. He had been involved in Kedah's preparations for an attack on Selangor and Perak and there had been a rumour that if successful he would be made ruler in Selangor while his brother Ismail would be installed in Riau. The attack was never launched (KA 3446 OB 1780, Res. of Perak to Malacca, 9 December 1778; B. Andaya, 1979, p. 335; B. Andaya, 1976a, pp. 181-2).

2. The chronology here is doubtful, since according to VOC sources Muhammad Ali had earlier divorced Tengku Ambung. The reconciliation between Ismail and Muhammad Ali was noted by Malacca in September 1779, as well as the latter's appointment as Yang Dipertuan Muda (see above, fo. 198 fn. 5 and KA 3474 OB 1781, Malacca to Raja Ismail, 17 September 1779).

3. He seems to have been affected by the hereditary mental illness which ran through Raja Kecil's family (see above, fo. 165 fn. 2).

Folio 224

1. Healing by breathing over the sick was commonly practised by Malay doctors and midwives and is also used in Islamic medicine generally (Skeat, 1967, p. 430 fn. 1).

Folio 225

1. Raja Ismail died on 31 July 1781 after a debilitating illness and the VOC recognized his son, Raja Yahya, as ruler of Siak (Netscher, 1870, p. 137; KA 3491 OB 1782, Malacca to Batavia, 17 October 1781).

2. Cod. Or. 7304 (fo. 517) explains that Raja Ismail asked to be moved to the audience hall to make his last testament.

3. Sayid Ali was at this time a notorious pirate and had threatened to attack Perak during May 1781 (B. Andaya, 1979, p. 341).

4. See fols. 283-9.

5. The new ruler, Sultan Ibrahim, informed the Dutch of his father's death and his own succession in September 1782 (KA 3542 OB 1784, King of Selangor to Malacca, 19 September 1782).

Folio 226

1. From the Koran 76:20.

2. i.e. Cod. Or. 7304 (fo. 522) and *HNJ* (p. 112). Neither text specifically mentions a contract such as that which the *Tuhfat* describes.

3. No mention of any 'mutual enemy' agreement between Raja Haji and the VOC is made in Dutch records. However, between 1778 and 1779 Raja Haji had corresponded with Malacca concerning the decision to prohibit entry of Chinese junks to all ports except Batavia. Raja Haji asked that these restrictions be relaxed and that tolls on Riau vessels at Malacca be reduced. The VOC replied that nothing could be done until Raja Haji co-operated with the Company by confiscating the cargo of any vessel calling at Riau without a Dutch pass. Raja Haji replied that he was not prepared to go to these lengths to maintain good relations with the VOC.

4. For further details see B. Andaya (1976, p. 98). The captured ship was an English vessel, the *Betsy*, loaded with opium. With the outbreak of the Anglo-Dutch War in December 1781 Riau was asked not to admit English ships. When reports were received that Raja Haji had ignored this request, a French captain was given permission to capture the *Betsy* in return for half the cargo. Raja Haji denied any involvement and demanded that the Dutch compensate him since the English might hold him responsible.

5. Raja Haji arrived in Muar with a strongly armed force in October 1782 demanding at least a quarter of the *Betsy's* cargo since he claimed the seizure of a vessel in the Riau harbour had adversely affected trade. Raja Haji's part in the *Betsy's* capture is not clear, since he seems to have had dealings with both the French captain, Barbaron, and the *Betsy's* captain, Robert Geddes (KA 3545 OB 1784, Malacca to Batavia, 14 October 1782, fols. 24-6; Lewis, 1970, pp. 247-51; Netscher, 1870, p. 171).

6. The envoys were Abraham de Wind, a VOC employee from Malacca, and Sayid Umar, the Regent of Rokan (see above, fo. 220 fn. 4), who came to try and persuade Raja Haji to enter into a new treaty with the VOC against the English. Maxwell (1890, p. 213) suggests Virgil = Velge, the name of a well-known Malacca family. See further Khoo (1972, pp. 61-2).

Folio 227

1. For further discussion of this episode as it appears in Cod. Or. 1724 (2), see B. Andaya (1976, p. 99).

2. James Glass was a well-known English country trader in the area and a close friend of Sultan Mansur of Trengganu, while Robert Geddes was captain of the *Betsy* (B. Andaya, 1976, p. 83 and above, fo. 226 fn. 5).

3. In January 1782 a Malay told Dutch officials in Malacca that Captain Glass, arriving in Riau from Canton, had spread the rumour that in two or three

months the English would take Malacca, followed by Ambon and Java (KA 3519 OB 1783, Malacca to Batavia, 7 February 1782, fo. 145).

4. In Trengganu (see Map 4).

5. Raja Haji left Muar on 17 October 1782, arriving in Riau a week later (KA 3545 OB 1784, Malacca to Batavia, 30 October 1782, fo. 40).

Folio 228

1. Governor P. G. de Bruijn (1776–88) had long been pressing for an attack on the Bugis at Riau, whom he blamed for Malacca's economic problems. Pieter Jacob van Braam, commander of a *landseskader* sent from Holland to aid the VOC, was not in Malacca at this time.

2. Captain Toger Abo, later commander of the expedition to Riau.

3. De Bruijn's letter of March 1783 mentions rumoured Bugis plans for an attack on Malacca (KA 3545 OB 1784, Malacca to Batavia, 14 March 1783, fo. 87).

4. The expedition to attack Riau left Malacca in June 1783, de Bruijn hoping for co-operation from Sultan Mahmud and the Riau Malays to evict the Bugis. The Dutch had a force of 910 men and several large vessels.

Folio 229

1. The Dutch found the batteries at Penyengat and Tanjung Pinang too well fortified and they had insufficient ships to carry out the blockade effectively. Reinforcements arrived from Malacca in July and the Dutch ships moved to a blockading position outside Bintan Bay. This was more effective, but Riau still did not fall. Toger Abo's lack of success led to his replacement in October 1783 by the Vice-Governor of Malacca, Lemker, and the Dutch Syahbandar, van Papendrecht. An eyewitness account by a participant is found in Baane, 1826, pp. 125–82; see also Netscher, 1870, pp. 179–81.

2. A contemporary Dutch account describes Raja Haji rowing out to attack the Dutch guruh *Snelheid* on 23 June 1783 (Netscher, 1870, p. 176; van Papendrecht, 1924, p. 22).

3. This incident involved the large Dutch vessel, the *Hof ter Linde*. The poor Dutch performance resulted in an official inquiry and the second officer was reduced to sailor's rank while the *Hof ter Linde*, unfit for further service, returned to Malacca (Netscher, 1870, pp. 179–80; Baane, 1826, p. 129).

4. The unit of measurement is missing in the text.

Folio 232

1. On 6 January 1784 the Dutch launched an intensive assault on Riau but at a critical point *Malakka's Welvaren* ran aground in front of a Bugis battery (where the Bugis had deliberately piled up rocks) while it was giving cover to a group of 500 marines landing at Tanjung Pinang. The explosion was caused by heavy firing from the Bugis battery and only nine of the crew survived, Lemker being among the dead. Without the ship's protection the marines were forced to retreat (Netscher, 1870, p. 181 ff.).

2. Captain Abo resumed command after Lemker's death but the fleet, short of ammunition and made up largely of merchant ships, was too weak to continue the campaign and returned to Malacca at the end of January 1784. Batavia order-

ed an immediate inquiry into the cause of the expedition's failure.

3. The new head of Rembau was Raja Hasil, considered as anti-Dutch as his predecessor, Raja Hadil (died 1778). See also above, fo. 140 fn. 4.

4. About 29 km. north-west of Malacca (see Map 2).

5. See Map 2, Inset B. A force of 100 Selangor men was landed there on 14 January 1784 (Maxwell, 1890, p. 188). It may be significant that this was the day on which the Dutch traditionally celebrated their conquest of Malacca in 1641.

Folio 233

1. On 15 and 17 January the Selangor force repulsed two Dutch attacks on Bataŕg Tiga (Maxwell, 1890, pp. 189-90).

2. Van Braam was then in Batavia. He led the successful attack on Selangor on 2 August 1784 and commanded the fleet which relieved Malacca. It was Captain Abo who brought the fleet back from Riau.

3. See Map 2, Inset B. The first Riau landing was made on 13 February 1784. A complete account of events in Malacca during this period compiled from VOC records is given by Netscher (1864, pp. 327-61).

Folio 236

1. During the course of 1783 letters had been sent to Siak, Kedah, Perak and Trengganu. All these rulers had expressed approval of Dutch action, but Sultan Ala al-Din of Perak offered to make peace between the two sides, while Sultan Mansur gave no firm commitment to help and the Kedah ruler said he was hard pressed by attacks from Ligor and Pucut (in Patani). (KA 3627 OB 1787 contains the correspondence between the Governor and these rulers; see also B. Andaya, 1979, pp. 357-9).

2. Initially Malacca wrote to Sultan Yahya of Siak in June 1783 and was informed that ships would be sent from Siak for Malacca's defence. Although the Governor asked for this fleet to be sent to Riau, it never arrived. Sultan Muhammad Ali and Sayid Ali arrived in Malacca on 14 May 1784 (KA 3627 OB 1787, Malacca to King of Siak, 4 June and 14 July 1783; Maxwell, 1890, p. 201).

3. *HNJ* (p. 115).

4. The fleet under van Braam which had been sent out from Holland (van Papendrecht, 1924, p. 22).

Folio 237

1. Written by Abū 'Abdallāh Muhammad ibn Sulaimān al-Jazūfī (died c. 1470) of the Maghrib. A collection of liturgies in a poem-prayer form, it became a standard prayer book among the Sufi orders and its recitation was intended to increase the intensity of devotion as well as acquisition of spiritual power. At the time the Dutch Syahbandar of Malacca commented that in Raja Haji 'all the natives' saw a living saint (Trimingham, 1971, pp. 84-5; *Cambridge History of Islam*, 1970, II, p. 628; van Papendrecht, 1924, p. 22).

2. Later (fols. 295 and 410) the disease is described more fully and called *pak ipa*, the 'disease of princes', a malignant ulcer (Wilkinson, 1959, II, p. 935). Arung Lenga was Raja Haji's brother-in-law, having married Raja Aminah. VOC records also mention his death at Ketapang Bay (see fo. 30 and KA 3655 OB 1788, Malacca to Batavia, 16 March 1787, fo. 392).

Folio 238

1. Raja Haji's death occurred on 18 June 1784 (Netscher, 1870, p. 189).
2. Son of Raja Haji's sister Raja Aminah and Arung Lenga, aged about 17 at this time (see above, fo. 237 fn. 2).

Folio 239

1. Maxwell (1890, pp. 206-7) gives several reports concerning the positive identification of Raja Haji's body before its burial in Malacca. According to one account, the grave remained at the back of the Dutch Company's garden in Malacca for twenty or thirty years until the English Resident of Malacca gave permission for Raja Haji's descendants to transfer the grave to Riau (Hill, 1970, p. 60).
2. Eight days after the Dutch victory at Ketapang Bay (i.e. 26 June 1784) the VOC ship the *Dolphijn*, which was to have taken Raja Haji's body to Riau, exploded in Malacca harbour.

Folio 241

1. Sayid Ali was the son of Tengku Badariah (the daughter of Raja Alam and sister of Sultan Muhammad Ali. See fo. 19).
2. Sayid Jafar, son of Sayid Sharif Hasan, was an Arab originally from Riau. As a leader of the Selangor forces he had held out much longer than the other commanders (Meilink-Roelofs, 1959, p. 35).
3. No further explanation is given in Cod. Or. 7304 (fo. 523). According to Dutch sources, the divorce occurred earlier. See above, fo. 198 fn. 5.
4. Sultan Muhammad Ali assisted the Dutch with 400 men and fourteen *perahu* (Netscher, 1870, p. 191; KA 3594 OB 1786, Malacca Resolutions, 3 July 1784, fo. 95).
5. The Dutch fleet was sent from Malacca on 13 July 1784 and Selangor fell on 2 August. All the cannon and ammunition were captured on 13 August. Sultan Muhammad Ali and the VOC signed a treaty recognizing him as the new ruler of Selangor (Stapel, 1955, pp. 533-40; KA 3594 OB 1786, van Braam to King of Perak, 6 August 1784). *IHNJ* (pp. 116-17) relates that Selangor fell through treachery when the strand people (*orang pasir*) subject to the Bendahara betrayed the state and summoned the Siak forces upriver.
6. In December 1784 Sayid Ali (now Regent in Selangor, see below, fo. 242 fn. 2), wrote to the Governor of Malacca to say that all the Selangor people who had fled to Bernam on the border of Selangor and Perak had been captured and brought back, except for Sultan Ibrahim (the former ruler) and several other princes who had gone to Pahang (KA 3594 OB 1786, Sayid Ali to Malacca, 6 December 1784).
7. Arung To Mojong was a distant cousin of the King of Bone, La To Masonge. In 1760 he had been sent to Batavia as an envoy from the Bone court but had been convicted there of various offences, including theft and the abduction of slaves. After being sentenced by the Batavian Court of Justice and condemned by the Bone Council of Nobles, he fled to Sumbawa. In later years Arung To Mojong was known as a pirate and when he came to Perak in 1777 was refused a royal audience. Two years later he returned to Perak with the Perak Bendahara Muda and stayed there until 1780, living on the ruler's charity and on profits from cock-fighting. In July 1780 he left for Selangor where he married Tengku Penuh (Tengku

Ambung), the wife of Raja Ali of Riau and formerly married to Raja Abdullah of Kedah (see fols. 41, 186-7). Sultan Salih al-Din was furious but with the accession of Sultan Ibrahim in 1782 Arung To Mojong was restored to favour and commanded the Selangor troops in the war against the Dutch. After Selangor's fall he fled to Perak where he stayed with the Perak Sultan Muda. He returned to Selangor in 1786 and later allied himself with Sayid Ali of Siak (B. Andaya, 1979, pp. 370-1; KA 3626 OB 1787, Daily Journal of A. Couperus in Selangor, under 21 July 1786; KA 3802 OB 1790, Malacca to Batavia, 10 February 1789, fo. 201).

Folio 242

1. According to Dutch informants, Sultan Ibrahim stayed three months on an uninhabited island in the Pahang River, opposite the Datuk Bendahara's house. He only joined Sayid Jafar after he moved inland to the Selangor-Pahang border, where he was supported by the local inhabitants (KA 3655 OB 1788, Malacca to Batavia, 16 March 1787, fo. 395).

2. Sultan Muhammad stopped briefly at Malacca *en route* to Siak on 19 September 1784 and on 27 September signed another treaty with the Dutch guaranteeing to keep close watch over Selangor affairs (Stapel, 1955, pp. 540-2). However, Sayid Ali's rule in Selangor brought widespread discontent and some Selangor chiefs, like the Penghulu of Kelang, refused to acknowledge his authority. Complaints against Sayid Ali and his brother Sayid Abd al-Rahman were so serious that in April 1785 a VOC envoy was sent to Selangor. In his report he said that many people had fled and that Sayid Ali had confiscated their belongings. Sayid Ali himself was an opium addict, while his brother was an inveterate gambler. Sayid Ali left Selangor on 8 April 1785 and his brother assumed authority, but shortly afterwards, following requests from the Selangor chiefs, the VOC took over direct control (KA 3594 OB 1786, Malacca to Head of Selangor garrison, n.d.; Instructions to C. G. Baumgarten, 22 April 1785; Baumgarten's report, 9 May 1785).

3. The Dutch had refortified the two existing stockades near the Selangor estuary, one on the hill known as Bukit Selangor (Fort Altingsburg) and the other on Bukit Tanjung (Fort Utrecht) (Meilink-Roelofs, 1959, pp. 33-4).

4. Both sons of Daeng Kamboja (see fo. 26). Raja Ali later became Yang Dipertuan Muda of Riau.

Folio 243

1. In 1787 Raja Jafar was said to be 17 years old, which would make him about 14 at this point (KA 3655 OB 1788, Malacca to Batavia, 16 March 1787, fo. 393).

Folio 244

1. Raja Ali did not leave Riau at this time but later, in November 1784, when faced with defeat by van Braam's squadron. He fled to Sukadana from whence he wrote to the English for assistance (SSR G34/2, King of Riau (*sic*) to Bengal, 26 February 1785, FWCP 2 March 1786, fols. 29-31).

2. Dutch records bear out the Raja Tua's close association with the VOC, but he was at odds with Sultan Mahmud, the Raja Bendahara, the Raja Indera Bungsu, and other leading Malay nobles who in 1787 invited the Ilianon to attack Riau (see fo. 251). The Raja Tua was the only noble who offered resistance to the

Illanun (KA 3594 OB 1786, Malacca to Batavia, 15 June 1785, fo. 80; KA 3704 OB 1789, Report by C. G. Baumgarten on Riau Situation, 3 June 1787).

Folio 245

1. The Dutch blockade began in August 1784. On 19 August Raja Ali made overtures for peace but when he was not satisfactorily met by the Dutch he began to fortify Riau. More Dutch ships arrived to join the blockade throughout September and October, and on 23 October van Braam and his squadron arrived. The *Tuhfat* omits the story of van Braam's campaign against Riau as well as the fierce battle of 29 October which resulted in the Bugis departure from Riau. A complete Dutch version of the action is given by Netscher (1870, pp. 191-6).

Folio 246

1. The Dutch took possession of Tanjung Pinang on 1 November 1784 and Sultan Mahmud then signed an eight-clause treaty of capitulation. The following day a twenty-six-clause contract was signed with the VOC. Its main points were that the Sultan held his territory as a fief of the VOC, that he could not make decisions without consulting his four Malay ministers, that a Dutch garrison be established at Tanjung Pinang and that never again would a Bugis be appointed as Yang Dipertuan Muda. Malay and Dutch versions of these treaties are found in *Surat-Surat* (1970, pp. 3-31).

2. When van Braam sailed from Riau at the end of November 1784 he left a garrison of 254 men and strengthened Riau's defences both against the return of the Bugis and a possible English attack. He took with him to Batavia a Riau delegation which was to ratify the 2 November contract. The delegation returned to Riau in the vessel which brought the first Resident, David Ruhde, on 19 June 1785 (Netscher, 1870, pp. 202-4).

3. Sultan Mahmud visited Malacca in December 1786-February 1787 and there signed a contract with the VOC extending the Resident's powers (Netscher, 1870, Appendix XXXIV).

Folio 247

1. The text gives Abran (Abraham). Ruhde's orders had been to keep the Straits free of Bugis and pirates and to spy out any secret correspondence originating from Riau. A letter from Sultan Mahmud dated 10 November 1787 complains about Ruhde's behaviour (Marsden, 1812, p. 152).

2. Pematang was a village about half an hour upriver from the Dutch forts at the Selangor estuary. The Punggawa of Pematang, called Umat, was one of the Selangor elders and had been part of the delegation which had complained about Sayid Ali's rule (Stapel, 1955, p. 574 and above, fo. 242 fn. 2). Tiram Buruk has not been located.

3. i.e. Fort Altingsburg (see above, fo. 242 fn. 3).

4. According to Dutch informants, Sultan Ibrahim had arrived in Selangor on 24 June 1785. The next day all his followers' women, children and property were packed into *perahu* and sent upstream. The same day a great feast was held to which all the Selangor chiefs were summoned and told to conscript as many men as possible (KA 3626 OB 1787, Report by F. Thierens on Sultan Ibrahim's attack, 19 August 1785).

5. He was also an elder who had been among the delegation complaining about Sayid Ali. He later joined Sultan Ibrahim at Pematang (ibid. and KA 3594 OB 1786, C. G. Baumgarten's Report, 9 May 1785; Stapel, 1955, p. 574).

Folio 248

1. English sources at the time put the number of Sultan Ibrahim's forces at 2,000, but according to the Dutch they numbered only 500 although reinforcements of about 800 were reported to be coming from Kelang and the upstream areas. The attack began on the evening of 27 June and lasted all night, with Sultan Ibrahim's men sniping from behind trees (as fo. 247, fn. 4; Anderson, 1962, p. 32).

2. The Malay has *s-k-l-k-k bedil meriamnya*.

3. When preparations were made for the attack, the Dutch had a total of 168 men defending Fort Altingsburg, Fort Utrecht, and the two batteries van Braam and de Bruijn, as well as guarding the road. There were about fifty cases of illness (as fo. 247 fn. 4).

4. See above, fo. 242 fn. 2.

5. The Selangor defences were abandoned at 3 a.m. on 28 June. The garrison commander justified this by saying that the forts were in a poor condition, the garrison itself was undermanned, the enemy were too numerous, ammunition was lacking, and drinking water was running short (as above, fo. 247 fn. 4 and a further report given by Thierens on 22 November).

Folio 249

1. Benjamin van der Spek was sent to head the blockade on 9 July 1785 and was told to take particular care that the English did not attempt to contact Sultan Ibrahim (KA 3626 OB 1787, Instructions to B. van der Spek, 9 July 1785).

2. Dutch records confirm the lack of rice in Selangor (KA 3626 OB 1787, Daily Journal of A. Couperus in Selangor, under 5 July 1786).

3. Van Braam had in fact returned to the Netherlands in April 1785. In July Sultan Ibrahim sent envoys to Malacca to begin peace negotiations. Although the Dutch terms were demanding, by November Sultan Ibrahim was willing to comply. However, he asked for a delay of three months supposedly to prepare ships for his envoys to go to Malacca. In the meantime, he asked for both English and Acehnese help. Though the English would not become involved, Aceh sent provisions and men. By June 1786 when Abraham Couperus arrived from Malacca to make peace, Sultan Ibrahim had only about 300 men, mainly Acehnese, the rest having died or run away because of lack of food and the exacting work of building fortifications. Faced with threats of another Dutch attack, Sultan Ibrahim agreed to negotiate and a treaty was signed on 29 July. This established Selangor as a VOC vassal and gave the Dutch a monopoly of all its tin and other trade, but maintained Sultan Ibrahim as ruler (KA 3626 OB 1787, Malacca to J. Meyer, 2 March 1786; van der Spek to Malacca, 17 May 1786; Daily Journal of A. Couperus, 12 August 1786; Marsden, 1812, p. 148; Stapel, 1955, pp. 573-9).

4. From July 1785 to July 1786 in the Christian calendar.

5. De Bruijn was indeed reprimanded by his superiors for the harsh terms initially offered to Selangor and for his refusal to accept Sultan Ibrahim's first gestures of peace.

Folio 250

1. Sultan Ibrahim himself wrote to Malacca telling of Selangor's poverty-stricken condition (KA 3704 OB 1789, King of Selangor to Malacca, 29 May 1787).

Folio 251

1. The Raja Tua was administrator of Riau at this time. The Raja Indera Bungsu, fourth in the formal hierarchy, was the Raja Temenggung's son. Ruhde also noted Riau's poverty after the Bugis departure (KA 3626 OB 1787, Res. of Riau to Malacca, 14 June 1785, 29 September 1786).

2. See above, fo. 22 fn. 2, but here meaning European administration.

3. On Kalimantan's north-west coast (see Map 1), *HNJ* (p. 121) relates that the pirates took the initiative for the assault on Riau by requesting the Sultan's permission to attack the Dutch post at Tanjung Pinang.

Folio 252

1. According to Dutch records, Raja Alam and Raja Muda, two Sulu princes, had been sent by the Sultan of Sulu at the request of Sultan Sharif of Pontianak to help attack Mempawah. Raja Alam said that his fleet of forty-two boats and 1,500 men had become separated from the other fifty vessels and had merely chanced on Riau (KA 3704 OB 1789, Res. of Riau to Malacca, 18 May 1787).

2. The *Tuhfat* apparently took its description of the pirate raid from a written source, which has not been identified.

3. The Dutch version of the attack is given by Netscher (1870, pp. 212-15). The Illanun arrived in Riau waters on 3 May asking for provisions. On 10 May they divided their forces, one part keeping the Dutch garrison occupied while the other entered the bay through the Terusan, which Ruhde thought Sultan Mahmud had had blocked. On 13 May the Illanun attacked, erected batteries all around the Dutch fort and forced Ruhde to capitulate (KA 3704 OB 1789, Res. of Riau to Malacca, 18 May 1787).

4. In their hasty departure the Dutch ran their sloop *Joanna* aground, and it was taken by the pirates who gave it to Sultan Mahmud (Netscher, 1870, p. 215 and as above, fn. 3).

5. The Illanun then offered the Dutch safe passage to Malacca, which they accepted.

6. 1800/1. The attack actually occurred in May 1787.

Folio 253

1. Suggestive of piracy subject to controls from the Riau court.

2. Dutch sources noted that the Datuk Bendahara of Pahang who had helped Sultan Ibrahim had died about October 1785. His son, previously entitled Raja Bendahara, may have succeeded (KA 3626 OB 1787, Malacca to King of Johor, 5 December 1785).

3. The Illanun pirates were said to be turning on Riau inhabitants, having collected 500 reals from the Sultan and 1,000 from the Chinese. The departure of Sultan Mahmud to Lingga and the Raja Tua, Bendahara, Temenggung and Raja Indera Bungsu to Trengganu and Pahang was reported in July 1787. The Raja Tua, Encik Andak, whom Sultan Mahmud had placed under sentence of death if

he returned to any area under Riau's jurisdiction, eventually went to Kalimantan where he died. After the Malays abandoned Riau, the Ilanun also left although they remained in Malay waters for some years. The Sultan did not take up residence on Riau again until the end of the nineteenth century (KA 3704 OB 1789, Report by Riau Malays, 3 July 1787; Report by C. G. Baumgarten, 3 June 1787; KA 3709 OB 1789, Malacca to Batavia, 28 April 1788, fo. 399; Hs, 369, fo. 31).

4. In March 1787 Rühde reported that there were 5,000 Chinese on Riau, 4,000 from Canton and 1,000 from Amoy. The earliest known Chinese inscription in Riau is dated 1779 and is in a local temple (KA 3653 OB 1788, Malacca to Batavia, 16 March 1787, fo. 28 and pers. comm., Professor Otto Franke, 3 May 1978).

5. The commander of this Dutch expedition was not van Braam but Willem Silvester who had left Malacca for Riau on 25 December 1787.

Folio 254

1. Rühde was sent back to Riau with the task of repopulating the area, encouraging Chinese settlement, and re-establishing trade. During the first six months of 1788 Riau was a free port (Netscher, 1870, p. 229).

2. The Dutch reported that Sultan Mahmud was suffering fits of madness following his move to Lingga which they attributed to his 'untrustworthy' behaviour towards the VOC (KA 3707 OB 1789, Malacca to Batavia, 29 September 1787, fo. 381).

Folio 255

1. 21 July 1792. Marriott (1916, p. 17) and Rentse (1934, p. 53) both mention that Sultan Mahmud assisted the Sultan of Trengganu to install his son as Yang Dipertuan of Kelantan in early 1793. But see above, fo. 198 fn. 2.

2. Overtures were made to the VOC only after Mahmud had learned he could not expect help from the English, to whom he had written in November 1787. He enlisted the assistance of both Sultan Ibrahim of Selangor and Sultan Mansur of Trengganu in an effort to restore relations with the Dutch. During 1788 several letters were exchanged between these rulers and the Malacca administration which none the less refused to pardon Sultan Mahmud. The latter made a number of trips to Trengganu (in November 1787, March 1788 and October 1790), and rumours began to circulate that a great alliance was being organized to attack Malacca (Netscher, 1870, p. 226).

3. See above, fo. 244 fn. 1.

4. While setting up a new settlement in 1772, it was said that Sultan Sharif had driven away the local spirits, the *pontianak*, after whom the new centre was named. Trade increased and in 1778, in connection with their relationship with Banten, the VOC sent a mission to Pontianak to formally acknowledge Sultan Sharif Abd al-Rahman as Sultan, giving him Pontianak and Sanggau as fiefs. A post of about forty men was set up, with W. A. Palm as Resident (Veth, 1854, I, p. 263; Netscher, 1855a, p. 301; Huysers, 1792, p. 135; Muller, 1843, pp. 214-15).

Folio 256

1. Sayid Ali married Tengku Amuk, also called Tengku Said, daughter of Sultan Muhammad Ali (Cod. Or. 7304, fols. 522-3).

2. In 1788 Sayid Ali was reported to have established himself in Bukit Batu and to be building up his forces. There were rumours that he intended to attack the Dutch in retaliation for his eviction from Selangor, and for a time Perak was threatened (KA 3708 OB 1789, Malacca to Batavia, 7 July 1788, fo. 195 and B. Andaya, 1979, p. 371).

3. In 1789 Sayid Ali with Illanun crews attacked Singgora, to the north of Patani (see Map 1) and laid it waste. Following this attack he went to Trengganu where Sultan Mansur, fearful of Siamese reprisals, reluctantly received him (KA 3833 OB 1791, Malacca to Batavia, 10 February 1790, fo. 435). These Siak episodes are from Cod. Or. 7304 (fols. 523–32).

Folio 258

1. This is from Cod. Or. 7304 (fo. 527). The number of English traders in Trengganu at this time was increasing, and Sultan Mansur was making approaches to Penang and Bengal through his friend James Glass, the English country trader (B. Andaya, 1976, pp. 83–4).

2. About 19 km. south-east of the Trengganu estuary, about 8 km. off the coast.

Folio 259

1. To touch another's head was considered a great insult among Malays and according to contemporary observers, in Trengganu this offence merited the death penalty (Skeat, 1967, p. 43; Dunmore, 1973, pp. 155–6).

2. An *ayam tambat* is a game cock which is pampered because it is prized as a fighter (Brown, 1956, p. 90 fn. 2).

Folio 260

1. Serasan is one of the South Natuna Islands, about 112 km. from the north-west tip of Kalimantan (see Map 1). It was famed as a centre for piracy.

2. After his departure from Selangor Sayid Ali had taken to piracy, but had returned to Siak by April 1790 (KA 3704 OB 1789, Sultan Muhammad Ali to Malacca, 27 July 1787; KA 3833 OB 1791, Malacca to Batavia, 18 April 1790, fo. 440).

3. In the South China Sea (see Map 1).

4. A fencing or war dance without weapons. See also above, fo. 198 fn. 1.

5. The *Tuhfat's* précis of Cod. Or. 7304 (fols. 529–32) is somewhat confused. Encik Selamah was the wife of Tengku Musa (son of Sultan Mahmud of Siak) and since she was from Serasan she remained there after the marriage. Tengku Akil was the son of Encik Selamah and Tengku Musa, and thus a grandson of Raja Kecil. He later became Sultan Abd al-Jalil Syah of Sukadana and helped H. W. Muntinghe prepare his report on piracy (see below, fo. 327 fn. 3). The latter part of Cod. Or. 7304 follows his career (Cod. Or. 7304, fols. 512, 521; von de Wall, 1862, p. 113).

6. VOC records contain an intriguing reference to Sayid Ali's intention of going to Kalimantan to fetch his aunt (Encik Selamah?). However, according to a Pontianak royal family history, the Siak forces allied with Pontianak and attacked Sambas on 1 December 1791 (KA 3704 OB 1789, Sultan Muhammad Ali to Malacca, 27 July 1787; Netscher, 1855a, p. 301).

7. There was already an established Chinese settlement in Pontianak. A bell found there recently is dated 1789 (pers. comm., Professor O. Franke, 3 May 1978).

Folio 261

1. South of Pontianak (see Map 4). The founder of Kubu was Sharif Aidarus al-Aidarusi, son-in-law of Sayid Husain al-Kadri (see above, fo. 189 fn. 2) and brother-in-law of Sultan Abd al-Rahman of Pontianak (van den Berg, 1886, p. 202).

2. The *Tuhfat* reads Tengku Musa, who was in fact Tengku Khadijah's father (Cod. Or. 7304, fo. 532). According to the latter text, only a betrothal took place at this time.

Folio 262

1. Sultan Mansur strongly denied rumours of a great alliance being organized against the Dutch, and continued to write to Malacca on behalf of Sultan Mahmud. Governor de Bruijn, who left Malacca in 1788, had been opposed to any reconciliation but his successor Abraham Couperus (1788–95) supported restoring Sultan Mahmud to favour because of Riau's deteriorating condition and the need for some kind of Malay leadership in the area to control piracy (KA 3833 OB 1791, Malacca to Batavia, 13 September 1790, fols. 441–2 and 28 October 1790, fo. 448).

2. Raja Setia and the Trengganu Syahbandar were sent to Malacca as envoys in 1788 (KA 3704 OB 1789, Malacca to King of Trengganu, 11 August 1788). The continuing confusion of de Bruijn and van Braam reflects not only the similarity of their names to a Malay, but also van Braam's greater prestige.

3. According to VOC reports the envoys did spend some time with Sultan Mahmud in Lingga on their way home in August 1788 (KA 3802 OB 1790, Malacca to Batavia, 10 February 1789, fo. 202).

Folio 263

1. With the exception of the denunciation by van Braam, this episode comes from Cod. Or. 1724 (2), fols. 82–4. There is no mention of such an incident in VOC records, although there were rumours of a planned Trengganu attack (see above, fo. 255 fn. 2). Generally, however, these were discounted by the Dutch for whom Sultan Mansur had always been a basically reliable ally (see further B. Andaya, 1976, pp. 82, 94).

2. Possibly *Jawāhir al-Qur'ān*, by al-Ghazālī, which has been translated and annotated by Mohammad Abdul Quasem as *The Jewels of the Qur'ān* (1977).

3. Unidentified.

Folio 265

1. The Malay in fact reads *air*, 'water', but Dr L. F. Brakel has pointed out that it can also mean 'blood from a wound' or be an abbreviated form of *air mata*, 'tears'. We have tried to convey the intention of the Sultan's words.

2. Sultan Mahmud returned to Lingga from Pahang in July 1788 but visited Trengganu again in 1790 and 1793 (see above, fo. 255 fn. 2 and OIC 107, Gov. of Malacca to Batavia, 26 February 1793).

3. See Map 3. The opening of the Singkep mine came at an opportune time, since the gambier culture in Riau had suffered because of the departure of so many labourers (KA 3833 OB 1791, Malacca to Batavia, 13 September 1790, fo. 451).

4. Originally from Lingga, he was the son of a Bugis private trader who had married a daughter of one of the principal *orang laut* of Lingga. As a child he was noticed by the Yang Dipertuan Muda of Riau because of his sprightliness and general appearance, and was given an official position. Sultan Mahmud made him head of the sea-people. His piratical activities extended from the Java coast to the Palembang River. He later established himself on Bangka but was ousted by the head of the Palembang *orang laut*, Demang Minyak. Panglima Raman then retired to Lingga and ceased his piracy (Horsfield, 1848, pp. 317, 331-2).

Folio 266

1. This is not the Raja Tua of Riau (see above, fo. 253 fn. 3), but Sultan Baharuddin of Inderagiri, who was also entitled Raja Tua (MS. von de Wall 62 I). We have not located any reference to a campaign against Inderagiri, but Sultan Mahmud did go there in July 1788, when he married Raja Jafar to the daughter of the Inderagiri ruler (KA 3710 OB 1789, Res. of Riau to Malacca, 15 July 1788).

2. Sukadana was at this time enjoying great prosperity under Sultan Ahmad al-Din, while the gold of Mempawah was attracting wealth and trade. Sultan Abd al-Rahman used the excuse that Raja Ali was an enemy of the VOC to launch an attack on these centres. He himself was allied with the Dutch (see above, fo. 255 fn. 4), but was probably motivated by trading rivalry and antagonism towards Mempawah because it had failed to repay him for his mediation between Sambas and Mempawah over the disputed gold mining area in Montrado (Veth, 1854, I, pp. 273-4; Willer, 1854, p. 525; Bassett, 1965, p. 192).

Folio 267

1. In 1786 the VOC, allied with the ruler of Pontianak, Sultan Abd al-Rahman, attacked Sukadana but on reaching the capital found that the Sukadana ruler had fled to the south with the entire population. The capital was then totally razed, ending Sukadana's existence as a kingdom and leaving the former ruler power only over Matan (Veth, 1854, p. 274 and Netscher, 1855a, p. 302).

2. A tributary of the Matan River (see Map 4). Dutch sources also report that the fugitive Sultan took refuge here where he died in 1792.

3. Suggested reading.

4. Raja Ali left Siantan in May 1788 and visited Sultan Mahmud in Lingga. When differences arose between them he left to join his brother-in-law, Sultan Ibrahim of Selangor (Netscher, 1870, p. 324).

Folio 268

1. Sultan Ibrahim wrote to Malacca in March 1788 saying that Sultan Mahmud had asked him to act as intermediary with the Dutch. At the same time Sultan Mansur of Trengganu was also negotiating (KA 3704 OB 1789, King of Selangor to Malacca, 25 March 1788 and above, fo. 255 fn. 2).

2. Governor de Bruijn's letter actually demands that Sultan Mahmud make the first gesture of reconciliation by personally approaching the Governor (KA 3704 OB 1789, Malacca to King of Selangor, 10 April 1789).

3. In July 1791 Sultan Ibrahim sent Sayid Jafar and a delegation of nobles to Malacca to mediate on behalf of Sultan Mahmud and ask whether Ibrahim himself could go to Lingga to continue negotiations. In September 1791 Sultan Mahmud did send his own envoy to Malacca and also wrote a letter purporting to be from the ruler of Trengganu, again pressing Sultan Mahmud's case (KA 3857 OB 1792, Malacca to Batavia, 11 September 1791 and 18 February 1792).

Folio 269

1. The translation of *astanan jenderal* has been taken from *Surat-Surat* (1970, p. 4).

2. In August 1791 Governor Couperus sent a private memorandum to Sultan Ibrahim via Sayid Jafar, deploring the ruler's neglect of his country. Many people were leaving Selangor and the tin production was declining. The request that he go to Lingga was refused. At this time Sultan Mansur was still writing letters to Malacca on Sultan Mahmud's behalf (KA 3858 OB 1792, Malacca to King of Selangor, 23 July 1791 and 18 August 1791; King of Trengganu to Malacca, 6 October 1791).

3. In August 1795 the exiled Stadhouder of Holland authorized the British to take Malacca together with other Dutch settlements in the archipelago to prevent their falling into the hands of Revolutionary France, which had conquered the Netherlands. As a French naval base, Malacca would have endangered British trade with China. For an account of the British occupation of Malacca see Irwin (1956) and Bassett (1965).

4. Saturday 14 September 1793. The year appears to be an error.

5. A letter from Governor Couperus to Sultan Mahmud dated 23 August 1795 was brought by the English captains Newcombe and Brown. It withdrew the Dutch garrison from Riau and restored Riau to Sultan Mahmud (Netscher, 1870, pp. 239-40). A later letter from Sultan Mahmud to Batavia mentions the receipt of two letters, one from the Dutch and one from the English, restoring Riau to him (OIC 121, King of Johor and Pahang to Batavia, 20 March 1796).

6. 1793/4.

7. This Datuk Temenggung, who held office during the reign of Sultan Mahmud, is not to be confused with the Raja Temenggung during the early part of Sultan Mahmud's reign. This Datuk Temenggung, called Abd al-Jamal from Siantan in one MS., was apparently still alive in July 1786. Engku Muda, his son, was then well known as a pirate who worked with the *orang laut* to raise revenue for Sultan Mahmud. A contemporary Dutch account of 1801 described the Engku Muda as 'a bad subject, churlish, a great pirate and murderer' (Netscher, 1870, p. 243; KA 3657 OB 1788, C. G. Baumgarten's Report on Riau, 31 July 1786; Winstedt, 1932, p. 63).

8. In May 1789 after Raja Ali's request for pardon had been conveyed to Batavia, he was granted permission to leave Selangor and collect members of his family in Siantan. He returned to Selangor towards the end of 1790 (KA 3799 OB 1790; Malacca to King of Selangor, 30 May 1789; Netscher, 1870, p. 236).

Folio 270

1. He had married the daughter of Sultan Salih al-Din (Raja Lumu) of Selangor (see fo. 41).

2. See fols. 163, 175, 177, 185, 232, 233. Opu Nasti had died by 1787, when

Encik Abdullah had been permitted to return to Riau (KA 3517 OB 1788, Malacca to Res. of Riau, 9 February 1787).

3. Raja Ali, anxious to be restored to his position as Yang Dipertuan Muda, proposed to the Dutch that he should go to Riau and attempt to mediate with Sultan Mahmud. This was approved on 17 October 1794. Meanwhile, Sultan Mahmud had made his own approaches to Malacca (Netscher, 1870, p. 238 and above, fo. 268 fn. 3).

Folio 271

1. See above, fols. 267 fn. 4 and 269 fn. 8.

2. In May 1796 the Governor-General responded to Sultan Mahmud's letter of March (see above, fo. 269 fn. 5) in a friendly manner and the Sultan then sent an embassy to Batavia to negotiate a new contract with the VOC. He was advised to wait until the hostilities with Britain had ended. Correspondence and good relations between Batavia and Sultan Mahmud continued until 1800.

3. Previous requests to make the trip to Lingga had been refused by the Dutch (see above, fo. 269 fn. 2). Anderson's account, written in 1824, says that Sultan Ibrahim, despite British objections, went to Lingga 'about twenty years ago' to mediate between Sultan Mahmud and Raja Ali and reaffirm the oath of loyalty. Sultan Ibrahim believed that after Raja Ali, he had the greatest claim to the position of Yang Dipertuan Muda in Johor (Anderson, 1962, pp. 193-5).

Folio 272

1. The Dutch post in Perak, established in 1746 to supervise the tin collection, was finally abandoned in 1795 when the British took Malacca. The succession of a new ruler in Perak in 1792 was followed by the appointment of several princes as his joint heirs. It appears that on his death, possibly around 1801, factional fighting broke out and the kingdom was once again divided by civil war. The Perak ruler, faced by internal dissent and threatened by invasion from Siam, sought to place himself under the protection of Johor/Riau.

2. Sultan Ibrahim was 'generally called Berima' (KA 3626 OB 1787, preamble to letter from King of Selangor to Malacca, 29 July 1785).

Folio 274

1. *HNJ* (p. 124) notes that the Sultan of Selangor was in Riau for about two years trying to reconcile the Bugis and the Malays. No motive is given for his return to Selangor other than the apparent failure of his mission. Several Bugis princes accompanied him (see below).

Folio 275

1. Daughter of Raja Haji and wife of Sultan Ibrahim (see fo. 271).

Folio 276

1. A hilly islet in the Lingga roadstead (see Map 3).

Folio 277

1. Half-brother of Raja Jafar, Raja Idris was the son of Raja Haji and an Inderagiri woman (see above, fo. 30 fn. 5), and was born about 1774. He married

two Bugis noblewomen and Raja Safiah, daughter of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali. He had fought with Raja Haji at Ketapang Bay and was given Kelang as a reward for his part in the Perak campaign. He later returned to Riau where he became notorious as an opium smoker and a pirate. He co-operated with the Bugis in the rising against the Dutch on Riau in 1819, but afterwards went over to the Dutch side (Hs. 494; Hs. 369, fo. 14; see also fols. 318-19).

2. Raja Ali Haji's father, half-brother of Raja Jafar.

3. Later Sultan Muhammad of Selangor (1826-7). He married Raja Siah, daughter of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali, and became Yang Dipertuan Muda of Selangor after the death of his uncle, Raja Nala. A vigorous business man, determined to develop the state's tin resources, he became indebted to merchants in Malacca and Penang and aroused the criticism of European observers. See above, fols. 40 and 42 fn. 2; Khoo (1972, pp. 37, 71).

4. Chronic unrest had plagued Acehnese rulers for many years but in 1788 a revolt broke out in the capital and the Sultan of Aceh wrote to Francis Light saying he had declared war on Pedir. It has been suggested that the disputes resulted from a challenge by the ruler's younger brother. The Acehnese ruler then asked help from Sultan Ibrahim, probably in return for assistance given to Selangor during the Dutch blockade (see above, fo. 249 fn. 3). Although in a letter to Light in 1787 Ibrahim had said he would not interfere, in June 1788 Raja Nala, the Selangor Yang Dipertuan Muda, was sent to Aceh with sixteen ships and about eighty men. In August 1788 Sultan Ibrahim wrote to inform the Dutch of his brother's death. Anderson in 1824 commented that 'in former times' the Kings of Aceh and Selangor had been very friendly, and the former had presented Selangor with several large cannon, one of which was believed to be sacred (Marsden, 1812, p. 149; Anderson, 1962, pp. 195-6; KA 3704 OB 1789, Res. of Perak to Malacca, 16 July and 21 September 1788, King of Selangor to Malacca, 27 August 1788).

Folio 278

1. The residence of the King of Perak, about 48 km. from the estuary.

2. A district between Selangor and Kelang. The Penghulu of Jeram, one of the Selangor elders, had previously acted as Sultan Ibrahim's envoy to Malacca (Stapel, 1955, p. 574; Netscher, 1870, p. 234).

3. Kota Lumut, a few km. upstream from the former Dutch fort at Tanjung Putus on the lower Perak River. According to a letter written later by some of the Perak chiefs, Sultan Ibrahim had attacked Perak, driving the ruler and nobles up to the Terus River estuary, a little beyond Rantau Panjang. The Selangor forces then retreated. About a year after the attack, the Perak ruler died and three months after the accession of the new ruler Sultan Abd al-Malik Syah (1806-25) the Selangor ruler wrote requesting the territory from Terus downstream to the Perak estuary, saying it now belonged to him. When this demand was refused, he attacked again but failed to take a refortified Kota Lumut. The Selangor forces retreated to the mouth of the Bidor River and when negotiations failed to settle the dispute Sultan Ibrahim reduced his demands to cover the area downstream from Bidor. Selangor exercised a degree of control in this part of Perak until 1816 when Kedah forces, acting under Siamese orders, invaded. In 1822 the Selangor ruler expelled the invaders and Selangor once more established control over the lower Perak River area (Burney, 1910-14, II, p. 221; Anderson, 1962, p. 189).

4. i.e. that in 1739, when Daeng Cellak had invaded.
5. In 1805/6 (Anderson, 1962, p. 189).

Folio 279

1. See Map 1.
2. Not located, but presumably in Riau itself and probably on the Riau River. According to one MS. it was first developed by Datuk Temenggung Abd al-Jamal (see above, fo. 269 fn. 7 and Winstedt, 1932, p. 63).
3. According to a letter from Sultan Ibrahim, Encik Muda's administration was 'the cause of all the disturbances'. There was now little support, either among the Dutch or British, for a restoration of the position of Yang Dipertuan Muda. European information concerning Riau during this period is sparse, but according to a Malay MS. Engku Muda refused the title of Temenggung because of Sultan Mahmud's favour towards the Bugis (Anderson, 1962, p. 195; Netscher, 1870, p. 242; Winstedt, 1932, p. 63).

Folio 280

1. See fols. 13, 26, and 269 fn. 7. It was from this family that the later Temenggungs of Johor, who assumed the Johor Sultanate, were descended.
2. According to an eyewitness, J. G. Smidt, Raja Ali, supported by his relative Engku Karaeng (who had married Raja Sitti, a daughter of Raja Haji) forced Engku Muda to retreat to Bulang. In December 1800 the Resident of Palembang reported that about forty or fifty lives had been lost in the fighting (Netscher, 1870, pp. 242-3).
3. See above, fo. 270 fn. 2. The Palembang Resident said Sultan Mahmud had sent the Raja Indera Bungsu to invite Raja Ali to become Yang Dipertuan Muda again. However, there was apparently considerable opposition from the Malay nobles and in February 1801 the Malays, assisted by the Illanun, were reported to have driven the Bugis away from Bulang again (Netscher, 1870, p. 243).

Folio 282

1. Sultan Sulaiman's son by a secondary wife (see fols. 14, 162)?
2. According to Smidt, the Bendahara of Pahang arrived in Riau towards the end of 1801 at Sultan Mahmud's invitation. Engku Muda was opposed to any settlement and the Bugis would not agree to the proposal that Raja Ali should be appointed Yang Dipertuan Muda with Engku Karaeng as his deputy (neither post to be hereditary). See Netscher (1870, p. 244).
3. The oath of loyalty was made on 3 September 1803 (16 Jumad al-awal) on board the Raja Indera Bungsu's *perahu* at the Bulang estuary. On 21 December 1804 (18 Ramadan 1819) the pledge was renewed and Raja Ali was formally installed as Raja Muda (Netscher, 1870, p. 244 and von de Wall MS. 62 1).
4. It was at this time that Engku Muda married his daughter Raja Bulang to Tengku Husain, son of Sultan Mahmud (Winstedt, 1932, pp. 64, 66).

Folio 283

1. He died sometime before July 1791 (KA 3858 OB 1792, Malacca to King of Siak, 6 July 1791). The Siak material comes from Cod. Or. 7304 (fols. 541 ff.).

2. Raja Yahya was the son of Raja Ismail, while the Yang Dipertuan Muda was Tengku Andut, son of Raja Musa and thus Raja Ismail's nephew and Raja Yahya's cousin. He was also Sayid Ali's brother-in-law (Netscher, 1870, pp. 139, 143).

Folio 284

1. i.e. Sultan Muhammad Ali.
2. Raja Abdullah, son of Sultan Mahmud of Siak, now ruled Kampar (see fo. 225).
3. Probably Belubur Garam, a small village north of Bukit Batu (Anas, 1958, p. 77). In October 1791 Sultan Yahya wrote to the Dutch from this area and the Malacca Governor's reply reiterates Dutch recognition of him as the legitimate ruler (Netscher, 1870, pp. 143-4).

Folio 285

1. A tributary of the Siak River (see Map 2).
2. Tengku Ambung Maimunah, wife of Tengku Musa (Cod. Or. 7304, fo. 509).
3. Wife of Sultan Yahya.

Folio 286

1. The *Tuhfat's* Fikmaraja has been corrected to Kamaraja, as above and in Cod. Or. 7304, fo. 547.
2. There is no further clarification in Cod. Or. 7304 (fols. 547-8).
3. See above, fo. 260 fn. 5.
4. The son of Raja Abdullah of Kampar. Towards the end of 1791 the Dutch received news that Sultan Yahya and the Yang Dipertuan Muda of Siak, Tengku Andut, were in Kampar (Netscher, 1870, p. 144).

Folio 287

1. Cod. Or. 7304 (fols. 548-9) adds little detail, merely saying that Tengku Muhammad was not feeling well.

Folio 288

1. He had already been involved in a raid on Perak in October 1790, when he joined forces with Illanun pirates (B. Andaya, 1979, p. 375).
2. Tuk (Datuk) Lukus had earlier come as an envoy from the ruler of Tempassuk (see fols. 252-3). Retih had become a centre for Illanun raids on neighbouring Bangka and Billiton (Warren, 1975, pp. 260-1).
3. See above, fols. 165 fn. 2 and 223 fn. 3. Tengku Andut, the Yang Dipertuan Muda, became a pirate (Netscher, 1870, p. 145).

Folio 289

1. In February 1797 Sayid Ali wrote to Batavia announcing his succession in Siak, with the title Sultan Abd al-Jalil. Afraid that Sultan Yahya might attack again, he asked the British to raise their flag in Siak. He was able to extend Siak's

sovereignty as far north as the border of Aceh (Reid, 1969, p. 5; Netscher, 1870, p. 149; OIC 121, King of Siak to Batavia, 18 February 1787). These are the last events from Cod. Or. 7304 contained in the *Tuhfat*. The Siak history continues, but is largely concerned with Tengku Akiil's fortunes.

2. According to von de Wall MS. 62 I, the Yang Dipertuan Besar of Siak was present on Penyengat for the installation of Raja Ali as Yang Dipertuan Muda on 21 December 1804 (see above, fo. 282 fn. 3).

Folio 290

1. Both Tengku Puteri and Engku Besar Raja Sitti were daughters of Raja Haji.

2. Their marriage is confirmed in Dutch sources (Hs. 369 fo. 16).

3. i.e., he cherished her tenderly (Wilkinson, 1959, II, p. 1175).

Folio 291

1. The island was later to become the centre of Bugis influence and in the mid-nineteenth century was a focus for Muslim scholarship.

2. By a secondary wife (see fo. 14).

Folio 292

1. His mother was Encik Mariam, daughter of a Bugis, Bandar Hasan, from Sidenreng in Sulawesi and a Balinese woman, a slave to Bandar Hasan's wife. The marriage between Encik Mariam and Sultan Mahmud had been arranged by Raja Haji about 1780, but it was her low birth which was a principal reason for the opposition to the installation of her son, Abd al-Rahman, as Sultan (Hs. 369, fols. 3-4 and Netscher, 1870, p. 246).

2. 13 February 1804.

3. The ruins of an old Bugis fort noted by Schot in 1889 (p. 603, fn. 4) were probably part of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali's residence.

4. For a useful survey of the Sufi Brotherhoods in Islam, see Trimmingham (1971). The Khalwatiyyah was a popular order, based on reverence for the leader, and had a reputation for strictness in training and encouragement of individualism. It was regarded as one of the earliest orders, originating in Turkey and moving to Egypt during the eighteenth century. The Sammaniyyah was formed by a Khalwati disciple, Abd al-Karim as-Sammani (A.D. 1718-75). It was brought to Sumatra in the late eighteenth century by Abd as-Samad ibn Abdullah, a Sumatran pupil of as-Sammani, who then began to initiate members in his own country. It became one of the principal orders in the area (Trimingham, 1971, pp. 77, 130).

Folio 293

1. William Farquhar (see below, fo. 307 fn. 1).

2. Adriaan Koek, from 1798 to 1818 a member of the Dutch College of Justice which was retained during the British occupation of Malacca (see below, fo. 309 fn. 1 and Hill, 1970, p. 33 fn. 7).

3. The implication seems to be that Raja Ahmad, as a representative of Riau, should not appear unduly humble before the Siak ruler in view of the past enmity between the two states.

Folio 294

1. Ulcers? See above, fo. 237 fn. 2 and fo. 295.

Folio 295

1. Netscher (1870, p. 245) says he died in 1805 on the island of Bayan.

Folio 297

1. The daughter of Raja Haji and the Sultan of Inderagiri's daughter and thus Raja Jafar's half-sister. Her daughter married Sultan Abd al-Rahman (1812-31).

2. 1806/7.

3. Engku Karaeng had gone to Malacca in 1802 with all his goods but had returned in 1803. In 1818 he went back to Sulawesi where he died in 1822, although his wife, Engku Besar Raja Sitti, remained on Penyengat (Hs. 369, fo. 16).

4. Angelbeek in 1825 commented that Abdullah was a greedy man who often withheld payment from traders despite previous agreements until they could wait no longer and were forced to take a price much lower than that originally set. In 1819 when the Dutch took over control of Riau's trade, the former Syahbandar received a monthly allowance from the Yang Dipertuan Muda as compensation for the loss of his position. He then assumed the title Panglima Dalam or Master of Ceremonies, but also continued to use that of Datuk Bandar, to which he was not strictly entitled (Hs. 494).

Folio 298

1. Not yet identified.

2. Not yet identified.

3. This refers to Muhammad.

4. An area in south Sumatra (see Map 2).

5. In Riau a yellow flag was reserved for the heir apparent (Ibrahim, 1868-72, I, p. 281).

Folio 300

1. Friday, 11 January 1811.

Folio 301

1. See below, fo. 401 fn. 4. He was the brother of Encik Mariam, Sultan Mahmud's third wife (Hs. 369 fo. 7).

2. Brother of Encik Mariam and Suliwatang Ibrahim (ibid.), and himself the Syahbandar of Lingga.

3. The illegitimate son of an Arab, Abd al-Rahman al-Kudsi, and a Siamese slave, he had been born at Palembang but had moved to Lingga as a young man because of his commercial interests. He became very wealthy and with Sultan Mahmud's permission, married Tunku Saripa, the daughter of another Arab, and whose mother was Sultan Mahmud's cousin or niece (Dutch = *nicht*). After her death, he married her half-sister. Angelbeek later praised Engku Sharif as a 'civilized and clever man' who had great influence on the Malay princes and recommended him as an agent for the Dutch government, while noting that he had been criticized as being greedy and self-interested (Hs. 369, fols. 26-7; Hs. 494).

4. Saturday, 14 January 1811. There was some suspicion at the time that he had been poisoned by Raja Jafar (Buckley, 1969, p. 22).

Folio 302

1. 1811/12.

2. A stockade and settlement on Lingga (Hs. 369, fols. 1-2).

Folio 303

1. Raja Husain was generally called Tengku Lung (from *sulung* = first born). His mother was Sultan Mahmud's second wife, Encik Mako, the daughter of a Bugis, Encik Jafar Daeng Maturang, from Wajo. The marriage had been formal and legally witnessed. After Sultan Mahmud's death Encik Mako married the Suliwatang of Lingga (Hs. 369, fo. 3 and Netscher, 1870, p. 246). Raja Husain had been in Pahang to marry the Bendahara's daughter. The British and Malays supported him as claimant to the Johor throne, while the Dutch and Bugis supported Raja Abd al-Rahman. Their rival claims are discussed by Wake (1966, pp. 21-2).

2. See above, fo. 297 fn. 3. A contemporary description of Riau can be found in Angelbeek (1826, pp. 5-17). The chief articles of trade were gambier, pepper, tin, carvings, woven silk, seaweed and *bêche-de-mër*.

3. Angelbeek in 1819 commented on the imposing but neglected battery defending the estuary, and on the Sultan's armed bodyguard of 200 men.

Folio 304

1. According to Angelbeek (1826, p. 45), the Sultan devoted himself entirely to religion, leaving administrative matters to the Yang Dipertuan Muda on Riau. The nobles on Lingga were also concerned with the observance of religious practices.

Folio 305

1. He was about 20 years old in 1825, and was therefore born about 1805 (Hs. 494).

2. A tenth-century Muslim law digest by Abd al-Rauf of Singkel (1615?-93) which is based on Sheikh Zakariyā al-Ansārī's *Fath al-Wahhab* (Liaw, 1976, p. 60).

3. He was a Minangkabau who had been born in Siantan. He became the most important Imam on Penyengat, where he had the patronage of Engku Puteri, Sultan Mahmud's fourth wife and Raja Haji's sister. He was also part of the literary establishment of the time; a popular Persian tale, the *History of King Zadeh Bukhtin*, bears his signature. A person of great influence, he died in 1824 (Begbie, 1967, p. 285; de Hollander, 1865, p. 321).

Folio 306

1. See Abdullah Munshi's contemporary description of bands at public celebrations in Malacca (Hill, 1970, pp. 901).

2. See above, fols. 41 fn. 1 and 297 fn. 3.

Folio 307

1. Born in 1770, he assumed the Civil and Military authority of Malacca in July 1803, with the rank of Captain. He had had a distinguished military career in

India and had participated in the British occupation of Malacca in 1795. He was promoted to Major in September 1811 and remained in Malacca until it was restored to the Dutch in September 1818 (Hill, 1970, p. 65 fn. 1; Buckley, 1969, p. 50; Gibson-Hill, 1956, p. 174 fn. 28).

2. Not yet identified.

3. Probably the Malay scribe Encik Yahya, son of Abd al-Wahid, who drew up the agreement between Farquhar and the Temenggung of Singapore on 30 January 1819 (Hill, 1970, pp. 135, 157).

4. Following the Netherlands' independence in 1815 after the Napoleonic Wars, the British Governor of Penang sent envoys to the Malay states to negotiate treaties where possible and promote British interests *vis-à-vis* the Dutch. A mission headed by Farquhar was sent to Pontianak where he found he had been outmanoeuvred by the Dutch van Boekholtz who had preceded him (Bassett, 1965, pp. 183–212).

Folio 308

1. Farquhar arrived in Riau in August 1818.

2. The contract was signed on 19 August 1818. A copy of the original document, obtained from the Sultan's archives on Lingga, is given by Netscher (1870, pp. 252 ff.). The main points were that existing British rights on Riau–Lingga would remain, regardless of privileges granted to other nations, and that the Sultan of Lingga would not renew any obsolete treaties which might obstruct British trade (Maxwell, 1924, pp. 20–1 and 30–2).

Folio 309

1. Malacca citizen and brother-in-law of the Dutch Governor Couperus, who retained his position in Malacca under the British and became a close friend of Farquhar. Earlier, in 1812, he had been sent to Bulang to prevent an impending civil war in Riau between the Bendahara and Raja Husain on the one side and the Yang Dipertuan Muda and Raja Abd al-Rahman on the other. The secret mission to Riau on behalf of the Dutch occurred in October 1818 (van der Kemp, 1900, pp. 25 and 27).

Folio 312

1. Rear-Admiral C. J. Wolterbeek and J. S. Timmerman Thyssen were the Dutch commissioners authorized to resume possession of Malacca for the Netherlands in September 1818. In November they both went to Riau to draw up a contract with the Sultan. Their mission to Riau and the subsequent contract is also mentioned in Engku Muhammad Zain al-Kudsi's work (Cod. Or. 1763 (2), published in *Surat-Surat*, 1970, pp. 302–51).

2. The *Tromp* was Wolterbeek's ship. Captain C. P. J. Elout was the son of Commissioner-General Elout and adjutant to the Governor-General. He was later to become a prominent scholar of Malay (van der Kemp, 1914). The frigate *Wilhelmjina* which had brought Koek and the advance party to Riau returned to Malacca and then came to Riau again with Wolterbeek (van der Kemp, 1900, pp. 26–7).

3. The similarity between the description which follows and that contained in Dutch sources is striking (van der Kemp, 1900, pp. 27 ff.).

Folio 313

1. The contract was concluded on 26 November 1818 and Malay and Dutch versions are given in *Surat-Surat* (1970, pp. 36–53). The main points were that Riau–Lingga would be protected by Batavia; that there would be a Dutch Resident and garrison; all Riau–Lingga ships would carry passes to be issued by the Resident; Riau and Lingga were to be the only 'free ports' in the area; the only European ships allowed elsewhere were to be Dutch; there would be a fixed price of Sp. \$10 per *pikul* for (tin from Bangka and Palembang).

2. The flag was raised on 30 November 1818 on the site of the future garrison (van der Kemp, 1900, p. 34).

3. Artillery Captain G. E. Königsdörffer who was left on Riau with a garrison of 150 men.

4. 28 November 1818.

5. There is no documentation of such a visit in European sources, although Farquhar was away from Malacca from 11 November to 23 December 1818 and there was correspondence between him and Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar over the broken treaty with the British. Raja Jafar excused himself by saying that the Dutch had threatened him with force (Marks, 1959, p. 27).

Folio 314

1. Under the terms of the Treaty of Vienna, Malacca was handed back to the Dutch on 21 September 1818.

2. In October 1818 Raffles visited Bengal to discuss the future of Bencoolen and persuaded the British authorities to allow him to secure a trade route by establishing posts in Aceh and possibly Riau or, if the Dutch were already there, on some other site. Raffles was permitted to enlist the help of his friend Farquhar (Turnbull, 1977, pp. 7–8).

Folio 315

1. He arrived on 29 January 1818, after inspecting the Karimun Islands, Farquhar's choice for an alternative settlement. On the following day five 'Preliminary Articles of Agreement' were concluded with the Temenggung on behalf of Raffles and himself (Marks, 1959, pp. 40–1; Hill, 1970, pp. 139–48).

2. According to a late nineteenth-century report, Raja Ambung was accompanied by Encik Wan Abdullah and both were paid \$500 for their assistance. It is also possible that the *orang laut* chief, Batin Sapi, accompanied them to Bulang, as another *orang laut* eyewitness claimed (Sheppard, 1973, pp. 74–6).

Folio 316

1. For other eyewitness accounts, see Hill (1970, pp. 134–45) and Sheppard (1973, pp. 74–6).

2. This second treaty, signed on 6 February by the Temenggung and Raja Husain, superseded that of 30 January made with the Temenggung alone. The second treaty gave \$5,000 a year annually to Raja Husain and \$3,000 to the Temenggung in return for the cession of Singapore to the East India Company (Turnbull, 1977, p. 10).

Folio 317

1. For a description of Singapore's early development, see Turnbull (1977, pp. 12-14). By 1821 there were about 5,000 inhabitants.

2. From this point the Dutch assumed greater control over Riau's government, not only building a fort at Tanjung Pinang but also taking over the distribution of Riau revenues, claiming that the Raja Muda was oppressing the people. For further discussion, see Netscher (1870, pp. 259-62).

3. He had married Raja Sharifah, a daughter of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali, and received a monthly allowance from the Riau revenues. According to Netscher (1870, p. 259) he was related to the royal house of Sidenreng, Sulawesi.

4. Netscher (1870, p. 262) suggests that the Yang Dipertuan Muda left because he resented Dutch interference in local government.

5. i.e. Kota Ranting.

Folio 318

1. He wrote his own account of this and other episodes (see above, fo. 312 fn. 1).

2. His wife is given earlier as Raja Sharifah (see fo. 40), daughter of Raja Ali, fifth Yang Dipertuan Muda. In 1827 they had one daughter (Hs. 369, fo. 24). The marriage mentioned here must have been a previous one.

3. These events took place on 26 December 1819. The Dutch version, very similar to that given in the *Tuhfat*, is found in Netscher (1870, pp. 259-61). However, according to Netscher it was not the removal of the crises which initiated the trouble, but rather the Dutch intention to have the Bugis put in stocks.

4. A son of Engku Karaeng Talibak (*Surat-Surat*, 1970, p. 306).

Folio 319

1. On 14 January 1820, 400 Bugis intent on avenging Daeng Ronggik's death attacked the Dutch revenue office, and later barricaded themselves in a fort on the beach at Tanjung Pinang. Dutch ships opened fire on them and put the occupants to flight (Netscher, 1870, pp. 260-1).

2. Netscher (1870, p. 261) lists twelve Dutchmen wounded, including Resident Königsdörffer, and seven killed. The Bugis lost eighty men.

3. Not yet identified. Possibly a son of Sultan Husain (Trocki, 1979, p. 61).

Folio 320

1. Engku Puteri Raja Hamidah, Sultan Mahmud's fourth wife, was one of the most influential nobles in Riau and also one of the wealthiest, enjoying the income from several islands. She had only one daughter by her marriage to Sultan Mahmud and the child died young. Begbie (1967, p. 80) later described her as a 'fine, intelligent old lady'. She was at this time in possession of the Johor regalia, necessary for the installation of a legitimate successor to Sultan Mahmud. It was in the interests of both Dutch and Bugis leaders that she did not leave Riau. According to Engku Sayid's own account, not only Engku Puteri but all the Bugis inhabitants of Penyengat had made ready to sail to Singapore, fearing reprisals for Arung Belawah's rebellion. Engku Sayid informed the Dutch and it was later he and Raja Ahmad, using an unloaded pistol, who were responsible for persuading Engku Puteri and the other Bugis to return (*Surat-Surat*, 1970, pp. 310-12).

Folio 321

1. A description of the organization of piracy in the Lingga area is given by Logan (1849, pp. 585-6). See also fo. 338.

2. 1820/1. Upset at not being officially installed as Sultan, Abd al-Rahman withdrew to Trengganu.

3. Sultan Ahmad (1808-18).

Folio 322

1. Begbie calls her 'Tuankoo Suanheet' (Tengku Su Nik?) and says that she died in childbirth (Begbie, 1967, p. 80; Misbaha, 1968, Appendix).

2. Tengku Lebar, also called Tengku Antiah (Tengku Tih), had the title Tengku Besar Perempuan: She was the daughter of Sultan Ahmad of Trengganu and a Riau Chinese whose father, according to legend, had come to Trengganu as leader of a *mendora* group. Their marriage took place in 1822 and Sultan Mahmud was born in 1823. Tengku Lebar was also a cousin or niece (Dutch = *nicht*) of Raja Maimunah, sister of Raja Akil, ruler of Sukadana and Matan (Hs. 369, fo. 10; Hs. 115; Sheppard, 1949, p. 26).

3. Born in September 1823 (Hs. 369, fo. 10).

4. 1822/3. The purpose of this embassy was to discuss the problem of piracy in the archipelago and the installation of Raja Abd al-Rahman as Sultan.

Folio 323

1. The Arab section of Batavia, the present-day Jakarta suburb of Krukut.

2. Muhammad Ching Saidullah, Captain of the West Javanese in Batavia until 1827 and also employed as a copyist of Malay manuscripts at the Bureau of Native Affairs. He held the title 'Master of Native Ceremonies' in the Dutch civil service and in this capacity would have attended the Riau embassy (Voorhoeve, 1964, p. 260; *Almanak*, 1822, n.p.).

3. In 1822 Christiaan van Angelbeek was appointed Government Translator and head of the Bureau of Native Affairs, succeeding C. P. J. Elout. At the beginning of 1825 the Governor-General sent him to Riau and Singapore in connection with the 1824 Treaty and Anglo-Dutch co-operation on piracy.

4. Godart Alexander Gerard Philip Baron van der Capellan had originally come to the Indies to effect the take-over of Dutch possessions from the British in 1816. He stayed on after this to assume the post of Governor-General, which he held until 1825 when his financial administration was considered unsatisfactory. He personally placed great importance on Dutch possession of Riau (Moor, 1837, p. 143).

Folio 324

1. A guardpost south of the fort Rijswijk, which was demolished in 1829. In Dutch the post was known as the 'Apenwacht'; hence the Malay translation Jaga Monyet, the Monkey on Guard (de Haan, 1922, I, p. 392).

2. P. P. Roorda van Eysinga went to Batavia in 1819 in the army but left in 1820 to study several Asian languages, including Malay. In 1822 he was appointed one of the first officers in the Bureau of Native Affairs and in 1825 succeeded van Angelbeek as Government Translator (*ENI*, 1921, p. 463). In later years he was

also responsible for the publication of one of Raja Ali Haji's works, 'Syair Sultan Abd al-Muluk' (1847, pp. 285-526). This article also includes an exchange of letters between van Eysinga and Raja Ali Haji.

3. Hendrik Merkus de Kock, Lieut.-General and Lieut.-Governor, who had been sent to crush the uprising of Sultan Badar of Palembang in 1821. For Malay accounts of this campaign, see Woelders (1975).

Folio 325

1. The *Waterlooplein*, the present-day Lapangan Banteng, where every Sunday afternoon military band music was played and Batavia society congregated in carriages and finery (de Haan, 1922, I, p. 415).

2. Perhaps a French horn.

3. Presumably a tambourine.

4. A triangle.

Folio 327

1. Batavia was notorious for its unhealthy climate, having been built on the site of an old marsh.

2. *Bogor* is Malay for a native palm. This was the original name of Buitenzorg, where the Governor-General lived. The climate there is cooler and was considered more healthy. In 1819 van der Capellan had made additions to the residence which was destroyed in 1834 by an earthquake (*ENI*, I, p. 298).

3. Edelheer H. W. Muntinghe (1773-1827), a Member of the Council of the Indies, who in 1818 had prepared an extensive report on piracy.

Folio 328

1. Presumably Eduard van Angelbeek, Christiaan's brother. In 1823 he had been sent to Malacca as secretary to van Carnbee and Wappers Melis, the Commissioners examining British activities in the Malay peninsula (Netscher, 1870, p. 274).

2. The Dutch Governor of Malacca, who obtained the Johor installation regalia from Engku Puteri on 13 October 1822. Both Dutch and English sources mention the use of force, which is apparently related to the episode mentioned by Begbie, when a body of troops with rifles loaded was marched into the audience hall (Hill, 1970, pp. 137 and 142; Hs. 369, fo. 9; Begbie, 1967, p. 81).

3. Now that the regalia was available, the installation could be carried out. According to Begbie (1967, pp. 80-1), Abd al-Rahman had threatened to abdicate if his position was not secured and this prompted Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar to seek help from Batavia.

Folio 329

1. The brother of Encik Kaluk (see fo. 331).

2. At the entrance to the Persian Gulf.

3. See above, fo. 31 fn. 1. After the death of her husband, Sultan Ibrahim of Selangor in 1826, she returned to Penyengat (Hs. 369, fo. 14).

Folio 330

1. A member of the al-Sakkaf family from Hadramaut, which had originally settled in Singapore and later became one of the wealthiest families in Singapore (see below fols. 390 fn. 4 and 417; van den Berg, 1886, p. 197; Wright and Cartwright, 1908, pp. 705–12). Engku Sayid mentions that Habib Sheikh had helped prevent Engku Puteri leaving for Singapore (*Surat-Surat*, 1970, p. 312 and above, fo. 320 fn. 1).

2. L. C. van Ranzouw succeeded Königsdörffer as Resident of Riau in 1821 and remained until 1826.

Folio 331

1. The daughter of Sultan Salih al-Din of Selangor, she had married Sayid Muhammad Jambul (see fo. 41).

2. J. Verveer, Naval Captain second class (*Almanak*, 1822, p. 90).

3. Read as C. Wuijster, D. J. de Man and J. Boerhaven, all lieutenants second class (*Almanak*, 1822, p. 90).

4. *jongheer* = young Dutchman of noble blood.

5. According to Engku Sayid's account, they left Riau on 5 Muharram 1239 (11 September 1823). Engku Sayid remained in Riau as Raja Jafar's deputy (*Surat-Surat*, 1970, p. 320).

6. He had married Raja Jafar's daughter Raja Mariam (see above, fo. 32 fn. 2).

Folio 333

1. They left on 21 October 1823 (*Surat-Surat*, 1970, p. 321).

Folio 334

1. The name of the Dutch harbour master in Riau at the time was Borgen (Ibrahim, 1868–72, I, p. 21).

2. On 3 November 1823 (*Surat-Surat*, 1970, p. 322 and Netscher, 1870, p. 277).

3. The ship was the frigate *Eurydice* and according to Engku Sayid it arrived on 6 November 1823. The Commissioners were Melvill van Carnbee and Wappers Melis (as above, fo. 334 fn. 2).

4. Despite the fact that the Malay chiefs in Johor had ignored British instructions and left the Union Jack flying, the Riau flag was also raised there in November 1823. The British flag was finally lowered when the British authorities managed to persuade the Johor chiefs that they were in no way bound to maintain the authority of the Temenggung and the Sultan outside Singapore.

Folio 335

1. Or Sayid Abdullah? See fo. 338.

Folio 336

1. i.e. 27 November 1823. Netscher (1870, pp. 278 ff.) gives a full description of the occasion.

Folio 337

1. This incident, mentioned earlier (see fo. 334) is repeated here probably to maintain continuity in the narrative.

Folio 338

1. Towards the end of 1823 negotiations to this effect began in London.
2. On Sumatra's east coast, south of Jambi (see Map 2).
3. The island of Galang, south-east of Tanjung Pinang, had about 1,300 *orang laut* inhabitants and was notorious as a centre for piracy. Moroh and Sugi are islands east of Kundur. Moroh had about 560 people, Sugi about 1,600 while the Pekaka people on Bulang numbered about 1,050. The inhabitants of all these islands were known as pirates although they also carried out some fishing (Begbie, 1967, pp. 270-2 and Andaya, 1975, p. 47).
4. The Dempu Straits between Galang and Abang Besar in the Riau-Lingga Archipelago (see Map 3). Although the Malay here implies more than one Chief, contemporary European records mention only one specific Penghulu Hamba Raja (Chief of the King's Vassals). He and his brother, the Orang Kaya Lingga, ruled over the *orang laut* in the Lingga area. Before 1787 the holders of these positions had lived at Daik on Lingga, but Sultan Mahmud had given Mapur (off Bintan's east coast) to them. These offices were not inherited and were given at the ruler's discretion. Angelbeek's report of 1825 notes that the then Orang Kaya of Lingga was an opium addict and left most of the government of the *orang laut* to his brother. Raja Lung of Bulang was the head of the *orang laut* in Galang, Bulang, and the islands near the Malacca Straits. These Malay chiefs supplied ammunition and provisions to Malay captains who actually commanded the pirating expeditions. After a successful raid the profits were shared among the various chiefs with a large percentage allotted to the Sultan (Hs. 494; Logan, 1849, pp. 634-5).
5. According to his own account, he went first to Belitung to interview chiefs there about piracy and then set sail for Batavia towards the end of April (*Surat-Surat*, 1970, pp. 335-42).

Folio 339

1. Christiaan van Angelbeek was chosen by the Governor-General to deliver the letter to Sultan Abd al-Rahman informing him of the division of his kingdom under the terms of the 1824 Anglo-Dutch Treaty. He was to assure the Sultan that he and the Yang Dipertuan Muda would receive financial compensation for any losses they might suffer. It was after this visit that he published his detailed description of Lingga (Angelbeek, 1826). On the return journey he became seriously ill and died (*Biografisch Woordenboek*, p. 147).

2. The relationship was complicated. Abd al-Rahman's grandmother, Maimunah, was a daughter of Daeng Parani and Tengku Tengah, daughter of Sultan Abd al-Jalil. Abd al-Jalil's third daughter, Tengku Mandak, married Daeng Cellak, Raja Jafar's grandfather. Temenggung Abd al-Rahman had married Engku Wuk, daughter of Raja Buntit and thus Raja Jafar's cousin.

Folio 340

1. Duyung and Pintu are islands in the Temiang group (north of Lingga, see Map 3), so it is possible all these islands are in the Temiang area which was under the control of its own chief (*batin*) and had about 1,100 inhabitants.

2. Under Article 12 of the 1824 Treaty there was to be no British settlement on the Karimun Islands because they had been transferred to the Sultan of Lingga's control. However, Sultan Husain of Singapore still considered the Karimuns as his, because they had traditionally formed part of the Temenggung's fief. At about this time some Chinese found small quantities of tin there and an Englishman received permission from Sultan Husain to work the deposits (Buckley, 1969, pp. 200-1).

3. One of the conditions that an intending pilgrim should fulfil is to have sufficient means for the journey to Mecca and back (Vredembregt, 1962, p. 92). It is desirable that the pilgrim earn at least part of the money for his expenses.

Folio 341

1. C. P. J. Elout, Resident of Riau from 1826-30 (see above, fo. 312 fn. 2). In 1820 he was appointed Secretary of the Department of Native Affairs and in 1824 he participated in negotiations concerning the Anglo-Dutch Treaty. He was to be an influential figure in early Dutch studies of Indonesian languages, especially Malay. A full account of his career is given by van der Kemp (1914).

2. H. J. Domis, Acting Resident 1820-2; Resident, 1822-8 (Hageman, 1864, p. 236).

3. The Dutch Resident is speaking *pasar Melayu* (bazaar Malay). To a Malay this would not have been an acceptable way of addressing a prince.

4. Instituted by Governor-General Herman Daendels (1808-11).

Folio 343

1. On Java's north coast (see Map 1).

2. On Java's north coast (see Map 1).

3. Not yet identified. The Resident of Japara-Juana in 1823-7 was D. W. Pinket van Haak (Hageman, 1864, p. 238).

Folio 344

1. Because Riau's trade had suffered with the departure of Arung Belawah and his Bugis following, the Dutch succeeded in luring him back in 1824 with a monthly pension (Netscher, 1870, p. 261).

2. The old copper guilder of 100 doits (Wilkinson, 1959, II, p. 990).

Folio 345

1. Not yet identified.

Folio 346

1. Sultan Ahmad-Taj al-Din, who had fled to Penang when Siam invaded Kedah in 1821 (Bonney, 1971, pp. 156-67).

Folio 347

1. 5 March 1828.

2. Professional pilgrim guides (Vredembregt, 1962, p. 125, fn. 105).

3. See above, fo. 41 fn. 2.

4. The *ihram* is worn by all pilgrims entering Mecca. It consists of two pieces, a sheet reaching from the navel to the knee and another thrown around the body partly covering the left shoulder, back and chest, and knotted on the right side. The law decrees that the garment should be white and the wearer bareheaded and shoeless, although sandals may be worn.

5. The Temple building in the centre of the Mecca mosque, in the north-east wall of which is embedded the Black Stone of ancient origin whose cult was adopted into Islam (*Shorter Enc. of Islam*, 1961, pp. 191-8). The pilgrim circumambulates with his left shoulder closest to the wall, kissing or waving to the Black Stone. The present Ka'ba is said to have been built by the prophets Abraham and Ishmael.

6. These hills are not far from the Mecca mosque. The act, it is said, symbolizes Hagar's search for water after Abraham had sent her away (*Shorter Enc. of Islam*, 1961, pp. 507-8).

7. Each school of Islamic law, of which the Syafi'i is one, had its own *mufti* or expert in cannon law who delivered formal legal opinions based on precedent.

8. The fasting month. In 1827 this went from 29 March to 28 April.

9. In 1827 Sharif Yahya ibn Sarur had been excluded by Muhammad Ali (ruling from Egypt for the Turks) from government in Mecca and Shambur ibn Mubarak had been installed instead. Taking his revenge in the traditional manner of the Sharifs, Yahya had stabbed Shambur one evening in the Holy Mosque (Mesjid al-Haram) which houses the Ka'ba. He then went north and joined the Harb Bedouins to try and unite them against the Pashas (Snouck Hurgronje, 1889, I, p. 157).

10. 1808-39.

11. 1811-48.

12. A rocky pass about 96 km. south of Mecca, site of the first great battle of Islam in A.D. 623 when 1,000 Meccans were defeated by 313 Muslims.

Folio 348

1. Pilgrim caravans travelled twice a year to Medina.

2. Jawi was a term used in the Middle East denoting the whole area from Siam and Malacca to New Guinea (Snouck Hurgronje, 1931, p. 215).

3. The oldest and first Islamic cemetery of Medina. The Prophet's daughters, his son Ibrahim, his wives and his descendants (except Husain) are all buried there. It is a sacred place which it is considered an act of piety to visit (*Enc. of Islam*, I, 1960, p. 957). The title of 'Companions' (*Ṣahāba*) is given to the Prophet's early associates (*Shorter Enc. of Islam*, p. 488).

4. The site of the second great battle of Islam in A.D. 624-5. The Muslims were defeated by the Mecca Kuraisih, and Muhammad, who had been injured by a stone, was taken to a cave at the top of Mount Uhud. His uncle, Hamzah, was killed in the battle by an Ethiopian soldier and was buried there. All other Muslims killed in the battle were buried where they fell. It is another of the places pilgrims visit (Esin, 1963, p. 106).

Folio 349

1. On 8-9 Zuhijjah the pilgrims go to the plain of Arafat and make a halt (*wukuf*) there. The plain of Arafat is where Adam and Eve met after the Fall, and

where humanity will assemble on the Day of Judgement (*Shorter Enc. of Islam*, 1961, p. 356; Snouck Hurgronje, 1923, pp. 85 ff.).

2. On 10 Zulhijjah the pilgrims go to the valley of Mina where each throws seven small stones at one of the three *jumrat* or stone pillars, symbolizing Abraham stoning away Satan. This signifies the end of the pilgrimage proper (*Shorter Enc. of Islam*, 1961, p. 380; Snouck Hurgronje, 1923, p. 105).

3. In 1826 (Trocki, 1979, p. 60).

4. A group of islands due west of Bulang in the Combot Straits.

Folio 350.

1. There were already about seventy Malays and Chinese engaged in tin-mining there by October 1825 (Trocki, 1979, p. 62, fn. 3).

2. The Dutch had instituted the adoption of this flag for Riau in 1818. The inclusion of the white square on the left hand side of the formerly all-black flag was intended to denote that Riau was now a vassal state (*leenrijk*).

3. In September 1827 when Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar went to the Karimun Islands to take possession, he was resisted by the men of Sultan Husain who worked there. The English maintained they could not control Husain's actions outside Singapore, while the Dutch asserted they had to maintain their territory as delineated in 1824. In October, reinforced by a Dutch ship and troops, the Karimun Islands were taken for Riau-Lingga (Tarling, 1969, pp. 23-8; Buckley, 1969, pp. 200-1).

Folio 351

1. The *Castor* (Netscher, 1870, p. 287).

2. Petta is a form of Puatta, the Bugis for 'our lord' (Dr Noorduyn, pers. comm., June 1972).

Folio 352

1. The *Tuhfat's* Rapih has been corrected to Salih, as below.

2. Probably Encik Engku Raja Sulaiman, son-in-law of Raja Haji. Raja Sulaiman was the son of Arung Lenga and Raja Aminah, daughter of Daeng Cellak. He had been born about 1767 and had already died when van Ranzouw wrote his report (KA 3655 OB 1789, Malacca to Batavia, 16 March 1787, fo. 393; Hs. 369, fo. 17 and fo. 30).

Folio 354

1. Sultan Husain had four wives; Tengku Puan, daughter of Engku Muda of Bulang; Encik Wan Esa, sister of Bendahara Tun Ali of Pahang (1806-57); Encik Wuk (non-royal); and Tengku Purbu (Hs. 369, fols. 7-8 and Wake, 1966, p. 349).

Folio 355

1. In Mecca slaves from Abyssinia and neighbouring countries were considered more refined, intelligent, and better educated than other African groups. In Mecca black slaves, known as Nubians, were employed in the hardest work. A contemporary account mentions that Raja Ahmad, like other Malay nobles, kept slaves (Logan, 1848, p. 360; Snouck Hurgronje, 1931, pp. 11, 13).

Folio 356

1. Possibly guinees, a kind of cloth from the Guinea coast.
2. The *zamzam* well in Mecca is said to have sprung up at the feet of Ishmael, son of Abraham and Hagar, as the latter was searching for water in the desert. The water itself is slightly brackish.
3. Raja Muhammad, the Tengku Besar, was already married to the daughter of the ruler of Trengganu (see fo. 322).
4. It appears that Engku Sayid was playing a double role. According to a letter dated 1827, he had offered his services to Sultan Husain of Singapore (Netscher, 1870, p. 286).

Folio 357

1. 28 October 1830. The new contract between the Dutch and Riau-Lingga, following after the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824, superseded the earlier one of 1818. C. P. J. Elout was responsible for drawing up the new agreement, Malay and Dutch versions of which are found in *Surat-Surat* (1970, pp. 69-87).
2. Johannes Count van den Bosch, Governor-General, 1830-3.
3. Cornets de Groot succeeded Elout as Resident of Riau in 1830.

Folio 358

1. Wednesday, 22 July 1829.

Folio 359

1. The story of their journey and visit to Lingga is recorded in a poem, *Kisah-nya Engku Puteri* (The Story of Engku Puteri), Cod. Or. 1761, which was composed by Raja Ahmad. According to the poem, the party set out from Riau on 26 February 1831.
2. She returned on 16 May 1831 (Cod. Or. 1761).
3. She died in 1831 (Hs. 369, fols. 3-4).

Folio 360

1. Surah 30, the section of the Koran read to the dying.

There is an error in the pagination of Maxwell's MS. of the Tuhfat at this point. The numbering jumps from p. 360 to p. 391. There is no disruption to the sense of the text.

Folio 391

1. Sunday, 18 December 1831. According to Netscher (1870, p. 294) he was aged 57 or 58.
2. This was the marriage between Raja Cik and Daeng Abdullah (see above, fo. 37 fn. 7).

Folio 393

1. 13 August 1832. Netscher (1870, p. 294) gives 9 August and says that he was 55 or 56 years old.

2. 1833/4. The oath of loyalty between the new ruler and the Yang Dipertuan Muda was made on 29 March 1834 (Netscher, 1870, p. 294 and von de Wall MS. 62, 1).

3. The Inuk River is in the Retih area opposite Singkep on Sumatra's east coast (see Map 2). Illanun (a general Malay term for Sulu pirates) had settled here and it became the base for Illanun raids on nearby islands (see above, fo. 228 fn. 2 and Warren, 1975, pp. 260-1).

4. The distinction between the *orang laut* pirates and the Illanun has been discussed by Tarling (1963, pp. 39-40). The *orang laut* collected sea products between February and April, selling them to their chiefs at fixed low prices. In June, supported by capital lent by their chiefs at 50 per cent interest, they cruised as pirates, returning to their communities by October. The Illanun were equipped with large boats, rowed by slaves and had heavy artillery. They came southwards to raid for slaves with the monsoons in January and February. Their raiding patterns are examined in detail in Warren (1975, *passim*).

Folio 394

1. Buaya and Bakung are islands to the north-west of Lingga (see Map 3).

2. A narrow passage separating the northern extremity of Lingga from the south-eastern tip of Bakung (see Map 3). Navigation requires local knowledge.

3. The passage separating Pintu from Temiang (see Map 3, north of Lingga).

Folio 395

1. The *Tuhfat's* Kaman has here been corrected to Raman. See fo. 265.

2. In February 1834 Riau sent several vessels supported by three Dutch cruisers to attack pirates north of the Inderagiri River. Eight of their leaders were taken prisoner. Three were later executed and the others were exiled to Java and sentenced to hard labour, as the *Tuhfat* describes (*Parliamentary Papers*, 1851, p. 94).

3. There were about sixty Illanun houses in Retih, with five large *perahu* and ten smaller ones, and about 1,000 men capable of bearing arms (Logan, 1849, p. 586; Warren, 1975, p. 265).

Folio 397

1. When Sultan Abd al-Rahman of Trengganu, brother of Sultan Ahmad (died 1826, father-in-law of Sultan Muhammad of Lingga) died in 1831, the Trengganu succession was disputed. The unsuccessful claimant, Umar, retired to Lingga where he stayed with his brother-in-law, Sultan Muhammad. In 1832, in an effort to help Umar, Sultan Muhammad began to prepare an armed expedition to seize the Trengganu throne. However, the Resident of Riau prevented this because the mainland was in the British sphere of influence (Netscher, 1870, pp. 288-9 and Sheppard, 1949, pp. 25-8).

Folio 399

1. On the east coast of the Malay peninsula (see Map 1).

2. Sultan Muhammad went to Pahang later, as a letter from him dated 20 July 1834 was written to the Riau court from the Pahang estuary, asking for an escort back to Riau (Meursinge, 1847, p. 27).

Folio 400

1. Sultan Muhammad wanted to marry his son, Raja Mahmud, to the daughter of Tengku Wuk of Kemaman, but the prospective groom flatly refused (Hs. 558, fo. 121).

Folio 401

1. As Goldman, the Resident of Riau, remarked, the presence of the Bendahara at this installation ceremony in 1834 showed how unrealistic the 1824 division was in Malay terms (Hs. 558, fo. 94).

2. 1835/6.

3. In June 1835 Captain Koopman in the *Diana* was sent to Riau to collect the Dutch Resident and accompany him to Lingga to warn the Sultan of the serious consequences if he continued to support the piracy of his chiefs. The Sultan replied that he did not have the means to combat piracy and requested assistance from the Dutch government. In a report of October 1835 Resident de Groot claimed that the Sultan could destroy the pirate nests but realized that by so doing he would lose a major source of income (Netscher, 1870, p. 262; *Parliamentary Papers*, 1851, p. 97).

4. See above, fo. 297 fn. 4 and fols. 300, 331, 350, 352, 353, 354. Haji Ibrahim held the post of Suliwatang and was described by Netscher (1854, p. 158) as diligent, cultivated and clever. During the 1850s he served as private secretary to successive Yang Dipertuan Mudas. He seems to have worked closely with H. von de Wall as an informant (together with Raja Ali Haji) in preparing a Malay dictionary, as a copyist, and as co-author of a collection of *pantun* and of *Tjakap² Rampai² Bahasa Malajoe Djohor* (Ibrahim, 1868-72). In 1866 he wrote a poem, the *Syair Hikayat Sayidi Ibrahim ibn Khasib Sultan Mesir* (Tobias, 1861, pp. 88 and 100; Jusuf, 1970a, p. 17 and van Ronkel, 1909, p. 462; de Hollander, 1882, II, p. 312).

Folio 402

1. On Java's north coast (see Map 1).

2. Jean Chrétien Baud, Governor-General, 1833-6.

3. In Central Java (see Map 1).

4. D. H. Kolff had written an extensive report on piracy in 1831. In April 1836, as adjutant to the Governor-General, he was sent to Lingga with the Resident of Riau to advise the Sultan on how he could improve his control over the movements of his subjects (Warren, 1975, p. 272; Netscher, 1854, p. 263).

5. C. F. Goldman succeeded Cornets de Groot as Resident of Riau in 1836 and left in 1839.

6. The chiefs on Galang, Temiang, Moroh, Sugi, Balang, Pekaka (Bulang), Sekana, and Mapur were all paid regular salaries and given the responsibility of checking all the vessels of their followers to ensure they could not be used for piracy (Netscher, 1854, pp. 264-5 and *Parliamentary Papers*, 1851, p. 99).

Folio 403

1. In July 1836 Kolff and Goldman came to an agreement with the Sultan concerning piracy. All Riau and Lingga ships, whatever their business, were to carry passes; men appointed by the Sultan were to travel with groups of *perahu* as

superintendents; all fishing boats were to fly the black and white Riau flag. The Sultan was granted a tax concession to help pay for the implementation of these measures (Netscher, 1870, pp. 295-6 and *Parliamentary Papers*, 1851, p. 99).

Folio 404

1. Logan, for instance, mentions the release of 200 Javanese slaves in the Riau area in 1837 (1850, p. 619).

2. Sir Samuel George Bonham, Acting-Governor of Singapore from January to April 1834 and October 1834 to June 1835. In 1836 he was Commissioner for the suppression of piracy and was Governor of the Straits Settlements from December 1836 to January 1843.

3. Probably a reference to the petition sent by European merchants of Singapore to the Governor-General and King in Council in 1835. HMS *Wolf* and the Company ship *Diana* were sent to patrol the Singapore Straits and in particular to watch for the people of Daeng Ibrahim, Temenggung Abd al-Rahman's heir (Turnbull, 1977, pp. 41-2, 51).

4. It had anchored off Riau on 25 June 1836. The *Andromache* was commanded by Captain Chads and disguised as a native merchant ship to evade notice (Buckley, 1969, p. 279).

5. Chads attacked Galang in June 1836, destroying three villages and many *perahu* (Tarling, 1963, pp. 82-3).

6. Chads had sought Resident Goldman's co-operation in the attack on Galang but the latter had been unable to participate in a campaign of this nature without instructions from Batavia. Goldman also opposed Chads' proposal that he visit Lingga and talk to the Sultan. When Goldman learned that Galang had been attacked, he sent the letter of protest referred to in the *Tuhfat* and reiterated that he hoped Chads would not proceed to Lingga (Tarling, 1963, pp. 85-6). Haji Ibrahim's role as envoy is confirmed by Hs. 558 (fo. 57).

Folio 405

1. In June 1836 the Sultan of Lingga had fitted out twenty ships to patrol against piracy (Hs. 558, fo. 57).

2. Narrow straits south of Galang (see Map 3, key 10).

Folio 406

1. There was considerable fear on Riau at the time that the British might make a landing (Hs. 558, fo. 57).

2. See Map 3, key 8.

3. i.e. the widow of Sultan Abd al-Rahman.

4. i.e. the widows of Sultan Mahmud, Karaeng Talibak, and Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar.

Folio 407

1. British and Dutch records concerning this event differ slightly. The Riau Resident reported that the *Raleigh* arrived in Lingga waters on 28 July 1836. While the Sultan was in Riau in August a delegation from the ship went ashore at Lingga and gave the Yang Dipertuan Muda's brother a letter accusing the Sultan of equip-

ping pirate ships on Lingga (Hs. 558, fols. 68–70). According to British records, after the Galang episode Chads and Bonham decided to send a letter to the Sultan of Lingga asking him to adopt a pass system as an anti-piracy measure. Their courier was Captain Quin in the *Raleigh*, who was also given a letter for Resident Goldman outlining British intentions. Quin was well-received in Lingga and was told that British merchants would be welcome, since the Sultan was independent of the Dutch and desired British friendship. Because of assurances given to Quin that piracy would be suppressed, the British began to look on the Sultan more favourably (Tarling, 1963, pp. 86–9).

2. According to Dutch records, Haji Ibrahim and Encik Syams al-Din were already in Batavia during the *Raleigh's* visit (Hs. 558, fo. 80).

Folio 408

1. Dominique J. de Eerens, Governor-General, 1836–40.

2. A residency south of Semarang (see Map 1).

3. On 10 June 1837 Resident Goldman and Major Kolff, Colonel of Marines, held a meeting in which the Sultan agreed to limit the number of people in a *perahu* to ten, to insist that all carried passes, and to co-operate with Dutch and British warships. The Dutch government would punish anybody convicted of piracy and all island chiefs would receive a monthly allowance (Hs. 558, fo. 97; Netscher, 1870, p. 297).

Folio 409

1. On 30 July 1837 the Sultan wrote to Goldman telling of his intention to visit Singapore and of the proposed marriage. Despite the Resident's objections, Sultan Mahmud left two days later. Goldman wrote privately to Governor Bonham telling him of the ruler's plans (Hs. 558, fo. 121).

2. Tengku Muhammad, generally called Tengku Besar Hitam, was the eldest son of Sultan Husain of Singapore. He married Temenggung Abd al-Rahman's daughter, Encik Wan Esah, and Raja Maimunah was born of this marriage. The Tengku Besar had died in Singapore in December 1825 (Hs. 369, fo. 9). The marriage between Sultan Mahmud and Raja Maimunah is mentioned in Kl. 138, fo. 2.

3. In 1834 Mahmud had been officially proclaimed Sultan by his doting father (see fo. 401), and since then Sultan Muhammad had acted as Regent.

4. 23 July–21 August 1838.

5. As a result of an expansionist Dutch policy, Inderagiri was taken over on 26 September 1838 (the overlord, Raja Said, had married a sister of the deceased Yang Dipertuan Muda of Riau, Raja Jafar). In 1841, because of arguments against expansion, Batavia withdrew the Inderagiri post. (*ENI*, II, p. 88; Reid, 1969, p. 20).

6. Raja Muhammad, son of Sultan Mansur Syah. He was known as *pelat* (= variation in speech due to dialect) or *telur* (foreign accent) because of a speech impediment. Sultan Mansur died on 8 March 1837 and Raja Muhammad, generally considered unintelligent, succeeded. In 1839 Umar returned from Lingga and with the support of the Lingga Sultan, deposed Raja Muhammad (Hs. 115; Sheppard, 1949, pp. 25–8).

Folio 410

1. This attack is said to have been made at noon while the men of Kuala Trengganu were away fishing. At the third attempt, Raja Umar drove his cousin out of the latter's stronghold. The deposed ruler fled first to Dungun and then to Besut before finding refuge in Kelantan, where he later died. Raja Umar's date of accession is given as 4 November 1839 (Sheppard, 1949, p. 27; Misbaha, 1968, Appendix B).

2. Raja Antial, daughter of Raja Buntit, daughter of Raja Haji (see fo. 30).

3. *Sarf nahw* = Arabic grammar, since its two parts are *şarf* (inflection) and *nahw* (syntax), which are treated in separate books. For all Islamic religious education a thorough knowledge of Arabic grammar is required. For Arabic grammars used in Indonesia, see Drewes (1971, pp. 66-7).

4. Al-Husain bin Ali al-Zawzani (died 1093) is the author of the *Kitab al-Masadir* (*The Book of Roots*). See Brockelmann (1943, Vol. I, 288; S.I., p. 105).

5. *Al-'Awamil al-mi'a* (*Centum Regentes*), composed by al-Jurjani (died 1073) (Brockelmann, 1943, Vol. I, p. 287; S.I., p. 503). In Arabic grammar the (alleged) causes of the endings by which cases of substantives and verbal moods are distinguished are called *'awamil* (*regentes*). The author of the *'Awamil* sums up a hundred of these in his book, which like many others of the same genre is intended for memorizing (Drewes, 1971, p. 69).

6. *Al-Muqaddima al-Ājurrūmiyya*. It is a very concise grammar by the Moroccan grammarian Muhammad bin al-Şanhāji ibn Ājurrūm (1273-1323). Consisting of only a few pages, it sets out the system of grammatical analysis. It is easy to memorize and is still popular in all Arabic-speaking countries. With the *Alfiyya* it was one of the authorized handbooks of higher grammar (*Enc. of Islam*, III, 1971, p. 697; Drewes, 1971, p. 69; Snouck Hurgronje, 1931, p. 192; Brockelmann, 1949, Vol. II, p. 237; S.II., p. 332).

7. *The Mother of Proofs*, composed by al-Sanūsi (died in 1486) and therefore sometimes known as *al-Sanūsīya*. For a translation, see Awang (1972, pp. 157-68).

8. *The Jewel of Dogmatics*, a rhymed confession of faith by Ibrahim bin Ibrahim bin Hasan al-Lakani (died 1041).

9. *The Beginning of Guidance*, widely known in Indonesia, an abridgement of *Ihyā' ulūm al-dīn* (*The Revivification of the Sciences of Religion*), the principal work of the great Persian theologian Abu Hamid al-Ghazālī (died 1111).

10. *The Way of the Pious*, also by al-Ghazālī.

11. A didactic poem of about 1,000 verses (*alf* = 1,000) by Muhammad bin Abd Allāh ibn Mālik al-Tā'i (died 1274). See Drewes (1971, p. 68), and Brockelmann (1943, Vol. I, p. 298; S.II., p. 521).

12. 'Allah's mosque', the mosque around the Ka'ba.

Folio 411

1. There is a place of this name at Aru Bay on Sumatra's east coast, but it seems rather far afield in this context.

2. Thursday, 22 July 1841. Netscher (1870, p. 298) says that Sultan Muhammad died on 20 July 1841 at the age of 38.

Folio 412

1. See fo. 13.
2. More commonly called Tun Ibrahim, he was born on Bulang in 1811. He was taken to Singapore at the age of 8 and here he later became friendly with Europeans and familiar with European customs.

Folio 413

1. When Temenggung Abd al-Rahman died in 1825, Tun Ibrahim's elder brother, Abdullah, became chief but he was never installed because of periodic bouts of insanity. In 1833-4 Ibrahim superseded Abdullah as chief and was installed as Temenggung in 1841. Ibrahim died in 1862 (Wake, 1967, p. 62).
2. A. L. Andriess, Resident of Riau, 1839-48.

Folio 414

1. When he was only 15 Sultan Mahmud's behaviour had attracted Dutch attention because of his love of hunting and his keeping of dogs, despite Muslim injunctions (Hs. 115). Netscher, who met Sultan Mahmud several times, described him as intelligent but without sufficient experience to look after his own interests and those of his kingdom. In Singapore he fell prey to a group of unscrupulous Europeans and other people who pandered to his vanity and love of pleasure, encouraging him to spend his money on parties and expensive trifles. He also had a Eurasian mistress and even had a son by her (Netscher, 1870, p. 299; Willer, 1857, fo. 6).
2. For example in 1849 Sultan Mahmud, when told that European kings had no time for flying kites (popular among Malays) replied, 'They are right, but I must do something to pass the time' (Bijdrage, 1853, p. 413).

Folio 415

1. In 1857 the nobles listed three reasons for their opposition to Sultan Mahmud; he had defied the Dutch government and ignored Article 3 of the 1830 treaty, which made Riau a vassal state within the Netherlands Indies; he had consistently refused to take advice and had failed to observe the Malay-Bugis oath of loyalty; he ignored all Islamic injunctions, going so far as to marry a wife of his deceased father (i.e., his stepmother) in 1842. This had never been reported to the Government because, the nobles said, they were afraid of trouble (Raja Abdullah to Res. of Riau, 7 October 1857, V, 9 February 1858 N145/2). However, his attempt to have the position of Yang Dipertuan Muda abolished (see fo. 418) was probably the deciding issue.
2. The author of the *Sabil al-Muhtadin* (Way of the Guided). See also al-Attas (1963, p. 58).

Folio 416

1. Not yet identified.
2. See above, fo. 276 fn. 1. Anchorage is available to the north (*Archipelago Pilot*, 1954, IV, pp. 217-18).

Folio 417

1. The vessel *Fairy Queen*, which was in such poor condition when it was bought that it had to be rowed to Lingga and later, in 1854, had to be towed to

the laying of the foundation stone of the Raffles lighthouse. The rupiah price quoted converts to about £3,600 stg. (Buckley, 1969, p. 520; Netscher, 1870, p. 299). Sultan Mahmud also had a large sailing vessel, a *sampan panjang*, built to his specifications in Trengganu. This had a successful racing career, winning the Singapore New Year Regatta in 1849 (Gibson-Hill, 1952, p. 166).

2. Wednesday, 19 June 1844. According to Netscher, the Yang Dipertuan Muda died on Monday, 17 June at the age of 35 or 36 (Netscher, 1870, p. 299 and 1854, p. 269).

3. Monday, 5 August 1844. She had lived at Malacca for some time before this (Begbie, 1967, p. 80).

Folio 418

1. According to Article 7 of the 1830 contract, the Sultan had to nominate a Yang Dipertuan Muda who met with Dutch approval and who was descended from the line of Raja Jafar.

2. Netscher (1870, p. 299) considers this delay was deliberate because the Sultan was trying to have the position of Yang Dipertuan Muda abolished and draw that share of the revenues for himself.

3. Pieter Merkus (1841-4) or his successor, Joan C. Reijnst (1844-5).

Folio 419

1. Wednesday, 26 June 1844.

Folio 420

1. Sultan Mahmud went to Singapore in August 1846 (KA Index 9200, Monthly Report, September 1846).

2. *Tua* here is probably from the Bugis *matoa* 'old' or 'chief' (see above, fo. 87 fn. 6).

Folio 421

1. 22 July to Wednesday 27 August 1845. The colophon of the Kl. 24A MS. of *HNJ* states that Sultan Mahmud gave Raja Ali the seal of the Yang Dipertuan Muda and the document of loyalty on 15 Rajab 1261 (20 July 1845).

2. The Dutch garrison was at Fort Kroonprins on a hill overlooking Tanjung Pinang. It was built in 1820, being constructed largely of stone from the old fort at Malacca (de Bruyn Kops, 1855, p. 97).

3. The minimum annual income of the Yang Dipertuan Muda was f.105,000 (about £10,500 stg.) and although the Sultan kept his revenues secret, they were estimated at about \$Sp. 40,000 (about £10,000 stg.) (Netscher, 1854, pp. 155, 158).

4. According to Angelbeek (Hs. 494), Punggawa Ahmad and Syahbandar Abdullallah (see above, fo. 297 fn. 4) were directly under the Yang Dipertuan Muda. Ahmad was 'an ignorant, foolhardy man' of little actual service to the Raja Muda. He had control of the island of Bintan, and his duties mainly involved investigating and hearing criminal cases.

Folio 422

1. There are various contemporary descriptions of Penyengat (e.g. de Bruyn Kops, 1855, pp. 96, 98; Thomson, 1847, pp. 71 ff.; van de Velde, 1847, p. 72). The island had a considerable population which included the Yang Dipertuan Muda and his retinue. All observers comment on the island's picturesque appearance. The main buildings were the white mosque, the stone residence of the Yang Dipertuan Muda, a stone jetty and a small battery on the north-eastern point of Penyengat.

2. For a discussion of the intellectual climate on Riau, see Andaya and Matheson (1980).

Folio 423:

1. J. J. Rochussen, 1845-51.

2. The silver tea service, worth about f. 450, was in fact a gift to Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali's brothers, Raja Abdullah and Raja Husain, whose administration of Riau during the Yang Dipertuan Muda's absence had met with Dutch approval. It was sent in 1852 (KA Index 9133, 8 January 1852 E).

3. In 1846 there was some concern in Batavia about an exchange of letters between the King of Prussia, Frederick William IV (1840-61) and Riau. Because of his interest in the region, a Prussian envoy had been sent to meet the Raja Muda of Riau (KA V 17 October 1846, LG 342 and Roorda van Eysinga, 1847, p. 285).

4. Possibly Hertog (Duke) Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar (1792-1862), who was commander of the Netherlands Indies Army in Java from 1847 to after 1850.

Folio 424

1. Raja Aisyah, daughter of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali (see fo. 40) married Sultan Muhammad of Selangor (1826-57). The visits of Engku Selangor to Riau are mentioned on a number of occasions in Kl. 138.

2. Kl. 138 contains a lengthy description of this wedding. On 10 April 1846 Sultan Mahmud also married Raja Maimunah, daughter of the late Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abd al-Rahman and this led to an estrangement from the Temenggung of Singapore, whose grand-daughter he had married earlier (KA Index 9200, Monthly Report, June 1846 and fols. 33 and 409 fn. 2).

3. The Dutch mention the strict manner in which behaviour between the sexes was controlled. A woman who had allowed a youth into her home in her husband's absence was summarily found guilty of adultery and put to death by strangulation the following day, despite appeals from her husband and family (Willer to Min. of Colonies, 8 November 1857, V, 30 January 1858, 3/110).

4. This is almost certainly the Haji Ismail later denounced as being a false teacher. He had come to Singapore from Mecca about 1856, and was active there in teaching about the Naksyabandiyyah brotherhood. He returned to Mecca 'very wealthy' (von de Wall, 1893, p. 225).

Folio 425

1. One of the reforming streams in Sufism in the early nineteenth century which was founded by Ahmad ibn Idris (1760-1837) and continued by his followers. Reacting to criticisms by the puritanical Wahabi movement, this Way, called the *tariqa al-muhammadiyah*, condemned the accretions which had debased the brotherhoods, and aimed at the union of believers through devotion to

the Prophet. There was a strong missionizing spirit, a stress on practical activities and emphasis on union with the spirit of the Prophet rather than with Allah (see further Trimingham, 1971, pp. 106-7).

2. Suggested translation (see above, fo. 410 fn. 6).

3. The Naksyabandiyyah order was founded by Abu Ya'qub Yusuf al-Hamadani (died 1140), although it took its name from a later leader, Muhammad ibn Muhammad Baha'al-Din al-Naqshahbandi (1318-89). It had been introduced into Sumatra in the seventeenth century and gained added strength in the nineteenth century. Emphasizing purity of ritual, it became one of the most popular brotherhoods in the Indonesian area (see further Trimingham, 1971, pp. 62-3; Dobbin, 1974, pp. 325-6).

4. A technique of contemplation. It was little used in the Arab world and references are vague (see further Trimingham, 1971, pp. 58, 148, 213-14, 312).

5. The apparent reference to two Temenggungs is puzzling and is probably a copyist's error.

6. The identity of this particular Resident is not clear. Andriesse was succeeded by D. L. Baumgardt (1849-52); J. C de Lannoij (1851-3); F. J. Willer (1853-5); F. N. Nieuwenhuizen (1856-7). The visit was probably to consult British authorities about Sultan Mahmud, who during 1851-3 had been secretly negotiating with Sultan Ali of Singapore and Johor about the return of the southern peninsular area to Riau in order to prevent the Temenggung assuming control. The British and Dutch had been corresponding about this (Wake, 1966, pp. 17-19).

Folio 426

1. i.e. Raja Lebar, daughter of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali son of Daeng Kamboja, and wife of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar.
2. Suggested reading. The meaning is unclear.

Folio 427

1. Until 1826, when the Temenggung had relinquished control of mining on Karimun, 2,500 *pikul* of tin had been produced annually. However, under the control of the Yang Dipertuan Muda the output had fallen and in 1854 it was given as about 200 *pikul* a month. The Yang Dipertuan Muda's actions were probably taken to counter Dutch proposals for developing the area (Buckley, 1969, p. 574).

2. A. F. van den Berg, Resident of Riau 1848-9. In 1856 the Yang Dipertuan Muda gave the Dutch a concession for the development of tin in the Karimuns but the endeavour was unsuccessful and came to an end in 1859 (*ENI*, II, p. 196).

3. The exact location is not known, although there is a Bukit Munas to the north of Karimun.

Folio 428

1. A genealogy drawn up by Netscher (1855, p. 411) in January 1855 with the help of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali notes that Raja Mansur was then in Mecca.

2. Sultan Umar (1839-76) whose sister Tengku Tih was Sultan Mahmud's mother. In 1853 Sultan Mahmud had strengthened his family ties with Trengganu by marrying one of his sisters, Tengku Dalam, to Sultan Umar's brother, Yang Dipertuan Muda Tengku Mahmud.

3. This visit, which occurred in 1854, caused great concern to both British and Dutch authorities, since Sultan Umar even wrote to the Governor of the Straits Settlements saying he recognized Sultan Mahmud rather than Sultan Ali as rightful sovereign of Johor and Pahang. Kl. 138 also describes (fols. 114-22) the anxiety of the Riau nobles, their efforts to dissuade Sultan Mahmud from leaving, and Umar's decision to acknowledge Sultan Mahmud as ruler in Trengganu. Because of British objections to this 'interference' in what they regarded as sphere of influence, the Dutch Governor-General wrote to Sultan Mahmud in April 1854 telling him to cease his visits to Singapore and the Peninsula. Sultan Mahmud finally obeyed Batavia's instructions and returned to Lingga.

4. Sultan Mahmud had become a member of the Brethren of Lodge Zetland in the East, probably as a result of his association with W. H. Read, Sultan Ali's adviser, who was a Mason of high standing in Singapore (Buckley, 1969, p. 520).

5. Cursetjee Frommurzee, a Singapore merchant, the son of a Parsee merchant who had established his firm in Singapore. Sultan Mahmud's visits to him are also mentioned in Kl. 138 (fols. 108, 115). He died in 1881 (Buckley, 1969, pp. 350, 520).

6. For a contemporary description see de Bruyn Kops (1855, p. 100) and Bijdrage (1853, p. 413). A Malay account of its construction is found in Kl. 138 (fols. 7-11).

7. See above, fo. 414 fn. 1. MS B adds 'There is nothing wrong with having a European house as long as this does not entail a change in religion'.

Folio 429

1. 23 June 1857. The last days of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali are described in a poem composed four days after his death. The work has been catalogued under the misnomer, *Syair Sultan Mahmud Raja Muda* (Bat. Gen. 159).

2. See above, fo. 224 fn. 1.

3. i.e. the orthodox Muslim community, as opposed to the Shi'ite which regards Ali as Muhammad's successor and rejects the first three Sunni Caliphs.

4. 25 June 1857.

5. See above, fo. 425 fn. 4. The Sheikh of a *tarikat* usually practised *tawūjuh* with his pupils, helping them to obtain ecstatic union. Raja Abdullah was the leader of the Naksyabandiyah on Penyengat.

6. This *zikir* consists of the continued repetition of *Hū*, used by mystics to indicate Allah's Being as above all human qualification, the ultimate goal of their quest (Professor G. W. Drewes, pers. com., October 1971).

Folio 430

1. F. N. Nieuwenhuizen, Resident of Riau 1865-7.

2. See above, fo. 429 fn. 4. According to Netscher, Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali died on 28 June 1857 at the age of 47 (Netscher, 1870, p. 306). This date is also given in Bat. Gen. 159.

Folio 431

1. Possibly small personal belongings of the deceased, but also a more specific kind of keepsake in this context. Just before burial the bands tying the shroud were removed. They were then given to the next of kin who tore them up and plaited the strips into a rough kind of bracelet which was worn as long as it lasted in memory of the deceased (Skeat, 1967, p. 406).

Folio 432

1. Despite repeated warnings the Sultan had embarked on another trip to Singapore and Trengganu in August 1856 but was brought back to Lingga by a British ship in October. The Dutch Government assured British authorities that they would use stronger measures against Sultan Mahmud and in December 1856 the Resident brought him a strongly-worded letter from the Governor-General telling him frankly that he would lose his kingdom if he left again without permission (see further, Matheson, 1972, p. 140, fn. 6).

Folio 433

1. The article dealing with the Yang Dipertuan Muda's revenues is in fact number 17, which lists the compensation to be paid to him for the loss of the Riau revenues.
2. Netscher (1870, p. 303) gives the date of departure as 30 August 1857.

Folio 434

1. Previously the Dutch, in consultation with Sultan Mahmud, had been considering the appointment of his son-in-law Raja Muhammad Yusuf as heir to the throne. However the *besluit* or decree (Malay = *beselit*) deciding on Sultan Mahmud's deposition was made on 23 September 1857 (V 9 February 1858, L E, Resident of Riau to Batavia, 14 October 1857).
2. See above, fo. 86 fn. 6.

Folio 435

1. See fols. 148, 172-3. Raja Ahmad was from Billiton, and his family from Palembang. Obviously the Penyengat Bugis would never support a candidate whose forebears had proved so disloyal to the Bugis cause. Furthermore, the choice would have violated Article 7 of the 1830 contract which stated that the Yang Dipertuan Muda must be descended from Raja Jafar.
2. Monday, 5 October 1857.
3. A possible confusion with the previous Resident, F. J. Willer? The Dutch officials involved were Resident Nieuwenhuizen, Assistant Resident von de Wall, and E. Netscher as a special Commissioner. The latter (Netscher, 1870, pp. 305-6) gives a full account of events from the Dutch point of view.
4. Wednesday, 7 October. Evidence from Netscher suggests that this was in fact October 6.

Folio 436

1. As above, fo. 435 fn. 4. MS. C has Monday night.
2. Hermann von de Wall who, after serving in the administration of West Ka-

limantan, had been sent to Riau in 1855 as Assistant-Resident to compile a Malay-Dutch dictionary (van der Kemp, 1914, pp. 207-11). His acknowledged Riau informants were Raja Ali Haji and Haji Ibrahim. His large collection of Riau MSS. is now in the Museum Pusat, Jakarta. He was later made Resident of Riau, where he died in 1873.

Folio 437

1. Edmund A. Blundell, Governor of Singapore, 1855-9. The Dutch envoys arrived in Singapore on 7 October and returned the following day (Netscher, 1870, pp. 305-6).

2. The envoys went to Cursetjee's house on 7 October at 6 p.m. The full text of the manifesto, dated 23 September 1857 and signed by Governor-General Pahud is given by Netscher (1870, pp. 303-5). The official reasons for his deposition were his alleged neglect of his obligations as a vassal, his interference in peninsular affairs, and his departure for Singapore in 1856 with an armed force and presumably hostile intentions.

3. Netscher (1870, p. 305) also comments that the Sultan received the news 'without the slightest show of emotion'.

4. Here MS B adds, 'The deposition of His Majesty Sultan Mahmud was in no way due to the wishes of the Yang Dipertuan Muda and his ministers, but was an action of the Dutch Government because he had contravened several of the stipulated articles. So, take example from this, clearly the fate of human beings like us is like the turning of a chariot wheel. Authority will go to whomsoever Allah wishes.' Dr L. F. Brakel elucidated the meaning of 'lereng' for us.

5. Resident Nieuwenhuizen and the acting Yang Dipertuan Muda, Raja Abdullah, arrived in Lingga on 9 October with the *Celebes* and the brigs *Haai* and *Pilades*.

6. His mother was a Javanese who, despite her low birth, had been lawfully married to Sultan Abd al-Rahman. He himself had married Raja Perak, daughter of Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali (V, 9 February 1858 145/2, Resident of Riau to Batavia, 17 October 1857 and fo. 34).

Folio 438

1. 11 October 1857.
2. From the Koran, Surah 3:25.

Folio 439

1. Despite British objections, the Temenggung helped Sultan Mahmud, sending his son Abu Bakar in the ship *Sir James Brooke* to collect the Sultan's family and possessions from Lingga. He was accompanied by the English lawyer Napier. While in Lingga Abu Bakar spread the story that Mahmud would soon be restored to his throne by the Dutch (Netscher, 1870, p. 307).

2. The son of Raja Ahmad Encik Haji Muda and thus Raja Ali Haji's brother.

Folio 440

1. Kandahar is a city in south-eastern Afghanistan, while Kabul is in the east, the present day capital of Afghanistan.

2. Literally, the Lord of those who were sent down (the Prophets), i.e. Muhammad.

3. This ceremony was probably carried out in late November or early December, since a formal contract between Sultan Sulaiman and the Dutch was signed on 1 December 1857 in the Yang Dipertuan Muda's residence (*Surat-Surat*, 1970, pp. 90-166).

Folio 441

1. See fols. 393-5. Panglima Besar Sulung, or Raja Lung, was the son of Tuk Lukus an Illanun who had married Raja Maimunah, daughter of Sultan Yahya of Siak (see fo. 400). He was the head of the descendants of Illanun raiders who had settled in Retih as subjects of the Lingga Sultan, and according to Netscher (1870, p. 308) Sultan Mahmud was supplying Raja Lung with weapons and ammunition from Singapore.

2. 26 April 1858.

3. J. H. Tobias, Resident of Riau, 1858-60.

Folio 442

1. The weekly collect is a special *zikir* said by members of the Naksyabandiyah on Friday evenings after prayers (see further al-Attas, 1963, pp. 43, 59-67).

2. *The Revitalization of the Religious Sciences* by the great theologian al-Ghazālī (see above, fo. 410 fn. 9) consists of four quarters (*rub'*) or sections, dealing with cult practices, social customs, vices leading to perdition and the virtues leading to salvation. Each *rub'* consists of ten books and the whole forms a complete guide to every aspect of Islamic religious life.

Folio 443

1. The preparations for the expedition and the campaign itself are described in considerable detail in Netscher (1870, pp. 308-28).

2. First-Lieutenant A. J. Kroef.

3. i.e. Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Abdullah's brother.

4. See fols. 237 fn. 2, 295, 410.

Folio 445

1. Monday, 6 September 1858.

2. This *zikir* consists of the unremitting repetition of the short creed ('There is no god but Allah'), the first two words of which are negative (*nafi*) whereas the last two are affirmative (*isbat*). The short creed is therefore often called *Nafi isbat* (Professor Drewes, pers. com., October 1971).

3. See above, fo. 429 fn. 6.

4. According to Skeat (1967, p. 404), loud wailing and weeping are forbidden by Islam for fear of disturbing the dead.

Folio 448

1. Sunday, 9 October 1858.

2. Thursday, 13 October 1858.

3. Netscher's account (1870, pp. 310 ff.) and the *Tuhfar's* description of the Retih campaign are very similar. However, according to Netscher hostilities did not begin immediately. The Panglima Besar had been told by an informant that with the death of Yang Dipertuan Muda Abdullah the previous September, plans for an attack had been abandoned and consequently his followers had dispersed. While hurriedly preparing for the Dutch attack which had come so unexpectedly, the Panglima Besar retreated up the shallow Sampai River, a tributary of the Retih River. On 18 October, after transferring to smaller boats, the Dutch force reached the enemy positions.

4. Netscher (1870, p. 315) describes the same incident, which occurred on 27 October and comments that without the courage of the seventy Bugis many Dutch lives would have been lost.

Folio 449

1. On 1 November 1858 the *Sumbing* returned to Retih with extra ammunition and fifty men from the Riau garrison (Netscher, 1870, p. 317).

2. This tactic resulted in the capture of the Panglima Besar's stockade on 7 November. Netscher (1870, p. 322) gives a detailed account of the action.

3. Netscher (1870, p. 324) gives a more conservative estimate of about seventy enemies dead.

4. 7 November 1858.

Folio 450

1. One of the tributaries of the Retih River (Anas, 1958, p. 89).

2. In December 1858 Resident Tobias visited Daik to gauge the general reaction to the defeat of Retih. While there he attended the formal installation of Yang Dipertuan Muda Muhammad Yusuf (Tobias, 1861, pp. 81-92) on 15 January 1859.

3. 17 December 1858.

4. Tobias and Yang Dipertuan Muda Muhammad Yusuf arrived at Retih on 19 December and stayed until 25 December. They inspected the area, watched reconstruction and replanting work, and installed Raja Berima as the new chief of Retih (Tobias, 1861, pp. 93-7).

5. Not yet identified.

6. After six months in Singapore the ex-Sultan moved to Pahang. In May 1858 he wrote to the Dutch asking for pardon but was told he would have to settle in Java. While in Pahang Mahmud was guest of the Bendahara, Tun Mutahir, but the latter grew less friendly when he heard of plots to instal Mahmud as Sultan of Pahang. Mahmud then went to stay with his uncle, Sultan Umar of Trengganu, and after a brief visit to Pahang in 1859 threw his weight behind one contender for the position of Bendahara in Pahang and thus became involved in the Pahang civil war (for further details, see Wake, 1966, pp. 140 ff. and Tarling, 1969, pp. 65-6). Mahmud's role in the Pahang war is analysed in Milner, 1977, ch. V.

Folio 451

1. Cautioned by the British, Sultan Umar refused to become involved in Pahang and consequently in a letter dated 18 December 1860, Sultan Mahmud

approached Siam for help. Although the King of Siam, Mongkut, refused to interfere in Pahang, he invited Mahmud to Bangkok and in June 1861 the ex-Sultan left Trengganu in a Siamese ship. Shortly after his departure Siamese ships re-appeared off Trengganu and rumours reached Singapore that they had come to depose Sultan Umar and instal Mahmud in his stead. Fearing any extension of Siamese influence in the peninsula, the British dispatched the *Hooghly* to Trengganu and the Siamese ships left (Wake, 1966, p. 149; Tarling, 1969, p. 67). For Siamese accounts, see *Chronicles*, 1965, II, pp. 285-8 and *Phongsawadan*, 1963, p. 311).

2. See above, fo. 222 fn. 3. Here meaning the ruler of Trengganu, Sultan Umar.

3. A term used for rulers tributary to Siam, equivalent to 'Governor'. (Vella, 1957, p. 60).

4. Not identified. Possibly a corruption of a personal name for a minor official in the Ministry of Military Affairs (see below, fn. 7).

5. i.e. Tengku Mahmud, who had married Mahmud's sister Tengku Dalam.

6. Sultan Muhammad II (1837-86).

7. Chaokhun Kalahom was the Chief Minister of Military Affairs. In the 1860s this position was held by Chaophraya Sisurywong Chuang Bunnag, and Kelantan and Trengganu were under his jurisdiction (pers. comm., Dr C. Reynolds, November 1978).

8. Both *Chronicles* (1965, I, p. 231) and *Phongsawadan* (1965, p. 311) record Mahmud's arrival in Bangkok.

Folio 452

1. This audience, given in 'a grand style' to honour Mahmud, was held on 26 July 1861 (*Chronicles*, 1965, I, p. 243 and III, p. 137).

2. The prince favoured to succeed Mongkut at this time was Chulalongkorn (b. 1853), but the reference is probably to one of Mongkut's brothers, possibly the Krom Luang Wongsa (see below, fo. 454 fn. 4) who played a prominent part in government affairs.

3. According to *Chronicles* (1965, I, p. 243) Mahmud was so grateful for the style of the audience granted to him that he presented his half-sister, Safiah, to Mongkut 'to serve the King within the Inside Quarter [the harem] of the Grand Palace'. Landon (1945, p. 122) however presents another contemporary account which says that the King of Siam had fallen fiercely in love with Safiah but also considered her as a hostage for the good faith of her brother.

4. MS. B adds, 'People of integrity will not make this incident the subject of abuse or gossip, because it was the Lord's will which can in no way be resisted. It should remind you, sirs, of what may lie ahead. I would ask that those who have relatives in this book let bygones be bygones.'

Folio 453

1. The Pahang civil war broke out in August 1862 and the British immediately protested at Mahmud's encouragement of the rebel Ahmad's renewed attacks. In November two gunboats were sent to Trengganu and an ultimatum was delivered to Sultan Umar that unless Mahmud was surrendered within twenty-four hours his capital would be shelled (Tarling, 1969, pp. 70-2).

2. Dr C. Reynolds (pers. comm., April 1979) has kindly informed us that the use of flags became more frequent during King Mongkut's reign. There were three flown on official occasions; a red flag with a white elephant used, for instance, on Siamese ships; Mongkut's personal flag, which had a red border and a blue inset in which was a crown (*mongkut* = crown), flanked by two seven-tiered parasols, all three items on pedestals on a yellow base; and a state flag used on the royal barge, palace etc. in the King's absence. This was red, with a three-headed elephant bearing a crown on its back and standing on a yellow throne. Two seven-tiered parasols were on each side. This may be the flag to which the *Tuhfat* refers.

3. In July 1862 Mahmud returned to Trengganu as Siamese Governor of that state and of Kelantan (Wake, 1966, p. 151), although Mongkut officially denied that the ex-Sultan had been sent to Trengganu to replace Sultan Umar (Sheppard, 1949, p. 33). *Phongsawadan* (1963, p. 308) says that Mahmud was not under the control of the Siamese government.

4. The King of Ligor in 1864 was Noi Klang, whose family had ruled Ligor since the beginning of the century. He died in 1866 (pers. comm., Dr C. Reynolds, November 1978).

Folio 454

1. According to Landon (1945, p. 142) 200 rounds were fired and although the bombardment on 11–12 November 1862 was said to have been confined to the fort and palace, it lasted four hours. The incident aroused considerable comment both for and against, but was eventually censured in the House of Commons (see further Tarling, 1969, pp. 72–4 and also *Phongsawadan*, 1963, pp. 310–2).

2. Not yet located; possibly Kuala Marang, or the Marang district, south of Kuala Trengganu.

3. According to *Phongsawadan* (1963, p. 310), a Siamese ship, *Si Ayuthya*, arrived in Trengganu to fetch Mahmud, and followed him to Besut. However, the seas were too rough for him to board and the ship returned to Bangkok. An official, Luang Si Maharaja, was then sent to Besut instead. On 4 April 1863 he escorted Mahmud and his retinue of seventy-eight to Bangkok (*Chronicles*, II, p. 295 and III, p. 158).

4. The Krom Luang Wongsa, King Mongkut's half-brother and his personal physician. He was a member of the Academy of Medicine in New York (Landon, 1945, p. 320).

5. During November 1863 Mahmud received letters from Pahang urging him to leave Siam. Disguised as a sailor he fled to Singapore and from there secretly entered Pahang (*Chronicles*, 1965, II, pp. 307–8 and *Phongsawadan*, 1963, p. 311).

6. Siglap is on Singapore, while Kesang, between the Kesang and Muar Rivers in western Johor, had been signed over to Sultan Ali by Temenggung Ibrahim in 1855 (see Map 2 Inset B and Map 3).

7. Sultan Husain had died in 1835. His eldest son, Tengku Muhammad, had died in 1825 (see above, fo. 409 fn. 2) and Tengku Ali, eldest son of Sultan Husain and Tengku Purbu finally succeeded as Sultan in 1855 (Tarling, 1969, pp. 56–61).

8. 15 June 1864. The Pahang war had ended in June 1863 with the death of Tun Mutahir's son. Mahmud reached Pahang sick and exhausted in December only to find that Ahmad, now Bendahara, refused to acknowledge him as Sultan (Wake,

1966, pp. 154, 157). Nevertheless, he stayed in Pahang for the few remaining months of his life.

9. Sunday, 10 July 1864. A letter announcing Mahmud's death arrived in Bangkok from Trengganu and asked for Mahmud's family to be sent back to Trengganu (*Phongsawadan*, 1963, p. 311). According to *Chronicles* (1965, II, p. 322) the Bendahara of Pahang, Ahmad, buried the ex-Sultan at the mouth of the Pahang River.

10. A strong-minded ruler, Muhammad Yusuf was to be the last Yang Dipertuan Muda. When he died in 1899 no successor was appointed. His son, Abd al-Rahman, was to become the last ruler of Riau and was deposed in 1911 (see B. Andaya, 1977, p. 125 and *ENI*, III, p. 443).

Folio 455

1. In 1866 he became the first Riau ruler to visit Batavia. He died on 17 September 1883.

2. Temenggung Ibrahim died at the age of 52 in January 1862 and was succeeded by his son Abu Bakar. According to Winsted† (1932, p. 109) in April 1868 before his assumption of a royal title Abu Bakar sought the advice of Raja Ali Haji, sending a mission to Riau which is described in a Jawi manuscript held by the University of Singapore (Trocki, 1979, p. 150, fn. 79).

3. MS. B adds 'and thus I conclude the story'.

4. Sunday, 25 November 1866.

5. 24 January 1896.

6. 6 June 1871.

7. As above, fn. 4.

Folio 456

1. 10 February 1889.

2. 1885/6 (but see above, fo. 455 fn. 1).

3. The European instructor for Sultan Abd al-Rahman's local orchestra is also mentioned by de Hollander (1898, p. 804).

4. A puzzling reference, possibly to an increase in the number of cannon shots permitted on official occasions.

5. See discussion of MS. B in Matheson (1973).

V

GLOSSARIES

1. Malay titles retained in the translation and footnotes.

- Agung* From the Javanese, great or principal.
- Anreguru* See Indera Guru.
- Arung* Bugis title meaning ruler or lord.
- Bandar* See *Syahbandar*.
- Batara* From Sanskrit, meaning 'holy', but used as a title by the rulers of Majapahit to mean divine ruler.
- Batin* Chief or headman, a title used by the *orang laut* or sea-people.
- Bendahara* Traditionally the principal official or minister of the kingdom of Malacca, in Riau-Johor the principal Malay official after the Sultan.
- Bentara* Herald.
- Besar* Great.
- Daeng* Title used in south-west Sulawesi for high or low nobility.
- Datu* Bugis title meaning Lord, for males and females.
- Datuk* Title of distinction for any major non-royal chief, and also a general epithet of respect for any man of age and standing.
- Demang* District chief, but in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries also used for chiefs of the sea-people.
- Dipati* Head of a district.
- Encik* Master, mistress. A term of distinction for people of good position who do not have any other title.
- Engku* A title of high rank, prince.
- Gusti* In Kalimantan a title assumed occasionally by princely houses.
- Habib* A title given to descendants of the Prophet or Hadramaut Sayids.
- Haji* Title given to a Muslim who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca.

- Hang* A title borne by outstanding warriors, but rarely used after sixteenth century.
- Hulubalang* Military officer, warrior.
- Ibn* Son of.
- Imam* Presiding Muslim elder of a congregation who leads the prayers at a Friday service.
- Indera Guru* From Bugis *anreguru*, which in Luwu was a title given to lesser chiefs and leaders of troops in battle. In the present work translated as 'officer'.
- Jaya* Victorious.
- Kecik* Junior, small.
- Kelana* A title of distinction introduced into the Malay world by the Bugis in the early eighteenth century, with the general meaning of 'knight errant'. In the latter part of that century the title was more specifically applied in Riau to the chief assistant and designated successor of the Bugis Yang Dipertuan Muda.
- Laksamana* Official Malay title, Chief of the Coast and leader of the fleet.
- Lebai* A mosque official.
- Lung* From Malay *sulung* meaning 'eldest', but also from *luang* (Thai), meaning 'chief'.
- Mangkubumi* A royal title borne by a prime minister or regent.
- Mas* A Javanese title borne by those of the hereditary aristocracy who are not entitled to be styled princes.
- Megat* Both an honorific and a title given to the children of princesses by non-royal husbands.
- Muda* Young, junior.
- Nakhoda* Shipmaster, captain.
- Negara* State, country, can be incorporated into titles.
- Opu* A Bugis title given to the sons of reigning rulers.
- Pajung* A Bugis title meaning 'umbrella' or 'ruler'.
- Pangeran* In Kalimantan 'prince', in Palembang, 'district chief'.
- Panglima* A title of secondary rank, often associated with military commanders, (e.g., *Panglima Perang*, 'commander-in-chief'), but also for officials with duties inside the palace, e.g., *Panglima Dalam*.
- Penembahan* From the Javanese, ruler, sovereign.
- Penghulu* District chief or headman.

- Perempuan* Woman, female.
- Phraya* A Thai title for governor.
- Punggawa* Bugis title for war commander.
- Putera* Son (only used for royalty).
- Puteri* Daughter of royalty, also 'princess'.
- Puteri Jamilan* Title of the Queen Mother in Pagar Ruyung.
- Radin* From the Javanese, prince, princess.
- Raja* King, prince.
- Raja Laut* Prince of the Seas.
- Raja Perempuan* Queen.
- Ratu* From the Javanese, ruler.
- Sayid* From Arabic *Sayyid*, master, lord, prince, a title for reputed descendants of the Prophet Muhammad.
- Seri* An honorific meaning 'illustrious', used as a prefix to some titles.
- Sharif* A title of descendants of the Prophet through Husain.
- Sharifah* A female descendant of the Prophet.
- Si* A prefix to a personal name which can denote familiarity or contempt.
- Sitti* Lady, a title given to revered women, or those with authority.
- Sulihatang* From Bugis, a noble title, literally the representative of a chief.
- Syah* In Malay an honorific suffix to the personal name of a reigning sultan.
- Syahbandar* Harbour master and controller of imports and exports.
- Syekh* In Malay a title given to reputed descendants of the Prophet's Companions, but actually given as a complimentary title to all Arabs.
- Temenggung* Official title in Malacca-Johor, the minister ranking second in the state after the Bendahara.
- Tengku* Prince or princess, a title used from the early eighteenth century instead of *raja* before the names of royalty.
- To* From Bugis, people of.
- Tua* Old, senior.
- Tuan* Lord, or a title of respect particularly for religious scholars and Europeans.

<i>Tuk</i>	A colloquial variant of <i>datuk</i> .
<i>Tun</i>	Noble title.
<i>Tunku</i>	A variant of <i>tengku</i> .
<i>Utin</i>	In Kalimantan a title given to the daughter of a king by a lawful wife. After marriage the titles <i>radin</i> or <i>pangeran</i> are used.
<i>Wan</i>	Title used in northern peninsular states, for descendants of important non-royal chiefs.
<i>Yamtuan</i>	A contracted form of <i>Yang Dipertuan</i> , see below.
<i>Yamtuan Sakti</i>	Term of address for the Raja Alam of Pagar Ruyung.
<i>Yang Dipertuan</i>	Literally, the one who is made Lord. Official title of the Malay ruler.
<i>Yang Dipertuan Besar</i>	The one who is made senior ruler. In Riau-Lingga, the title of the Malay Sultan.
<i>Yang Dipertuan Muda</i>	The one who is made junior ruler. In Riau-Lingga the title of the Bugis ruler.

2. Foreign terms retained in the translation and footnotes.

<i>bahara</i>	A measure of weight, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries about 170 kg, or 3 <i>pikul</i> .
<i>bukit</i>	Hill.
<i>cupak</i>	A measure of weight, just over 1.2 litres, or one-quarter of a <i>gantang</i> .
<i>depa</i>	A measure of length equal to an outstretched arm-span.
<i>ducatoon</i>	A silver coin formerly current in some European states, worth from 5 shillings to 6 shillings sterling.
<i>emas</i>	Originally a weight of gold dust, thus a gold coin weighing one <i>emas</i> (or <i>mas</i>), used by Johor as currency in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
<i>gamelan</i>	The set of musical instruments which comprises the Javanese orchestra.
<i>gantang</i>	A gallon measure (4.75 litres), about 5 <i>kati</i> .
<i>haj</i>	Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca.
<i>haji</i>	Title given to a Muslim who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca.
<i>hasta</i>	Measurement of length from the elbow to the finger tips.
<i>ibn</i>	Son of.
<i>imam</i>	Presiding Muslim elder of a congregation who leads

- the prayers at the Friday service.
- joget* A dance performed by two girls, one of whom may be replaced by a male spectator.
- kampung* A village or settlement.
- kati* A measure of weight, about 0.6 kg.
- kraton* From the Javanese, the ruler's palace and its surrounds.
- koyan* A measure of weight, 40 *pikul* or 2,420 kg.
- lebai* A mosque official.
- mendora* A northern Malay-Thai dramatic performance.
- pendawa kris* (*Kris pendawa*.) A Javanese pattern of kris.
- Perca* Sumatra.
- pikul* A measure of weight, about 100 *kati*, or 60 kg.
- real* A Spanish silver coin imported into Asia, and worth 2½ guilders or 5 shillings.
- rijksdaalder* A silver coin and money current c.1600-1850 in various European countries and in their commerce in Asia, whose value ranged from \approx 4 shillings and 6 pence to 2 shillings and 3 pence sterling.
- rupiah* Rupee or guilder.
- sembah* A gesture of homage, made with raised hands, fingertips touching.
- silat* A style of combat or self-defence which uses swift and dance-like movements rather than weapons.
- sirih* Betel leaf quid, prepared for chewing with areca-nut, gambier and lime.
- tandak* Javanese style of dancing, or a dance that emphasizes steps, rather than arm or body movements.
- tanjung* Point, promontory.
- teluk* Bay.
- wayang* Javanese shadow play performed with flat leather puppets.

3. Boats which occur in the translation.

(It is clear that in some cases the same term was used for different types of boats in different areas of the archipelago, and also that the meaning itself could change over time with modifications in construction. As far as possible we have tried to use contemporary descriptions, especially those which make specific reference to the use of the ship type in the Riau-Lingga context.)

- baluk* Cargo boat, heavy beam type (Wilkinson, 1959, I, p. 75).
- berangai* Filipino = *barangayan*. Filipino sailing vessel, up to 17 metres in length, 4 metres wide. Strictly speaking not an Illanun raiding *perahu*, but similar (Warren, 1975, pp. 285, 415).
- bedar* Sea-going galley or long boat somewhat like a *jalur* with sharp bows, narrow, propelled by oars and used in warfare. In the Riau islands it commonly had one mast, and the Raja Muda of Riau in the nineteenth century used a *bedar* with two short masts as a rowing vessel between islands and as a state boat. It had sufficient space for thirty rowers, ranged from 6 to 10 metres and was usually painted white, with the stem and hull carved and gilded. (Wilkinson, 1959, I, p. 98; Klinkert, 1947, p. 225; *ENI*, V, Supplement, 1927, p. 431).
- bedar panjang* Presumably a long *bedar*.
- belah semangka* Not identified precisely, but from context a small boat, named after its curved shape (literally, a sliced melon).
- berik* From the English brig, a two-masted square-rigged vessel with additional lower fore and aft sails.
- dendang* A long dug-out canoe used among the *orang laut* or sea-people (Wilkinson, 1959, I, p. 278).
- gurab* One of the largest of the Malay traders, of Arabic origin, rigged fore and aft on two masts, 90 metres long, 9 metres wide, mainmast about 30 metres, and crew of about thirty. Could be rowed if necessary (Smyth, 1906, p. 103).
- jalur* A canoe referring in the Riau area to a small dug-out keelpiece with ribs across it for planking up, and often only big enough for one man (Wilkinson, 1959, I, p. 439; Nooteboom, 1932, p. 68; *ENI*, V, 1927, p. 432).
- jurung* A vessel with a narrow base and wide beam, suggesting a funnel in shape, and flattened at the sides (Wilkinson, 1959, I, p. 479).
- kakap* Narrow-beamed boat, low freeboard, used for fishing, about 4 metres long, 2 metres wide, with a crew of three or four (Smyth, 1906, p. 103).
- kakap panjang* Presumably a long *kakap*.
- kapal* General term for square-rigged, decked ship, either

- Asiatic or European (Marsden, 1812a, p. 261).
- katar* From English cutter, Dutch *kotter*; a small single-masted vessel rigged like a sloop but with a running bowsprit, and heavier than the European version. It could be rowed, and was used for carrying stores or passengers (Oxford, 1933, II, p. 1294; Gibson-Hill, 1950, p. 114).
- keci* A large two-master, 60 metres long and 9 metres wide, square-rigged in the European style, with a mainmast of about 24 metres. The crew usually numbered about twenty. On several occasions in the *Tuhfat* these are converted to *penjajab* (Smyth, 1906, p. 103).
- keruis* From the English cruiser or Dutch *kruiser*; a warship designed for pursuit, and especially common in the early nineteenth century for use against pirates, although in the eighteenth century the term was also applied to armed merchant ships. At first it was rigged like a native vessel, and later in the European manner (Oxford, 1933, II, p. 1217; Logan, 1848, p. 360; *ENI*, V, 1927, pp. 435-6).
- kura-kura* A large rowing vessel with double outriggers used in eastern Indonesia. It had a covered deck for sleeping, a sloping stem, was carved and painted and equipped with sails. Generally armed, with a crew of 100-200 men (Marsden, 1812a, p. 273; *ENI*, V, 1927, p. 435).
- lanca* A three-masted sea-going trading ship with slanting sails from port, common in the Riau-Lingga area. (Klinkert, 1947, p. 936; *ENI*, V, 1927, p. 436).
- lancang* A warship with oars, but without a stern decking, usually with a crew of about fifty. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it was often used by pirates (Klinkert, 1947, p. 936; *ENI*, V, 1927, p. 436).
- pedewakan* A Bugis and Macassarese trading boat, about 30 metres long, 4.5 metres wide, having two masts and a crew of about sixteen. It was in fact rather a poor ocean-going vessel, being too high in contrast with its length so that it pitched heavily and often took in water. It was nonetheless used extensively for sea voyages (Smyth, 1906, p. 105; *ENI*, V, 1927, p. 438).
- pemayang* A fishing boat, about 3 metres wide, 12 metres long with one mast. It was very stable, and sailed

- with the slightest wind, taking in little water. It could be equipped with outriggers and was used not only with deep-sea nets (*payang*) but also for transport of goods (Wilkinson, 1959, II, p. 871; Marsden, 1812a, p. 229; *ENI*, V, 1927, pp. 436-7).
- pencalang* A trading ship, about 21-24 metres long, 12 metres wide, using about 25 rowers (Nooteboom, 1932, p. 15). However, according to Marsden (1812a, p. 232) it was also used to refer to a small vessel of the *perahu* type with an oblique sail.
- penjajab* A light Bugis warship with mainmast and mizzen, but small enough to be rowed if necessary by 20-30 men. Extremely fast, and often used by pirates. Malays later used the same term to refer to small cargo vessels, and also for the type of houseboat used by *orang laut* (Wilkinson, 1959, II, p. 879; *ENI*, V, 1927, p. 439).
- perahu* General term for undecked native boat and used for a range of ships varying in size and construction from a *sampan* to a *kapal* (Wilkinson, 1959, II, p. 883; Marsden, 1812a, p. 222).
- perahu layar* *Perahu* with sails of the *tanjak* (jib-headed mainsail) type (Marsden, 1812a, p. 222).
- pinis* A cargo boat with a planked deck, the hull usually white or dull red, based on European designs of the early nineteenth century. It measured about 30 by 8 metres, had a mainmast of about 9 metres and a crew of nine (Gibson-Hill, 1949, pp. 110-11; Smyth, 1906, p. 105).
- pintak* From Bugis *binta'*, a two-masted vessel with two rows of oars, often used by pirates.
- pukat* A boat for deep sea fishing with drift nets, but in nineteenth century Riau also used for transport of people to and from Singapore. It had two masts, a cabin for passengers at the rear, could take 24-28 rowers, and could move at considerable speed, especially in a good wind (*ENI*, V, 1927, p. 441).
- sampan* A boat for harbour use, with a small cabin, generally smaller than a *perahu* and sometimes only big enough for one man. It could be equipped with outriggers (Nooteboom, 1932, p. 68; Wilkinson, 1959, II, p. 1012; Marsden, 1812a, p. 183). However, a *perahu sampan* in the later period seems to be used also to refer to a flat-bottomed cargo ship

- with a thick sloping stern, one-masted, with a roof to protect the cargo (*ENI*, V, 1927, p. 441).
- sampan kotak* A Chinese boat for carrying people or goods or for fishing. Equipped with a hold, it was low in the bow, broadening and sloping up to the stern. It was usually manned by one person, who rowed and steered with two long oars crossing each other (Wilkinson, 1959, I, p. 614; *ENI*, V, 1927, p. 442).
- sampan panjang* A very long narrow rowing and sailing vessel used in the Riau archipelago for transporting people over long distances. It usually had more than one mast, and a cabin at the stern (*ENI*, V, 1927, p. 442).
- selub, selup* From English sloop, Dutch *sloep*. A small one-masted vessel rigged fore and aft, usually belonging to a larger vessel and used for bringing passengers on board. It could also refer to a small man-of-war with guns on the upper deck used for general work, and differing from the cutter in having a jib stay and a standing bowsprit (van Dale, 1904, p. 1525; Oxford, 1933, IX, p. 2130).
- sekoci* From Dutch *schuitje*. Not a true native design but rigged in the European style like a sloop. It had a single pole mast with long permanent decking and was steered by paddles (Gibson-Hill, 1950, p. 131).
- sekunar* From English schooner, Dutch *schoener*. A cargo vessel, 54 metres long, 8 metres wide, rigged fore and aft, with a crew of about ten (*ENI*, V, 1927, p. 444; Smyth, 1906, p. 106).
- senat* A Chinese or Siamese junk of an unidentified type (Wilkinson, 1959, II, p. 1065).
- tob* The largest of the Malay cargo ships, capable of carrying 200 tonnes, similar to western ships in construction and often seen in Riau waters. It was two-masted, about 54 metres long, 7 metres wide, with a crew of about eight, and is thought to be of Siamese origin (*ENI*, V, 1927, p. 445; Smyth, 1906, p. 106).
- wangkang* A Chinese-built vessel, common in the Gulf of Siam. It was usually painted black with the gunwale picked out in red and could have painted or wooden eyes on either side of the bow. Heavy and slow, it was usually about 16.5–19.5 metres long (Gibson-Hill, 1949, p. 123).

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VII

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- D. = Daeng
 d/o = daughter of
 E. = Engku
 G. = Gusti
 Muhd. = Muhammad
 Res. = Resident
 R. = Raja
- S. = Sultan
 s/o = son of
 Tem. = Temenggung
 T. = Tengku
 w/o = wife of
 YTM = Yamtuan Muda (Yang Dipertuan Muda)
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