

# Sungai Ujong.

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## PART I.

The Dato' Klana Putra, territorial chief of Sungai Ujong, ranks as the premier chief of the Negri Sembilan, though there is nothing to show how he obtained this precedence. He possesses a modern title and an ancient chieftaincy: as far back as the fifteenth century there were rulers of Sungai Ujong, who bore the title of *Pěnghulu Mantěri* and acknowledged the Sultan of Malacca as their overlord. In those days the country was an appanage of the Bendaharas of Malacca, and the chiefs sent to govern it were members or vassals of that distinguished house. The seal of the Rulers of Rembau quotes as its authority "the grace of the Bendahara Sri Maharaja", apparently with the date 1707 A.D.; that of the Dato' Bandar quotes Sultan Abdul-Jalil III, 1715; that of the Dato' of Jelevu quotes Sultan Abdul-Jalil V (who flourished in 1758); that of the Dato' of Johol is dated 1778. There is the contemporary evidence of the "Malay Annals" as to the political position of Sungai Ujong in 1612 A.D. and as to the semi-mythical Dato' Sekudai. Finally in the early days of Sungai Ujong, descent was not traced through the female line. So one may brush aside the claim of some Negri Sembilan chiefs that they govern their territories by virtue of descent in the female line from the aboriginal Batins, the primeval owners of the country.

According to one story the origin of the Biduanda is ascribed to a Batin Sri Alam who met a walking tree-trunk near the waters of the River Langat. He captured and kept it in captivity till it laid eggs, forty-four in number. He buried the eggs till they were hatched, when there emerged forty-four children, the ancestors of the Biduanda. Batin Sri Alam brought up these children and supplied them with garments of bark-cloth to cover their nakedness. When they grew up, twenty-two of the children crossed to Sumatra and colonized the coast as far as the borders of the Batak country: the remaining twenty-two stayed in the Peninsula and became Biduanda or Rayat—the latter word being said to mean "sons of the soil". Another story explains that every man falls from heaven, either on his feet as a raja, or on his seat as a Batin, or on his face as a slave. Batin Sri Alam rose from his seat and went round the world ruling the slaves—the Bedouin in Arabia, the *biduan* in India and the Biduanda in Malaya, the three words being translated "serf"! Folklore and etymology are, of course, irreconcilable enemies.



But these legends of the Creation are not the only tales connected with Batin Sri Alam. He is said to have led an expedition into Jelebu. There he found trays of food waiting for him, served up and ready to eat, but with no one present to explain whence the food came. Batin Sri Alam did not enquire; he ate the food and named the place *Kuala Dulang*, the place of plates, as a record of his gratitude. He showed less thankfulness in his next adventure. The Muhammadans of Jelebu did their best to bring Batin Sri Alam round to their religion. They induced him to repeat the Confession of Faith; but when the *mudin* explained the uses of the *pěnyěpit*, Batin Sri Alam vanished. One rumour has it that he reappeared on Mount Si-Guntang Mahameru; another that he disappeared into the caverns of Kota Glanggi in Pahang. But whatever his fate, he was never seen again by the Moslems who effected his conversion or by the land he did so much to people.

Next in this aboriginal genealogy comes *Batin Běrchanggai Běsi* whose wife was *Běrduri Běsi* and whose brother-in-law was *Kětopong Běsi*—the Iron-clawed Chief, with his Iron-quilled wife, and her Iron-helmeted Brother. The legend however adds that they were primitive people, unacquainted with the use of iron or even of fire, and that they ate their food raw. One day when hunting they found a fairy-child hidden in the cleft of a rock. They adopted her though she showed her real origin by declining to partake of the bestial repasts of the Sakai and by living on a diet of fruits and shoots, till the prince of destiny appeared and won her as his bride. That prince was the Sultan of Johor. He saw her in a dream and traced her by weighing the river-waters and selecting the lightest. A son of this marriage was the Bendahara Sekudai, the reputed ancestor of the rulers of Sungai Ujong.

Tradition traces a relationship between this *Batin Běrchanggai Běsi*, and the legendary figures associated with the origin of the other States: *Dato' Jělundong*, founder of Jelebu; *Nenek Kěrbau*, founder of Johol; *To' Tukul* and *To' Landas*, founders of Klang. The two first were the Batin's sisters, while *To' Tukul* and *To' Landas* derived their titles from the hammer and the anvil with which they rendered to *Batin Běrchanggai Běsi* the service that Batin Sri Alam vanished to avoid. So invulnerable are these tough old aborigines, according to Malay belief, that circumcision is a matter of difficulty.

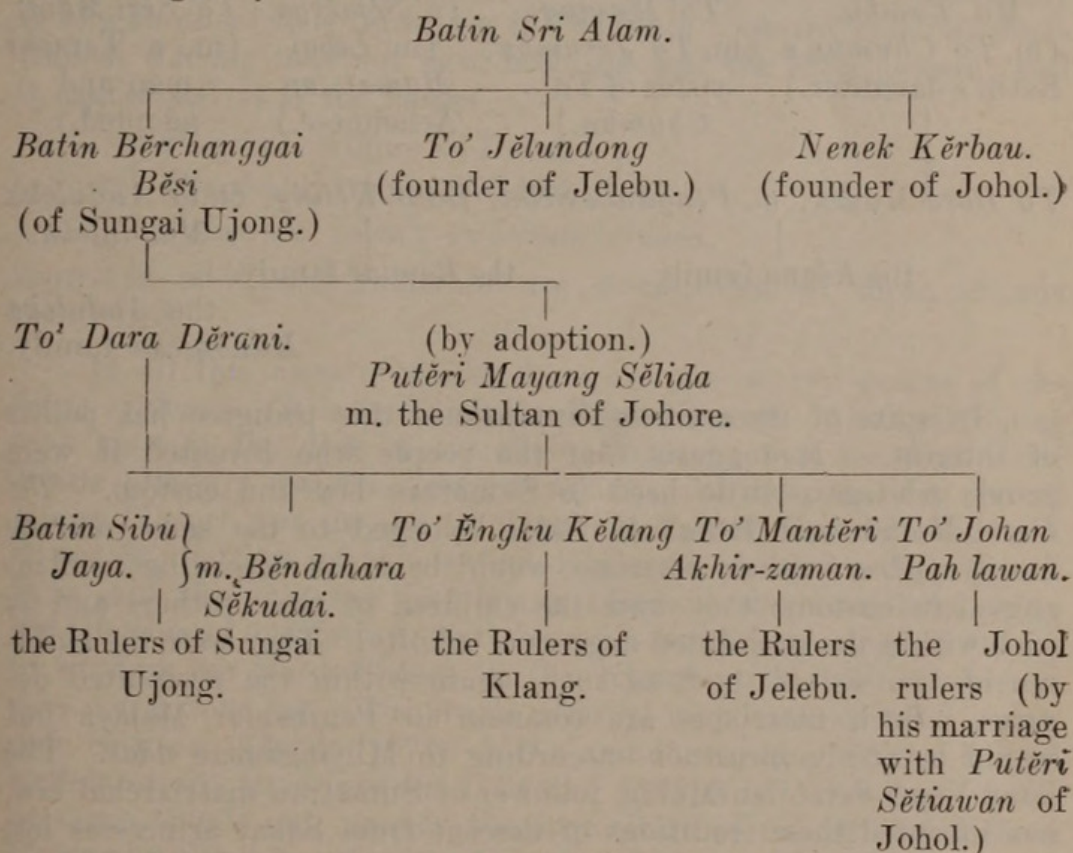
*Batin Běrchanggai Běsi* was the father of *To' Dara Děrani* whose daughter, *Batin Sa-ribu Jaya* or *Sibu Jaya*, married the *Dato' Sekudai*. It is related of these last two ladies that they fled in terror from Sang Kelambai who was striding through the country, turning all he met into stone. "Why flee"? asked an Achehnese saint who lived at Sungai Udang between Pangkalan Kempas and Permatang Pasir, "I have a charm that no *Kěləmbai* can face. A candle will keep him away." So candles were lit nightly; the population was saved from a stony fate; and the place is called *Pěngkalan Dian* to this day. The sceptic may see



the petrified properties of this ancient saint, his sword, his stocks, his spoon and his buckler lying round his tomb at Pengkalan Kempas.

In those early years the seat of power was not where it is now. Ching, Beranang, Pajam, Gibok, Kechau, Langlang, Langkap Berjuntai, Lubok Bergoyang, Subang Hilang, Merbok Kerawang, Tunggul Si-jaga, are the places to which tradition gives importance. Few of them are to be found on maps of the State; some lie outside the Negri Sembilan in the Kajang district of Selangor. Doubtless they were old Biduanda communities. The names of one or two are explained in the native way so common to folklore: *Tunggul Si-jaga* was the place where a small Bugis force frightened the people out of the country by putting torches on tree-slumps and creating the impression that they were a huge camp surrounded by thousands of sentries; *Subang Hilang* was a place where a Biduanda princess lost her earring. All that we can infer is that the ancient Biduanda or Belanda tribe—now represented by a few Mantra in Malacca and a few wandering Kenaboi in the Jelebu mountains—was once important in that part of the Negri Sembilan which lies between the modern settlements of Kajang and Seremban.

The following is the genealogy of these early heroes as adapted and arranged by tradition.



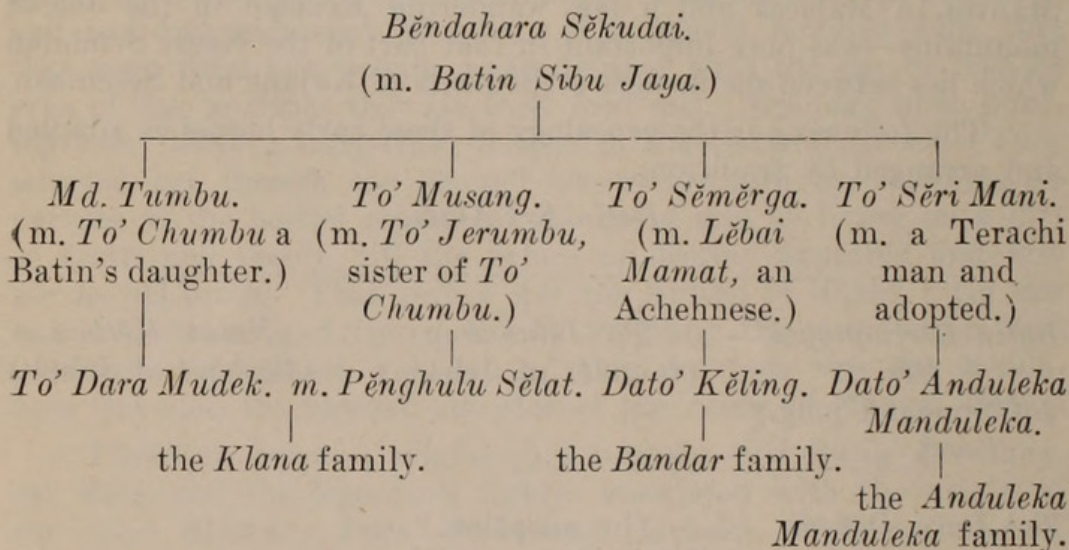
It will be seen presently that by a similar arrangement of parallel lines all the principal titles of Sungai Ujong trace back to the children of a common ancestor. This, of course, is tradition; history does not work with mathematical exactitude.



The name Sungai Ujong is modern and is due to the association of Malay States with river-basins. There is no River "Ujong". Old traditions speak of the State as *Sēmujong*; the "Malay Annals" of 1612 A.D. call it *Sēngang Ujong*; ancient books of navigation refer to it by variants of the same old name. What the real name was, is uncertain.

All accounts—even those of the aboriginal Blandas—agree that a *Dato' Kēlambu* was the first to "open" Sungai Ujong. A place has been found for him in the pedigrees as a son of the Bendahara Sekudai; and the Rulers of Sungai Ujong who claim him as an ancestor still preserve his tomb as a place of pilgrimage. Tradition tells us also that the Dato's name was Muhammad Tumbu and that he was known as *To' Jēbat* because of his brother *To' Musang*, and as *Dato' Kēlambu* because he lived at *Kuala Sungai Kēlambu*.

The genealogy, more regular than ever, is as follows:—



In spite of its artificial appearance this pedigree has points of interest. It suggests that the people who invented it were people who gave little heed to Sumatran law and custom. *To' Dara Mudek* and *Pēnghulu Sēlat* belonged to the same uterine family (*pērut*); their marriage would be incest according to Minangkabau custom: they were the children of two brothers and as such within the prohibited degrees of affinity. They were the children of two sisters; and, as such, again within the prohibited degrees. Such marriages are common in Peninsular Malaya but would be triply incestuous according to Minangkabau *adat*. The later Negri Sembilan Malay, follower of Sumatran matriarchal law, has invented these traditions of descent from Sakai princesses but has omitted to be consistent. In the days of the Dato' Sekudai it was the male line that was important. Not till the days of *Ēngku Sabun*, hardly a century ago, was the *adat pērpateh* introduced into Sungai Ujong.



Dato' Sekudai flourished in the first half of the seventeenth century and possessed two married children when the "Malay Annals" were written. Sungai Ujong tradition would have us believe that he wedded *Batin Sibu Jaya* in the presence of Sultan Abdul-Jalil II (1639-1673), and brought up in Sungai Ujong a second family who elected to be known as To' Musang and To' Jebat—"the Polecat" and "the Skunk"—instead of bearing the title of *Tun* by which members of the great Bendahara family were known. This is hard to accept. If the Dato' Kelambu did "open" Sungai Ujong he must have lived long before the seventeenth century, and been confused with some other person—possibly a real Muhammad Tumbu or To' Jēbat—who obtained from the Bendahara Sekudai a hereditary right to the ancient title of *Pěnghulu Mantēri*. Anyhow from this time we get a succession of Rulers of Sungai Ujong:—

*Pěnghulu Sēlat;*

*Pěnghulu Kadim;*

*Pěnghulu Pandak;*

*Pěnghulu Chantek;*

*Pěnghulu Rumah Gědang (or Rumah Běrtatah).*

They are names and little more. Tradition varies as regards the order in which they ruled; it tells nothing of their relationship to one another; it is uncertain if *Pěnghulu Chantek* and *Pěnghulu Rumah Gědang* may not have been one and the same person; and it cannot tell us if the names

*Pěnghulu hilang di-Diwa,*

*Pěnghulu hilang di-Gayan,*

*Pěnghulu hilang di Danau Buaya,*

represent additional rulers or are descriptions of those already mentioned.

In all this mass of doubt there are one or two grains of definite evidence. It is said that the Bugis invasion of Sungai Ujong took place in the days of Penghulu Chantek; that the first Dato' Klana (Badur) was the son of Penghulu Chantek; that the second Klana (Leha) was the son of Penghulu Rumah Gedang; and that it was in the time of this second Klana the Linggi settlers came. It is said also that the first Klana (Badur) was installed during the lifetime of his father; but this may be an etymological theory to explain the word *Putěra* in the Klana's title. This evidence does not take us far. The Bugis invasion may have occurred at any date between 1725 and 1770 A.D.; and the coming of the Linggi settlers at any time between 1775 and 1790 A.D. One fact of importance stands out, namely the acquisition of the title of *Kělana Putěra* by the ruling house of Sungai Ujong. Who conferred it? When was it conferred? And why? Tradition sometimes ascribes the title to Sultan Abdul-Jalil II who was far too early (1639-1671 A.D.); at other times to Raja Melewar (1773-1795 A.D.), who was



perhaps a little too late. An impression of the seal of an old Klana might settle the point. But no such impression is obtainable. The Dato' Penghulu of Jelebu and the Dato' Bandar of Sungai Ujong obtained seals from Johor,—the second in 1715 from Abdul-Jalil III, the first about 1759 from Abdul-Jalil V. The latter prince, who was only a Regent, was so lavish with his treaties, seals and dignities that one would attribute to him the bestowal of the title of Dato' Klana, if it were a Malay title. But it is a Bugis dignity. The first Bugis Yamtuan Muda of Riau bore the title of Klana Jaya Putra. Significant is the local assertion that the rank of the Dato' Klana is that of a Raja Muda. Is it a coincidence that the ruler of Sungai Ujong bears the title and rank of a Klana Jaya Putera, Yamtuan Muda of Riau? The evidence is in favour of the belief it was from the Bugis chiefs of Riau that the old *Pēnghulu Mantēri* obtained his higher title.

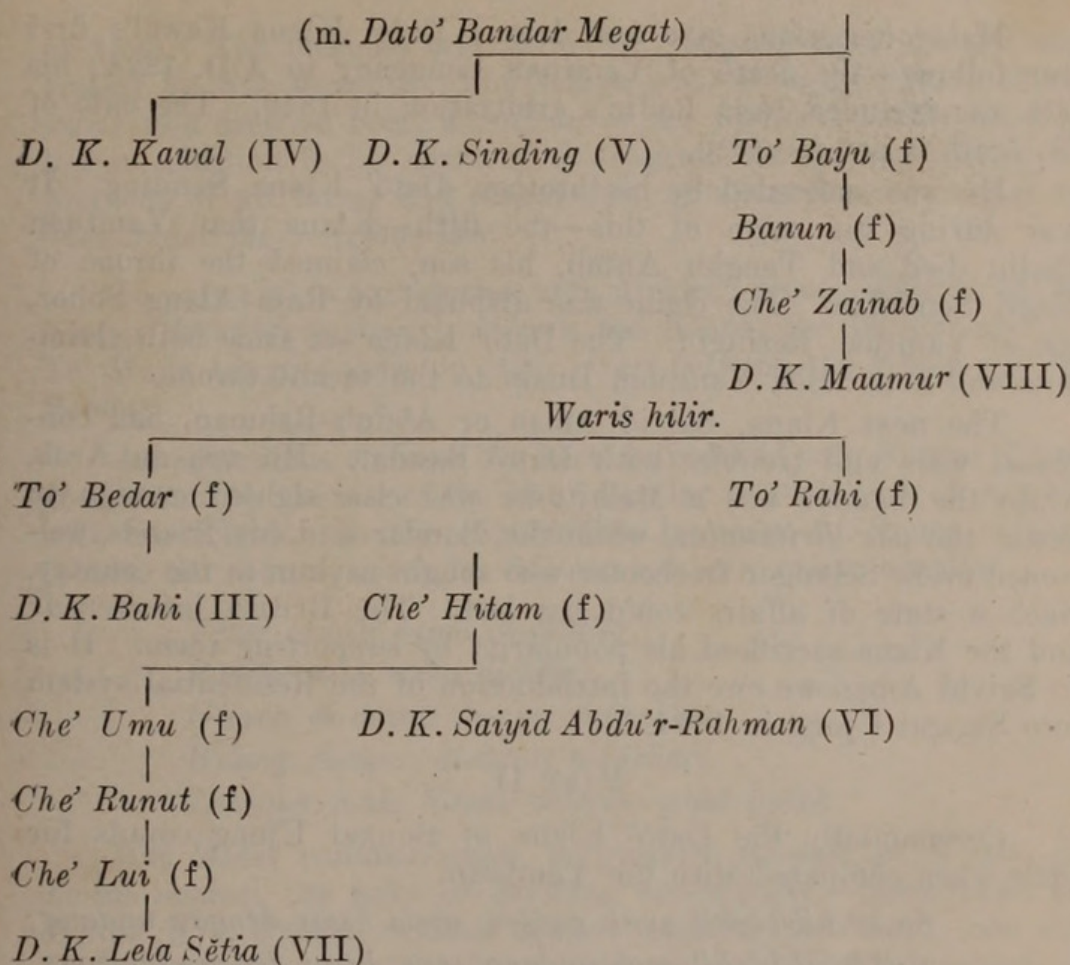
There was, it is true, the Bugis invasion of Sungai Ujong: they advanced as far as Pantai, where the site of their fort is still shown opposite the site of the house of the ex-Klana Lela Stia. But tradition says that at the time of that invasion the Penghulu of Sungai Ujong was not in the country, but at Singapore, where he had gone "to see the swordfish attack the island". Even a Batin would hardly go to Singapore on such a fool's errand. It would appear almost that the Klana was serving in the ranks of his country's enemy.

Dato' Klana Badur was followed by Dato' Klana Leha whose reign was signalized by the settlement of the Linggi and Labu districts. The Linggi settlers came because the Dato' of Rembau refused to permit them to live under their own law, the *adat tēmenggong*, and insisted on their adopting the matriarchal law of Minangkabau. This incident corroborates tradition that the *adat pērpateh* was not adopted in Sungai Ujong till a later date.

Dato' Klana Leha was succeeded by Dato' Klana Bahi. There is no evidence of the relationship of this chief to his predecessors; but it is recorded that he belonged to the *waris hilir* while the Klana Leha belonged to the *waris hulu*. What this means may be conjectured. Dato' Klana Bahi obtained the title by virtue of relationship to his predecessors in the male line. At his death the rule of succession was altered to that of uterine descent. Ultimately there was the usual compromise—the *gilir*—under which the two families, that of Klana Leha (*waris hulu*) and that of Klana Bahi (*waris hilir*) took it in turn to succeed. This rule is still recognized but it has not been consistently observed, as the following tables will show.

Waris hulu.		
D. K. Leha (II)	To' Tepi (f)	To' Lēmbut (f)





It will be seen that the death of Dato' Klana Bahi was followed by two successive appointments from the *waris hulu*, and we are left to wonder if the theory of the *gilir* was not put forward first by the Arab, Saiyid Abdu'r-Rahman, to whom it meant so much.

The days of the fourth Klana, Dato' Kawal, were troubled by petty wars. The first was a war against the Dato' of Ulu Muar who favoured the cause of Raja Radin as Yamtuan Besar while the Klana favoured Yamtuan Sati. Raja Radin was driven out. The second was a war against Yamtuan Sati who had offended the Klana; Yamtuan Sati was driven out. The third was a war against Raja 'Ali in the interests of Raja Radin; Raja 'Ali was expelled from Sri Menanti and Raja Radin placed on the throne by the Klana and the Dato' of Rembau. Dato' Kawal waged three successful wars with the futile result that he replaced matters exactly where he first found them. His next contest was even less satisfactory. He quarrelled with the Dato' Bandar and plunged the country into civil war. Yamtuan Radin, who was invited to arbitrate, seems to have settled the dispute by appointing the Klana and Bandar joint rulers of Sungai Ujong. This compromise created an impossible position; the rivalry of the joint rulers gave the people no peace, till the British intervened.



Malay historians give few dates. Dato' Klana Kawal's first war followed the death of Yamtuan Lenggang in A.D. 1824; his last war included Raja Radin's arbitration in 1849. The date of his death is not recorded.

He was succeeded by his brother, Dato' Klana Sanding. It was during the reign of this—the fifth—Klana that Yamtuan Radin died and Tengku Antah, his son, claimed the throne of Negri Sembilan. The claim was disputed by Raja Alang Sohor, son of Yamtuan Beringin. The Dato' Klana set aside both claimants and nominated Yamtuan Imam to the vacant throne.

The next Klana, Saiyid Aman or Abdu'r-Rahman, had continual wars and troubles with Dato' Bandar. He was an Arab, while the Bandar was a Malay; he was clear-sighted enough to desire the *pax Britannica*, while the Bandar and his friends welcomed every Selangor freebooter who sought asylum in the country. Such a state of affairs could not last. The British intervened; and the Klana sacrificed his popularity by supporting them. It is to Saiyid Aman we owe the introduction of the Residential system into Sungai Ujong in 1874.

## PART II.

Ceremonially the Dato' Klana of Sungai Ujong counts for little when compared with the Yamtuan.

*Sa-kěchil-kěchil anak putěra, sama běsar děngan undang;  
Sa-kěchil-kěchil anak undang, sama běsar děngan lěmbaga;  
Sa-kěchil-kěchil anak lěmbaga, sama běsar děngan ibu bapa.*

“A prince's child however small ranks as high as a territorial chief”. So runs a royalist saying, hardly consonant with Minangkabau custom which traces descent through the mother. Only when dealing with ceremonial should the non-royal status of the Klana be emphasized. He had the office of a Raja Muda but was not personally sacrosanct. He was *wakil kěrajaan*, Regent; when a Yamtuan died, it was the Dato' Klana who sent the envoys to Siak to ask for a successor:—

*Hilang raja, běrganti raja; měnjěmput ka-Minangkabau.*

It was a Klana (Dato' Klana Kawal) who broke the “tie with Siak” and stopped the missions to Minangkabau. To this day it is the Ruler of Sungai Ujong who formally nominates a Yamtuan. He is the “Imam” of the four great chiefs, the pillars of the State; he is their leader and their spokesman.

Within his own territories the Dato' Klana used to be an absolute ruler. He still claims to be *běrundang běrkěadilan*, technical terms implying that he is head of the legal systems of the country. He was not *běrkěadilan* under the constitution of A.D. 1773; the head of the courts was the Yamtuan. But Sungai Ujong ceased to recognize the supremacy of the Yamtuan after the death of Tengku Imam and did not give up its autonomy under the treaty



of 1898. The mosques and kathis of Sungai Ujong are not controlled by Sri Menanti. The Klana was, of course, head of the *waris* who drew so large a portion of the revenues of the country, but in addition to his share of this income he was entitled to the proceeds of all farms and monopolies, of all poll-taxes and of all fines under the religious law.

Import and export duties were divided: those collected on the Linggi River were shared between the Klana, the Bandar and the To' Muda Linggi; those on other rivers between the Klana and the Bandar.

An anomalous element has been introduced into Sungai Ujong government by the rise of the Dato' Bandar to a position of equality with the Klana. In the euphemistic language of Sungai Ujong jurists, the country is under the care of both rulers equally:

*Tēlor sa-biji sama di-tatang;  
Pēsaka satu sama di-bēla;  
Hilang di-darat, di-ayer mēnchari;  
Hilang di-ayer, di-darat mēnchari;  
Laksana mata hitam dēngan mata puteh.*

But Malay common-sense, in proverbs as well as in law, de-claims against the folly of dividing sovereignty. Sometimes the dictum is a homely caution against putting two cocks into one yard; sometimes it is a solemn legal maxim about the powers of life and death:—

*Pantang dalam 'alam mēnduakan pēdang pēmanchong;  
Pantang dalam luak mēnduakan kēris pēnyalang.*

British protection has put an end to this rivalry by giving the Klana and the Bandar allowances of exactly the same amount and by dividing equally among their *waris* their commuted share of the revenue.

In the days of the Johor supremacy the Ruler or *Pēnghulu Mantēri* is said to have sent biennially to the Sultan the famous *bunga mas* or golden tree of submission. Tradition points out the spot where the gold was obtained—the valley between the hill of Shaikh Abdu'r-Rahman and the Seremban Residency. During the Minangkabau period the Klana was expected to send the *mas manah* to the Yamtuan Besar as well as gifts of buffaloes on the occasion of the marriage or circumcision of a prince of the blood.

All this came to an end when Sungai Ujong became independent of Sri Menanti at the accession of Tengku Antah. The treaty of A.D. 1898 (under which the present Yamtuan was installed) did not alter the position materially. *Mas manah* is paid now out of the general revenues of the State and the Klana's gifts are formal and ceremonial. The great Chiefs pay no tribute to their titular overlord.



Once a year at the *hari raya bĕsar* the ruler of Sungai Ujong gives a reception or *mĕngadap*, at which all the lesser Chiefs of his territory are expected to do him obeisance. This ceremony is emblematical; it typifies the harmonious working of the machinery of State.

*Sĕmĕnda sujud kapada lĕmbaga-nya;  
Lĕmbaga sujud mĕngadap undang-nya;  
Itu-lah tanda:*

*Adat datar, muafakat ĕsa;  
Bumi sĕnang, padi mĕnjadi.*

The ceremonial at this reception is of interest as showing the relative precedence of the various Chiefs of the country.

The *kĕbĕsaran* or emblems of rank to which a Klana is entitled are the following:—

- (1) two yellow flags (*mĕrual*);
- (2) two black flags (*tunggul*);
- (3) two pennons (*ular-ular*);
- (4) two streamers (*panji-panji*);
- (5) two fringed umbrellas (*payong ubur-ubur*);
- (6) two tufted spears (*tombak bĕndĕrang*);
- (7) two drawn swords (*pĕdang bĕrchabut*);
- (8) two long creeses (*kĕris panjang tĕrsampai*);
- (9) two *fajar mĕnyenseng*;
- (10) a salute of five guns;
- (11) a dais of five tiers or steps;
- (12) insignia-bearers (*juak*) at court ceremonies;
- (13) certain pillows and cushions (*bantal bĕrsusun, gunong bĕrangkat*);
- (14) mattresses (*tilam bĕrulit*);
- (15) yellow wrappings for insignia;
- (16) a canopy over his dais;
- (17) curtains round his dais;
- (18) wrappings round his house-pillars;
- (19) a marquee over his lawn;
- (20) a gong to announce his movements.

These emblems are common to all the four *undang* and seem to date back to the constitution of 1773 A.D. The Klana possesses also an heirloom in the form of a spear (*changgai putĕri*) presented to one of his predecessors by the Yamtuan Raja Melewar.

In accordance with the local dictum:—

*Patah, tumbuh; hilang bĕrganti;*

“a broken twig grows again, a lost life must be replaced,”—the death of a Klana is the signal for the appointment of a successor. There must be no interregnum; the new Ruler's first duty is to bury the Chief whom he follows:



*Bertanam undang dengan undang.*

The successor is chosen in alternation from the two branches of the *waris di-darat* family, the *waris hulu* and *waris hilir*; the legal phrase being:

*Hilang di-hulu, timbul ka-hilir;*

*Hilang di-hilir, timbul ka-hulu.*

The electors are three in number: a representative of the *waris hilir* (usually the Dato' Maharaja Lela); a representative of the *waris hulu* (usually the Dato' Johan); and a third party selected for his age, impartiality and knowledge of custom. These three must be unanimous. When they have come to a decision they announce their choice to the four principal Chiefs or *tiang balai* who proceed to bear the newly elected Klana in the funeral procession of his predecessor often on the bier. If the three electors fail to agree, the four *tiang balai* may nominate a Klana of their own choice. When the funeral is over, the Chiefs and the *waris* in attendance do homage to their new ruler. The formal installation comes later. It includes ceremonial ablutions at the "Klana's well" (*tĕlaga undang*), a pilgrimage to the tombs of the Penghulus of the past, and a reception (*mĕngadap*) at which all the magnates of the country tender homage.

The chiefs of Sungai Ujong subordinate to the Klana may be divided into five classes according to their order of precedence:

- (a) the four territorial *lĕmbaga*;
- (b) the two heads of the Klana's *waris*;
- (c) the three tribal *lĕmbaga*;
- (d) the miscellaneous titles;
- (e) the Klana's court officials.

The four territorial *lĕmbaga* or "pillars of the Court" (*lĕmbaga tiang balai*) were:

- (1) the Dato' Sri Maharaja Diraja who was also Bandar;
- (2) the Dato' Anduleka Manduleka of Pantai;
- (3) the Dato' Akhir-zaman of Rantau;
- (4) the Dato' Amar of Klawang.

Time has played havoc with this list. The mukim of Klawang is no longer included in Sungai Ujong; and the Dato' Amar is now a Jelebu Chief.

The dignities of Bandar and of Dato' Sri Maharaja Diraja are no longer held by the same person: the officers themselves have lost importance. It is their antiquity that gives to these titles the precedence they continue to possess.

The office of Dato' Bandar dates from 1715 A.D. and was conferred by Abdul-Jalil III, Sultan of Johor. It carried with it great powers and revenues.

"Wherever the waves break,

And the sands of the beach are broken,



Where the wind blows into the estuaries,  
 And the polers work, and the oarsmen ply,  
 And the quays are lined with ordered ships.  
 And the measures are filled, and the scales are used,  
 And buyers and sellers agree on the price,—  
 Those are the realms of the Bandar's rule."

The Shahbandar levied his toll on the commerce and shipping of the country; and since the wealth of a Malay State depended mainly on its development by foreign traders and settlers, his office might easily become the most profitable post in the land. It was wealth that raised the Bandar to the position of a ruler of Sungai Ujong.

The following is a list of the traditional holders of this office:

- |                   |                         |
|-------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Dato' Kling,   | 7. Dato' Megat,         |
| 2. Dato' Lujar,   | 8. To' Bandar Tedoh,    |
| 3. Dato' Sangkut, | 9. To' Bandar Lebai,    |
| 4. Dato' Karang,  | 10. To' Bandar Tunggal, |
| 5. Dato' Bangkit, | 11. To' Bandar Ahmad.   |
| 6. Dato' Nahar,   |                         |

The first six are said to have held the office of Shahbandar and the title of Dato' Maharaja Diraja. The seventh, Dato' Megat, began by holding both; but the dual position alarmed Dato' Klana Leha who divided it up, giving the office of Bandar to Dato' Megat and the dignity of Dato' Sri Maharaja Diraja to the Bandar's brother, Sohor. In those days the Shahbandar ranked as a simple *lëmbaga*, his only distinction being a right to a salute of four (instead of three) guns.

In the days of Dato' Klana Sindang troubles arose over some Rawa settlers and the Dato' Bandar Lebai refused to aid the Klana with men, money and gunpowder. A *waris di-ayer* named Manja Khatib came forward with the requisite help, thus enabling the Government to tide over the crisis.

In gratitude the Klana deposed Dato' Bandar Lebai, conferred the vacant office on Manja Khatib, and raised him to the position of joint-ruler of the country. That is one story of a change which others attribute to Klana Kawal and Yamtuan Radin. Manja Khatib came to be known as Dato' Bandar Tunggal and was the chief whose turbulence and lawlessness led to British intervention in the Negri Sembilan. His character makes it improbable that he acquired power in any pacific way; but whatever may have been his methods, he was successful in raising his position to an equality with that of the Klana himself.

The title of Dato' Sri Maharaja Diraja has been held by the following persons since the eighth Dato' relinquished it in order to retain the position of Bandar:







to be any historical basis for this classification. There have been eight holders only of the title, the first six being members of the same uterine family or *pěrut*. But by a recent arrangement four families are to hold the dignity in rotation. The names of these chiefs were:

- |             |            |
|-------------|------------|
| 1. Pasar,   | 5. Lajim,  |
| 2. Ranjau,  | 6. Miin,   |
| 3. Bongkok, | 7. Simbok, |
| 4. Kahar,   | 8. Jamat.  |

The fourth of the *lěmbaga tiang balai*, the Dato' Amar of Klawang, is now a Jelebu magnate.

It will be noticed that applied to these four major chiefs the words *lěmbaga* and *waris* bear a very loose sense. A Sungai Ujong *lěmbaga* is not headman of a matriarchal tribe as in Rembau and Kuala Pilah, nor is every *waris di-darat* eligible for the position of Dato' Klana. The *adat pěrpateh* did not obtain over Sungai Ujong the power that it possesses in Rembau; and the long period during which the *adat tēměnggong* was followed, has introduced a number of anomalies into the Government of this small State.

Next in precedence after the *tiang balai* come the two representatives of the Klana's own family—the Dato' Maharaja Lela of the *waris hilir*, and the Dato' Johan of the *waris hulu*. These men are usually electors at the appointment of a Klana and possess a certain importance as such; but they have no territorial authority. From the family pedigrees it would appear that the two titles date back to the days of Dato' Klana Bahi when the law of rotation in families and of succession by female descent was introduced into Sungai Ujong. They are really the *ibu bapa* of two important *pěrut*.

Below these two *ibu bapa* come the *lěmbaga tiga di-Pantai* who are really tribal headmen of the Rembau type, though the number of their clansmen is small and their titles are modern. These three *lěmbaga* are:—

- Dato' Mantěri* (Sri Melenggang),
- Dato' Raja 'di-muda* (Biduanda),
- Dato' Maharaja Inděra* (Batu Hampar).

They were appointed originally under other designations by the Dato' Anduleka Manduleka of Pantai and exercise no authority outside his *mukim*; but their present titles were created by the Klana.

The family of the *Dato' Mantěri* goes back to a certain Dato' Alun Tujoh who lived in the days of the Bendahara Sekudai and Penghulu Selat. One of this Dato's descendants accompanied the Anduleka Manduleka to Kuala Pedaş to interview Raja Melewar and acquired the title of Dato' Umbi or "the Root" because he sat with his tongue rooted in his mouth and said nothing! At a later date the title of "Root" was turned into *Dato' Mantěri*.



There have been six *Dato' Mantëri*; one of them was Kasim, father of the present Klana of Sungai Ujong.

The family of *Dato' Raja'di-muda* traces its origin to a Batin Maabud and held a number of minor dignities under the *Dato' Anduleka Manduleka* before receiving from *Dato' Klana Kawal* the *lëmbaga*—ship of the Biduanda and the title of *Dato' Raja'di-muda*. This title has been held by four persons up to the present (1. Pendita, 2. Butang, 3. Muhammad Saleh, and 4. Kulup Laboh), but the *gilir* covers eight families in all.

A long story is attached to the dignity of *Dato' Maharaja Indëra*. The founder of the family was a certain Gemaboh, *khatib* and *mudin* to the Sultan of Johor in the days of Batin Sri Alam. This man was sent by the Sultan to Pahang and Negri Sembilan as a missionary to remove reproach from the uncircumcised. He wandered up to Penjum, then to Kuala Dulang in Jelebu where he built a mosque, and finally settled with his wife in the Pantai *mukim*. One of his descendants accompanied the *Dato' Anduleka Manduleka* on the mission to Raja Melewar, and, like the *Dato' Umbi*, was nicknamed *Dato' Pikir* because he thought so much that he never spoke at all! This hereditary nickname was changed recently into the title of *Dato' Maharaja Indëra*, *lëmbaga* of the Batu Hampar tribe:—there have only been two bearers of the newer name,—To' Gudoh and To' Daud.

The miscellaneous titles are hard to classify, and may be given in order of precedence.

The *Dato' Dagang* of Parui is said to owe his title to the fact that Raja Melewar once passed through Parui and found no one there whose business it was to receive him. He complained to the Klana of this inhospitable treatment, with the result that this frontier village was provided with a chief, the *Dato Dagang*, whose duty was the entertainment of distinguished guests. The precedence attached to this dignity is doubtless due to the comparative age of the office.

Next after the *Dato' Dagang* of Parui comes the *Penghulu Muda* of Labu. The history of this title is lengthy and dates back to the days of *Dato' Klana Leha*. The *mukim* of Labu was first settled by a certain *Dato' Mangkun*, a *waris di-ayer*, who obtained from Klana Leha a concession of the locality. The first title given to the family was won by *Dato' Mangkun* herself; she killed an elephant with one tusk and presented the trophy to the Klana who dubbed her on the spot the *Dato' Bërgajah Tunggal*, the lady of the Solitary Elephant. The higher title, that of *Penghulu Muda*, was conferred by *Dato' Klana Kawal* on *Dato' Mangkun's* grandson *Sindeh*, with the following emblems of rank: one spear, and



the right of having a State umbrella held over his head twice a year when the minor dignitaries of Labu came to pay their respects. Sindeh became blind and was succeeded by his cousin Si-Adil of Sungai Ujong. At Si-Adil's death, one Sohom became To' Muda but went on a pilgrimage to Mecca, leaving Paduka Bësar Hasan to act for him. On Sohom's return the country was in a state of civil war and no resumption of the title was possible. When Captain Murray became Resident of Sungai Ujong and the country had peace, he was approached on the subject of this office and nominated Imam Prang Kasim and afterwards one Raja Layang to be Penghulu Muda of Labu, both appointments turning out badly and ending in the deposition of the holders. Then a child named Kosin was named To' Muda and Haji Abdu'r-Rahman, a brother of the Bandar, became To' Mangku or Deputy Penghulu. Kosin was lost sight of for many years; but when Haji Abdu'r-Rahman was deprived of his office, Kosin came forward and claimed Labu. Enquiry elicited the fact that Kosin was illegitimate; so he was deprived of his title. After this incident a man named Mahmud was made To' Mangku.

The title of *To' Paduka* was created by the Bandar in connection with the dignity of To' Muda Labu and has been held by two members of the family of the *waris-di-Ayer*. Theoretically the title of Penghulu Muda of Labu should be held alternately by the descendants of To' Mangkun and her sister To' Wi.

The *Dato' Andatar* is headman of the village of Situl and is chosen from the family of the patriarch who founded the village.

The *Dato' Lela Përkasā* holds a similar position at Mandum. He is chosen from the *waris* of an aboriginal Chief named Batin Kamat.

The *Dato' Muda Linggi*, who occupies a position of semi-independence in Sungai Ujong, usually settles the question of his precedence by staying away from the great audiences at which the issue might be raised. Outside the Klana's Court he is a dignitary of considerable importance. The history of his title is interesting. About A.D. 1775 a number of settlers from Riau came to Penajis in Rembau and established a colony there. They seem to have been law-abiding people but they would not conform with Rembau matriarchal custom which treats as incest the marriage of members of the same uterine family. Tradition has it that the ruler of Rembau at that period was Dato' Uban and that he refused to tolerate their presence in the country unless they accepted the *adat përpateh* in all its rigour. The Riau colonists left Penajis and took refuge in Sungai Ujong where the patriarchal *adat tēmëng-gong* was still in force. They were welcomed by Dato' Klana Leha who gave them a tract of country on the Sungai Ujong side of the



Linggi River, bounded upstream by Kuala Selebu, downstream by Bukit Tiga and Sungai Serban, and inland by Tampin Kechil opposite Permatang Pasir. Within these frontiers they govern themselves, and are allowed to marry their cousins even to this day. They recognize however a certain vassalage both to Rembau and to Sungai Ujong,—*bėribu kapada Rembau, bėrbapa ka-Sungai Ujong*,—and are expected to furnish assistance to the rulers of those countries, should they ever desire to visit Malacca. The year of this Settlement is said to have been 1783 A.D. and helps us to date both Dato' Klana Leha and Dato' Uban of Rembau. The leaders of the settlers were Dato' Awaludin and his sister, Dato' Sri. At a later date (1798 A.D.) the present site of the village of Linggi was opened by To' Lebai Dulaman who received the title of Penghulu. He was a grandson of Dato' Sri. He was succeeded by To' Juragan Abdu'r-Rahman, his paternal uncle, who died about 1824 A.D. The next chief of Linggi Muhammad Atas was a Rembau man who had married a daughter of To' Juragan Abdu'r-Rahman, but he was styled only To' Muda. This To' Muda Katas, as he was called, played an important part in local politics at the time of the Naning War and did much to thwart the ambition of Saiyid Shaaban. In A.D. 1833 the village of Kuala Linggi was founded by settlers from Langat. The successors of To' Muda Katas have been

2. To' Muda Haji Muhammad Saleh,
3. To' Muda Muhammad Peral,
4. To' Muda Muhammad Bastam.

We now come to the titles of the officers attached to the court of the Klana and Bandar. Two of these are of the first importance.

The Dato' Laksamana Raja di-laut is the chief minister of the Klana; indeed his office is regarded as a stepping-stone to the rulership. He is, of course, a member of the inner circle of the *waris-di-darat*. He receives the envoys of foreign chiefs as well as the magnates of his own state, and is entitled himself to certain marks of high rank—a spear and a black flag (*tunggul*). The dignity was created by Dato' Klana Kawal and its holders have been

1. Sinding, afterwards Klana;
2. Saiyid Aman, afterwards Klana;
3. Nadim, deposed for recognizing Tengku Antah;
4. Puput;
5. Ahad (the present holder).

The *Dato' Pėnglima Bėsar* holds in the Bandar's Court the position that the *Dato' Laksamana* holds in the Klana's. The present Bandar was *Pėnglima Bėsar* to his predecessor.



The other officers of the Court call for little notice. They are *juak* or attendants whose humble status is hidden under high-sounding designations such as *Sultan Bëndahara*, *Diwangsa*, *Maharaja*, *Maharaja Singa*, *Pēnglima Awan*, *Imam Pěrang Kanan*, and so on. Some of these titles have elaborate histories attached to them; and all are *pěsaka* or heirlooms in certain families.

The matter of the dispossessed family of Beranang and Semun-yeh deserves attention, if only from the amount of official correspondence it has caused. The ancient boundaries of the State of Sungai Ujong differed greatly from the modern. The frontier ran from Jugra to Mt. Tunggul Si-jaga, thence to Merbok Krawang, thence by Rekok and Subang Hilang, thence to Mt. Perhentian Berhimpun in Jelebu. It included the Lukut mukims—and most of the Langat districts of Selangor. But the Bugis ruler of Selangor carved out a kingdom for themselves without reference to the rights of the To' Engku of Klang or the Penghulu Mantri of Sungai Ujong. The coast fell into their possession; they held Jugra Lukut and even at one time Cape Rachado. They did not however penetrate to inland territory much of which remained unoccupied by Bugis and Malay.

The first attempt to colonize Semun-yeh and Beranang was made in the days of the Dato' Klana Saiyid Aman who handed the district over to Raja Husain, a *waris* of Sungai Ujong. This chief levied a toll on all settlers in his mukims; but a territory cannot be developed in this primitive way, and the country remained a waste till the establishment of a settled government under the British protectorate.

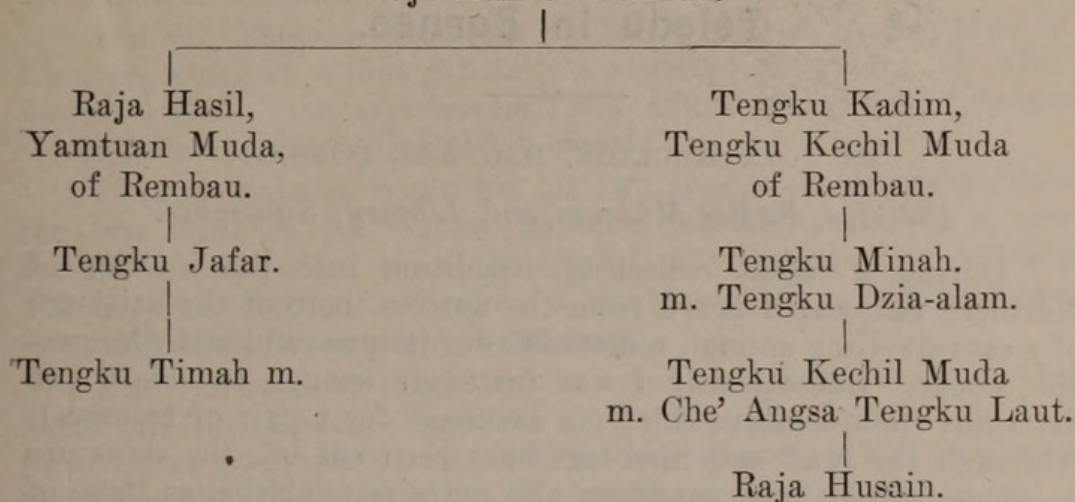
When the frontier between Selangor and Negri Sembilan came to be defined, the mukims of Beranang and Semun-yeh were included in Selangor and some portions of the coast district were ceded to Negri Sembilan. Raja Husain was offered a choice between the position of a Selangor Penghulu and the sinecure office of Dato' Laksamana of Sungai Ujong. He elected to serve under Selangor. Unfortunately he was extremely incompetent. After a long and patient trial his services were dispensed with, and his post was given to one of his relatives. That relative also was a failure. The position of Penghulu of Semun-yeh passed out of the hands of Raja Husain's family; and Raja Husain himself died shortly afterwards, leaving a large family to nurse a grievance.

But it is an interesting point in local custom that Raja Husain's children have no valid grievance over this lost inheritance. Raja Husain was a *waris* of Sungai Ujong through his mother, Che' Angsa; his children (under the law of uterine succession) are not *waris* at all. The *adat pěrpatèh* of their native country



would have disinherited them quite as surely as British dislike for the inefficient. Their genealogy is interesting however on other grounds, as the following table will show:

Raja Adil of Rembau.



It is this family which possesses the seals and traditions of the disinherited house of Raja Hasil through his grand-daughter, Tengku Timah. None the less, Raja Husain personally has no claim on the ground of descent from the deposed Yamtuan; and even his descent from Raja Adil is not in the direct male line.

The interest of the Semunyah-Beranang question is more official than historical. Raja Husain never obtained a title from any Negri Sembilan chief and has no position, except as a *waris*, in the court of the Klana.

It remains only to touch on the ceremonial at the Klana's Court.

The Ruler's insignia (*kěbėsaran*) have been enumerated already.

Those of a *lěmbaga* are:—

- (1) a salute of three guns;
- (2) a sword;
- (3) a long kris;
- (4) an umbrella;
- (5) a banner (*tunggul*);
- (6) a pennon (*ular-ular*);
- (7) a streamer (*awa-awa?*);
- (8) certain cloth decorations.

These marks of greatness are common to the *lěmbaga* of all the Negri Sembilan States. The duties differed. The great *lěmbaga* of Sungai Ujong (*tiang balai*) were hereditary territorial chiefs and not tribal headmen. They received no fees such as the *mas tukul lantak* of Rembau, and did not have their authority limited to any one tribe.





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