

THE HISTORY OF PERAK FROM NATIVE SOURCES.

BY

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EXTRACT FROM THE *Marong Mahawangsa* RELATING TO THE
FOUNDING OF A KINGDOM CALLED PERAK.

“One day Raja MARONG MAHA PODISAT went into his outer audience hall, where all his ministers, warriors and officers were in attendance, and commanded the four *Mantris* to equip an expedition with all the necessary officers and armed men, and with horses and elephants, arms and accoutrements. The four *Mantris* did as they were ordered, and when all was ready they informed the Raja. The latter waited for a lucky day and an auspicious moment, and then desired his second son to set out. The Prince took leave after saluting his father and mother, and all the ministers, officers and warriors who followed him performed obeisance before the Raja. They then set out in search of a place of settlement, directing their course between South and East intending to select a place with good soil and there to build a town with fort, moat, palace and *balei*. They amused themselves in every forest, wood and thicket through which they passed, crossing numbers of hills and mountains, and stopping here and there to hunt wild beasts, or to fish if they happened to fall in with a pool or lake.

“After they had pursued their quest for some time, they came to the tributary of a large river which flowed down to the sea. Further on they came to a large sheet of water, in the midst of which were four islands. The Prince was much pleased with the appearance of the islands, and straightway took a silver arrow and fitted it to his bow named *Indra Sakti* and said: ‘O arrow of the bow *Indra Sakti*, fall thou on good soil in this group of islands; wherever thou mayest chance to fall, there will I make a palace in

which to live.' He then drew his bow and discharged the arrow, which flew upwards with the rapidity of lightning and with a humming sound like that made by a beetle as it flies round a flower, and went out of sight. Presently it came in sight again, and fell upon one of the islands, which, on that account, was called *Pulau Indra Sakti*. On that spot was erected a town with fort, palace and *balei*, and all the people who were living scattered about in the vicinity were collected together, and set to work on the various buildings. The Prince reigned here with great justice and generosity, and all the poor and indigent prayed for him that he might be preserved in his state and dignity. And Raja MARONG MAHA PODISAT and his Counsellors called this country *Negri Perak*, from its connection with the silver arrow. The Prince was then formally established as Raja in Perak, and he sent an embassy to inform the King, his father, of the fact, and his power increased, and numbers of people flocked to Perak on account of the justice and liberality of his administration."⁽¹⁾

Of this story, it is necessary to say that it has no local currency in Perak, and that the Perak Malay commences the history of his country with the legend of the white Semang.⁽²⁾ I have, however, heard an attempt to reconcile both legends by the statement that it was after the dynasty founded by the son of the Kedah Raja had died out, that the new line of kings from Johor was brought in.

It is not easy to name any spot in Perak which corresponds in the least with the lake and islands described in the text. Colonel Low suggests the Dindings, or some tract near the Bruas river. The latter is probably the oldest settled district in Perak. The *Sajarah Malayu* mentions a "Raja of Bruas" before there was a Raja of Perak of the Johor line. Local traditions, too, all speak of Bruas as the ancient seat of government. Localities on that river

(¹) Translated from a copy of the *Marong Mahawangsa* in my possession. See also Colonel Low's translation, *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, III., 176.

(²) I have given this legend at length in a paper recently contributed to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, N. S., Vol. XIII., Part IV.

are identified by natives as the scenes of the fabulous adventures described in the *Hikayat Shamsu-l-bahrin* ⁽¹⁾, and it is traditionally related that the Bruas was formerly connected with the Perak river at a place now called Tepus, but then called Tumbus. An-

⁽¹⁾ See a short description of this work in VAN DER TUUK'S account of the Malay M.S.S. belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society, No. 61.

The following extract is translated from a copy in my possession. It is the opening passage, and summarises the adventures described in the body of the work. The mixture of Hindu and Muhammadan names is very characteristic of Malay Romances:—

“In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. God knoweth the truth.

“This is the tale of *Shamsu-l-bahrin*, the incidents of which are related by the author in the most elegant language. This prince was descended on the male side from the posterity of God's Prophet ADAM, on whom be blessings and peace, and on the female side from the stock of Raja INDRA.* He it was who was famed for his nobility, beauty of form, benevolence, wisdom, and fidelity. And it was he who was endowed with the twelve virtues, and who had exceeding compassion for those servants of God who suffered in justice, and who aided them to the utmost of his power wherever he might be. This was the prince who was widely renowned in the lands of the Jin, and the Peri, the Dewa, Mambang, Indra, and Chandra. Even down to mankind all feared and admired and stood astonished at his wisdom and prudence, to which must be added his boldness and courage and his supernatural power and knowledge of all the secret sciences and arts. He it was who possessed himself of the bow of *Rama Bisnu*,† called *Kinduwan Braksana*,‡ (of exceeding virtue not to be surpassed in those days), having taken

* In Hindu mythology, *Indra* is the king of heaven.

† *Bisnu*=*Vishnu*, one of the gods of the Hindu Triad. *Rama* is one of the incarnations of *Vishnu*.

‡ *Rama's* bow and arrows are famed in the *Rāmāyana*.

cient tombs at Bruas support the popular tradition of its importance as a settlement in former times. The most venerable spot in

it from *Yan al Jan*. He it was who rode upon the horse named *Mardan Darakas*, the offspring of *Yan al Jan*; and it was he who slew the Jin called *Mula Bazat*, who dwelt on the mountain *Maha Prabat* guarding the sword of *Yapat*,* the son of the Prophet *Noah*, on whom be peace; and who possessed himself of the sword of *Yapat*, the son of *Noah*, which is not to be surpassed in this world. He it was who was a pupil of *Brama Sakti*,† whose like there was not for supernatural virtues. He too it was who slit the nose of the son of the Raja *Mambang Gangga Mahadira*, and who cut off the ears of the son of Raja *Dewa Mahajata*. It was he who slew the demon *Daniawa*, whose bulk was that of a mountain, and the *Dewa Puteh* who had fifty heads and one hundred arms. He too, took the ivory tablet bearing the picture of the princess *Chandra Nulela* from the hands of the Jin whose name is *Samu*. It was he who killed Raja *Dewa*, in the world called *Harmandan Dewa*, and also the Raja of the Spirits of the Green Sea, whose name was *Chakra Kahana*. He it was who was imprisoned by *Chakra Kahana* for the space of a year and seven months in an iron prison, and yet came to no harm. It was he who slew the dragon in the sea of *Para-Lankapuri*, and who took the princess *Langli Ilang* at the lake of the four brothers; and he also took the jewelled bracelet, the workmanship of Raja *Jemshid*, which was wonderful to behold, and, over and above that, of magic power and virtue. He it was who slew the spirit of the sea of *Para-Lankapuri*, whose name was *Darma Gangga* and the demon *Hasta Brama*, whose body was two hundred fathoms long, whose skin was red like fire, whose hair fell down to his ancles, whose tongue reached to his knees, and who had tusks seven fathoms in length. And it was he who slew the Jin that dwelt below the earth whose name was *Patlamah Sakti*, and whose supernatural power was such that his brightness reached to the heavens. He it was who killed the Raja of all the *Dewa* and

* *Yapat*=Japhet.

† *Brama Sakti* is described as an ascetic living a life of religious austerity. Possibly the incident has been derived from some one of the *puranas* in which god *Bramha*'s appearances on earth in the character of a religious mendicant are related.

Perak, however, is Tumung on the Perak river, a few miles North of Kwala Kangsa which is the scene of the legend of the white Semang already alluded to.

THE LEGEND OF THE WHITE SEMANG.

(Reprinted from the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, N. S. XIII., Part IV.)

“Baginda DAI reigned in Johor Lama.⁽¹⁾ He despatched a trusted counsellor, one Nakhodah KASIM, to sail forth and look for a suitable place for a settlement, for there were plenty of willing emigrants. Nakhodah KASIM got ready a fleet of prahus and sailed up the Straits of Malacca, hugging the coast, till he reached Bruas (a district and river in Perak). While there, he saw that a brisk trade was being carried on between the coast and the interior, imported goods being despatched up the country and native produce brought down from the inland districts. He made inquiries and was told that there was a big river in the interior. His curiosity was now aroused and he penetrated on foot into the interior and discovered the Perak river. Here he traded, like the natives of the country, making trips up and down the river, and selling salt and tobacco⁽²⁾ at the villages by the river-side. On one of these trips he reached Tumung in the North of Perak, and made fast his boat

the spirits of the sea, the land and the water, whose name was, Raja *Baranggi*, whose sway extended from the East to the West from the South to the North, and to whom all spirits were subject. God knoweth the truth!”

(¹) Johor Lama was the old capital of the State of Johor, which is the southernmost of the Malay States of the Peninsula.

(²) Tobacco was first introduced into the Eastern Archipelago by the Portuguese at Malacca in the sixteenth century. Anachronisms of this kind are common in native histories.

to the bank. After a few days the Semangs (Perak was not yet populated by Malays) came down from their hills to buy salt. They came loaded with the produce of their gardens—sugar-canes, plantains and edible roots—and brought their wives and families with them.

“A Semang girl, while her father was bargaining at the boat, took up a sugar-cane and commenced to strip off the rind with a knife; in doing so she accidentally cut her hand. Blood issued from the wound, but what was the astonishment of all around her when they saw that its colour was not red but pure white! A report of this prodigy quickly spread from mouth to mouth, and Nakhodah KASIM landed from his boat to see it with his own eyes. It occurred to him that this was a family not to be lost sight of, he loaded the father with presents, and, in a month’s time, by dint of constant attentions, he had so far won the confidence of the shy Semangs that he was able to ask for the girl in marriage. The father agreed and Nakhodah KASIM and his wife settled at Kuala Tumung, where they built a house and planted fruit-trees.

“Now, the Perak river overflows its banks once a year, and sometimes there are very great floods. Soon after the marriage of Nakhodah KASIM with the white Semang, an unprecedented flood occurred and quantities of foam came down the river. Round the piles of the bathing-house; which, in accordance with Malay custom, stood in the bed of the river close to the bank in front of the house, the floating volumes of foam collected in a mass the size of an elephant. Nakhodah KASIM’s wife went to bathe, and finding this island of froth in her way she attempted to move it away with a stick; she removed the upper portion of it and disclosed a female infant sitting in the midst of it enveloped all round with cloud-like foam. The child showed no fear and the white Semang, carefully lifting her, carried her up to the house, heralding her discovery by loud shouts to her husband. The couple adopted the child willingly, for they had no children, and they treated her thenceforward as their own. They assembled the villagers and gave them a feast, solemnly announcing their adoption of the daughter of the river and their intention of leaving to her everything that they possessed.

“The child was called TAN PUTEH, but her father gave her the

name of **TEH PURBA**.⁽¹⁾ As she grew up the wealth of her foster-parents increased; the village grew in extent and population, and gradually became an important place.

“One day some Semangs were hunting at a hill near the river Plus, called Bukit Pasir Puteh, or Bukit Pelandok. They heard their dogs barking furiously, but, on following them up, found no quarry, only a large bamboo (*buluh bětong*), small at the top and bottom, and having one large thick joint, which seemed to be attracting the attention of the dogs. They split open the thick part of the stem and found in it a male child, whom they forthwith took to Nakhodah KASIM. The latter adopted him as his son, and when the two children were grown up they were betrothed, and in due time were married. The marriage was, however, merely nominal, for TAN PUTEH PURBA preserved her virginity, and TOH CHANGKAT PELANDOK, her husband, returned to his native district, Plus. Nakhodah KASIM at length died, leaving TAN PUTEH mistress of the whole of Perak. As he lay dying, he told her his history, how he had come from the land of Johor, of the Raja of which he was an attendant, and how he had been despatched to find a suitable place for a settlement. He declared the name of his master to be Sultan MAHMUD of Johor, and with his dying breath directed that a Raja for Perak should be asked for from that country.

“TAN PUTEH now called one of her ministers, TAN SABAN, whom she had adopted in his childhood. He came of a noble family, and belonged to the district called *Tanah Merah* (Red Earth). A wife had been found for him by TAN PUTEH, and he had two children, both girls. TAN SABAN was commanded by his mistress to open negotiations with Johor, and this having been done, a prince of the royal house of that kingdom, who traced his descent from the old line of Menangkaban, sailed for Perak to assume the sovereignty. He brought with him the insignia of royalty, namely, the royal drums (*gandang nobat*), the pipes (*nafiri*), the flutes (*sarunei* and *bangsi*), the betel-box (*puan naga taru*), the sword

(¹) *Teh*, short for *Puteh*, white; *Púrba*, or *púrva*, Sanskrit “first.” This name is also given to the first Malay Raja in the *Sajarah Malayu*.

(*chora mandakini*), the sword (*perbujang*), the sceptre (*kaya gamit*), the jewel (*kamala*), the '*surat chiri*,' the seal of state (*chap halilintar*), and the umbrella (*ubar-ubar*). All these were inclosed in a box called *Baninan*.

"One his way up the Perak river the new Raja stopped at Selat Lembajayan for amusement. One of his attendants happened to point out some fish in the water, and, in leaning over the boat's side to look at them, the Raja lost his crown, which fell from his head and immediately sank. His people dived in vain for it, and from that day to this no Sultan of Perak has had a crown. Near Kota Setia the Raja was received by TAN PUTEH, TAN SABAN and all the chief men of the country, who escorted him to Kota Lumut. Here he was formally installed as Sultan of Perak under the title of AHAMAD TAJ-UDDIN SHAH, and one of the daughters of TAN SABAN was given to him in marriage. It is this Raja to whom the Perak Malays popularly ascribe the political organization of the country under the control of chiefs of various ranks, each having definite duties to perform. After a short reign, AHAMAD TAJ-UDDIN SHAH died, leaving one son about two years old.

"As soon as the Sultan's death was known in Johor, a nephew of his (who was afterwards known as Sultan MALIK SHAH) started at once for Perak. Having reached his late uncle's *astana* (palace) at Tanah Abang, to which place the capital had been removed from Kota Lumut, he called for the nurses and attendants of the infant Raja and demanded permission to visit his young cousin. He was accordingly introduced into the prince's apartment, and seizing the child by violence broke his neck and killed him. He then seized the royal sword and other insignia and established himself as Raja under the title of Sultan MALIK SHAH. By degrees all the chiefs and people came in and accepted the usurper as their sovereign, with the single exception of TAN SABAN, the grandfather of the murdered boy. His obstinate refusal to recognize MALIK SHAH led to a sanguinary war, which lasted for three years. TAN SABAN was gradually driven further and further up the Perak river. He fortified numerous places on its banks, but his forts were taken one after another, and on each occasion he retreated to another stronghold. His most determined stand was made Kota Lama, where he

fortified a strong position. This was closely invested by the Sultan's forces, and a long siege ensued. During the siege an unknown warrior joined the Sultan's army. He came from Pagaruyong in Menangkabau and was the illegitimate son of the Great Sultan of that country, by a concubine. In consequence of his illegitimate birth, he was driven forth from his native country, having for his sole fortune a matchlock (*istinggarda*) ⁽¹⁾ and four bullets, on each of which was inscribed the words, 'This is the son of the concubine of the Raja of Pagaruyong; his name is MAGAT TERAWIS; ⁽²⁾ wherever his bullet falls he will become a chief.' MAGAT TERAWIS did not declare his name or origin to the Perak men, but served with them as an obscure soldier. At length, having selected an auspicious day, he asked one of the Sultan's followers to point out TAN SABAN to him. This the man had no difficulty in doing, for TAN SABAN was frequently to be seen on the outworks of his fort across the river dressed in garments of conspicuous colours. In the morning he wore red, at midday yellow, and in the evening his clothes were green. ⁽³⁾ When he was pointed out to MAGAT

(1) Another anachronism. So, cannons are mentioned in several places in the Thousand and One Nights. See LANE's translation, vol. ii., p. 329, note 100. The *istinggarda* (Portuguese *espingarda*) is the old-fashioned matchlock, specimens of which may still be found in use among the Malays. In former times a bow and four arrows may probably have occupied the place given to the matchlock and bullets in this narrative.

(2) *Magat*, a Malay title of Sanskrit origin. *Māgadha* (Sansk.) = the son of a Vaiçya by a Kshatriya woman. In Malay, *magat* is applied to a chief who is noble on one side only.

(3) A superstitious observance found among more than one Indo-Chinese nation. "Le général en chef doit se conformer à plusieurs coutumes et observances superstitieuses; par exemple, il faut qu'il mette une robe de couleur différente pour chaque jour de la semaine; le dimanche il s'habille en blanc, le lundi en jaune, le mardi en vert, le mercredi en rouge, le jeudi en bleu, le vendredi en noir, et le samedi en violet."—PALLEGOIX, Description de Siam, vol. i., p. 319.

Regarding the signification attached to various colours by the Turks and Arabs, see LANE's Thousand and One Nights, vol. ii., p. 326, note 78.

TERAWIS, it was the morning, and he was dressed in red. MAGAT TERAWIS levelled his matchlock and fired, and his bullet struck TAN SABAN's leg. The skin was hardly broken and the bullet fell to the ground at the chief's feet; but, on taking it up and reading the inscription, he knew that he had received his death-wound. He retired to his house, and, after ordering his flag to be hauled down, despatched a messenger to the opposite camp to call the warrior whose name he had read on the bullet. Inquiries for MAGAT TERAWIS were fruitless at first, for no one knew the name. At length he declared himself and went across the river with TAN SABAN's messenger, who brought him into the presence of the dying man. The latter said to him, 'MAGAT TERAWIS, thou art my son in this world and the next, and my property is thine. I likewise give thee my daughter in marriage, and do thou serve the Raja faithfully in my place, and not be rebellious as I have been.' TAN SABAN then sued for the Sultan's pardon, which was granted to him, and the marriage of his daughter with MAGAT TERAWIS was permitted to take place. Then TAN SABAN died, and he was buried with all the honours due to a Malay chief.⁽¹⁾ MAGAT TERAWIS was raised to the rank of a chief, and one account says that he became Bandahara.⁽²⁾

"Not long after this, the Sultan, taking MAGAT TERAWIS with him, ascended the Perak river to its source, in order to fix the boundary between Perak and Patani. At the foot of the mountain Titi Wangsa they found a great rock in the middle of the stream, from beneath which the water issued, and there was a wild cotton-tree upon the mountain, which bore both red and white flowers, the white flowers being on the side facing Perak, and the red ones on the side turned towards Patani. Then the

(¹) This legendary war of TAN SABAN with the second king of Perak owes its origin probably to mythological accounts of the wars of Salivahana and Vikramaditya, which Hindu settlers, not improbably, brought to Malay countries. *Saban* is a natural corruption of Salivahana.

(²) *Bandahara*, treasurer. (Sansk. *bhandagara*, treasure), the highest title given to a subject in a Malay State.

Sultan climbed up upon the big rock in the middle of the river, and drawing forth his sword *Perbujang*, he smote the rock and clove it in two, so that the water ran down in one direction to Perak and in the other to Patani. This was declared to be the boundary between the two countries.

“On their return down-stream, the Raja and his followers halted at Chigar Galah, where a small stream runs into the river Perak. They were struck with astonishment at finding the water of this stream as white as *santan* (the grated pulp of the cocoanut mixed with water). MAGAT TERAWIS, who was despatched to the source of the stream to discover the cause of this phenomenon, found there a large fish of the kind called *haruan* engaged in suckling her young one. She had large white breasts from which milk issued.⁽¹⁾

“He returned and told the Raja, who called the river ‘Perak’ (‘silver’), in allusion to its exceeding whiteness. Then he returned to Kota Lama.”

TRANSLATION OF PART OF PERAK SALSILA, OR “BOOK OF
DESCENT,” OF THE ROYAL FAMILY, COMMENCING
WITH THE DEATH OF SULTAN MAHMUD, THE
LAST KING OF MALACCA.

“Sultan MAHMUD fell sick, and in his illness he gave orders that the Bandahara, Paduka Tuan, the Sri Nara Diraja, and two or three other Chiefs should be summoned. And the King leaned on

⁽¹⁾ This recalls the account in Northern mythology of the four rivers which are said to flow from the teats of the cow Audhumla.

In a great many Malay myths the colour *white* is an all-important feature. In this legend we have the white Semang and the white river. In others white animals and white birds are introduced.

the shoulder of Sri Nara Diraja, so that his forehead touched that of the latter, and Sultan MAHMUD SHAH said: 'In my belief my sickness is unto death, therefore I give the Sultan Muda into the charge of ye all, for he is yet a boy.' Then the Bandahara and all the Chiefs said: 'Tuanku, may God avert from your Highness all evil, nevertheless, if the grass should wither in the court-yard of your Highness, we will by no means do ought in breach of your commands,' and the King was greatly comforted by the assurance of the Bandahara and the Chiefs.

"And after a few days Sultan MAHMUD SHAH died, and his body was buried by the people with all the honours customary in burying Rajas when they are dead. It was this Sultan who was called after his death *Marhum Kampar*, and the time that he had reigned in Malacca was thirty years, and at the end of that time Malacca was conquered by MOR ⁽¹⁾ and he fled to Pahang for a year, and thence to Bentan, where he spent twelve years, and thence to Kampar, where he remained for five years. Thus the whole time that he was Raja was forty-eight years. ⁽²⁾ As soon as *Marhum Kampar* was dead the Sultan Muda was made Raja under the title of Sultan ALA-EDDIN AYAT SHAH. Raja MOZAFAR was driven out by the Bandahara and all the Chiefs, and he said: 'Why am I driven out? Am I going to wrest the sovereignty from Inche TAN ⁽³⁾ by force?' All the Chiefs said: 'Away with Raja MOZAFAR SHAH from this country.' Then said Raja MOZAFAR SHAH: 'Wait a while, for my rice is still on the fire and is not yet cooked.' But the Chiefs said: 'Of what use is it to wait longer? Go down now without de-

(¹) مك ملاك الهله دري مور The capture of Malacca by the Portuguese under ALBUQUERQUE is of course the event alluded to. The *Sajarah Malayu* mentions a Portuguese "Captain Mor." LEYDEN's Malay Annals, p. 326. I am indebted to Mr. NORONHA for the information that "Capitão-mór" (literally Captain-in-Chief) was an ancient rank in the Portuguese Navy corresponding more or less nearly with "Admiral of the Fleet."

(²) See Journal of the Indian Archipelago, Vol. IX., p. 68.

(³) This is an allusion to TAN FATIMA, the favourite wife of Sultan MAHMUD SHAH, in favour of whose son ALA-EDDIN (according to this account) the real heir MOZAFAR SHAH was disinherited.

lay.' So Raja MOZAFAR SHAH went down with his wife TAN TRANG and one of the late King's sons, Raja MANSUR, who lived with him. And Raja MOZAFAR SHAH said to the Chiefs: 'Take word to Inche TAN that if I die, SI MANSUR must be received back by her.' And the Chiefs said: 'Very well.' Then Raja MOZAFAR SHAH took a passage on board a vessel—*baluk*—⁽¹⁾ and went to Siak, and thence to Kalang where he dwelt quietly. And there was a certain man of *Manjong*, ⁽²⁾ SIU-MIA by name, who was constantly trading between Perak and Kalang. And he saw Raja MOZAFAR SHAH at Kalang and he brought him to Perak and made him Raja there, and the King took the title of Sultan MOZAFAR SHAH. ⁽³⁾

"His younger brother (who inherited the throne of Johor) was entitled Sultan ALA-EDDIN AYAT SHAH. He dwelt at Johor, fixing his capital at Pasir Raja. He had two daughters, the elder of whom was married to Raja JALIL, a grandson of Sultan MAHMUD SHAH (his mother having been a daughter of the late Sultan). His father was one Raja TUNGGAL, who was not of the line of the Malay Kings.

"When Sultan ALA-EDDIN died, he was called by the people *Mar-*

(¹) *Baluk*. The Arabic *fulk*, which signifies a ship or other vessel; whence "felucca."

(²) *Manjong*. This name appears to have been given in old times to some portion of the State of Perak, but I can get no information about it in Perak itself. The *Sajarah Malayu* contains an account of an expedition against *Manjong* despatched by Sultan MAHMUD of Malacca. There was then a "Raja of Bruas." "*Manjong* was formerly a great country and was not on friendly terms with Bruas." LEYDEN'S Malay Annals, p. 264. The name of the trader SIU-MIA seems to be Indian.

(³) According to the *Sajarah Malayu*, the Sultan MOZAFAR SHAH who became Raja of Perak was quite a different person from Raja MOZAFAR, the son of the last Sultan of Malacca. The former was nephew of the Raja of Bruas and became Bandahara of Johor. His name was TUN VIAJET, and he took the title of Sultan MOZAFAR SHAH on becoming Raja of Perak. LEYDEN'S Malay Annals, p. 265.

hum Sayyid Mangkat di Acheh ⁽¹⁾. Then Raja JALIL became Raja; he had two sons by a concubine. He it was who had the *nobat*, or royal drum, both in his own right and in that of his wife. When he died the people named him *Marhum Batu*. And his consort, after her death, was called *Marhum Bukit*. Then the eldest son of Raja JALIL became Raja, and he begot Raja BUJANG. And when this King died, he was called *Marhum Kampar*.

“And his younger brother succeeded him and had a son called Raja BAJAU. When this King died the people called him *Marhum Tembalan*. Then Raja BUJANG became Raja, and Raja BAJAU became Raja Muda. The Raja Muda had a son called Raja IBRAHIM, who was adopted by Raja BUJANG. When Raja BUJANG died the people called him *Marhum Mangkat di Pahang*. Then Raja IBRAHIM was made Raja, and when he died he was called *Marhum Bongsu*. Then the son of Raja IBRAHIM became Raja; it was this sovereign who was called *Marhum Mangkat di Kota Tinggi*. He had no offspring, and with him ended the line of Malay Kings in Johor.

“But his Bandahara had many children and grandchildren, and

(¹) “MARHUM SAYYID who died at Acheh.”

Marhum, one who has found mercy, *i.e.*, the deceased. It is the custom of Malays to discontinue after the death of a King the use of the title which he bore during his life. A new title is invented for the deceased monarch by which he is ever afterwards known. The existence of a similar custom among other Indo-Chinese races has been noticed by Colonel YULE: “There is also a custom of dropping or concealing the proper name of the King. This exists in Burma and (according to LA LOUBERE) in Siam. The various Kings of those countries are generally distinguished by some nickname derived from facts in their reign or personal relations *and applied to them after their decease*. Thus we hear among the Burmese Kings of “The King dethroned by foreigners,” “The King who fled from the Chinese,” “The grandfather King,” and even “the King thrown into the water.” Now this has a close parallel in the Archipelago. Among the Kings of Macassar, we find one King known only as the “Throat-cutter;” another as “He who ran amuck;” a third, “The beheaded;” a fourth, “He who was beaten to death on his own staircase.” Colonel YULE ascribes the origin of this custom to Ancient India. *Journal Anthropol. Institute*,

this Johor Bandahara was of the same stock as the Malay Kings, for the origin of the Malay Bandaharas was in Singapura. The King of Singapura was Raja SINGA, ⁽¹⁾ who came out of the sea, and who married a princess, the daughter of DEMANG LEBAR DAUN; he reigned at Singapura, and had two sons, the elder of whom became Raja and the younger Bandahara. It was ordained by the Malay Rajas, as to the male descendants of the Bandahara, that they could not intermarry with the family of the Raja, but must seek wives elsewhere. They were, however, entitled to be addressed with respect, and it was lawful for the members of the royal family to take wives of the descendants of the Bandahara, and these were addressed as Raja also ⁽²⁾. This is the account of the descent of the Malay Rajas and Bandaharas of the line of Singapura down to that of Johor.

“After the death of *Marhum Mangkat di Kota Tinggi*, the Johor Bandahara became Raja. Raja MOZAFAR SHAH, who had gone to Perak, had a son named Raja MANSUR ⁽³⁾ who remained behind at Johor when his father went to Perak, and who married a sister of *Marhum Bukit*.

“Raja MOZAFAR SHAH, when he became Raja of Perak, established his capital at Tanah Abang, and after his death he became known as *Marhum di Tanah Abang*. Then Raja MANSUR and his wife were sent by Sultan ALA-EDDIN (of Johor) to Perak, and they were established in the sovereignty there. They made their capital at Kota Lama. They had sixteen children, three of whom were sons.

⁽¹⁾. No Raja SINGA is mentioned in the *Sajarah Malayu*, but the name of the mythical founder of Singapura matters little, for the whole account of it is mythological not historical. The table of the genealogy of the early Malay Kings, which will be found in Vol. IX. of the Journal of the Indian Archipelago, p. 66, assumes the historical accuracy of Malay chronicles, though the early portions of them belong entirely to the domain of mythology.

⁽²⁾. See LEYDEN'S Malay Annals, p. 48.

⁽³⁾. Raja MANSUR is mentioned in the *Sajarah Malayu* as “he who reigns at present,” an allusion which supplies some evidence of the date of that work. Raja MANSUR was the father of Sultan MANSUR SHAH of Aceh, who, when he died in A. H. 993, was old enough to have a grandson to succeed him.

When Raja MANSUR died the people called him *Marhum di Kota Lama*.

“After this the country was conquered by the men of Aceh, and the widow of *Marhum di Kota Lama* and her sixteen children were taken as captives to Aceh. After their arrival there, the eldest son of *Marhum di Kota Lama* was taken by ABD-EL-KHANA as her husband and became Raja of Aceh.⁽¹⁾ During his reign he sent his next younger brother to Perak, and installed him there as Raja, with his capital at Julang. That place having been inundated by floods seven times, the Raja moved his residence to Garonggong.

“And the Raja of Aceh went across to Perak to amuse himself and to visit his brother, on whom he had bestowed the kingdom. On his return from his visit to Perak, he had just reached Kuala Aceh when he died.⁽²⁾ He was called by the people *Sri Pada Mangkat di Kuala*.⁽³⁾

“After that the mother of *Sri Pada Mangkat di Kuala* returned to Perak with all her family; one of his sisters had in the meantime married at Aceh and had given birth to a daughter who accompanied her mother to Perak.

“And the brother of *Sri Pada Mangkat di Kuala*, who reigned in Perak, begot a son named Raja KECHIL. After this King died he was spoken of by the people as *Marhum Muda*. His younger brother then became Raja. It was at that time that *Marhum Pahang* created his son Raja Muda (of Pahang) because he was about to

(1). It is interesting to compare this with the genealogy of the the Kings of Aceh. Paduka Sri Sultan MANSUR SHAH, described as the King of Perak, reigned in Aceh for 8 years 3 months and 3 days, and was killed on Monday, the 17th Muharram, A. H. 993 (A.D. 1585). See *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, IV., 599; CRAWFURD, *Hist. Indian Archipelago*, II., 506.

(2). According to CRAWFURD, MANSUR SHAH, his queen and many of the principal nobility, were murdered by the Commander-in-Chief of the Army. A grandson of MANSUR SHAH, known as Sultan BUJANG, who succeeded him, was murdered three years later by the same Chief, who then usurped the throne.

(3). “Sri PADA who died at the mouth of the river.” Çri-pâda, “Holy feet,” is by Buddhists employed as a title of Buddha. Malays, though Muhammadans, are not particular as to the origin of the Sanskrit titles they adopt.

ask in marriage for him a princess of the royal family of Perak. The object of this was to take advantage of the custom which requires reigning sovereigns to take their wives with them into their own countries. After *Marhum Muda* of Pahang had made his son Raja Muda, he sent to Perak to demand in marriage for him the niece of *Sri Pada Mangkat di Kuala*, who had come from Acheh. The Pahang escort came as far as Kuala Tambalang at the head of the river Sak. And the Raja Muda of Pahang was installed as Raja by his father [who abdicated in his favour?] in order to complete the happiness of the royal couple. And he returned to Pahang and reigned there, and begot two daughters. And when he died the people [of Perak?] called him *Marhum Muda Pahang*. After his death his widow and his two children were sent back to Perak by his successor.

“And after a time the brother of *Marhum Muda* of Perak died, and the people called him *Marhum Muda Mangkat di Tebing* ⁽¹⁾.

“Then the son of Raja KECHIL, who was also the grandson of *Marhum Muda*, became Raja. He was known after his death as *Marhum Mangkat di Darat* ⁽²⁾.

“A sister of *Marhum Sri Pada Mangkat di Kuala* had borne two sons in Perak, one of whom was called Tunku TUAH, and the other Raja BONGSU, Tunku TUAH now became Raja. In his time the country was again conquered by *Marhum Makota 'Alam* ⁽³⁾ of Acheh. Tunku TUAH and Raja BONGSU and all the members of the royal family and all the Chiefs were carried captive to Acheh. And the two daughters of *Marhum Muda Pahang* were made captive also with their mother. But Raja MANSUR, son of Raja KECHIL

(1). “The younger, who died on the river-bank.”

(2). “He who died in the country.”

(3). Although I do not find the title *Marhum Makota 'Alam*, “Crown of the World” in the Acheh Annals, there can be little doubt that the sovereign meant is Sultan ISKANDAR MUDA, the greatest of all the Kings of Acheh, who, during his long reign, conquered most of the neighbouring States. It was to him that JAMES I. sent a letter and presents (including two brass guns) by Captain BEST. LOUIS XIII. of France sent Commodore BEAULIEU with letters and presents to him in 1621. *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, IV., 603, note 8.

and brother of *Marhum Mangkat di Darat*, made his escape to Johor. And there were left in Perak only Maharaja Lela and Paduka Raja, the former of whom went to Johor to fetch Raja MANSUR. The latter, while in Johor, had married Raja AMPUN JAMBI. Paduka Raja, on the other hand, went to Aceh to fetch Raja BONGSU. The first to arrive in Perak was Maharaja Lela bringing Raja MANSUR, whom he proclaimed Raja of Perak with his Court at Semat. Raja AMPUN JAMBI was left behind in Johor, and while they were arranging to send for her, Paduka Raja arrived with an army from Aceh, and brought Raja BONGSU and established him as Raja in Perak under the title of Sultan MAHMUD SHAH. Raja MANSUR was taken away to Aceh. When Sultan MAHMUD SHAH died he was named *Marhum Mangkat di Baroh*.⁽¹⁾

"Then Raja KUBAT, the son of *Marhum Mangkat di Baroh*, became Raja, and took the title of Sultan SALA-EDDIN. And after a time he presented himself at Aceh and there died, and people speak of him since as *Marhum Mangkat di Aceh*.⁽²⁾

"Now among the captives at Aceh, there was a son of Raja MAHMUD, grandson of *Marhum Kasab* of Siak (his mother was a daughter of Bandahara Paduka Raja, and her name was TANDA MAPALA JOHARA). His name was Raja SULONG. He had married at Aceh, where Sultan MUKAL⁽³⁾ had given him as a wife a daughter of *Marhum Muda Pahang*, herself also a captive at Aceh. Raja SULONG and his wife were sent over by Sultan MUKAL to Perak, where he (Raja SULONG) was installed as Raja and took the royal title of Sultan MOZAFAR SHAH.

"This sovereign was father of the Yang-di-per-tuan of Perak, afterwards known as Sultan MAHMUD SHAH. The mother of the latter was daughter of *Marhum Muda Pahang*, grand-niece of *Marhum Mangkat di Tebing*, grand-daughter of *Marhum Kota Lama*, and great-grand-daughter of *Marhum Tanah Abang*.

"Sultan MAHMUD SHAH had six brothers and sisters, four of the

(1). "He who died by the river-side."

(2). "He who died at Aceh."

(3). This is evidently Sultan MAGHUL, who succeeded his father-in-law Sultan ISKANDAR MUDA of Aceh, in A.H. 1045 (A.D. 1635).

full blood, namely two brothers and two sisters, and two of the half-blood on the father's side. His full brother, Raja MANSUR, was called Yang-di-per-tuan Muda, and had ten children—seven sons and three daughters. And when Sultan MAHMUD SHAH died, the people called him *Marhum Besar*.

“During his life-time, *Marhum Besar* had adopted three of his nephews—Raja RADIN, Raja INU and Raja BISNU.⁽¹⁾ Raja RADIN was created Raja Muda, and was afterwards called Sultan Muda. Raja INU was made Raja at Bernam under the title of Sultan MOZAFAR SHAH and was honoured with the insignia of royalty and with a following of warriors and officers according to custom.

“After *Marhum Besar* had returned to the mercy of God, Sultan Muda was made Raja of Perak, and took the title of Sultan ALA-EDDIN GHRAYAT SHAH. His younger brother, Raja BISNU became Raja Muda, and carried on the government under his brother the Sultan.

“After Sultan ALA-EDDIN had been Sultan for some time, Sultan MOZAFAR SHAH came from Bernam and invaded Perak. And by the decree of God most high, who executes his will upon all his creatures by any means that he may choose, there was dissension among the Chiefs of Perak. And there was war between the Raja of Bernam and the Toh Bandahara and the Chiefs of Perak and all was fighting and confusion, one with another. And the Yang-di-per-tuan of Bernam was defeated, and after a battle he had to move down the river. After this the Laksamana reinforced the Raja of Bernam and his *penglimas*, and brought them up the river to Bandar. Again there was a battle with the Toh Bandahara of Perak and the Chiefs, and the latter were worsted and had to retreat up the river.

“The Laksamana halted below Bandar, and sent forward an agent to present himself before the Yang-di-per-tuan of Perak with a respectful message to His Highness and the Raja Muda to the effect that he (the Laksamana) had no intention of being disloyal to the three royal brothers, but that his only desire was to meet with the Datoh Bandahara and his warriors, for it seemed as if they wished to make themselves equal to their Highnesses. ‘And so,’ said the

(¹). Vishnu.

messenger, 'I have come up the river and have presented myself before the Yang-di-per-tuan, and the Raja Muda and have respectfully made known to them all that the Laksamana has bid me communicate.'

"Then the Sultan and the Raja Muda reflected and took counsel about the matter saying: 'If we allow this to take place (*i.e.*, a war between the Bandahara and Laksamana) the quarrel will spread all over the country.' And when the Sultan had decided what to do, he went hastily to look for his younger brother at the elephant yard. And when he arrived there, the three royal brothers embraced and kissed each other. After this the Yang-di-per-tuan of Perak started up the river for Sayong, where he abode for a long time, and where the royal drums (*nobat*) ⁽¹⁾ of Sultan ALA-EDDIN were heard for many a day.

"After a time the Bandahara, MAGAT ISKANDAR, disappeared, and was succeeded by MAGAT TERAWIH, who became Bandahara. And all parties agreed to return to the old order of things; the Yang-di-per-tuan of Perak returned to Kota Garonggong, and the Yang-di-per-tuan of Bernam returned to Bernam. So the three brothers were all firmly established in their respective jurisdictions. Some time afterwards Sultan ALA-EDDIN made a journey to Bernam to amuse himself and to visit his younger brother, Sultan MOZAFAR SHAH. On his arrival at Bernam, he joined his brother, and they enjoyed themselves after the manner of Malay Rajas, and after a time he returned with safety to Perak. And it pleased God, who is ever to be praised and most high, to bestow the blessing of peace upon the rule of the Raja Muda, the King's brother, who administered the government under his elder brother in concert with the Ministers and Officers of State, the warriors and chamberlains, who

(1) *Naubat* (Hindustani, from Arabic), "Instruments of music sounding at the gate of a great man at certain intervals." Shakespear's Hindustani Dictionary. Among the Malays, the use of the *naubat* is confined to the reigning Rajas of a few States, and the privilege is one of the most valued insignia of royalty. In Perak, the office of musician used to be an hereditary one, the performers were called *orang kalau*, and a special tax was levied for their support. The instruments are of several kinds; the great drum is called *gendang naubat*.

were organised in accordance with the customs of Malay Kings.

“Sultan ALA-EDDIN had two children—one son and one daughter. The name of his son was Raja KECHIK BONGSU, and the princess was called Raja KECHIK AMPUN. The Raja Muda had eight children—five sons and three daughters—by several mothers. The only two who had the same father and mother were two sons, the elder of whom was called Raja ISKANDAR and the younger Raja KEI AMAS. By other mothers there were three more—Raja ALA-EDDIN, Raja INU and Raja KECHIK. And the Yang-di-per-tuan and his brother, the Raja Muda, agreed upon a marriage between Raja KEI AMAS and Raja KECHIK AMPUN.

“After Sultan ALA-EDDIN had been on the throne of Perak for about seven years, there came a revolution of the world, when he died. Sultan MOZAFAR SHAH then removed from Bernam to Perak and from being Yang-di-per-tuan in Bernam became Raja of Perak. His brother, the Raja Muda, continued to act in that capacity and to govern the country on behalf of his elder brother. After the death of Sultan ALA-EDDIN he was called *Marhum Sulong*. The Bandahara, too, died and was succeeded by Sri Dewa Raja, who became Bandahara. Order was established, and the country was at rest, and the port was populous and frequented by traders.

“There is a tributary stream below the fort called Bidor and this, too, was a populous place. The Laksamana was ordered by the two Rajas (the Sultan and the Raja Muda) to take charge of this place. And after a time he died, and their Highnesses created his son Laksamana in his stead. About this time, by the will of God, the country was thrown into confusion, and tumult was caused among the people by the invasion of a Bugis named KLANA. This, however, by the help of God and the blessing and intercession of the Prophet, came to nothing, and the enemy departed. But some time afterwards there came a fresh invasion of Bugis men under DAING CHELAK. All the Chiefs of Perak were at enmity one with another, so there was fresh confusion and commotion in the country until it was impossible to tell friends from foes, and even the regalia were nearly being endangered.

“As for the Yang-di-per-tuan, his condition was indescribable, not so much on account of the fighting as on account of the want

of any unanimity among his counsellors, everyone working against everyone else.

“At last some of the Chiefs joined the Bugis, and destruction was near at hand, for the Bugis took possession of the regalia in consequence of the quarrels between the Chiefs of the country. Then the Toh Bandahara and the Chiefs made the Raja Muda Sultan. And the King knew not what to think, such was the confusion owing to the conduct of the Chiefs which had nearly led to the loss of the regalia.

“The investment of the Raja Muda with the *nobat* was duly celebrated by the Chiefs and the warriors and officers of Perak; and, by the decree of God, the reign of Sultan MOZAFAR SHAH ceased, and his brother, the Raja Muda, became Raja and was duly installed by the Chiefs under the title of Sultan MUHAMMAD SHAH. Raja ISKANDAR, the younger brother of the Raja, became his Raja Bandahara, and Chiefs, warriors and officers were appointed.

“For about seven years Sultan MUHAMMAD SHAH was established in his sovereignty, and then he returned to the mercy of God, and was called *Marhum Aminullah*.⁽¹⁾ The insignia of royalty were then returned to Sultan MOZAFAR SHAH, whose son was confirmed as Raja Muda. And the country was at peace, and Tanjong Putus was populous, and the Dutch too were permitted to live and build a fort at Tanjong Putus and to buy tin and to trade.

“And there came a time when the Raja thought of a certain project which he discussed with his Chiefs and the members of the royal family, and when it was agreed upon he sanctioned it. He had a daughter named Raja BUDAK RASUL and it was his desire to give her in marriage to the Raja Muda. Every one was pleased with the arrangement, for every one in the State, from the Yang-di-per-tuan downwards, was agreed in the opinion that the Raja Muda was the pillar on whom the royal succession depended. So the King made every preparation for the marriage, and after wait-

⁽¹⁾. It was probably the tomb of *Marhum Aminullah* that Colonel Low saw near Pulo Tiga in 1826, and described as the tomb of AMINA, a female. *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, IV., 501.

ing for an auspicious day, the princess was married to the Raja Muda.

“After Sultan MOZAFAR SHAH had reigned a short time longer, he returned to the mercy of God most high, and was called *Marhum Haji* ⁽¹⁾. And the Raja Muda succeeded him on the throne; he fixed his capital at Pulo Indra Sakti, and his younger brother became Raja Muda. After a time the King went down to the sea to amuse himself, and at the same time to erect a fort at Tanjong Putus. He was attended in his journey by his brothers and sons and warriors and thousands of ryots were in his train. He went for amusement as far as Kuala Susunan, and by the help of God, whose perfection he extolled, no evil or misfortune befell him, and he returned in safety to his palace. After this the Dutch received permission to guard Kuala Perak, and to stamp all the tin with letters. The length of the King's reign on the throne of Perak was fourteen years, and he then returned to the mercy of God. And when he died he was entitled *Marhum Kahar*.

“His younger brother, the Raja Muda, because Raja in his stead, and established himself at Pulo Besar Indra Mulia ⁽²⁾. And the country was settled and peaceful.

“About this time the army of Pangiran Raja Bugis entered Perak, and that Chief had an interview with the King, but by the help of God most high, and the dignity of the King, no evil or misfortune ensued to His Highness or to the people of Perak.

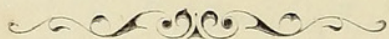
“When the King had reigned for eight years, he returned to the mercy of God most high, and was entitled *Marhum Muda di Pulo Besar Indra Mulia*.

“It was this sovereign who begot Raja IBRAHIM, who was after-

⁽¹⁾. Miraculous stories are current in Perak of the piety of *Marhum Haji*. He used to go to Mecca and back every Friday, and on one occasion, to convince the sceptical, he produced three green dates which he had brought back with him from the sacred city! His tomb is opposite Bota.

⁽²⁾ Pulo Besar is near Bandar Baharu, the place selected for the first British Residency. *Indra Mulia* is a title given to the place which the reigning Sultan honours by selecting for his residence for the time being.

wards called Raja Kechik Muda. And Raja Kechik Muda begot Raja MAHMUD, and took the higher title of *Raja Bandahara Wakil el Sultan Wazir el Kabir*, and ruled over the country of Perak. He lived at Sayong by the long sandy shore. After he had ruled Perak for a long time, he returned to the mercy of God most high, and was called when he died *Marhum Sayong di Pasir Panjang.*"





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