

The Precious Gift



Malay Great Works Series

Translated by
Virginia Matheson Hooker



The Precious Gift



TUN DR. MAHATHIR MOHAMAD

The Precious Gift



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Virginia Matheson Hooker



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INSTITUT TERJEMAHAN & BUKU MALAYSIA BERHAD

(Company No.: 276206-D)
Wisma ITBM, No. 2, Jalan 2/27E
Seksyen 10, Wangsa Maju
53300 Kuala Lumpur
Malaysia

Tel.: 603-4145 1800 Fax.: 603-4142 0753
E-mail: publishing@itbm.com.my Website:www.itbm.com.my

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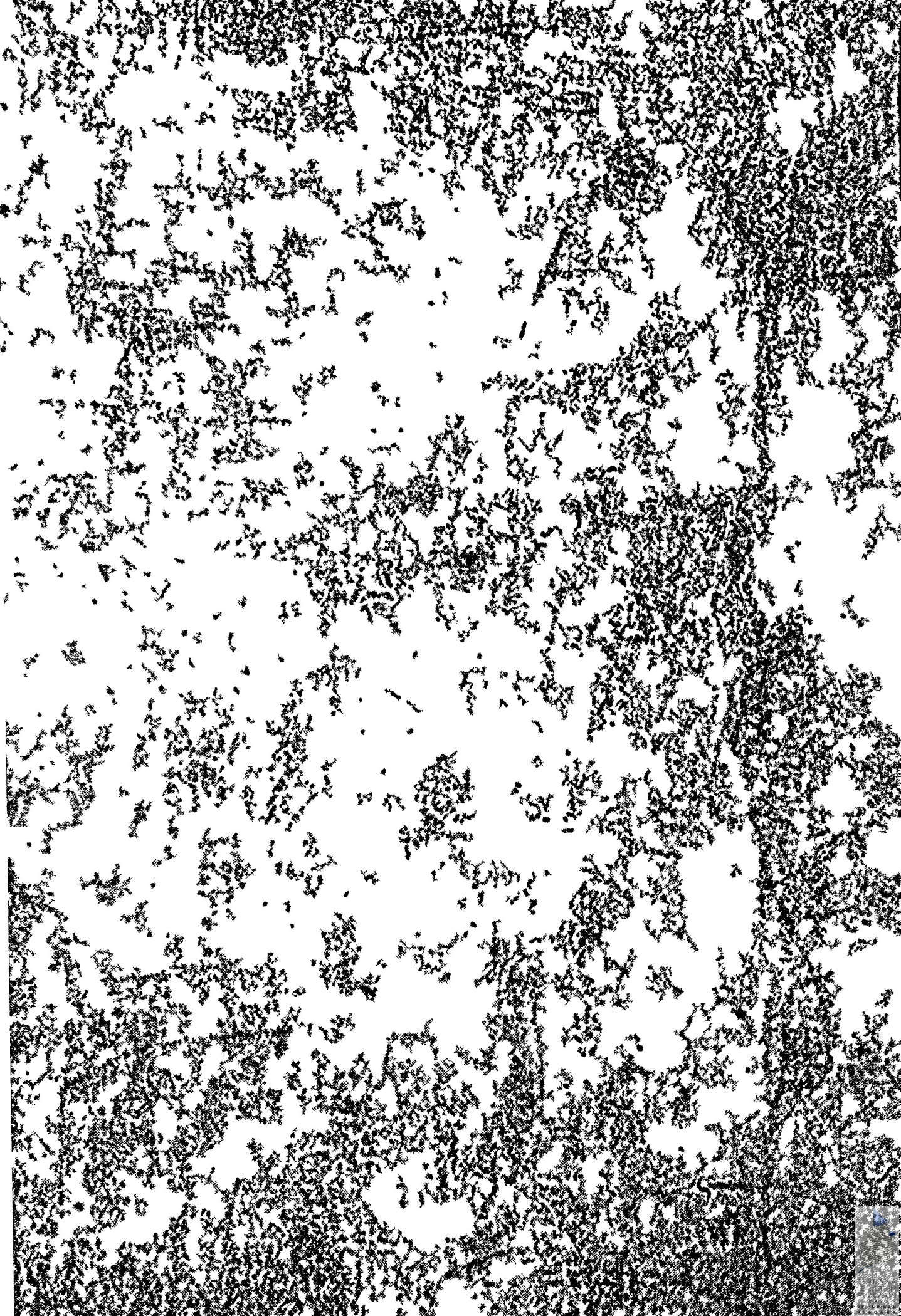


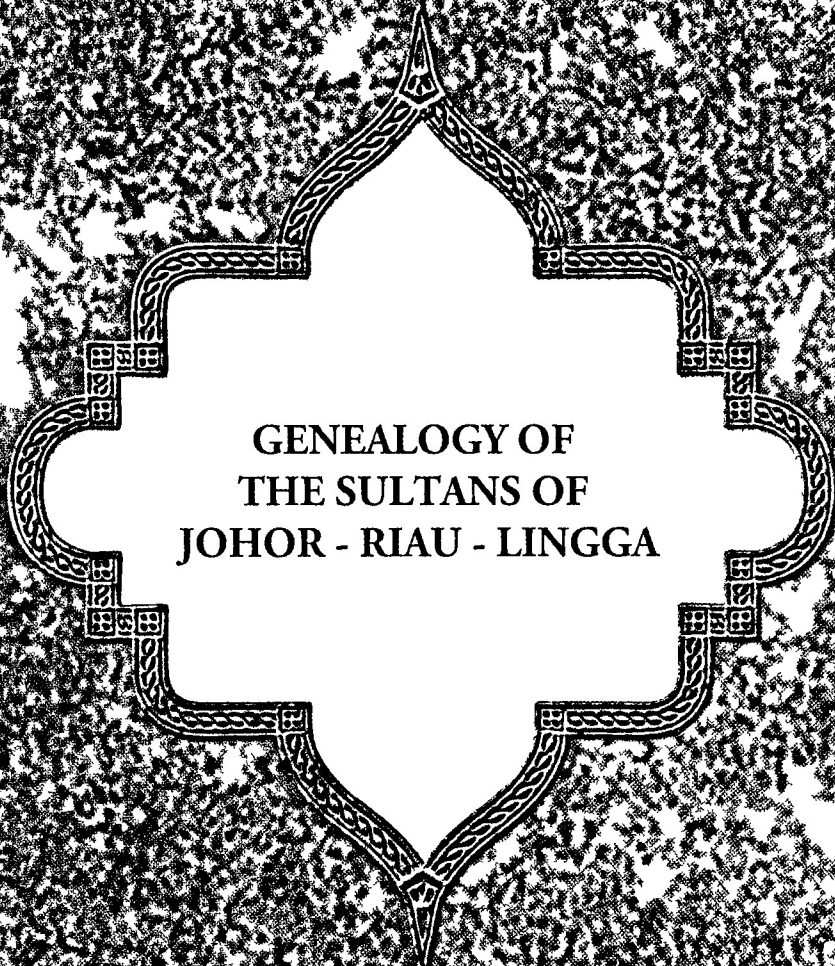
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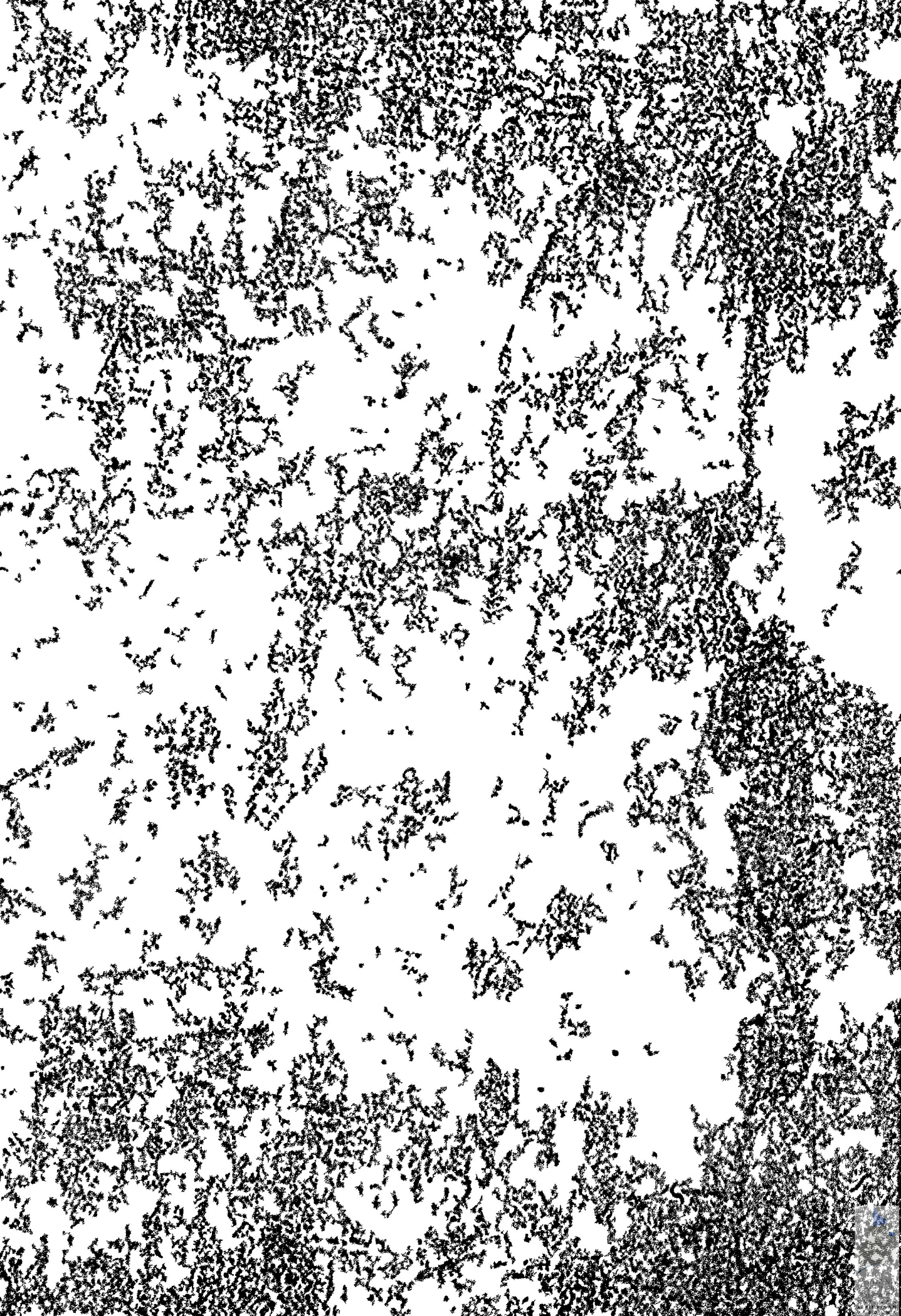


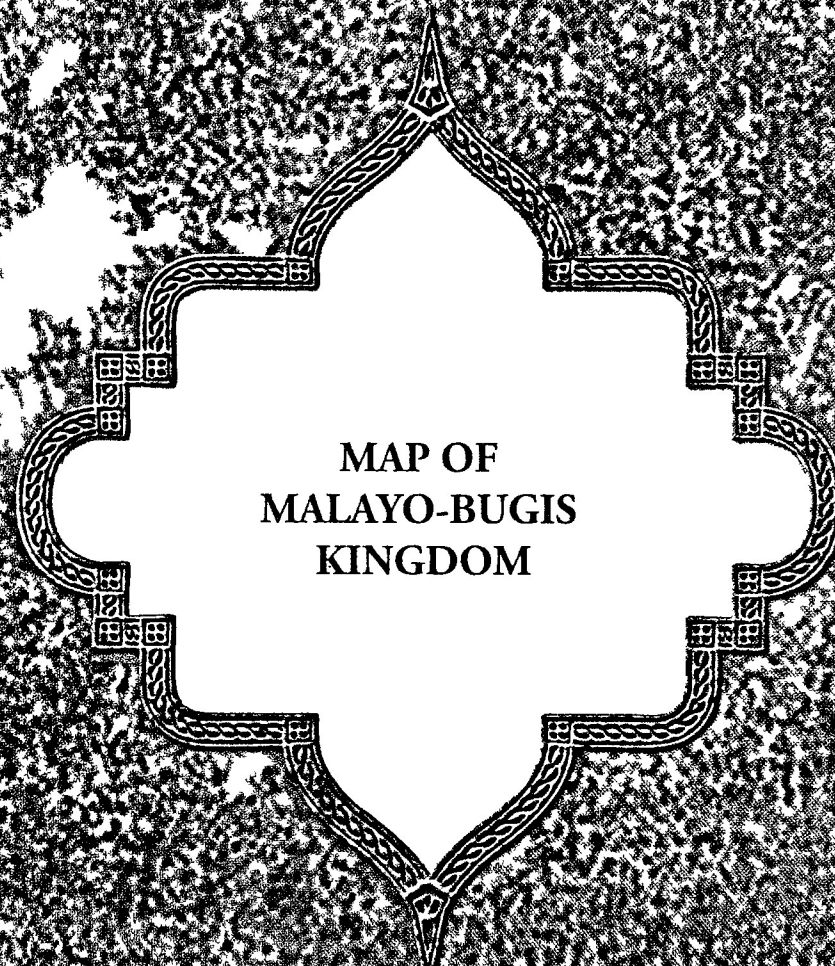
**GENEALOGY OF
THE BUGIS YANG DIPERTUAN
MUDAS OF RIAU**



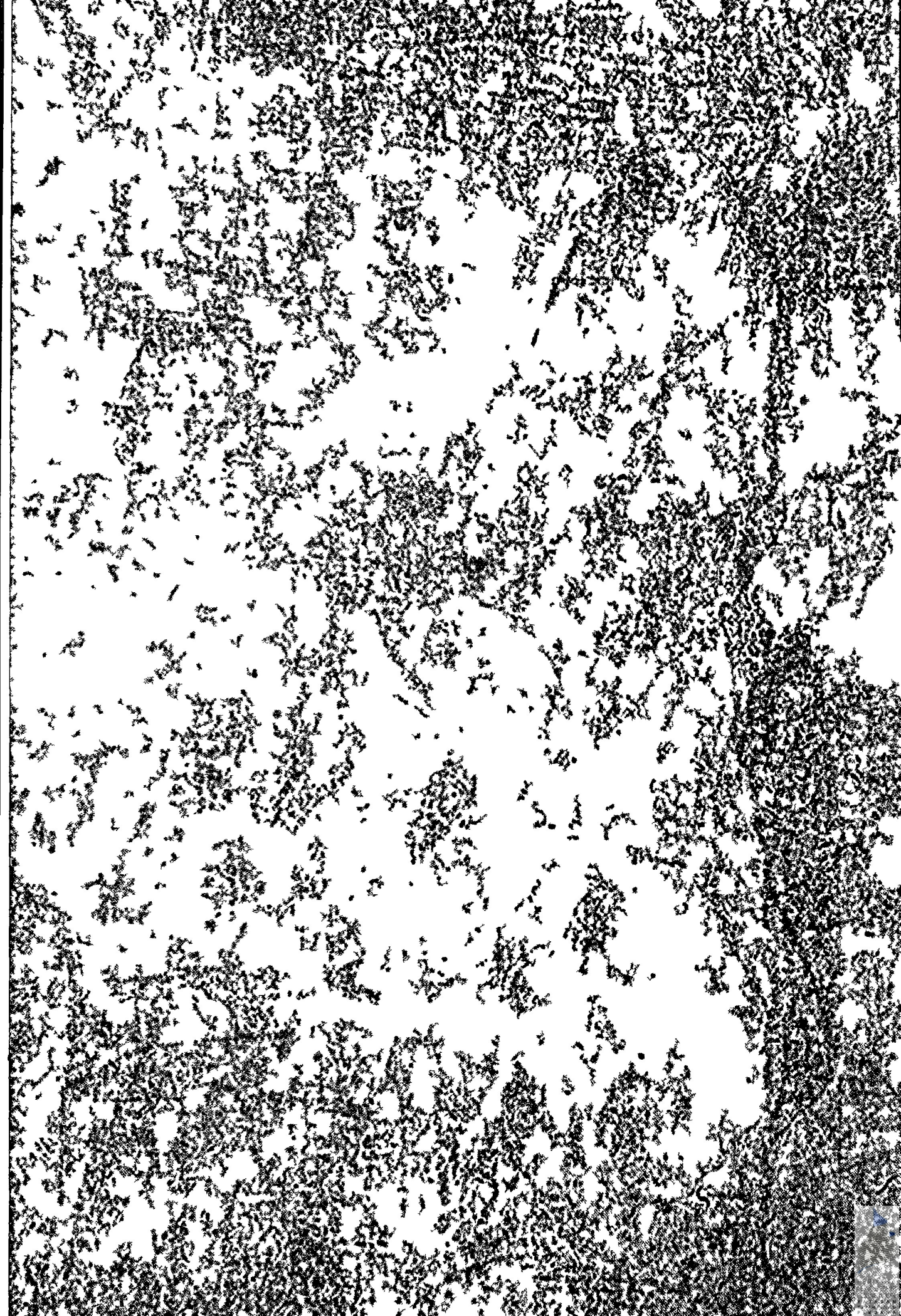


**GENEALOGY OF
THE SULTANS OF
JOHOR - RIAU - LINGGA**

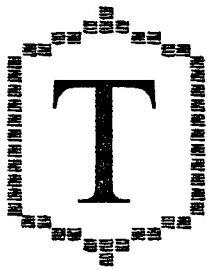




MAP OF
MALAYO-BUGIS
KINGDOM



PREFACE



The post-colonial operational definition of traditional literature in Malaysia, Indonesia, Brunei and Singapore, includes not only fiction and poetry but also works of history, legal digests and records of various kinds of local knowledge. Thus, its coverage is wide, and its fundamental function is seen as a medium of instruction.

Among the most important historical works in the Malay language are the *Sulalatal-salatin* (*Genealogy of Kings*, by Tun Seri Lanang, but more well known as *The Malay Annals*), and *Tuhfat al-Nafis*, *Precious Gift*, by Raja Ali Haji. While *The Genealogy of Kings* has at least two translations into English and German the latter has but one, English. This is the translation by Virginia Hooker, which we are offering our readers.

Why *Tuhfat al-Nafis*? Essentially, it is one of the most important texts written in the Malay language, which sheds much light on the history of the Southeast Asian Archipelago. The text describes the affairs of the states of the Archipelago between the 18th and the 19th century.

The Archipelago, before the coming of the Europeans, is described within the context of the pre-colonial concept of history and its component elements. The composition of the historical writing goes beyond the description of mere events and characters or players, as the fiction element is allowed to enter into the minds of these characters within the literary realm. Yet it follows many of the methodologies and elements that the western historian considers to be

fundamental, especially the dates of events, a grounding in real happenings and a generally fair and objective description of them. Finding historical proof becomes the central occupation of this historian.

Raja Ali Haji (c. 1809-c.1873) grew up on the tiny Island of Penyengat closely related to the Bugis-Malay royal family. After studying with visiting scholars from the Middle East and reading widely he became the royal adviser and chronicler. This island in fact became almost synonymous with his name, fame and works. He was without doubt a very important historian, poet, and scholar, and was well-known in his day. While he himself learnt a great deal from Tun Seri Lanang and other Malay writers, Raja Ali Haji actually pushed the writing of history to a higher level, much closer to the modern style which had not been experienced before.

Raja Ali Haji developed a clear sphere of influence around him. He introduced new literary renaissance which accepted the fact that change was inevitable and that the intrusion of the West into the administration and the politics of the Islands and Peninsula was unavoidable.

Emeritus Professor Virginia Hooker, the renowned scholar and translator of the *Tuhfat* notes that:

His historical account begins in detail in the early 18th century which he identifies as marking a watershed in Malay history with a break in the sacrosanct royal line of the Sultans of Melaka. The hiatus that resulted led to a re-grouping of traditional leaders from both sides of the Melaka Straits and opened a space for the permanent entrenchment of a group of bold and opportunistic Bugis warriors from south Sulawesi.

Though he 'presents his history from the viewpoints of the various groups involved, it is clear that he does favour the Bugis versions of events.' However,

it is the Malay language, the lingua franca and the language of knowledge and international trade, that he championed through his many works, especially his dictionary, religious treatises and many poems. Now he is considered as one of the great Indonesians of all times, as well as a Malay literary hero.

The publication of *The Precious Gift* comes after *Hikayat Hang Tuah (The Epic of Hang Tuah)*. It is our hope that before long the rich heritage of history and literature of the region presented in this epic will greet its readers around the world.

Mohd Khair Ngadiron

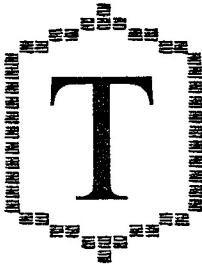
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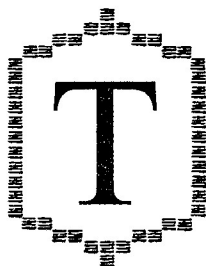


his translated work of *Tuhfat al-Nafis* could not have been made possible without the earlier contributions of many scholars who have studied and learned from Raja Ali Haji's great work. Without the dictionaries and studies of the Riau-Lingga area published by a range of 19th century colonial scholars, a great deal of contextual information about Raja Ali Haji and his contemporaries would not have survived. Without the use of those inspiring records by dedicated students of history and philology, both in the Riau-Lingga region and beyond, we would not be able to grasp the full significance of Raja Ali Haji's writings nor the influence of his works on our present view and understanding of the Melaka Straits region. This acknowledgement thus pays tribute to many individuals who have recognised the importance and innovative nature of *Tuhfat al-Nafis* and other works by Raja Ali Haji. It is the hope of the translator that this new English translation will allow readers who do not understand Malay to appreciate and enjoy a great Malay history.

The translator started reading various works on the Malay world in the early 1960s. During that period she had the opportunity to learn from many scholars, especially from Indonesia and Malaysia who so generously shared their expert knowledge with her. She was fortunate to begin her studies with Professor Emeritus A.H. Johns and continue with the late Professor Cyril Skinner and the late Professor Lode Brakel. She is very grateful to the following scholars who have each enriched her understanding of the Malay world: the late Professor O.W. Wolters, the late Dr. John Gullick, the late Professor P.L. Amin Sweeney,



INTRODUCTION



uhfat al-Nafis, usually referred to in English as *The Precious Gift*, is the most complex and sophisticated indigenous Malay history composed before the 20th century. Unlike other great Malay epics such as *Sejarah Melayu (Sulalatus Salatin)*, *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, and *Hikayat Abdullah*, it was never published by the school-text printing presses of Singapore and so was not a compulsory text in Malay or Indonesian schools during the colonial period. It has, therefore, remained largely unknown outside scholarly circles despite its lively narrative, use of dates, and pioneering comments about the importance of primary source materials for the recording of historical events. This publication of the English translation of the late 19th century masterpiece offers readers the opportunity to enter the pre-modern world of peninsular and island Southeast Asia as described by the learned, witty, and wise-worldly Raja Ali Haji. His historical account begins in detail in the early 18th century which he identifies as marking a watershed in Malay history with a break in the sacrosanct royal line of the Sultans of Melaka. The hiatus that resulted led to a re-grouping of traditional leaders from both sides of the Straits of Malacca and opened a space for the permanent entrenchment of a group of bold and opportunistic Bugis warriors from south Sulawesi. Among these Bugis were the ancestors of Raja Ali Haji and although he presents his history from the viewpoints of the various groups involved, it is clear that he does favour the Bugis versions of events. But writing many decades after the initial turmoil which rocked the Straits of Malacca area during the 18th through to the early 19th century, it is also evident that his ancestors became well-integrated into Malay life and Raja

the 1840s the Nakshbandiyya Sufi Order was introduced to Penyengat and Raja Ali Haji and his relatives became active members.

The *Tuhfat al-Nafis* lists the texts used by Raja Ali for his teaching – each a standard work from the repertoire of classical Islam to provide a grounding in grammar and theology. They include al-Zawzani’s *Kitab al-Masadir*; al-Jurjani’s *al-Awamil al-mi’a* and Ibn Ajurrum’s *al-Muqaddima*; Sanusi’s *Umm al-Barahin*; al-Lakani’s *Jawharat al-tawhid* and al-Ghazzali’s *Bidayat al-Hidayat* and *Minhaj al-‘abidin*. Raja Ali Haji’s reputation as a scholar brought him pupils from the surrounding regions as well as several Dutch administrators and missionaries from Batavia who came to consult him. His letters to Hermann von de Wall, who used him as an advisor for his authoritative Malay-Dutch dictionary, have survived (van der Putten 1995) and reveal his circumstances and his method of working. In 1862, for example, Raja Ali Haji wrote that he would like to withdraw from his busy life and devote himself to fulfilling his religious duties but he was prevented from doing so by his sense of responsibility to his 67 dependents. He was able to retreat for brief periods to a small island where he had set up a study centre for his pupils and to tend his cattle. In the evenings when free from teaching, he spent his time on research and writing between 8.00 and 11.00 o’clock and he complained about the cost of oil and candles for lighting.

Modern readers will take particular pleasure in Raja Ali Haji’s descriptions of 19th century events which he includes in the *Tuhfat*. His role as participant-observer is evident because he refers to himself in the third person as being present and often playing a key role in events recorded in the history. Specific details of individuals, interactions and altercations, as well as places, are presented with freshness and a sense of wonder. He describes events such as a terrifying trip through bandit infested country in the Holy Land, a lunch with the Dutch Governor-General in Batavia, Sunday afternoon entertainments in Batavia,

and the death-bed scenes of his beloved royal cousins in their palaces on the tiny island of Penyengat. Throughout the *Tuhfat* precise and accurate descriptions are given of warfare techniques on both sea and land, kinship systems, trading and commercial arrangements, ethnic competition and tension, international relations, music and dance performances, and very detailed descriptions of royal ceremonies. As Raja Ali Haji intended, the *Tuhfat* provides a record of a past he knew was being lost and which he wanted to preserve in writing for those who were to come.

During the 19th century, the small island of Penyengat became famous in its region (including Singapore, East and West Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula and Java) as an active literary centre. Existing manuscripts were preserved by teams of local scribes and new narratives, poems, histories, and romances were created. When Dutch officials were sent from Batavia in the 1860s to gather material for the study of Malay language and culture, they collected several hundred manuscripts in the Riau region (van der Putten and Azhar 1995). They also sought Raja Ali Haji's views on 'correct' Malay language usage. Based on Raja Ali Haji's information, the Dutch experts developed their theories of 'proper' Malay and some of their ideas are reflected in the national language policies of both Malaysia and Indonesia. Raja Ali Haji was a prolific writer and between the 1840s until his death in the early 1870s, he wrote a grammar for Malay, an unfinished encyclopedic dictionary of Malay, many works in verse, Islamic legal texts for the guidance of the local rulers and administrators, and several histories. The *Tuhfat al-Nafis* is his longest and most detailed text and we shall now explain its achievements and significance.

First, the conception of the *Tuhfat al-Nafis* as a single work is far broader and more detailed than any Malay historical work which preceded it.

Chronologically it encompasses events from the early 17th century until shortly before the author's death in the early 1870s, a period of more than 250 years. Geographically the *Tuhfat*'s canvas extends through all the sultanates of the Malay peninsula, to kingdoms on Sumatra's east coast, to the west coast of Kalimantan, with references to south Sulawesi, Batavia, the northern coast of Java, Bangkok, and the Holy Land. The focus of Raja Ali's attention is always the Riau-Lingga archipelago which he portrays as the historical and cultural heartland of the Malay world. In contrast to other Malay histories, however, his vision is broader than his 'own' homeland and he sees networks and linkages (strengthened by strategic marriage alliances) which draw the region together and enable him to present it as a supra-local unit. His travels to the Holy Land and to Java may have helped him gain this broader perspective on his local world.

Second, the *Tuhfat* is the most carefully planned and executed of the pre-20th century Malay histories. Raja Ali Haji divides his work into two specified parts (he did not divide it into individual chapters as appear in this translation – the chapters are the work of the translator for the convenience of modern readers). The aim of the first part, he tells his readers, is to establish the long genealogies of major participants in his history so that their interrelationships are clear. Raja Ali presents the genealogies methodically and with absolute clarity, helping the reader by explaining that the full narrative associated with individual people will appear later in the history. The first section of the *Tuhfat*, therefore, provides an overview of the entire narrative which follows. To further assist the reader, Raja Ali later inserts a concise summary of ten wars which have just been painstakingly described to establish the sequence in the reader's mind and revise the main points of what has taken many pages to narrate.

Third, the *Tuhfat* establishes a new understanding of historical veracity in Malay writing. At various points in the narrative Raja Ali Haji indicates he is concerned about the truth, or not, of the information he is recording. He often cites the titles of manuscripts he has consulted and used in his own work, criticizing one of them for not giving the dates when events occurred. Occasionally he presents two accounts of the same event and tells his readers that only Allah knows which of them is true. The recording of dates throughout his text is an obvious feature which sets his history apart from most which preceded it. Raja Ali Haji's use of a variety of written sources points to a large collection or library of manuscripts on which he drew for his own writing.

Fourth, Raja Ali Haji's literary style, philosophy of history, and disciplined structure and presentation presents a new and confident synthesis of Malay traditional culture (as practised and expressed by the Malay elite in the Riau-Lingga area) with the principles of Islamic scholarship. His style of language matches his subject matter: courtly language is used for formal events and proceedings; Arabic epithets and Qur'anic quotations are included where appropriate; colloquial Malay is used to represent informal conversations or the trading of insults between Malays; and the speech of non-Malay speakers (such as Chinese or Europeans) is represented in an amusing (to Malays) semi-pigeon broken form of Malay. The pre-planned structure of the *Tuhfat*, with its overview genealogical section followed by the detailed exposition of historical events, is inspired by models of classical Arabic-Islamic histories. His inclusion of 'internal' and 'external' factors as the causes of several incidents can also be traced to Islamic models. As well, Raja Ali Haji's concern that future generations learn from the mistakes of history and his careful delineation of several 19th century Yang Dipertuan Muda as role models, combines the concerns of both traditional Malay histories and Islamic historiography.

Fifth, the *Tuhfat* is distinguished from other Malay works of history by its sense of contemporaneity and its acceptance that change is inevitable in a world where steamships are replacing sailing ships, printing presses replacing handwritten manuscripts, and traditional systems of power are subject to colonial intervention. Raja Ali Haji had travelled to the Middle East and to colonial Batavia and had seen with his own eyes how European lifestyles differed from those he was used to. He conversed with Dutch officials as equals and exchanged knowledge with them. He had strong and influential female forebears and his own daughters and granddaughters were writers and scholars in their own right.

Although the *Tuhfat al-Nafis* is such a pioneering and important work there do not seem to be many manuscript copies of the text. While it is to be hoped more will eventually be located and identified, at present we know of only six. One of these is not technically a manuscript as it has been published and its original text is no longer identifiable. The others are in handwritten script using Arabic orthography to write the Malay language (the script known in Malay as 'Jawi'). Five manuscripts of different provenances, have been used as the basis for the Malay edition translated here. The variation in their endings is preserved in the final pages of this translation. Further details about each manuscript are given in Matheson Hooker, 1991 and 1998.

Raja Ali Haji left a lasting legacy. He is responsible for establishing respect for education and learning among the Riau-Lingga elite, reflected in an extensive library of books and manuscripts (still extant on Penyengat) and the later establishment on Riau of a madrasa which operated until World War II. The influential, modernizing periodical, *al-Imam* which was published for several years in the early 20th century in Singapore, was

established by one of his protégés, Sayyid Sheikh al-Hadi, who became very well known in the 1920s for his own prolific writings. But by this time the printing press had made mass production and wider circulation possible so that until the mid-20th century when post colonial nationalism re-kindled pride in local indigenous achievements, Sayyid Sheikh al-Hadi's works were more widely read than those of Raja Ali Haji. The publication of this translation of *Tuhfat al-Nafis* re-opens this text to the broader readership it so strongly merits.

Virginia Matheson Hooker

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Dedication to the Splendid Endeavour



بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

1

*In the name of Allah,
Most Compassionate, Most Merciful.*

P

*raise be to Allah, who created this world and the Hereafter
through His power and His will, and created unique
human beings as His creatures through His wisdom.*

*This means, praises to Allah who brought into being
this world and the Hereafter through His power and His will, and
has created human beings as the most wondrous of His works and
His wisdom. And blessings and peace be on our Prophet Muhammad,
Leader of all people and the best and most perfect of [His] creatures.*

*This means the mercy of Allah and the peace of Allah be on
our Leader, the Prophet Muhammad, Allah's blessings
and peace be on him. And on his family and
his companions, and Allah gives precedence
to his family and his companions
above other people and
the mercy of
Allah and*

the peace of Allah be
on all his family and his
companions, and may Allah raise
them above all others.

*Following our introduction, let us begin. It was in the year of
the Prophet Muhammad's migration, one thousand two hundred and
eighty two on the third day of the month of Sha'ban, the Majestic, that my
heart rose up to write this book in shortened form and in it to give genealogies,
travels, history and news. This means it was in the year one thousand two
hundred and eighty two after the migration of the Prophet [Hejira], Allah's
blessings and peace be on him, on the third day of the month of Sha'ban
the Majestic [23rd December, 1865] that I was moved to compile this
concise volume and in it to set out the genealogies, journeyings, dates
and information of the stories of the Malay Kings and the Bugis and of their
descendants, which means of the stories of the Malay Princes and Bugis and
of all their children. And I named it Tuhfat al-Nafis about the circumstances
between the Malay and Bugis Kings. And I gave it the name Dedication
to the Splendid Endeavour that is, [the endeavour] to set
out the deeds of the Malay and Bugis Princes. And I
ask Allah forgiveness for mistakes in dates and
journeyings, amen. May Allah forgive any
errors in dates or their journeyings
in it. O my Lord, may you
grant your servant's
request.*

The first part being their genealogies

- 2 This first part will set out their genealogies while their stories will come in later sections. The first section sets out a shortened account of the descent of the Princes on the Malay side. It begins here with the first Malay Ruler called Raja Seri Teri Buana. He was the progenitor of the Malay Rulers who descended from Seguntang Hill, went to Palembang then to Bintan, later establishing a kingdom in Singapore. His story is told at length in Malay histories and chronicles, but, in this book, it is not my intention to give an extended account because many such accounts already exist composed by others who have preceded me, in both handwritten and printed form. What I am doing here is merely to set out the pattern of events that befell the Malay and Bugis Rulers during the times of the Johor Rulers, the Bugis Rulers and those of Perca Island [Sumatra] to understand how and why their genealogies were intermingled. The words and style are succinct to make it easier for anyone wishing to memorise and understand it.

When Raja Seri Teri Buana established a kingdom in Singapore, his minister was Demang Lebar Daun, who had accompanied him from Palembang. He was the Ruler of Palembang and became Raja Seri Teri Buana's father-in-law. Raja Seri Teri Buana adopted Wan Seri Beni, the Queen of Bintan, as his mother. After Raja Seri Teri Buana established a settlement on Singapore, Wan Seri Beni moved there. Originally Singapore was known as Temasik, but when Raja Seri Teri Buana was having it cleared an animal called *asinga* [lion], appeared then vanished. So he called the settlement Singapore [Lion City], according to the stories in the extended tales.

The story-tellers say that not long after Raja Seri Teri Buana established the kingdom at Singapore, Wan Seri Beni passed away and Demang Lebar Daun and the minister Ria Buah Pala also left this world . About two years afterwards, His Majesty Seri Teri Buana 3 also passed away. He was buried on Singapore Hill, near the grave of Wan Seri Beni.

After Raja Seri Teri Buana's death, he was succeeded by his son called Seri Pikrama Wira, who appointed one of his relatives, Raja Kecik Muda, as a great minister, the Bendahara, and bestowed on him the title Tun Permatah Permuka Berjajar. He was the Ruler who first appointed the Bendahara the person in charge of all ministers in the kingdom.

After Raja Pikrama Wira passed away, he was succeeded by his son the Raja Muda, with the title Seri Ratna Wikrama. His Bendahara was the son of Tun Permatah Permuka Berjajar. During his reign lived Badang, a bold and brave subject, who could uproot trees two or three spans round because he had eaten the vomit of a spirit, so it is said.

After Seri Ratna Wikrama passed away, he was succeeded by his son named Damiya Raja, whose reign name was Paduka Seri Maharaja. Stories recount that during his reign a disaster befell Singapore and it was attacked by swordfish, because the Ruler had put to death one of Allah's religious scholars called Tuan Zain al-Khatib. His death brought retribution from Allah, Most High – swordfish emerged from the sea and stabbed people, many of whom were killed. That story is told in detail in the long Malay chronicles.

After Paduka Seri Maharaja passed away he was succeeded by his son named Raja Iskandar Shah. During his reign Singapore was defeated by the Ruler of Majapahit. 4 This was because Raja Iskandar Shah had taken as a commoner wife, the daughter of

his minister Sang Rajuna Tapa, who had the title Penghulu Bendahari. One of Raja Iskandar Shah's other commoner wives slandered her to the Ruler saying the daughter of the Penghulu Bendahari was having an affair with a man. Raja Iskandar Shah was furious with the daughter of the Penghulu Bendahari and gave orders that she be put to death. Without investigating further he commanded she be beheaded at Pasir Point.

When her father learned of what had been done to his daughter, he felt humiliated saying, 'If she were indeed guilty, put her to death secretly. Because she had been raised up [close to the Ruler] her disgrace should not have been made public for all to see.' Anger consumed his sense of reason and he sent a letter to the Ruler of Majapahit, who at that time was an enemy of Raja Paduka Iskandar Shah. After this was done, some within Singapore deserted [to the enemy].

When the Ruler of Majapahit mounted his attack on Singapore, it fell because there was an overwhelming force of Javanese about 200,000 strong. Raja Iskandar Shah escaped and fled as far as Melaka. As for Sang Rajuna Tapa, after Raja Iskandar Shah had left, he took refuge in a rice barn. It collapsed into a ditch with Sang Rajuna inside and he was killed. His wife and children were turned to stone, so it is said.

His Majesty [Raja Iskandar Shah] stayed and established a settlement in Melaka. According to those who are expert in dates [historians] he reigned in Singapore
5 for about 30 years and in Melaka about three years. Five generations of Malay kings had reigned in Singapore.

After Raja Iskandar Shah passed away, he was succeeded by his son named Raja Besar Muda. It was he who instituted [the system of] the four ministers and the four heralds, who stand at the royal threshold to convey royal commands

to the public and submit petitions from the public to the Ruler. And it was he who instituted [the custom] of the royal betel set being brought into the audience hall.

After Raja Besar Muda passed away, he was succeeded by his son called Raja Tengah. After Raja Tengah died, he was succeeded by his son called Raja Kecil Besar. The story-tellers say he was a just and diligent Ruler of his age and he was the first Malay Ruler to convert to Islam. He had a dream that he was in the presence of our Prophet Muhammad, *Allah's blessings and peace be on him*. The Messenger of Allah, *blessings and peace be on him*, taught him to recite the two articles of faith: *I testify that there is no god but Allah, and I testify that Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah*. After repeating this, he awoke and saw he had been circumcised.

Very early in the morning, he went to the beach where he saw a ship, which had come from Jeddah. A person came ashore to pray on the beach exactly as had happened in his dream. The Ruler made his elephant kneel and took the man who had been praying up onto the elephant with him. He took this man, who was named Sheikh Makhdum, into his city and studied Islam with him. The dignitaries and all the inhabitants of Melaka converted to Islam. And His Majesty took the title Sultan Muhammad Shah.

His Majesty Sultan Muhammad Shah was the Malay Ruler who first instituted Malay customs such as a special shade of yellow reserved for Rulers alone – although it was restricted to just three items: jackets, sarongs and headcloths. 6 Furthermore, restrictions also applied to [the building of] pavilions and foundation posts not fixed in the ground, and houses with audience pavilions and balconies. Restrictions applied also to vessels such as adding windows and reception decks.

It was His Majesty Sultan Mahmud who ordered Hang Nadim to abduct Tun Teja, betrothed to the Ruler of Pahang. And His Majesty wanted to wed the Princess of Gunung Ledang, but she asked for the white [royal] blood of his son, so His Majesty did not proceed with the betrothal.

And it was this Sultan Mahmud who engaged in dalliances with the wives of his ministers. Once when having an affair with the wife of Tun Biajit, the son of Laksamana Hang Tuah, he came across Tun Biajit on the road. Taking up his spear Tun Biajit said, 'If I could bring myself to betray him, by tomorrow not even the name of Sultan Mahmud would exist.' On hearing this Sultan Mahmud bestowed one of his favourite commoner wives on Tun Biajit, who then divorced his own wife. And His Majesty Sultan Mahmud had his Bendahara Seri Maharaja murdered because His Majesty desired his daughter Tun Fatimah, wife of Tun Ali. After Bendahara Seri Maharaja and his son-in-law Tun Ali were dead, His Majesty made Tun Fatimah his wife. All this happened as the result of malicious rumours spread by a locally born Keling, named Kitul and Raja Mendeliar. They were later put to death because there was no basis to the rumours. The storytellers say when His Majesty Sultan Mahmud had Bendahara Seri Maharaja killed without just cause retribution came from Allah Most High, in the form of a Portuguese attack on Melaka. By then, His Majesty Sultan Mahmud had abdicated and made his son named Raja Ahmad Ruler with the title Sultan

9 Ahmad Shah.

Sultan Mahmud strongly resisted the Portuguese attack. Battle was joined when the Portuguese landed their forces, but it was not long before Sultan Mahmud was defeated and withdrew to Batu Hampar. He built a fort at Bentayan but the Portuguese followed him there. He then escaped to the upper reaches of the Muar River and from there went to Penarikan and, by the upper reaches of the

Pahang river, entered Pahang. Sultan Mansur Shah, the Sultan of Pahang at that time, was a close relative of His Majesty. He did not stay long in Pahang, however, but moved to Johor where he made a settlement. His son, Sultan Ahmad Shah, had a charming personality but no regard for his seniors. He even humiliated the dignitaries, treating them in a totally improper manner. This angered Sultan Mahmud who had his son poisoned. Thus Sultan Ahmad Shah died.

This made six generations of Malay kings who had reigned at Melaka. They moved to Johor, from Johor back to Bintan once more. The Portuguese attacked again and Bintan was defeated, so they withdrew to Kampar. It was in Kampar that His Majesty Sultan Mahmud Shah and his wife died. He was succeeded by his son named Sultan Ala al-Din Riayat Shah, who left Kampar for Pahang and from there went to Johor.

In the Johor period, the generations of Malay Rulers were first Sultan Ala al-Din Riayat Shah, son of Sultan Mahmud Shah just mentioned. While His Majesty Sultan Ala al-Din Riayat Shah was in Pahang, he married Raja Kesukma Dewi, the daughter of Sultan Mansur Shah. When he left Pahang for Johor he had a fleet of several hundred ships. His Laksamana, named Hang Nadim, was maritime commander. His vessel was called a *dendang* and was the length of 13 armspans, with two cannon on each side of the bow, ten swivel guns along each side and two at the topmast stay. The Laksamana's deputy, Seri Bija Diraja had 10 a vessel called a *jurung*, 11 armspans long, also with two cannon on each side of the bow, eight swivel guns each side and two at the topmast stay. The story-tellers say that after the Portuguese defeat of Kupuk, 80 cannon and 300 swivel guns were abandoned. His Majesty settled in Johor and from time to time sent out raiders to attack Melaka where they seized a number of Portuguese *lanca*. Laksamana Hang Nadim led the raids.

When Sultan Ala al-Din Riayat Shah died, he was succeeded by his son entitled Sultan Muzaffar Shah, who was 19 years old when he became Ruler. His Majesty was respectful to his seniors and did not discuss any matters unless he had already consulted with the Datuk Bendahara, Seri Nara Diraja, Temenggung Sidewa Raja and all the elders. During His Majesty's reign, the Portuguese could not put to sea in small numbers lest they be taken by Johor raiders. He also established a stockade and settlement at Seluyut.

When Sultan Muzaffar Shah passed away, he was succeeded by his son entitled Sultan Abdul-Jalil Shah. During his reign, there was a Portuguese attack on Seluyut, but they were defeated and returned to Melaka. His Majesty moved from Seluyut to make a settlement on the upper reaches of the Damar River, on the Batu Sawar River. His Majesty settled there and named the place Maqam Tauhid.

The story-tellers say His Majesty had three sons by commoner wives: first Raja Hasan, second Raja Husain, third Raja Mahmud. His Majesty made Raja Hasan Ruler of Siak, Raja Husain Ruler of Kelantan, and Raja Mahmud Ruler of Kampar, because in the Johor period all Malay Rulers were ranked below Johor. Raja Mansur and Raja Abdullah, His Majesty's sons of fully royal birth, remained in Johor.

- 11 When Sultan Abdul-Jalil Shah passed away he was succeeded by Raja Mansur, with the title Sultan Ala al-Din Riayat Shah. His Majesty, however, was not concerned with his kingdom but indulged himself in amusements. It was Raja Abdullah and the Bendahara who looked after His Majesty's kingdom, just as if Raja Abdullah were ruling Johor. Later His Majesty moved again, settling at a place he established on the Rayun River, called Pasir Raja.

Not long afterwards Sultan Ala al-Din Riayat Shah passed away and Raja Abdullah ruled Johor, with the title Sultan Hemat Shah. According to some stories, it was during his reign that the Ruler of Aceh attacked Johor. Johor was defeated and His Majesty withdrew to Lingga. It was not long before he set out for Tambelan Island, where he died soon after his arrival.

After he passed away, he was succeeded by his son Sultan Abdul-Jalil Shah and his brother became Yang Dipertuan Muda. He lived in Pahang and the Laksamana was commanded to establish a settlement on the Carang River at Riau. He was to prepare vessels to raid the Portuguese if they came. During this time, Johor was defeated by Jambi and after that the Ruler, posthumously called the Young Ruler, died in Pahang. Then Sultan Abdul-Jalil also died.

After Sultan Abdul-Jalil died, he was succeeded as Ruler by Raja Ibrahim, son of the late Young Ruler. His Bendahara was Tun Pikrama Tun Habib, entitled Bendahara Seri Maharaja. The late Young Ruler died in Pahang in the year 12 of the Hejira of the Prophet, Allah's blessings and peace be on him, one thousand and eighty seven, the Muslim year 1087 [1676-7]. Sultan Abdul-Jalil died in the year of the Hejira of the Prophet, Allah's blessing and peace be on him, one thousand and eighty eight, the Muslim year Dal Akhir 1088 [1677-8]. Sultan Ibrahim moved to Riau and later defeated Jambi and Siak.

When Sultan Ibrahim passed away, he was succeeded by his son named Sultan Mahmud Shah. His Majesty moved back to Johor and remained there. Datuk Bendahara Tun Pikrama Tun Habib Bendahara Seri Maharaja also died, in the year of the Hejira of the Prophet, Allah's blessings and peace be on him, one thousand one hundred and nine in the Muslim year

Dal 1109, on Thursday night, 7 Muharram [26 July, 1697]. He was succeeded by his son, who became Bendahara of Johor.

Then Sultan Mahmud also passed away, killed at Kota Tinggi in the year of the Hejira one thousand one hundred and eleven, in the Muslim year Wau, 1111 [1699]. He was succeeded by the Bendahara, son of Datuk Bendahara Tun Pikrama Tun Habib Bendahara Seri Maharaja. He started his reign in the same Hejira year on Thursday, 8 Rabi' al-Awwal, at the time of the midday prayer [3 September, 1699]. At that moment, he took the title Sultan Abdul-Jalil Shah. The story-tellers say his son, Raja Sulaiman, came into the world, that is, his mother gave birth to him then. Sultan Mahmud Shah was murdered by Megat Seri Rama, one of his warriors, because Sultan Mahmud had killed Megat Seri Rama's wife when she ate a slice of his jackfruit while he was asleep. He was killed in Kota Tinggi at Maqam Tauhid, in Johor. His story will come later.

- 13 Sultan Abdul-Jalil had several sons of fully royal birth and some who were not, such as his sons with a commoner wife, an Acehnese called Encik Nusamah. The fully royal sons, born while their father was still Bendahara regarded Raja Sulaiman as merely the son of a commoner wife, even though he was born [after his father] became Ruler. On those grounds, the eldest son was made Bendahara, another became Temenggung, and his brother was made Raja Muda, and according to some accounts, another son was made Indera Bungsu. It was his intention that Raja Sulaiman should succeed him.

It is told that Raja Sulaiman had 16 brothers and sisters, only the names of the following can be given in this genealogy. First Raja Sulaiman, second Tengku

Tengah, third Tengku Qamariah (affectionately called Tengku Puan), fourth Tengku Mandak. It was Raja Sulaiman who was made Ruler by the five Bugis Opu brothers, their story will come later in this chronicle.

Tengku Tengah married Opu Dahing Parani and gave birth to Raja Maimunah. She married the Temenggung of Johor and had Dahing Cellak, Dahing Kecik and Engku Muda. Dahing Cellak was killed when gunpowder caught fire on a *keci* he had attacked. Dahing Kecik had Temenggung Abdul-Rahman, who had Dahing Ronggik and Dahing Abdullah, who each had several children. Dahing Ronggik became Temenggung in Singapore and his son, Tun Abu Bakr, at the time this genealogy is being compiled, has become Temenggung of Johor with the title Temenggung Seri Maharaja.

Tengku Qamariah married Raja Kecik of Siak and had Raja Mahmud, affectionately called Raja Buang.

Tengku Mandak married Opu Dahing Cellak and had two daughters: one called Tengku Putih and the other Tengku Hitam.

These are some of the daughters of Sultan Abdul-Jalil, whose lines were mingled with the Bugis and Siak Princes. Their stories in abbreviated form will come later 14 in the chronicle.

Their descendants on the male side became Rulers in Riau and Lingga and their subject territories here I set out the genealogies of some whom I know about. Sultan Sulaiman Badr al-Alam Shah was Sultan Abdul-Jalil's son born after he had become Ruler of Johor. He and another son, Raja Abdul-Rahman, were the sons of Encik Nusamah. Thus there were two sons and fourteen daughters.

