

UC-NRLF

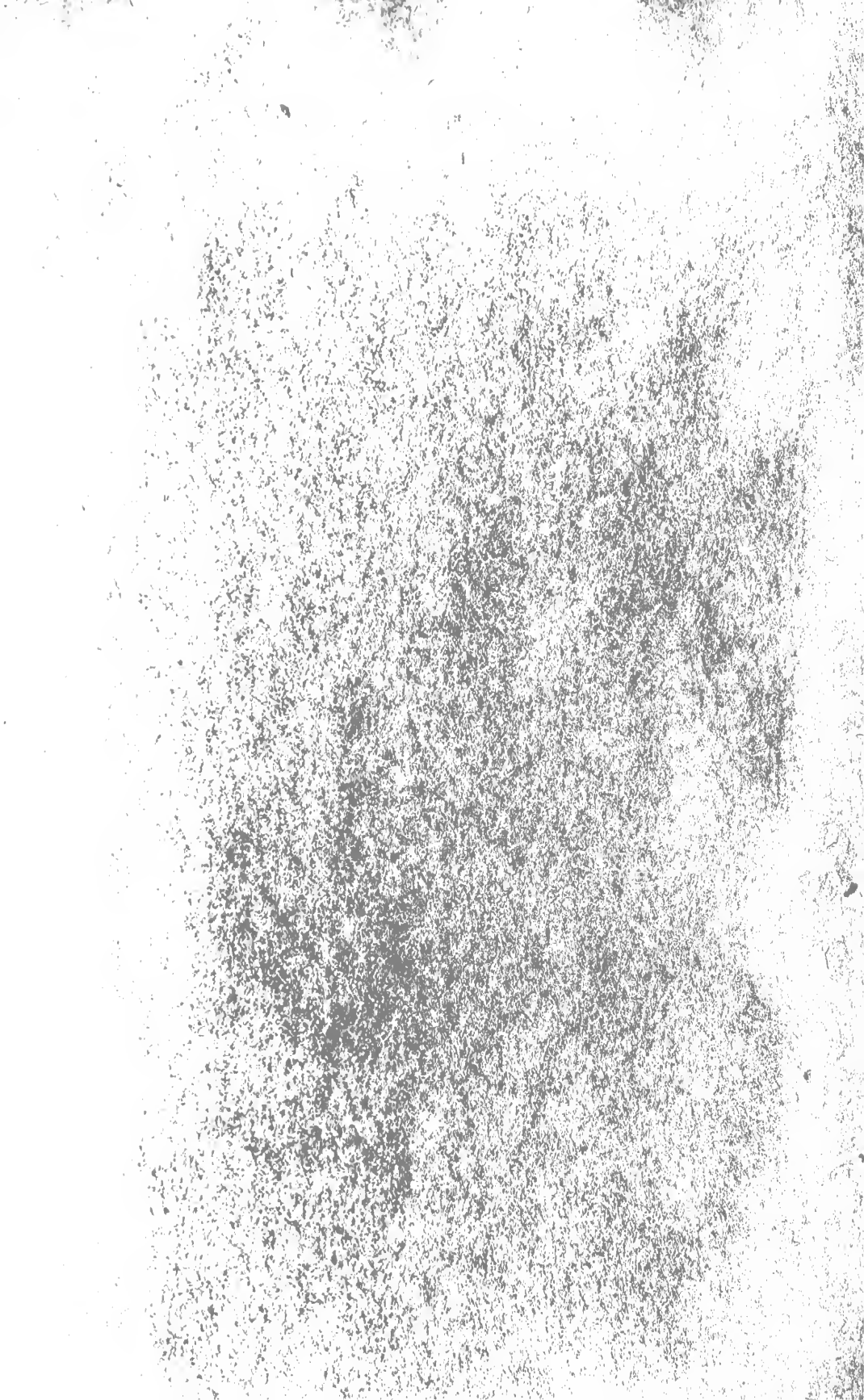


B 3 126 418

GIFT OF  
HORACE W. CARPENTIER







Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2008 with funding from  
Microsoft Corporation



# Papers on Malay Subjects.

[SECOND SERIES.]

UNIV. OF  
CALIFORNIA

## JOHOL

INAS, ULU MUAR, JEMPUL, GUNONG  
PASIR AND TERACHI.

---

THEIR HISTORY AND CONSTITUTION.

BY

J. E. NATHAN

AND

R. O. WINSTEDT,

MALAYAN CIVIL SERVICE.

PUBLISHED FOR THE COMMITTEE FOR MALAY STUDIES, FEDERATED  
MALAY STATES, AND PRINTED AT THE BAPTIST MISSION PRESS,  
CALCUTTA.

---

1920.

UNIVERSITY  
OF  
CALIFORNIA



# Papers on Malay Subjects.

[SECOND SERIES.]

## JOHOL

INAS, ULU MUAR, JEMPUL, GUNONG  
PASIR AND TERACHI.

THEIR HISTORY AND CONSTITUTION.

BY

J. E. NATHAN

AND

R. O. WINSTEDT,

MALAYAN CIVIL SERVICE.

PUBLISHED FOR THE COMMITTEE FOR MALAY STUDIES, FEDERATED  
MALAY STATES, AND PRINTED AT THE BAPTIST MISSION PRESS,  
CALCUTTA.

1920.

**LUZAC & CO.,**  
**46, GREAT RUSSELL STREET,**  
(Opposite the British Museum).  
**LONDON.**

DS 598

N4N3

90 1000  
AMERICAN

M. N.

## PREFACE.

---

IN his 'Notes on the Negri Sembilan' Wilkinson wrote, "Doubtless this present history will be corrected and supplemented in its turn as more facts become known." Having the advantage of being the last of a number of students of Negri Sembilan history and having unearthed, during our official duties as successive District Officers at Kuala Pilah from 1911 till 1919, a deal of material inaccessible to our predecessors, we advance in this book a new theory as to which were the original Nine States. The interest of that topic is academic. But we hope that the bulk of this pamphlet will be of practical value to Government Officers.

J. E. NATHAN.  
R. O. WINSTEDT.

1920.

1920



## THE ORIGINAL NINE STATES.

Newbold<sup>1</sup> surmised that the original Negri Sembilan were made up of Segamat, Johol, Naning, Sungai Ujong, Jelebu, Rembau, Klang, Ulu Pahang and Jelai:—the last in Pahang, above Kuala Tembeling. Martin Lister<sup>2</sup> followed Newbold, except that for Ulu Pahang he substituted Pasir Besar. Wilkinson<sup>3</sup> differed from Newbold only in including Inas in place of Johol. Parr and Mackray<sup>4</sup> accepted Newbold's list, though they rightly remarked that his Ulu Pahang must have been situated south of Kuala Tembeling. Research into the hitherto obscure history of Inas and Johol has led us to modify all these lists.

Ulu Pahang Hervey took to be the region adjoining Jelebu. Newbold had recorded that "Johol is bounded on the north by Ulu Pahang,"—a statement intelligible only if we consider Jempul to be a part of Johol and the allusion to refer to the Ulu Serting frontier. Again, describing Mr. Gray's journey in 1827, he mentions that Gray passed from Ulu Serting over to Ulu Pahang. Parr and Mackray noted and accepted this identification, but no enquirer, not even Lister who alone knew Johol well, has remarked the most cogent evidence of all.

In the states of Jempul, Muar, Johol and Terachi there is a tribe "Sri Lemak Pahang." Their name is to distinguish them from the Sri Lemak Minangkabau branch of the tribe. In Jempul, Muar and Terachi the tribe is large and important; in Terachi it is the *waris* tribe and the Penghulu of Terachi must be of this and not of the Biduanda tribe, which provides chiefs for all other states except Gunong Pasir.

In Muar the husband of the first female Penghulu, Khatib Akhir by name, was a Sri Lemak Pahang man and to this day the head of the tribe, Baginda Maharaja, acts as Penghulu between the death of a Dato Muar and the election of his successor. The ancestors of this tribe were Minangkabau Malays from the Sri Lemak district of Sumatra who emigrated thence (presumably by way of Malacca or the Sungai Muar) to Pahang, and later from Pahang to Jempul, Muar and Terachi. The traditions of the tribe throw light on the locality and extent of "Ulu Pahang." Khatib Akhir, the first settler in Ulu Muar, came from Mengkarak, a *kampung* on the Semantau river; the founders of the tribe in Jempul and Terachi came from Bukit Sa-Gumpal, a *kampung* near the Pahang river about 10 miles down stream from

<sup>1</sup> "British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca," Vol. II, pp. 78, 79.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Straits Branch, No. 19, p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> Notes on the Negri Sembilan, p. 13.      <sup>4</sup> *J.R.A.S.*, S.B., No. 59, p. 10.

Kuala Bra and about the same distance as the crow flies from Kuala Semantan.

The state of Ulu Pahang must be included therefore in the "Nine" and identified with Pahang across the watershed of the Serting extending as far as Mengkarak and Temerloh. It would appear very doubtful whether the state extended as far north as Kuala Tembeling, and Parr and Mackray in making it do so seem to be actuated by a desire to carry it up to the boundaries of what they believe to have been the ancient state of Jelai in Pahang.

That the ancient state of Jelai has been traced to Pahang is due to Newbold's list, though Newbold's account of the Negri Sembilan is always vague and often inaccurate (e.g., Vol. II, p. 140 and his map!). Even Martin Lister accepted Newbold's view, but an unpublished note on his original MS. would show that later he came to doubt it. There is no trace of Minangkabau origin in the family history of 'To Raja, the chief of Pahang Jelai. In the hills between Inas and Rembau rises another River Jelai and the evidence now available (p. 7) seems conclusive: we must identify the Jelai which formed one of the original Nine States with Inas.

Material has also been collected (pp. 5, 6) to prove that modern Johol is the lineal descendant and inheritor of the extinct state of Pasir Besar. Even to-day there are traces of a former large settlement at Pasir Besar, though now the only inhabitants are aborigines.

If the new evidence has been correctly interpreted, the list of the original "Nine States" should read: Sungai Ujong, Jelevu, Rembau, Nanning, Klang, Segamat, Pasir Besar (now Johol), Jelai (now Inas), and Ulu Pahang (the region between Ulu Serting and Temerloh).

## JOHOL AND INAS.

What is the origin of the little State of Johol? Newbold records a native tradition, which should satisfy the most ardent stickler for the antiquity of the Negri Sembilan. For it anticipates the Darwinian theory and carries us back further than *Pithecanthropus erectus*, who lived in the quaternary period in Java in the Kendeng hills.

“In the beginning of the world, a white *ungka* and a white *siamang* dwelt on a lofty mountain; they cohabited and had four children, who descended from the mountains to the plain and became mankind. From them sprang four tribes. In after times the heads of these tribes, Nenek Tukul, Nenek Landasan, Nenek Jelandong, and Nenek Karah, were invested by an ancient king of Johor with the honorary titles of 'To Batin Kakanda Ungku, 'To Batin Sa-ribu Jaya, 'To Batin Johan Lela Perkasa and 'To Batin Karah. The first founded the State of Klang and possessed the canoe, Sampan Balang; the second ascended the Linggi river and founded Sungai Ujong; the third proceeded to the hill of Lantai Kulit and founded the state of Johol; and the fourth to Ulu Pahang.”

After this, the account collected by Hervey from the chief of all the Batins of the Mantras is comparatively prosaic. It begins only with “the first magician” and ends with 'To Eta, a Dato of Johol, who was murdered in 1900 A.D.

“Mertang, the first magician, married his sister. They had a son, 'To Entah, who proceeded to Pagar Ruyong. His son, 'To Terjali, returned and settled in Jelebu. In charge of Kuala Muar 'To Terjali placed 'To Mutan Jantan, a woman; whose husband, Johan Pahlawan Lela Perkasa, he removed to Johol. After the death of 'To Mutan Jantan, the succession passed to her nephews. She was succeeded by 'To Ular Bisa, 'To Maharaja Garang, 'To Tengah, 'To Nuri, 'To Bunchit, 'To Eta.”

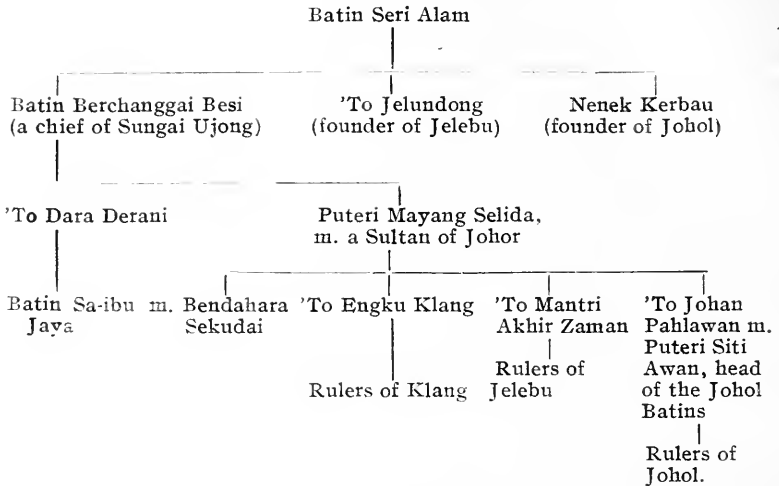
All aboriginal traditions agree that Johol was opened by a woman. Martin Lister writes:—

“It is difficult to say how long ago it was that a great number of Sakai travelled from the mountains of Sekudai and arrived in Johol. Their numbers amounted to as many grains as are contained in a *gantang* of rice, as on their arrival in Johol each individual planted a grain of rice, and it was found that a *gantang* was exhausted. They tied a rattan from tree to tree and hung up their axes, and the rattan was completely filled. . . . The distance between the trees is not given. There were four great chiefs or Batins among these Sakais. Three were men and one a woman. The

woman elected to remain in Johol. The three men separated with their followers; one went to Jelebu, one to Klang and one to Sungai Ujong."

Now who were Batin Sa-ribu (or better, Sa-ibu) Jaya, Batin Johan Lela Perkasa, and the other Batins of traditional history? And were they really Sakais?

A Malay account of Sungai Ujong furnishes their genealogical tree with "geometrical exactitude," and gives the name of the foundress of Johol as Nenek Kerbau.



Such a tree, as Wilkinson has shown, is absurd. But it would puzzle the most inventive genealogist to extract material for a pedigree out of a real Sakai. Anthropologists differentiate three races in the peninsula; the negrito Semang who has left traces throughout its length but is now confined to the north; the Sakai with Mon-Annam affinities; and the pagan or aboriginal Malay of the south of the peninsula, who alone calls his headmen Batin and the headman's assistants Jenang and Juru-Kerah, and whose Malayan speech is native to him and not borrowed entirely from that of the Muhammadan Malay. In Sumatra the negrito and the Sakai do not exist; but tribes of pagan Malays are so numerous, that perhaps our peninsular tribes the Biduanda, Mantra and Blanda are to be regarded as offshoots from this larger Sumatran stock, as indeed native tradition constantly asserts. Anyhow it is inaccurate to describe the aboriginal Malay element in Negri Sembilan as Sakai.

That the aboriginal element predominated in Johol down to very recent times is proved by the numerous survivals of its influence to this day. Till the end of the 19th century, the Undang of Johol was supposed to wear his hair long in memory of an aboriginal chieftainness of Johol! Newbold wrote, "The *pénghulu* is elected by the *suku* and the



*Batin dua-bèlas.*” “ In Johol,” said Lister in 1887, “ there is only one descent from which the *Undang* can be elected and the Batin have a stronger voice in the election than the *Lèmbaga*.” In 1899 the *Lèmbaga* of the Tiga Batu tribe Johol was appointed by the Batin with the approval of the Dato of Johol! The Batins still claim to have a voice in all Johol elections, even when the office like that of the Baginda Tan Mas is of recent creation: at the election for that office in 1915 'To Pongkis, an aboriginal Batin, attended and urged the claims of his favourite with such vehement threats as to reduce the assembled crowd of excited Malays to silence and perhaps to trepidation. The head of the female *waris* who summons the Batins to elections and examines candidates' genealogies bears the tell-tale title of Jenang. Three of the six *buapa* of the Biduanda tribe bear the aboriginal titles of Menggarang, Sa-ibu Garang, Sarumpun. Late in the 19th century a section of the Biduanda tribe, sulking at the inability and refusal of 'To Eta to get an alleged murderer executed when there was no proof of his guilt, took to the jungle and its ways and consented to return only when a pious Haji slaughtered a buffalo and entertained them at a feast of conciliation; and at any rate by Malay cynics their jaunt was hailed as atavistic reversion! As we shall see, the connection between Johol and Inas is historically intimate, and according to an aboriginal story collected by Vaughan Steevens, the Penghulu of Inas once possessed among his insignia an aboriginal chopping-board used for chopping up bats on Pulau Penjaring and (like the Penghulu of Jelebu) a spoon made from the skull of a bat, though these treasures are lost and forgotten now.

The lists of rulers of Johol and Inas bear out the evidence of the recency of aboriginal Malay influence:—

<i>Batin List of the Chiefs of Johol.</i>	<i>Hervey's Mantra List of the Chiefs of Johol.</i>	<i>Malay List of the Chiefs of Johol.</i>	<i>Malay List of the Chiefs of Inas.</i>
Sètiawan	'To Mutan Jantan (f.) m. Johan Pahla-wan Lela Perkasa who went to Johol.	Ferdana Manteri Setiawan	Èmbun Seri (f.)
Ramutan Jantan	'To Ular Bisa, nephew of Jantan	Rambut Panjang (f.)	Bayan
Mantik	'To Maharaja Garang	Setiawan (i.)	Rambutan Jantan

<i>Batin List of the Chiefs of Johol.</i>	<i>Hervey's Mantra List of the Chiefs of Johol.</i>	<i>Malay List of the Chiefs of Johol.</i>	<i>Malay List of the Chiefs of Inas.</i>
'To Bunchit	'To Tengah	Rambutan Jantan	'To Nuri
'To Eta	'To Nuri	'To Nuri	Mantik
Wan Omar	'To Bunchit		Chenderong
	'To Eta	Abubakar 'To Bunchit <i>or</i> Gobah (fl. 1839 A.D.)	Sohat
		Eta (murdered 1900, aged 90)	Biong
		Wan Omar	Omar
		Kamat (elected 1918)	Sulong
			Ujang (elected 1915)

Alike in Inas and Johol there have been seldom more than five holders of any Minangkabau tribal office.

Now the comparative method helps us to check these lists of chiefs. Jempul claims to have got its first Penghulu in the days when 'To Rambutan Jantan was chief of Johol: and the niece of Daim that first Penghulu of Jempul married Tengku Alang Husain (a son of Raja Hitam, the second Yamtuan), who "nominally governed" Jempul in Newbold's time—he published his book in 1839. Clearly therefore 'To Rambutan Jantan flourished at the beginning of the 19th century. Again we are indebted to Newbold for the information that at his day the Penghulu of Johol was "Abubakar or Bunchit; he resides at Nuri, is an intelligent-looking person, plain simple and collected in manner and much respected by his people." It is obvious therefore that the recorded line of Malay chiefs of Johol does not extend far into the 18th century. And in fact the old seal of the office is dated 1778 A.D., five years after the installation of Raja Melewar as first Yamtuan. But a Malay state will exist *de facto* for several generations, before its chiefs trouble to get recognition from the outside world. All history agrees that the chief of "Johol" was one of the king-makers who invited Raja Melewar to the throne of Negri Sembilan. The first Penghulu of Muar, who was beheaded by Raja Melewar in 1773 A.D., was the son of a lady Sendok Mas supplied by the Dato of "Inas" or of "Johol" at the request of the early Minangkabau settlers in Ulu Muar to be their chieftainness: tradition sometimes states that she was a daughter of the chief of Johol, and sometimes that she was a

daughter of the chief of Inas, and as she came from the hamlet of Lantai Kulit (on the present Pabai bridle-path, where her grave is still a *kèramat* and called *Makam 'To Muar*), probably the latter tradition is correct. Again all Ulu Muar and Sungai Ujong history alleges that the Penghulu of Muar is not to be ranked among the Undang, but is *anak ka-pada Johol*, because Johol obtained recognition from the Johor Sultanate but Ulu Muar failed to do so, owing to the murder of Sultan Mahmud II, the last of the Malacca line, at Kota Tinggi by Megat Sri Rama in 1699. Megat Sri Rama, it is alleged by Ulu Muar tradition, voyaged up the Muar river; visited Pasir Besar; voyaged on and opened Sri Menanti; and then ordered its early Minangkabau founders to open Pasir Panjang, known to-day as the little state of Ulu Muar. All this puts the date of the founding of what are now the states of Johol and Inas in the 17th century. None of the lists of the two chieftains support this earlier date. If it be suggested that the earlier holders of the two offices have been forgotten, we are confronted with the facts that the earliest recorded names already have an aboriginal sound and lead us up to Batin legends, and that survivals in culture at Johol and Inas lead us to suppose Batin predominance is not very old, seeing that there have been only seven holders of the tell-tale office of 'To Jénang! What then is the explanation?

Let us again compare traditional accounts. Hervey's Mantra legend alleges that 'To Terjali, who settled in Jebebu, placed 'To Mutan Jantan, a woman, in charge of Kuala Muar, while he removed her husband to Johol; it adds, that *Jelai was once a part of Johol* but broke away. This tradition associates the founding of Johol with comers from lower reaches of the Muar river and its dominion with ancient Jelai: to get to Johol and to Inas they would have to ascend the Jelai. Malay tradition, as preserved in Jempul, confirms the story of this route: the Jempul version telescopes fragments of Minangkabau and Johor history in the usual style but like other Malay traditions, is likely to have preserved a substratum of truth, when it comes to more recent times.

"Two brothers came from Minangkabau, Temenggong and Bendahara. 'To Temenggong founded a settlement in Johor; 'To Bendahara first at Sungai Terap, then at Sekudai, where after founding a settlement he died, leaving a son, 'To Panjang Rambut. *Waris* of his removed from Sekudai to Pasir Besar where they made a settlement, and later some of their descendants went *from Pasir Besar to Johol*. The names of those who went to Johol were Dato Durun, Dato Bunchiat, and Dato Lita. At Pasir Besar stayed Ferdana Manteri and his wife, Petam: their son, Daim, became the first Penghulu of Jempul. The early Minangkabau settlers who opened the Jempul valley requested 'To Rambutan, the then Dato of

Johol, to give them a chief and he nominated Daim, one of his own *waris*."

The Batin tradition (*Appendix* p. 74) confirms this connection between Johol and descendants of 'To Sėkudai from Pasir Bėsar.

Next we have the Ulu Muar story (pp. 3, 4) which was not invented as a theory by Martin Lister; he merely referred to a well-authenticated tradition. The exact tradition relates that when Ulu Muar was founded (soon after 1700 A.D.), Jelebu was still called Sungai Jirak, Semujong Sungai Gading and Johol Enjelai.

Finally there is the Inas version. In June 1880, Governor Sir Frederick Weld met the Dato of Inas, about whose territory little or nothing was known, and Sir Frederick Weld was told that Jelai lay between Sri Menanti and Malacca; also that it was now known as Inas. The same story is extant to-day.

In the face of all this definite tradition, is it not reasonable to surmise that first Inas and then Johol, eclipsing Inas, took the place of the early state of Jelai, which formed one of the original nine states, and on the evidence was certainly not the Ulu Jelai of Pahang? If it be objected that the Dato of this early state is said to have borne the title of Maharaja Purba borne now by the chief of Ulu Jelai in Pahang, the answer is very easy: once confuse the two places and it was very natural to transfer the title of the existing chief to the forgotten ruler of the submerged state.

Anyhow the Jempul story of those *waris* of the great house of Bendahara Sekudai, coupled with Lister's account of "Sakais from Sekudai" and with the Sungai Ujong genealogies would seem to explain the mysterious prestige of Johol. Travelling ever further up the Muar and turning finally up the Jelai, those few early Malay adventurers strengthened their position by friendship with the indispensable aborigines, till they were almost swamped by the alliance and forgot their own origin. It would suit them to admit that Johol was opened by a woman. As they had Minangkabau adherents, it would be natural to borrow Minangkabau matriarchal ideas to conciliate the Batins. Many of them would depend on the Batins' goodwill to secure them aboriginal Malay wives. But it was not just because Johol represented Batin influence that those Minangkabau patriarchs of aristocratic lineage, who came from Pasir Besar, applied to its ruler for a chief for their new settlement in Ulu Muar: it was because the Johol house was of the *waris* of 'To Sekudai and its genealogy well authenticated at Pasir Besar. Neither did the then ruler of Inas or Johol deliberately send those patriarchs an aboriginal woman for their chieftainness: he sent a woman of his own house, because the

matriarchal system of the settlers demanded a woman. Probably she was not a pure-bred woman. Raja Melewar condescended to marry her grand-daughter: would he have married the grand-daughter of an aborigine? As the Minangkabau dynasty became established, possibly it was politic for the big chiefs to disavow connection with Johor, and turn Bendahara Sekudai into a Batin! Johol would appear to be a perfect instance of Malays of the old Johor (or Malacca) nobility penetrating the fastnesses of Negri Sembilan by ascending the rivers and marrying perforce Biduanda, that is, aboriginal Malay women.

As for the connection between Inas and Johol, "the Dato of Inas," Martin Lister records, "is a branch of the Johol *waris* of the oldest descent." The historical folk-lore of Ulu Muar frequently confuses the chiefs, who ruled Johol and Inas in the 18th century. But against the theory that the two houses are branches of the same family is the fact that the *waris Inas* and the *waris Johol* are allowed to intermarry: and the *perut Nuri* in *waris Inas* is said not to be connected with the *waris Johol*. Evidently Johol forged ahead of Inas in the time of Raja Melewar: tradition has a habit of anachronism, but tradition assigns a great part to Johol in the installation of Raja Melewar and no part to Inas. Anyhow it is clear that for the last 150 years, while Inas, perhaps the legitimate and elder representative of ancient Jelai, has sunk into a mere appanage of Johol, the ruler of Johol has waxed in power owing to alliance with the royal house of Sri Menanti. Examination of the list of chiefs will show that 'To Rambutan and 'To Nuri and Mantik succeed one another both in the Johol and in the Inas lists; this cannot be coincidence and may be taken to prove that Johol usurped entire authority over Inas for three generations. It is significant that the chiefs of Johol and Inas both bear the title Johan Pahlawan Lela Perkasa. Johol has among the insignia of its rulers a peculiar iron rod three feet long decorated with a brass ring and called a *tokin*: Johol claims that it and another *tokin* belonged once to its Undang and that Inas carried one away. Perhaps the contrary would be the truth, for there is no *tokin* or memory of a *tokin* at Inas now.

To sum up. All the evidence available goes to show—

- (a) that the territory now covered by Johol and Inas was before the 18th century the ancient state of Jelai;
- (b) that in the 18th century ancient Jelai vanished and Inas took its place, getting recognition from Johor in 1760 A.D.; and
- (c) that about the time of Tunku Melewar, Johol, the representative of the ancient state of Pasir Bësar, began to forge ahead of Inas and eventu-

ally eclipsed it, probably usurping the title and insignia of its chief.

There is no definite evidence as to what families ruled ancient Jelai and Inas; the seal of the Inas chief bears the inscription *Walad Dato Kuala Dioh*, "Son of the Dato of Kuala Dioh," a small hamlet in Ulu Muar near to Kuala Pilah, where a *kèramat* grave is still revered: the seal is dated 1803 A.D. and must have replaced an earlier seal, which probably had the same inscription. The Johol family is descended from 'To Sekudai of the great house of the Bendaharas of old Malacca and Johor, a fact which must have helped its rise; but with the accession of Tunku Melewar and the growth of Minangkabau power it became politic to base claims to territorial rights on the distaff and aboriginal side and to forget relationship with the rulers of Johore.

---

THE OFFICES OF UNDANG JOHOL, JOHAN  
PAHLAWAN LELA PERKASA SETIAWAN  
AND OF BAGINDA TAN MAS.

**Method of Election.**

In 1901 the then Acting Resident wrote, "The successor to the Baginda Tan Amas will be appointed by the Dato Johol in accordance with the custom"; and later he added, "'To Johol appointed 'To Muda Moha after consulting the *lèmbaga* and *waris*"—not apparently the Batin—; "this appointment under the constitution of the state is entirely in the gift of the Dato' Johol." This, if true, would point to the fact that the dignity is of quite recent creation, as the elections not only of the *Undang* Johol but of Johol *lèmbaga* are always confirmed by the Batin. "In Johol," wrote Lister in 1887, "there is only one descent from which the *Undang* can be elected and the Batin have a stronger voice in the election than the *lèmbaga*."

That it is true is corroborated by a further note made by Lister that "the Baginda Tan Amas cannot succeed to the office of Penghulu"—a fact in this context quite intelligible, although the Baginda Tan Amas is of the eligible *waris bèrundang*; because any claim to this office of *Undang* based on an office acquired by the *Undang*'s nomination would have destroyed the principle of the *gilir* and the Batin's right to appoint the Malay *Undang*. And the dignity is of quite recent creation. The sister of Dollah, the fourth holder, is still alive (in 1919); and Malay tradition declares that even the first Baginda Tan Amas was created during Eta's life-time.

An unpublished *Aturan Sungai Ujong* describes the constitution of Sungai Ujong, as *bĕrundang bĕrkĕadilan bĕrlĕromba bĕrsalasilah*; of Jelebu, as *bĕrundang bĕrkĕadilan bĕrlĕmbaga*; of Rembau, as *bĕrundang bĕrlĕmbaga*; of Johol, as *bĕrundang bĕrlĕromba bĕrsalasilah*, "possessed of a law-giver, of traditional pedigree, of an established Malay genealogy"—there is no mention of *bĕrlĕmbaga*; and the *lĕmbaga* system of Johol is not a century old. The constitution on the tribal side is not elaborate like that of Muar or it would have been impossible so late in the day to start the office of Baginda Tan Mas who, in Lister's words, "besides being a *kĕpala waris* is also, so to speak, minister of foreign affairs. He is also the person to be first consulted before any commoner can reach the Dato' Johol, i.e. he is the *haluan sĕmbah*. He may proceed as the Dato's proxy to one of the *tanah lĕlapakan* in Ulu Muar for the election of a Yam Tuan." It looks as if Baginda Tan Mas must have usurped many of the functions of Jenang (*kĕpala waris pĕrĕmpuan*) or possibly of a sub-merged officer Pawang called *kĕtuaan waris* who joined Jenang in the first stultified election of the Baginda Tan Mas (1912): as if, in other words, his creation shows Malay influence proper winning ground against the ancient Batin predominance.

The old rule that a Baginda Tan Mas shall not become *Undang* Johol was broken by the election of the fifth holder, Wan Omar, as *Undang* in 1901. Wan Omar had long carried out the work of the aged Dato' Eta and the breach of constitutional principle necessary for his election was glozed over by punctilious observance of customary procedure. "To Jenang, the Malay officer with the Batin title (*kunchi pĕsaka waris sa'silah*), head of the *waris pĕrĕmpuan Johol* and their representative at all elections, studied the genealogical tree which is in the keeping of his memory; summoned the *waris*; conferred with the *lĕmbaga*. When the *lĕmbaga* had chosen the candidate, "To Jenang called the Batins of Muar, Jelai and Jelebu, and the Batins confirmed the election of Wan Omar, the selected candidate. It was immediately after this election that it was officially recorded "the new Baginda Tan Mas will be appointed by "To Johol in accordance with custom; this appointment under the constitution of the state is entirely in the gift of the "To Johol." Yet admit the principle that the Baginda Tan Mas succeeds to the office of *Undang* and you admit the right of the Dato' Johol to appoint his own successor.

As a matter of fact, the 1901 election was accepted as inaugurating a new principle that the Baginda Tan Mas succeeds to the office of *Undang*. But the right of the *Undang* to appoint the Baginda Tan Mas was modified to save the constitution. In 1901 when Wan Omar was elected *Undang*, he did not appoint a successor to the office of

Baginda Tan Mas which he then vacated, as, on relinquishing office from old age, Dollah the previous holder, had appointed him : it is recorded that 'To Moha was elected by the Jenang and six *buapa* of the *waris* or *Biduanda* tribe. At the election in 1912 to choose Moha's successor, it was definitely laid down that the election of a Baginda Tan Mas depends on *kēbulatan* or unanimous selection by Jēnang and the six *buapa* of the Biduanda tribe, and that the *lēm̄baga* shall not interfere—convincing evidence that the Minangkabau tribal system is recent and weak in Johol. The election was held before the Dato' Johol and the seven *lēm̄baga*. So far as the electorate goes, the new system has only made one change. The Batins are left in the cold! But the jungle chiefs all attended the election of an *Undang* in 1918 or rather the formal promotion of the Baginda Tan Mas to that office, the Batin of Muar taking a leading part. It is quite in accord with Malay love for time-honoured formalities for the Batins to be called to witness an installation, which has finally passed out of the rather vague grasp they have had on it on former occasions.

The practical result of the new system is to save all the heart-burning attendant on the selection of a candidate for high office like that of an *Undang*. It secures that the heir to the office is a *persona grata* to H.H. the Yam Tuan, who will have already accepted him as Baginda Tan Mas.

No record of procedure were complete without an account of the way in which the *Undang* Johol pays obeisance to the Yam Tuan. The Batin take no part in this ceremony. The newly-elected Dato stays overnight at his *tanah lēlapakan* at Kampong Bukit, two miles from Sri Menanti. There he is met by the *lēm̄baga yang empat* of Muar, Paduka Besar, Sri Maharaja, Senara Kaya and Orang Kaya Bongsu, to whom he expresses his wish to *sēm̄bah ka-bawah duli*. He makes a customary offer of a tray containing a man's dress, *sa-batang tuboh*, and a *kēpala mayat*, i.e. \$14 in silver. This tray is taken by the *orang empat astana*, the four major court chamberlains. Then the Dato goes in procession to the Astana, preceded by his Highness' *panglima* and followed by the four Muar *lēm̄baga*, Jenang and the Johol *lēm̄baga*. The Yam Tuan takes his seat on his throne. The Dato Johol and 'To Jenang pay formal obeisance. The Johol *lēm̄baga* merely salute the Yam Tuan respectfully.

As to the ceremonies observed at Johol on the installation of an *Undang* we have only the evidence of what took place in 1918. At the election of the former Penghulu Wan Omar in 1901, there was no formal installation; and Eta, the Penghulu before Wan Omar was installed at least sixty years ago. There is no one living who saw the last installation and it is very doubtful if any fixed ceremonial has been handed down. Probably the whole ceremonial described



below, including the invocation, was invented by 'To Pawang. This would account too for the fact that the Batin, who does not possess the same histrionic and inventive genius, took practically no part. Wan Omar, late Penghulu of Johol, died in February 1918. His successor, Kamat bin Haji 'Laiman, was installed in March at the house of Kidam, the *képala waris pèrèmpuan* at Kampong Tanggai.

A small grassy knoll close to the stream had been spread with mats and proceedings commenced with a procession from Kidam's house to this knoll. First walked the Batin of Muar and his ministers, the Jenang and Jikrah (*Juru kèrah*), then 'To Pawang Haji Husin, then the new Penghulu carrying the *tokin* and led by the hand by Kidam; then Panglima Puteh and Panglima Hitam and others carrying the creeses and spears of the Penghulu's insignia. All were dressed in blue cotton garments; the Penghulu designate wearing his own silk clothes underneath.

On arrival at the knoll, the Penghulu sat cross-legged on a mat, 'To Pawang kneeling before him and the Batin sitting to one side. The others withdrew some few yards behind.

'To Pawang first burnt incense and fumigated the *tokin* which was planted in the ground beside the mat. He then did obeisance three times to the Penghulu and embraced him, kissing him once on each cheek. Finally he declaimed a long invocation compounded of *adat* sayings and scriptural allusions.

After this 'To Pawang passed the censer with the incense seven times, and then the vessel containing *tèpong tawar* three times round the Penghulu's head, thereafter sprinkling his head with *tèpong tawar*. The new Penghulu removed his cotton jacket and trousers and his *kris* and with 'To Pawang went down to the stream, where 'To Pawang sprinkled his head with water. He then fumigated with incense the Penghulu's *kris* and his turban, which was tied in the shape known as *dèndam ta' sudah* and returned them. This concluded the installation.

Later the customary *mèngadap* of the *lèmbaga* and the *buapa* of the Johol *waris* took place, the new Penghulu having 'To Gempa on his right and 'To Mantri on his left. The *képala waris pèrèmpuan* sat directly behind him, having the Batin Muar on her right and 'To Jenang on her left.

### Eligible Candidates.

Further qualification is required for these two high offices than mere membership of the *waris* tribe represented by the six elector *buapa*, viz:—

Paduka Bangsa	} di-bawah 'To Jèngang
Mènggarang	
Sa-ibu Garang	

Sa-rumpun  
Baginda Molana  
Paduka Raja Lela.

• Only *waris bĕrundang* are eligible.

The *waris bĕrundang* are divided—

- (i) strictly and originally into *waris Johol pĕrut laki-laki* and *waris Johol pĕrut pĕrĕmpuan*, this division being based on the legend that in very early days a brother and sister became *Undang* and the two *pĕrut* represent their several families.
- (ii) As this distinction was one requiring, as time went on, genealogical exactitude beyond the genius of the Malay mind, territorial division has taken its place.

These territorial *pĕrut* now determine the choice of the *Undang*, the Baginda Tan Mas, and the lady who is *kĕpala waris pĕrĕmpuan Johol*.

Originally the *pĕrut* were (1) Baroh (or Tanggai), (2) Gemenchĕh, (3) Bukit. Later for revenue purposes the British added *pĕrut Tanggai* and *pĕrut Kepis* but these have never been deemed entitled to be reckoned in the *giliran*.

In 1912 Che Mek was chosen as Baginda Tan Mas because *pĕrut Bukit* had never held the office but it was then decided that in future the *pĕrut Baroh* and the *pĕrut Bukit* should be amalgamated into a new *pĕrut* called *pĕrut Johol*—more particularly as the *pĕrut Baroh* and the *pĕrut Bukit* were descended from two sisters and never constituted two real families. In future the rotation for the above three offices, viz.—

- (a) *Undang Johol*
- (b) *Baginda Tan Mas*
- (c) *Kĕpala waris pĕrĕmpuan*

will be solely between (1) this new *pĕrut Johol*, and (2) *pĕrut Gemenchĕh*.

Consequent on the innovation that the Baginda Tan Mas succeeds to the office of *Undang*, it was further arranged at the election of Baginda Tan Mas in 1912 that—

(a) the same *pĕrut* shall never hold the two offices together ;

(b) the Baginda Tan Mas shall always be elected from the *pĕrut* whose turn comes next for the office of *Undang* ;

(c) if a Baginda Tan Mas resigns or even dies before he inherits the office of *Undang*, then his successor shall be chosen from the *pĕrut* of the deceased or resigned Baginda Tan Mas—an arrangement similar to that in the case of the Penghulu of Ulu Muar, and the 'To Ferdana and 'To Purba of that state. Thus the *gilir* of the higher office is preserved.

It is perhaps a detail worth recording that at the 1912 election it was held 'Che Mek was not debarred from the office of Baginda Tan Mas by the fact that his sister as *kĕpala waris pĕrĕmpuan* got a pension of \$25 a month ; or in other words that the same *pĕrut* may hold both these offices simultaneously.

Tradition records nine holders of the office of Baginda Tan Mas:—(1) 'To Janggut or Gĕmpa, (2) 'To Gunjai, (3) Babal, (4) Dollah, (5) Wan Omar, (6) 'To Moha (elected 1901), (7) 'Che Mek (elected 1912), (8) Kamat (became Undang, 1918), (9) Siama Balek. Kamat was of *pĕrut* Johol, Siama Balek of *pĕrut* Gĕmĕncheh. Kamat succeeded War Omar of *pĕrut* Gĕmĕncheh as *Undang*.

---

### THE CONSTITUTION OF JOHOL.

Newbold, inaccurate as usual where Negri Sembilan is concerned, wrote, "Johol is governed by a Penghulu and *ĕmpat suku*. . . . . The tribes are those of Biduanda, Sri Melenggang, Tiga Batu and Mungkal." Actually the Minangkabau predominance of the four tribes has never obtained in Johol. As we have seen, even in 1912 it was definitely laid down that the election of a Baginda Tan Mas, successor to the office of Penghulu, depends on unanimous selection by 'To Jenang, head of the *waris* Biduanda, and the six elders of the Biduanda tribe, and that the tribal Lĕmbagas shall have no voice. The Biduanda tribe outnumbered the other three tribes together : when Martin Lister issued titles in Johol, 70 grants went to the Tiga Batu tribe, 98 to the Mungkal, 99 to the Sri Melenggang, and 375 to the various branches of the Biduanda. When a Sakai turns Malay in Johol, he becomes an *anak buah* of 'To Jenang or a *waris* ! The Minangkabau rule of exogamy is not in force in the Biduanda tribe and all its different branches can intermarry. Really all power rests with the Biduanda tribe.

In Inas, when Martin Lister issued the first titles for land, the Tiga Nenek tribe took out 16 grants, Sri Lemak Minangkabau 12, Sri Melenggang 35 and the Biduanda tribe 118.

JOHOL.  
MINOR CHIEFS  
'TO JENANG.\*

Tribe	BIDUANDA		
Përut	Simpang	Narusa	Kuala Johol
Holders in chronologi- cal order	3. Suboh	4. Haji Dollah	1. Bongkok 2. Buchun  5. Mahat
Buapa	Sa-ibu Garang		

The Batin have sole voice in the appointment of a 'To Jëng and his *buapa* but must follow the fixed rotation. There are two sub-*përut*; Simat, a branch of Simpang and Batang Johol, a branch of Kuala Johol, neither of which were recognised at the last election.

The 'To Jëng is *këpala waris, kunchi pësaka waris sa'silah*. The title is a Sakai title and is borne by the chief assistant of a Batin. Martin Lister recorded how in his time "still the Dato of Johol pays to the Batin of Johol a proportion of the revenue derived from waste lands through 'To Jëng, who is, so to speak, minister for the aborigines." Further, there is the old saying—

*Takek kayu Batin Jëng,  
Putus tibus pada Undang.*

"The Sakai chief and his minister blaze the trees to mark the boundaries of forest for alienation: the Malay chief fixes the purchase money."

\* Signifies that the information as to previous holders was actually collected at an election.

A.—BIDUANDA.

Title of Lëmbaga	GĚMPAR		
Përut	Tanggai	Landing	Nuri
Holders in chronologi- cal order	1. Gobek  4. Sinor  7. Si-Asin	3. Muhamad  6. Si-Abang	2. Ajak  5. Haji Omar
Buapa	Manti		

B.—BIDUANDA.

Title of Lëmbaga	MANTRI		
Përut	Kampong Tëngah	Chabang Dua	Nuri
Holders in chronologi- cal order	1. Bogok 2. Lias  4. Mat Ali 5. Rangkon	3. Tanding	
Buapa	Sënara Pahlawan		

*Përut* Nuri is said to have been added by a tribal agreement about 14 years ago and will provide the next holder of the Office.

## C.—BIDUANDA.

Title of Lëmbaga	RAJA BALANG	
Përut	Kuala Johol	Masjid Tua
Holders in chronological order	1. Bawi 2. Basut 3. Tëngayan  6. Suman	4. Si-Abu 5. Mahat
Buapa	Baginda Raja Lela	

Raja Balang is the *titian Biduanda, sërëmpu sakalian lëmbaga*.

## D.—SRI MĒLENGGANG.

Title of Lëmbaga	ANDIKA			
Përut	Balik Bukit	Kampong Tinggal	Kampong Paya	Kuala Nuri
Holders in chronological order	1. Lakat  4. Chukup	2. Bodot	3. Dollah  6. Leon	5. Asul
Buapa	Raja Lela			

E.—TIGA BATU.

Title of Lëmbaga	BAGINDA RAJA				
Përut	Simpang	Tulang Rimau	Yoh	Narusa	Gëdohom
Holders in chronological order	4. Nasip	1. Lepir	3. Talip	5. Sanan	2. Tabu
Buapa	Sënara Kaya				

F.—MUNGKAL.

Title of Lëmbaga	RAJA SËNARA			
Përut	Tumang	Kuala Johol	Buah Rambai	Nuri
Holders in chronological order	4. Sahar	1. Kadin 5. Lida	2. Junus 3. Telek	
Buapa	Kanda			

*Përut* Nuri is an offshoot of *përut* Tumang. It is very doubtful if there has been any tribal agreement constituting *përut* Nuri a separate *përut* with a right to supply a Raja Sënara in turn. The point will have to be decided at the next election.

**KĚPIS LĚMBAGAS.****A.—PAYA KUMBOH.\***

Title of LĚmbaga	SRI MAHARAJA
Pĕrut	Only one <i>pĕrut</i> in this tribe
Holders in chronological order	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Majid</li> <li>2. Jabar</li> <li>3. Haji Daud</li> <li>4. Lateh</li> <li>5. Sigut</li> <li>6. Nahu</li> </ol>
Buapa	None

**B.—SRI LĚMAK MINANGKABAU.\***

Title of LĚmbaga	PADUKA BĚSAR
Pĕrut	Only one <i>pĕrut</i> in this tribe
Holders in chronological order	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Che Mek</li> <li>2. Lisut</li> <li>3. Bujang</li> <li>4. Hasan</li> <li>5. Panchar</li> </ol>
Buapa	None



C.—SRI LĚMAK PAHANG.

Title of LĚmbaga	SINDA MAHARAJA
Pĕrut	Only one <i>pĕrut</i> in this tribe
Holders in chronological order	1. Jalal 2. Mokah 3. Kĕdarat
Buapa	None

JUAK-JUAK

A.—PANGLIMA HITAM.

Tribe	BIDUANDA RAJA BALANG				
Pĕrut	Kuala Johol	Gĕdohom	Yoh	Masjid Tua	Kuala Tumang
Holders in chronological order	1. Sahak 4. Lihin		5. Timbang	2. Si Ali	3. Waham

The individual holder is chosen by the Penghulu who must however observe the correct rotation.

## B.—PANGLIMA PUTEH.

Tribe	SRI MĒLENGGANG				
Pĕrut	Kuala Nuri	Kampong Paya	Bukit	Jĕmalok	Kampong Tinggal
Holders in chronological order	6. Ma' Usin 8. Mukim Pasir	5. Kulup Paya 7. Kasit	1. Dompong 2. Anjak 3. Mikin 4. Mayang		

The individual is chosen by the Penghulu who must however observe the correct rotation.

JUAK-JUAK OF UNDANG JOHOL.

- |                    |    |  |
|--------------------|----|--|
| 1. Pĕrang Kanan    | .. | Carries a tufted spear<br><i>Tombak bĕndĕrang.</i> |
| 2. Pĕrang Kiri     | .. | do.  |
| 3. Panglima Puteh  | .. | Carries a sword.                                   |
| 4. Panglima Hitam  | .. | do.  |
| 5. Panglima Dalam  | .. | Carries a long <i>Kĕris.</i>                       |
| 6. Panglima Tĕngah | .. | do.  |
| 7. Laksamana       | .. | Carries a black flag.                              |
| 8. Panglima Bĕsar  | .. | Carries a <i>Kĕris.</i>                            |

CHIEFS OF INAS.

A.—PENGHULU OF INAS.

According to tradition there have been down to the present day eleven holders (pp. 5, 6) of the title of Johan Pahlawan Lela Perkasa Setiawan, Penghulu of Inas. The *giliran* lies between three *pĕrut*,—Inas. Dingkir and Nuri. Biong was of *pĕrut* Inas, Omar of *pĕrut* Dingkir, Sulong of

*përut* Nuri, and Ujang of *përut Inas*. The division into *përut* is recent.

The Dato of Johal presides at an election. The electors are the *lëmbaga* and *juak-juak* and the *bëntara bëtina* or *këpala waris përrëmpuan*.

B.—DATO MËNTARA.

This officer is also called Bëntara Jantan, being head of the *waris Biduanda* in Inas. Tradition records nine holders :— (1) Tëgoh, (2) Ahmat, (3) Fati, (4) Gumpal, (5) Sulong, (6) Benchus, (7) Maasul, (8) Ujang, (9) Bachi.

Rotation is between three *përut* :—Dingkir, Inas, Nuri. Maasul was of *përut* Dingkir, Ujang of *përut* Inas, and Bachi of *përut* Nuri.

C.—BËNTARA BËTINA.

She is the female *këpala waris*. Montok, the present holder, is the mother of Bachi, the Bëntara Jantan. Holders are recorded as follows :—

Përut	Inas	Dingkir	Nuri
Holders in chronological order	1. Paduka Pahlawan 2. Limah 3. Lijah 5. Sombong	4. Sunyi	6. Montok

D.—BIDUANDA KUALA PUNGGOR.

Title of Lëmbaga	MANTRI	
Buapa	Lela Raja	
Përut	Tijah	Tiamin
Holders in chronological order	1. Bibun 2. Binchus 3. Kulup Ayang	4. Kotok 5. Montok 6. Haji Chanai

There are only seven families in this tribe and the *giliran* has rarely been observed. This tribe are not *waris*. Members may intermarry with the Biduanda *waris* and with E and F.

## E.—BIDUANDA BUAH PĒTAI.

Title of Lĕmbaga	BAGINDA RAJA
Buapa	Paduka Raja Lela
Holder in chronological order	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Mĕntikong</li> <li>2. Dati</li> <li>3. Lari</li> <li>4. Laji</li> <li>5. Lelah</li> </ol>

This tribe consists at present of 15 households. They are not *waris* and may intermarry with A, D or F. In the lifetime of the late Penghulu Sulong, a tribal *muafakat* established a *giliran* and division into three *pĕrut*,—Ponggor, Masjid and Inas. The present holder is of *pĕrut* Ponggor and *pĕrut* Masjid should furnish the next holder. *Pĕrut* Masjid however has dwindled down to one household, and it will have to be decided at the next election if it should not be merged in one of the other two *pĕrut*.

## F.—BIDUANDA SUNGAI UJONG.

Title of Lĕmbaga	SĒTIA RAJA		
Buapa	Sĕnara Sati		
Pĕrut	Chĕnorong	Chĕmĕrloh	Bukit
Holder in chronological order	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Dollah</li> <li>3. Mungkeh</li> <li>4. Layar</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>2. Sampai</li> </ol>	

There was originally a rotation between the two former *përut* only. *Përut Bukit* was added by a tribal agreement in the time of Penghulu Sulong and will supply the next holder. This tribe are not *waris* and may intermarry with A, D and E.

G.—TIGA NENEK.\*

Title of Lëmbaga			BANGSA BALANG	
Buapa		Sënara Kaya		
Përut	Durian Ulat	Inas or Dingkir		
Holders in chronological order	1. Sëmilang			
	2. Itan			
				3. Kasan
	4. Obong			5. Sair

There are 20 households in this tribe. Tiga Batu and Paya Kumboh, tribesmen from other states who settle in Inas, join this tribe, their own not being represented in Inas.

H.—SRI LËMAK MINANGKABAU.

Title of Lëmbaga		BAGINDA MAHARAJA		
Buapa		Sënara Pahlawan		
Përut	Inas	Pulau		
Holders in chronological order	1. Ludin			
	2. Ahmat			
				3. Kulup Raja
	4. Aris			5. Tahim

## I.—SRI MĒLENGGANG.\*

Title of Lĕmbaga	ANDIKA			
Buapa	Maharaja Lela			
Pĕrut	Siginyeh	Kabong	Tonggas	Inas.
Holder <i>s</i> in chronological order	1. Rajus 4. Laka	2. Rantau 3. Lewar 7. Wan Ahmat	6. Bading	5. Khamis

This tribe may not intermarry with the Sri Melenggang tribe in Johol, both claiming a common ancestress in Naning.

*JUAK-JUAK.*

## I.—PANGLIMA HITAM.

Tribe	Biduanda Sungai Ujong
Holder <i>s</i> in chronological order	1. Lenjut 2. Uteh 3. Kamar

The appointment is in the hands of the Penghulu.

## II.—PANGLIMA PUTEH.

---

Tribe	Sri Mēlenggang
Holders in chronological order	1. Ujang Dēli 2. Engah 3. Badu 4. Mahat 5. Samat 6. Raman

---

The appointment is in the hands of the Penghulu.

## ULU MUAR.

A manuscript history of Sungai Ujong gives the following story.<sup>1</sup> "The Penghulu of Ulu Muar was a creation of Johor and was not a suzerain of Johor on account of the war between the party of the Sultan of Johor and the faction of Megat Sri Rama. The story goes that the Sultan once sent Megat Sri Rama to inspect the islands subject to Johor. Now, when the Megat set out, he left behind him his wife three months gone with child. One day a peasant was taking a jack-fruit as an offering to the Sultan, when this lady stopped him and asked for the fruit. The peasant demurred, whereupon she took a section of it. The peasant carried the remainder to the Sultan. The Sultan enquired how it came to be broken and was told that the lady had helped herself to a section to satisfy her longings. He was informed that the longings were those of the child unborn. Thereupon he ordered the woman to be cut open to test the truth of this theory, and the fruit was found in the mouth of the child. When Megat Sri Rama returned and heard of the tragedy, he contrived to be one of the bearers of the royal litter, as the Sultan was being carried to the mosque; and he stabbed the Sultan to death on the way, the white blood which is a sign of Malay royal birth dripping at the corpse's feet."

This Sultan, Mahmud Shah II, is known to history as *Marhum mangkat di-julang*. He was the last representative of the royal house of Malacca. And the date of his murder was 1699 A.D. Consequently, the little state of Ulu Muar first obtained the recognition of the Malay world after that date.

Sungai Ujong tradition avers that Ulu Muar took among the nine states the place of the ancient state of Pasir Besar. And Ulu Muar accounts corroborate this, in so far as they claim that the founders came by way of Pasir Besar. This is the Ulu Muar version:—

"Seven persons came from Hindustan! Their names were Mogek Si Rama (the Minangkabau equivalent for Megat Sri Rama), Dato Ferdana, Dato Purba, Nenek Gadih, a female who married Dato Bujang, and Banun, a female who married a man named Shaikh Abdu'r-Rahman. They settled in Singapore but were ousted by a plague of locusts known as *Sikunyik*; so they crossed to Johor, ascended a river up to Pasir Besar, and named the river Muar, because they were

<sup>1</sup> The story is also printed in *J.R.A.S.*, S.B., XXVIII, page 56, and appears too in a short MS. history of Pahang.



sick of the length of the journey! Megat Sri Rama chose for their first settlement a spot on the tributary of the Muar river, where he found *pa.li* of the kind called *sèri bumi* growing, and he called the spot Sri Menanti.

Meantime the original settlers were joined by four chiefs from Minangkabau, the forebears of the four chief Lëmbagas of Muar. Megat Sri Rama bade them start another settlement at Pasir Panjang in Ulu Muar. Then he vanished."

It is easy to criticise detail in this legend.

*Nenek gadis, dato bujang.*

"When our ancestress was a maid and our forefather still unwedded" is a line out of many *tèromba* or "songs of origin": the words do not signify the names of two definite persons. Banun is unknown in other versions of the tale. The settlers did not come from Singapore or from India! Probably they were not well enough versed in methods of Malay philology to derive Muar from *muak*! Sri Menanti is derived almost certainly from the name of the waiting-room in the palaces of Javanese princes. And, as we shall see, mention of a 'To Purba and a 'To Ferdana is most likely anachronistic.

Megat Sri Rama has been seen to be a historical personage. Possibly he made an extended official tour as the representative of Johor in Negri Sembilan. The first reputed Undang of Rembau was a Si-Rama, a grandson of Bendahara Sakudai: and the dates would lead one to infer that that may possibly have been the same person as our Megat Sri Rama.

The story continues that when Megat Sri Rama disappeared, the 'To Ferdana and the 'To Purba summoned the four Minangkabau patriarchs and bade them elect a chief from Ulu Muar. They chose 'To Tengkis, the daughter of Banun and Shaikh Abdu'r-Rahman. She married Khatib Akhir, a Minangkabau man of the Sri Lemak tribe who came to Muar from Pahang, to be precise from Mengkarak: and she bore a son, Naam, the first titled Penghulu of Muar.

That is the Muar story now. In the less sophisticated days of Mr. Lister, apparently the Muar folk admitted as the best authenticated tradition avers, that those four first Minangkabau patriarchs applied to Johol for a Penghulu. "It is not clear," writes Martin Lister, "whether the Dato of Johol had been converted to Islam; in any case he sent a Sakai Batin as Penghulu. Some time after this, a family of Minangkabau settlers of the tribe of Sri Lemak came from Pahang, hearing that their own countrymen had arrived at Ulu Muar. The family consisted of a man, his wife, two daughters and one son. The son married the daughter of the Sakai Penghulu sent from Johol and his wife bore him a son. The (Sakai female) Penghulu died when this child was about

six years old, and the son was elected as Penghulu, but as he was a minor, his father administered for him till he came of age."

Study of the history of Johol has led us to doubt if Tengkis or Sendok Mas, as the Johol and *ayer kaki* versions name her, was given or accepted as a "Sakai" or aboriginal woman. The version most widely accepted is that she was a daughter of the Penghulu of Inas, the representative of what is traditionally said to be the senior branch of the Johol house, which, as we have seen, came from Pasir Besar and was descended from Bendahara Sakudai. The Minangkabau settlers would want, in accordance with their *adat*, a lady with a title to the soil as mother of their chief to be. But Minangkabau men of whom one claimed to belong to the great house of 'To Makhdum Sakti of Sumanik would hardly have respected or accepted an aboriginal woman; while they would indubitably have respected a woman who marrying one of their number could bear a son, who would be of the best blood of Johor. In fact it looks as if their descendants had invented Banun, because the legend has sprung up that Sendok Mas was an aboriginal woman.

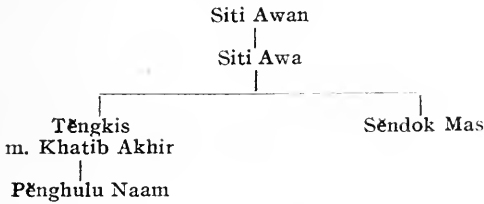
The variant version of the story, which obtains in Johol and is accepted at Sri Menanti by the court chiefs who are descended from Penghulu Naam, the first Penghulu of Muar, not only gives a very definite account of Sendok Mas, but also the history of those Minangkabau patriarchs.

"The first Tanah Datar tribesmen" to come to Negri Sembilan, "were two relatives, Sultan Sumanik (or Sultan Tengah Padang) and Sultan Johan Kebesaran of the family of Dato Makhdum Sakti of Sumanik. They came with many followers calling at Siak but not at Johor, across to Malacca and thence by way of Rembau to Sri Menanti. Sultan Sumanik settled at Ayer Merbau Anjing Beranak and Sultan Johan at Tanjong Alam. Soon afterwards came three other men of birth from Minangkabau: 'To Puteh of the Sri Lemak tribe who was made *Pawang nĕgĕri* and settled at Kuala Gamin; 'To Laut of the Mungkal tribe who settled at Kuala Ayer Humban Tali; 'To Shaikh of the Sri Melenggang tribe, who settled at Anak Ayer Sungai Lantah. These five early settlers made friends. Later as the population increased and the need for a Penghulu was felt, the Minangkabau settlers asked the Penghulu of Inas for his daughter, Sendok Mas, whom they called Penghulu Lantai Kulit and married to one of themselves Khatib Akhir. She lived at Padang Biawas. Her child by Khatib Akhir was Naam, first Penghulu of Muar."

This version omits mention of 'To Ferdana and the 'To Purba, probably in accordance with historical fact: the two lesser titles of the Biduanda tribe would naturally be created only when the family eligible for the office of Penghulu had

split into three, and tradition says they were created in the time of the fourth Penghulu.

Lantai Kulit is the name of a place in Inas on the Pabai bridle-path to this day: and probably it was from that place that the lady came, though at that time Inas may have been under Johol. One genealogy is interesting, as bringing additional evidence for the traditional identity of Inas with Johol:—that is, if Siti Awan and Siti Awa may be construed for corruptions of Sitiawan, the early title of the rulers of Johol. It runs:—



Penghulu Naam is well known in Negri Sembilan history. He was beheaded close to Sri Menanti by Raja Melewar, the first Yam Tuan who reigned from 1773 to 1795. His head is buried at Bukit Tempurong and his body under a tamarind tree at Ampangan Rambai. His daughter, Che Seni, was taken in marriage by Raja Melewar, and her two brothers were given the court titles of Sri Amar 'diraja and Raja 'diwangsa, titles extant to this day. Another daughter, Warna Mas, had married Raja Khatib, a pretender to the office of Yam Tuan, whose fall involved the death of his father-in-law. In early days, the chief of Ulu Muar must have been a considerable personage.

Writing in 1839, Newbold gave the name of six Penghulus who had held office down to that date, namely, "Jallam, Naam, Allum, Pompom, Tallun and Talib."

The offices of Penghulu, 'To Ferdana, 'To Purba (and 'To Shahbandar) are *pēsaka* of the Biduanda Waris of Ulu Muar.

The Penghulu was elected originally by the 'Four' and later also by the 'Eight' Lēmbagas. The rule that the offices of Penghulu, 'To Ferdana and 'To Purba shall be each of a different *pērut*, so that one office shall always be held by each of the *pērut*, dates from the time of Penghulu Talun. A later rule has laid down that on the death of a Penghulu, the Ferdana succeeds and the Purba becomes Ferdana, while a new Purba is elected from the *pērut* of the deceased Penghulu. (This rule has in effect taken away the election of a Penghulu from the council of Lēmbagas and, reasonably perhaps, they now claim that they shall elect the Ferdana and the Purba when there are vacancies.<sup>1</sup>) In order to

<sup>1</sup> This claim was admitted at the last election of a Ferdana in 1918, or rather the "Lēmbaga yang empat" were given a voice in the election.

preserve the correct rotation, it is clear that, when one of the two minor offices become vacant, the successor must be chosen from the *përut* of the late holder, and the rule has always been that a near relation of the late holder is chosen. Thus during the penghuluship of Sidin, no less than four Ferdanas died. First Amin died and was succeeded by his sister's son, Ali. On Ali's death his full brother, Aba, became Ferdana, and dying in turn was succeeded by his sister's son, Laboh. Finally on Laboh's death, Hashim, his sister's daughter's son, became Ferdana; and eventually, on the death of Sidin, Penghulu. The following table shows the holders of the three offices; Rejab, the second Ferdana, is mentioned by Newbold as holding office in 1839. Newbold also gives the name of the Penghulu as at that date as Talib. None of the native lists show a Penghulu of that name and it appears to be a mistake for Malik, whom the native lists show as following Talun.

The first names are—

Penghulu	Ferdana	Purba
1. Naam		
2. Mindek		
3. Mopeng		
4. Ajong	1. Isang	1. Labi
5. Jaalam		2. Eta
		3. Botal

Then we get the division into *përut* as follows:—

Pënghulu	Përut	Fërdana	Përut	Purba	Përut
6. Talun	Pasir Panjang	2. Rëjab	Gëmëtir	4. Bodot	K. Ara
7. Abdul Malik (fl. 1839).	Gëmëtir	3. Bodot	Kayu ara	5. Amin	P. Panjang
8. Sidin	Kayu Ara	4. Amin	P. Panjang	6. Latip	Gëmëtir
		5. Ali	„	7. Ujong	„
		6. Aba	„		
		7. Laboh	„		
		8. Hashim	„		
9. Hashim	P. Panjang	9. Ujang	Gëmëtir	8. Meon	K. Ara.
		10. Nain			

There are two *buapa*, Raja Indra and Jengkaya.

Newbold writes, "Sri Menanti" (i.e. Ulu Muar) "formerly considered as subordinate to Johol asserts her independence and has tacitly assumed a place among the four elective

states, though her claims are not distinctly recognized; the Penghulu, not being descended from the nine to whom titles were given by the Sultan of Johore, assumed with the sanction of Johol that of Stia Lela Maharaja." The seal, it may be remarked, bears the inscription *Kurnia ka-pada Dato Pēnghulu Muar Sētia Maharaja Lela Pahlawan, 1293 A.H.* = 1876 A.D. Under British protection it has been ruled that the Penghulu does not rank "among the four elective states," and falls under the influence of Johol. The 'To Ferdana, 'To Purba, the Dato Baginda Maharaja and all Muar *lēmbaga* have to pay a ceremonial visit to the Dato Johol after election to office; and in the case of disputed elections, appeal may be made to the Dato Johol.

When Penghulu Naam was yet a child, his father, Khatib Akhir, would dandle him, when the four Minangkabau patriarchs came to visit, and would utter the *sabda* his infant son could not yet ejaculate. When Naam grew up, he bestowed on his father the title of Baginda Maharaja. So, Khatib Akhir handed down as *pēsaka* or hereditary right the office of Baginda Maharaja with its prerogative of acting for the Penghulu of Muar (*pēmangku Pēnghulu Muar*) and of being the channel (*haluan sēmbah*) through which the four *lēmbaga*, successors of those early Minangkabau patriarchs, may approach the Penghulu.

His descendants became *kēpala waris* owing to their descent from Banun. And so along with the 'To Ferdana, and the 'To Purba, the Baginda Maharaja takes part in *waris* councils and submits *waris* affairs to the Penghulu.

When any question of succession arises (*tumboh bagi aturan pēsaka*) among the *lēmbaga* (or tribal chiefs), then the *lēmbaga* have to invite Baginda Maharaja to see if the candidate submitted to them by the tribal elders (*buapa*) is in accord with the constituted rotation (*giliran*); and only if the candidate fulfils that condition, will the Baginda Maharaja submit him to the Penghulu:—*baharu-lah sah lēmbaga-nya*. Needless to say, the unanimity necessary for the conduct of this ideal procedure is the fiction of a golden age.

#### *The proceedings on the installation of a Dato Muar (1910).*

The ceremony began by the Dato Muar going to a place outside the *kampung* in front of the house to *bērsiram*. Before they left the house, the Dato Ferdana called out that no one was to cross the path of the *Pēnghulu*, to use an umbrella or to *mēngundang kain*.

Twelve men with spears and swords lined the path to the *kampung* gate. The Dato Baginda walked first, then the Dato Muar, then his mother and wife; then the Dato Ferdana. The Dato Purba should walk next. On reaching the place they sat down. The Dato Baginda first placed the

*bĕdak langir, tĕpong tawar* on the face and hands of the Dato Muar. Then the mother of the Dato, the Dato Ferdana and 'To Purba did the same. Afterwards they returned to the house. On the dais sat the Dato Muar, the Dato Baginda, the Dato Ferdana and Purba and the wife and mother of the Penghulu. The Orang Kaya Bongsu presented the Penghulu with a pair of silk trousers, the Sri Maharaja with a *baju* and the Paduka Besar with a *dĕstar*. The Penghulu having donned them sat on a cushion in the middle of the dais, and the Dato Baginda sitting behind called on the Lĕmbagas to *mĕngadap*.

Then the Baginda Maharaja said, "The Penghulu lays it down—

“ *Matahari sudah chĕlek ;  
Bulan sudah tĕrang ;  
Bintang sudah bĕrchahaya  
Jangan bĕraleh, jangan bĕrubah,  
Jikalau bĕrubah, padi sambang,  
Bĕranak tidak bĕrpaha (?)  
Di-timpa 'nika dĕngan pĕsaka.*”

The Lĕmbagas replied *Sabda di-junjong*. The ceremony was over and a feast took place.

MUAR.

BAGINDA MAHARAJA.\*

MINOR CHIEF.

Tribe		SRI LĒMAK PAHANG				
Pĕrut	Mĕrual	Kampong Tĕngah	Muar	Kuala Parit	Pĕlangai	Pilah
Holders in chronological order		1. Khatib Akhir	4. Botok 5. Sambang	8. Dinar		
		2. Haji Saleh				
	6. Hasan	3. Tingki				
	9. Naat	7. Amin				
		10. Kahar	11. Jaalam			
Buapa	Maharaja Kanda	Amar Pahlawan	Duka S'i Raja	Duka Maharaja	Duka S'i Rama	Duka S'i Maharaja

Intermarriage is allowed with Sri Lëmak tribe of which Bangsa Balang is the head.

The names and *përut* of holders prior to Hasan are not reliable.

The Pilah *përut* is a branch from Kampong Tengah, Pelangai from Muar and Kuala Parit from Merual.

SHAHBANDAR.\*

Tribe	Biduanda Waris	
Buapa	Raja Indra and 'Jong Kaya	
Përut	Pasir Panjang	Kayu Ara
Holders in chronological order	1. Dodoi 2. Echot 3. Simat 5. Osman	4. Pais

The office is confined to *përut* Pasir Panjang. Pais the fourth holder though not eligible obtained the post with the connivance of the then Penghulu in the confusion which followed the murder of Simat the third Shahbandar about the year 1870. At the election of Osman in 1816 it was held that the office does not *bërgilir*.

## THE LĒMBAGA YANG AMPAT.

## A.—TANAH DATAR.

Title of LĒmbaga	PADUKA BĒSAR		
Pĕrut	Kampung Tĕngah <i>or</i> Banun	Sabrang Muar <i>or</i> Isom	Kampung Ibul <i>or</i> Kanda
Holder in chronological order	1. Agom  9. Hasan 10. Daik  13. Jaalan	6. Sentong 7. Puding  12. Silin	2. Nusaha 3. Lateh 4. Sialu 5. Bakar  8. Jaman  11. Haji Lasim  14. Siuntong
Buapa	Sĕtia Maharaja	Kanda	Sĕtia Raja

Original members of this tribe came from Johol.

## B.—MUNGKAL.

Title of LĒmbaga	SRI MAHARAJA		
Pĕrut	Kayu Ara	Sabrang Muar	Kuala Pilah
Holder in chronological order	1. Bijak 2. Agak  6. Lombok 7. Kamar  9. Husin	3. Chanai 4. Gobek 5. Tulok  8. Musa	
Buapa	Sĕnara Sati		Sĕtia Raja



Original settlers are said to have come from Naning. According to the present Lembaga Husin, the *pěrut* of Kuala Pilah is by a tribal agreement made about twenty years ago to be added to the *giliran* and will supply the next *lěmbaga*. The list of holders prior to Tulok is very doubtful. Agak is mentioned by Newbold as holding office in 1839. As the office appears to date back to the early part of the 18th century, it would seem that he cannot have been the second holder.

C.—SRI LĚMAK MINANGKABAŮ.\*

Title of Lěmbaga.	SĚNARA MUDA	
	To' Puteh	To' Pandak
Pěrut		
Holders in chronological order	1. Puteh 3. Lumpoh	2. Pandak 4. Sopak

The two *pěrut* were then subdivided :

To' Puteh into			To' Pandak into	
Parit		Měrtang	Sri Měnanti	Pilah
Holders in chronological order	6. Ali	8. Gempar	5. Olek 7. Hasan	9. Bakar 10. Latch
Buapa	Paduka Dia	Sětia Muda	Raja Pahlawan	Maharaja Kaya

Lumpoh and Sopak are probably nicknames. Olek is mentioned by Newbold as holding office in 1839.

## D.—SRI MELENGGANG.

Title of Lembaga	ORANG KAYA BONGSU			
Pěrut	Sri Měnanti	Kuala Pilah	Těrachī	Makam Gachong
Holders in chronological order	1. To' Seh 2. Panjang Rambut 3. Riar 4. Makar 5. Lateh 9. Rasip	6. Asin	7. Aji	8. Lajin
Buapa	Raja Lela	Indra Sěkara	Sutan Raja Lela	Amar Sěkara

Lateh is mentioned by Newbold as holding office in 1839.  
The above 4 Lembaga are

*Tiang kěrajaan astana :*  
*Tiang balai Dato Muar :*  
*Anak pada Dato johol.*

## LĒMBAGA YANG DILAPAN.

## A.—TIGA BATU.

Title of Lembaga	PADA MAHARAJA		
Pěrut	Kuala Pilah	Ulu Pilah	Kampong Ibul
Holders in chronological order	1. Pendek 4. Achun 7. Sulaiman	2. Miran 5. Pintal	3. Aris 6. Badat
Buapa	Sěnara Garang	Palembang	Paduka Dia

Aris is mentioned by Newbold as holding office in 1839.

B.—PAYA KUMBOH.\*

Title of Lëmbaga	SĒNARA KAYA				
Përut	Bëmban	Prigi Jërneh	Sënalng	Masjid Tërbakar	Ulu Pilah
Holders in chronological order	1. Samsura	2. Lisa	3. Budu	4. Rasip	5. Jaudin
	7. Këdah		6. Haji Osman		
Buapa	Pangalima Përang	Raja Balang	Laksamana	Mangku	Jaya

This tribe came from Rembau early in the 19th century. These *buapa* were originally *Bësar dalam Suku* and there was one *buapa* only, Baginda Tan Amas. The five *Bësars* have now entirely usurped his functions.

Lisa is mentioned by Newbold as holding office in 1839.

C.—BATU BĒLANG.\*

Title of Lëmbaga	SĒNARA ANGSA			
Përut	Gëmetir	Purun Tinggi or Bukit	Purun Lëkok or Tëbing Tinggi or Tanjong Ipol	
Holders in chronological order	1. Sobek	3. Sayit	2. Bandin	
	4. Sujau	6. Siamat	5. Sindit	
	7. Ramat		8. Taat	
Buapa	Paduka Manti			

This tribe is said to have come from Pasir Besar. There is a fourth *pěrut* at Pilah Tengah, which came from Rembau, with a *buapa* Raja Dia. At the 1909 election it appears to have been agreed that at the next vacancy but one the office should go to this *pěrut*.

Bandin is mentioned by Newbold as holding office in 1839.

## D.—ANAK ACHEH.\*

Title of Lěmbaga	ORANG KAYA KĚCHIL	
Pěrut	Sěrdang	Těbing Tinggi
Holders in chronological order	1. Sulah 2. Badak 3. Tiha 5. Dris 7. Haji Japar 9. Saleh	4. Omar 6. Jaudin 8. Ujang 10. Siamí
Buapa	Kanda	

The original settlers came from Rembau.

*Pěrut* Sěrdang is subdivided into Sěrdang and Tanjong Ipoli and *Pěrut* Těbing Tinggi, Kayu Ara and Simpang, but the rotation is between the two main divisions only.

E.—BATU HAMPAR.

Title of Lëmbaga	MAHARAJA		
Përut	Kampong Tëngah	Parit	Ampang Tinggi
Holders in chronological order 1. Tëntu 3. Kandek 5. Mulai 8. Wahab		2. Pëta 4. Abul 6. Liun	7. Jalil
Buapa	Raja Lela		

The original settlers came from Rembau.

Mulai is mentioned by Newbold as holding office in 1839. To' Maharaja in the time of Yam Tuan Imam was given certain duties at the Astana Ampang Tinggi similar to those of the Raja 'diwangsa at Sri Menanti. He is *bërtali kapada raja, bukan kapada Johol.*

F.—SRI LEMAK PAHANG.

Title of Lëmbaga	BANGSA BALANG		
Përut	Kampong Juak	Pilah	Parit or Muar
Holders in chronological order 1. Panau 2. Sudit 4. Kamaru'd-Din 7. Sahak		3. Tain 5. Ngah	6. Rahim
Buapa	Jaya	Jingkaya	Amar Sëkara

## G.—TIGA NENEK.\*

Title of Lëmbaga	MAHARAJA LELA	
Përut	Sri Mënanti	Talang
Holders in chronological order	1. Sabtu 3. Sitam 5. Badur	2. Ismail 4. Jampok
Buapa	Sëtia Raja	

## H.—BIDUANDA SUNGAI UJONG.

Title of Lëmbaga	BAGINDA RAJA			
Përut	Ulu Pilah	Kampong Tërap	Mërilang <i>or</i> Pulau Pinang	Pilah Tëngah
Holders in chronological order	1. Marah 2. Duatai 3. Talok  7. Ma'aris	5. Gansar 6. Siawang	4. Latip	
Buapa	'Ginda Molana			

This tribe came from Rembau. Intermarriage with the Biduanda Jawa is allowed, but not with the Biduanda Waris.

ADDITIONAL LEMBAGAS.

A.—BIDUANDA JAWA.\*

Title of Lëmbaga		PENGHULU DAGANG			
Përut	To' Bërembun	To' Gaung	To' Panjang Kuku		
Holders in chronological order	1. Tabau	2. Aba	4. Sukul		
	3. Sarak				
	6. Sabit	5. Saleh			
	7. Siasar	9. Bodok	8. Siuntong		
	Buapa	Raja Sënara			

This tribe came from Rembau, the *përut* being named after the three original settlers. They are a branch of the Muar *Waris* (“*Waris Muar tiga cabang, anpat dengan Jawa*”) and cannot intermarry with them; but they cannot succeed to the offices of Penghulu, Ferdana or Purba. They may intermarry with the Biduanda Sungai Ujong.

The Penghulu Dagang is *di-bawah To' Përdana* and it is the latter's duty to carry out the election of a Penghulu Dagang and present the chosen candidate to the Penghulu for acceptance.

B.—SRI LEMAK MINANGKABAU.\*

Title of Lëmbaga		ORANG KAYA MUDA		
Përut	Tanjong	Ampang Serong	Pulau	Parit
Holders in chronological order	3. Bagau	5. Bagul	1. Haji Maumin	4. Idin
			2. Pengkar	
	6. Karal	7. Lasin	8. Judin	9. Ipai
	10. Tochan			
	Buapa	Maharaja Kaya		

This tribe represents the descendants of settlers subsequent to those whose *lëmbaga* is Senara Muda. The two sections of the Sri Lenak Minangkabau tribe may intermarry. The office of Orang Kaya Muda was created in the time of Senara Muda Olek (circa 1840).

## C.—TANAH DATAR.

Title of Lëmbaga	PERDANA		
	Kampung Gedang <i>or</i> To' Oka	Sënalang <i>or</i> To' Ambik.	Ulu Pilah <i>or</i> To' Samar
Përut			
Holder in chronologi- cal order	1. Apa 2. Alun 3. Ijok  6. Salam	4. Bagai	5. Japar
Buapa	Maharaja Sënara and Raja Sëkara		

This tribe is a branch from the Tanah Datar tribe of Gunong Pasir and the office of Perdana was created by Penghulu Abdul Malik (circa 1850).

## D.—MUNGKAL.

Title of Lëmbaga	SRI MAHARAJA	
	Kiri Mudek Sungai Pilah	Kanan Mudek Sungai Pilah
Përut		
Holder in chrono- logical order	2. Haji Mat Taib  4. Haji Daud	1. Akin Saman  3. Samat
Buapa	Sëtia Raja	Fërdana



The office was created by Penghulu Abdul Malik in the Yam Tuanship of Raja Radin. Internmarriage with the other branch of the Mungkal tribe in Ulu Muar is allowed.

## J E M P U L .

Originally four different families belonging to four different tribes came to Malacca to Batang Tiga from Minangkabau. They were:—

- |                |    |                 |
|----------------|----|-----------------|
| 1. Juara Megat | .. | Sri Melenggang. |
| 2. Susu Laboh  | .. | Tiga Batu       |
| 3. ?           | .. | Tanah Datar     |
| 4. ?           | .. | Mungkal.        |

The *Sri Mlenggang* settlers went first to Tanah Bisa, which was the name of the country later called Naning. Thence one Siti Awan by name migrated to Anak Ayer Songsang in Jempul.

The *Tiga Batu* settlers went to Lubok Kepong; thence the daughter of Susu Laboh settled at Pulau Sabang, and her daughter migrated from Pulau Sabang to Kuala Sungai Sialang in Jempul.

The *Tanah Datar* settlers migrated to Jumbang in Sri Menanti; thence the grand-daughters of the original settler went to Sungai Petaling in Jempul.

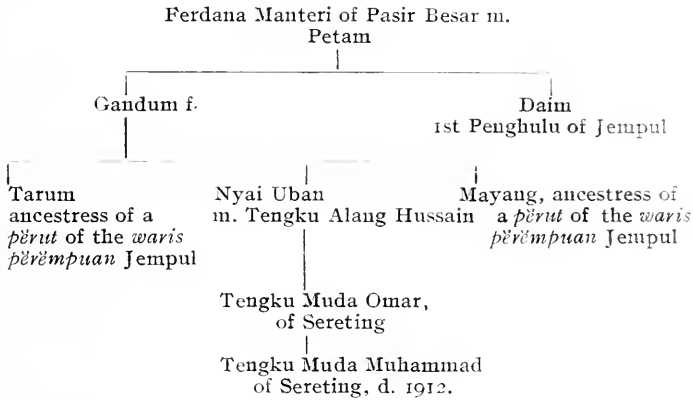
The *Mungkal* settlers first settled at Tanjong Bidara; thence at a latter date some of them went and settled at Majau in Jempul. When these tribes settled in Jempul, it was not yet called Jempul. Downstream from Titian Teras was called *Sungai Këdondong*; upstream was called *Lëban Chondoi Tupai Batok*. The *lëban* tree in question was at Kuala Tapak.

Tradition avers it was only in the time of Hassan the Penghulu in Newbold's day that Jempul territory came to extend up to the extreme *ulu*. Before that, the Ulu was under the Dato Jelebu; and each Penghulu Jelebu, after being installed in Jelebu, came to Ulu Jempul and was installed again at Kampong Bukit. In the time of Penghulu Hassan both claimed Ulu Jempul and a war was imminent. The Penghulu Jelebu made a fort across the *sawah* from the point where the present Terentang road meets the bridle path from Batu Kikir. This is now called "Kubor Jelebu": it was formerly and should be Kubu Jelebu.

Blows were not struck, the Dato Jelebu finally giving away and admitting the rights of the Dato Jempul from the Ulu to the Kuala. One story says that Tunku Melewar gave the early tribesmen their land, part of it belonging to Johol and part to Jelebu. The other tradition records that the then chief of Johol, Rambutuan Jantan, was their suzerain and at the request of Pengiran, the head of the Tiga Batu tribesmen and of Panglima Sutan Kebesaran the head of the Tanah Datar tribesmen, gave them a Penghulu of their own.

Johol.

In any case, the first Penghulu of Jempul must have been created at the very end of the eighteenth or at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Raja Melewar died in 1795. The niece of the first Penghulu married Tengku Alang Hussain, who was an adult before Newbold published his book in 1839. The genealogy runs:—



As we have seen in our account of Johol, the Dato of Johol gave the immigrants Daim, because he was one of his own *waris*: and he was also a descendant of those *waris* of Bendahara Sekudai, who had made a settlement at Pasir Besar. Penghulu Daim did obeisance to the Dato of Johol and was installed at Sungai Kandong or Terentang. The Dato of Johol gave him a spear (*tombak*) as the insignia of his office. The title is Dato Lela Putera Setiawan.

The successor to the office of Penghulu runs in one *p̄erut* and there is no system of rotation. The *p̄erut* provides also one other officer, the 'To Paduka Tuan, head of the *waris* Jempul. The list of holders of the office of Penghulu includes eight names: Daim, Chap, Rial, Matik, Hassan (fl. 1839, *vide* Newbold), Johan, Sukul (d. 1916), Haji Abdul-Wahab.

The head of the *waris p̄erempuan* bears the title of Shahbandar. The office goes not by birth but by marriage: he must be the husband of a *waris p̄erempuan*. Three families are eligible to confer this dignity on the husbands of their women; the descendants of Tarum and Mayang, nieces of the first Penghulu, and a *p̄erut* Bidai, whose origin is obscure, but whose claim is admitted without dispute. The *waris p̄erempuan* are the sole electors. There is no fixed rotation, all the branches being equally eligible at every election. There have been eight Shahbandars. Though the present holder of the office is himself by birth of the *p̄erut* Mayang, he was elected by virtue of his marriage to a woman of *p̄erut Bidai*, the matriarchal prescription against inter-marriage within the tribe not obtaining in Jempul.

The two Minangkabau settlers, who got a Penghulu from Johol, also were given titles; evidently by the ruler of Johol, as their titles to this day are *bèrpèsaka* to Johol; on election holders have to pay homage to the Dato of Johol, and in case of dispute the Dato of Johol can decide the election and is the final court of appeal. The ten other tribal *lèmbaga* of Jempul have no voice in the election of these two officers; for the two antedate the creation of the ten nor are the latter *bèrtali* to Johol. Pengeran was given the title of Lela Raja; and holders of the title are *lèmbaga* of the Tiga Batu tribe. Panglima Sutan Kebesaran was created Sri Amar Manteri; he is *lèmbaga* of the Tanah Datar tribe.

Lela Raja is styled *anak* Dato Johol. He acts as Penghulu of Jempul, whenever the office is vacant. He is head of the twelve tribal *lèmbaga* of Jempul. He is *haluan sèmbah* in the audience-hall of the ruler of Johol; the channel of communication between Jempul and Johol.

Sri Amar Mantri is styled *anak* Dato Jempul: he is the *haluan sèmbah* in the audience-hall of the chief of Jempul. Through him the ten tribal *lèmbaga* approach the Penghulu of Jempul.

Newbold records, "the Penghulu and four *suku* exercise almost independent sway: the tribes are those of Biduanda, Sri Melenggang, Anak Melaka, and Tiga Batu." He must have been misinformed; for he omits two offices, which have been shown to be coeval with the creation of the Penghulu, and he omits, to take one more instance, the Batu Hampar tribe, whose present *lèmbaga* is now eighth on the list of holders of the title of Dato Besar.

## JEMPUL.

### I.—SHAHBANDAR.\*

#### MINOR CHIEF

Holders in chronological order

1. Itau
2. Noh
3. Jali
4. Gafar
5. Kadir
6. Jatin
7. Ali
8. Haji Hat Nor

Buapa

Maharaja Garang

KĒPALA WARIS	PADUKA TUAN
Tribe	BIBUANDA
Holders in chronological order 1. Johan 2. Jalal 3. Sair	
Buapa	Maharaja Garang

LĒMBAGAS.

I.—TIGA BATU.

Title of Lĕmbaga	LELA RAJA		
	Kampong Birah	Masjid Lama	Kuala Sialang
Pĕrut  Holders in chronological order	6. Sadik  10. Sihat 11. Sadik	4. Ajit 5. Ajap  7. Ijau  12. Dolah	1. Pĕngeran 2. Diwan 3. Saman  8. Loding 9. Manggis
Buapa	Sĕnara Sakti	Sĕnara Garang	

Lela Raja is the chief of the Jempul Lĕmbagas and acts as Penghulu between the death of a Penghulu and the election of a successor.

## II.—TANAH DATAR.

Title of Lëmbaga		SRI AMAR MANTRI	
Përut	Tërentang	Lonik	
<p>1. Panglima Sutan Këbësaran</p> <p>2. Langgi</p> <p>3. Lajong</p> <p>4. Bahai</p> <p>5. Jamil</p>	<p>6. Mondok</p> <p>7. Lateh</p> <p>8. Sukor</p>	<p>1. Panglima Sutan Këbësaran</p> <p>2. Langgi</p> <p>3. Lajong</p> <p>4. Bahai</p> <p>5. Jamil</p>	
Buapa	Mëlana Lëbai		

Si Amar Mantri is the *haluan sëmbah* of the Penghulu Jempul. Lela Raja and he are the two chief lembagas and rank above the other ten.

## III.—TIGA BATU.

Title of Lëmbaga		MAHARAJA SËTIA			
Përut	Kuala Jëmpul	Këru	Lonik	Kampong Tëngah	
<p>1. Abit</p> <p>2. Tëdok</p> <p>3. Susun</p> <p>4. Sulun</p> <p>5. Kamat</p>	<p>6. Samah</p> <p>7. Yatim</p>	<p>3. Susun</p> <p>7. Yatim</p>	<p>1. Abit</p> <p>2. Tëdok</p> <p>4. Sulun</p>	<p>5. Kamat</p>	
Buapa	Orang Kaya Muda and Baginda Muda				

IV.—TIGA BATU.

Title of Lěmbaga	SĒTIA RAJA		
Pěrut	Pulau	Majau	Lonik
Holders in chro- nological order	5. Abu	1. Bahar 2. Bayak	3. Kulup Yusuf 4. Kenok
Buapa	Sėnara Muda		'Jing Kaya

V.—TIGA NENEK.

Title of Lěmbaga	SĒTIA PĒNGHULU		
Pěrut	Majau	Jěřėjak	Sungai Pėtaling
Holders in chro- nological order	6. Badul	1. Sewan 2. Sa'un 3. Jadi	4. Haji Sukor 5. Haji Draman
Buapa	Paduka Mantri		Sėnara Khatib

## VI.—SRI LĚMAK PAHANG.

Title of LĚmbaga	SĚTIA PAHLAWAN			
	Pĕrut	Tĕrĕntang	Jĕrĕjak	Madin
Holders in chronological order	1. Akob 2. Talap 4. Jadat 7. Sianit 9. Kasim	3. Ęmbap 5. Tangkar 8. Tahar 10. Tĕdoh	6. Limun 11. Udang	
Buapa	Maharaja Kaya	Baginda Kari	Sri Amar Raja	

This tribe was founded by three brothers who came from Bukit Sa-Gumpal on the Pahang river.

## VII.—BIDUANDA WARIS.

Title of LĚmbaga	ONBI OR 'DIO MAHARAJA OR BĚNTARA				
	Biduanda Jawa or Kata	Chinchang	Paduka Tuan	Mantri	Sialang Puteh
Pĕrut					
Holders in chronological order	5. Datin	2. Sialat	3. Rantau	1. Kiamar 4. Bangking	



The Lembaga's title is To Ombi, if he is of *pěrut* Biduanda Jawa or *pěrut* Mantri, Dio Maharaja if of *pěrut* Paduka Tuan and Bentara if of *pěrut* Chinchang.

It is a very doubtful point whether *anak buah* of Sialang Puteh can become *lěmbaga*. They are of the same descent as the *waris* Jelebu, Sialang Puteh is also a Sakai Batin. He has *anak buah di-hutan dan anak buah di-luar*. Their claims will have to be decided at the next election.

This tribe is distinct from the Waris Biduanda of Jempul, from whom the Penghulu is chosen, and cannot fill the office of Penghulu.

VIII.—SRI MĒLENGGANG.

Title of Lembaga	RAJA SĒNARA OR 'JING KAYA		
	Naning	Pulau Sabang	Ampang Serong
Pěrut			
Holders in chronological order	1. Kěpul 2. Pati 3. Gador 4. Meon  6. Kamar 8. Pulek 10. Rintah	5. Metar  7. Siawar	9. Buntu
Buapa	Paduka Raja and SĒnara Kaya		

The Lembaga's title is Raja SĒnara, if he is of *pěrut* Naning, but Jingkaya if he is of the other two *pěrut*.

The first two *pěrut* came originally from Naning.

## IX.—MUNGKAL.

Title of Lembaga	To' KOMO		
	Përut	Këru	Bintongan
Holder in chronological order	4. Muji	1. Sohor 2. Jalil 5. Aman	3. Nolah
Buapa	Sinda Maharaja	Baginda Kaya	

## X.—BATU HAMPAR.\*

Title of Lembaga	To' BĒSAR		
	Përut	Jërëjak	Kuala Jëmpul
Holder in chronological order	1. Nesah 3. Wan 5. Datin 7. Nati 9. Pakeh Saman	Anak ayer Pënghulu 2. Rapek 4. Asum 6. Tachik 8. Satin	
Buapa	Kaya Maharaja	Raja Bilang	

The *përut* of Kuala Jëmpul was added by a tribal agreement made before the District Officer in 1916 and will supply the *lëmbaga* on the next vacancy.

XI.—PAYA KUMBOH.

Title of Lembaga	To' SUROH
P rut	Pajak
Holders in chronological order	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Ali</li> <li>2. Amin</li> <li>3. Ujang</li> <li>4. Janal</li> <li>5. Jafar</li> <li>6. Talik</li> </ol>
Buapa	Baginda Raja

About six families of Paya Kumboh from Ulu Muar opened up a new *sawah* at Bayai on the Seriting in 1916. They have a *buapa* of their own, Jing kaya, and it is proposed to make a tribal *muafakat* establishing a *giliran* in future between Pajak and this new settlement.

XII.—ANAK ACHEH.

Title of Lembaga	SRI PAHLAWAN		
Pêrut	Padang Lebar	Jêrêjak	Kampung Tengah
Holders in chronological order	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Sangkap</li> <li>2. Kurap</li>   <li>6. Abas</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>3. Mongkok</li> <li>4. Aji</li> </ol>	5. Sebus
Buapa	Paduka Sinda		

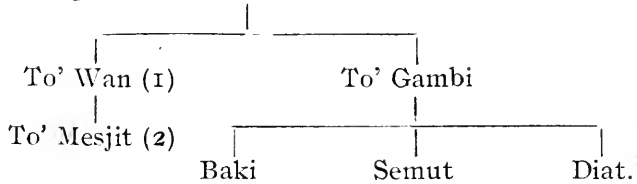
## GUNONG PASIR.

Mantra traditions record that the small state of Gunong Pasir, or Pondong Pasir as it was formerly called, was founded by the Dato of Johol. In 1883 Harvey wrote, "Gunong Pasir, which is now under Sri Menanti, is claimed as properly belonging to Rembau, though in Newbold's time (1839) it was said to have belonged originally to Johol; and the last is confirmed by the aborigines, who are the best authorities."

Its geographical position supports the Mantra view and also explains how Rembau may have raided it at some time.

The Penghulus of Gunong Pasir are of the Tanah Datar tribe. The first Penghulu was a Dato Wan who is said to have got his dignity from a Sultan of Johore, who cannot be identified.<sup>1</sup>

He was succeeded by his son To' Mesjit. The founder of the three families between which the office now rotates was To' Gambi a *saudara* of To' Wan. So the pedigree in its earlier stages runs:



After that comes the following list:—the correct rotation is quite unusual and rather doubtful but the list of names is well authenticated.

PÈRUT	ULU GUNONG PASIR	BUKIT	SIKAI
Founder	Baki	Simut	Diat
Holder	3. Tuakal	4. Mantik	5. Budin
	6. Haji Malek	7. Uteh	8. Alam
	9. Kandak	10. Pachoh or Mëntadoh	11. Lahn
	12. Haji Mohd. Amin	13. Basir	
Buapa	Raja Mentri		

<sup>1</sup> The name given is Sultan Sharin Maharaja Jali ibni Al-marhum Sultan Abdu'l Jalil.

The method of election is as follows. On the death of a Penghulu, Paduka Sri Maharaja, the *lëmbaga* of the Tiga Batu tribe, acts as *pënghulu* till a successor is elected. To' Manti Maharaja, the *këpala waris*, decides to which *përut* the *giliran* falls and informs Setia Raja, Setia Lela Baduka Sri Maharaja and To' Johan. The latter, one of the *orang anam astana*, is chosen from the Tanah Datar tribe of Gunong Pasir and has many *anak buah* among the *waris* of Gunong Pasir. His participation in the choice of a *pënghulu* is unusual, but is admitted by all the *lëmbaga* and the *këpala waris* to be correct and in order. If these four and To' Manti agree, the approval of the minor three *lëmbaga* is not essential. In practice they would never oppose the unanimous choice of the other five, nor would a candidate unanimately chosen fail to be supported by the *waris*, whose consent is in theory necessary.

On election a *pënghulu* does obeisance to His Highness the Yamtuan.

A.—TANAH DATAR.

Title of Këpala Waris	MANTI MAHARAJA		
Buapa	Raja Mantri		
Përut	Ulu Gunong Pasir	Sikai	Bukit
Holders in chronological order	1. Kulup Ulu	2. Sialam 3. Jafar 4. Sidin 5. Jalil	6. Siak Batal
		7. Liak 8. Majid	

## B.—TIGA BATU.

Title of Lëmbaga	PADUKA SRI MAHARAJA		
Buapa	Palembang		
Perut	Pulau Bësar	Bukit Mëlentang or Lubok Këpong	Tanjong Sëpan or Nisan Tinggi
Holders in chronologi- cal order	1. Sufi  4. Tatan	2. Nanta  5. Aji	3. Lajin  6. Samat

This *lëmbaga* acts as *pënghulu* between the death of a Penghulu and the election of his successor.

Intermarriage between the *përut* of Lubok Kepong and Nisan Tinggi is permitted.

## C.—PAYA KUMBOH.\*

Title of Lëmbaga	SËTIA RAJA
Buapa	Sënara
Përut	Only one <i>përut</i> in this tribe.
Holders in chronologi- cal order	1. Dusun 2. Pendok 3. Tëmpoi 4. Jampul 5. Badok 6. Rantau 7. Tëlok 8. Sair 9. Amat

D.—SRI LĒMAK MINANGKABAU.\*

Title of Lĕmbaga		SĒTIA LĒLA	
Buapa		Jikaya	
Pĕrut	Tanjong Limau	Masjid	Padang Biawas
Holders in chronological order		1. Kebun	
		2. Angsa	
		3. Sentap	
	7. Hitam		4. Lanchar
			5. Bidu
	9. Jabir	8. Kulup Elar	6. Manja
			10. Ludiu
	12. Bahali	11. Jadun	

E.—ANAK ACHEH.

Title of Lĕmbaga		ANDIKA	
Buapa		Sĕtia Muda	
Pĕrut		Sikai	
Holders in chronological order		1. Bakap	
		2. Shahim	
		3. Lajin	
		4. Lateh	
		5. Kulop	
		6. Guting	
		7. Kabir	

## F.—TIGA BATU.\*

Title of Lëmbaga	LELA RAJA
Buapa	Orang Kaya Muda
Përut	One <i>përut</i> only in this tribe
Holders in chronological order	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Jatin</li> <li>2. Jadi</li> <li>3. Tapar</li> <li>4. Basir</li> </ol>

This office was created recently owing to a dispute at the election of the 4th holder of the office of Paduka Sri Maharaja (above).

## G.—TIGA NENEK.

Title of Lëmbaga	BANGSA BALANG
Buapa	Singa Balang
Përut	One <i>përut</i> only in this tribe
Holders in chronological order	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Kalok</li> <li>2. Kalam</li> <li>3. Rolak</li> <li>4. Musoh</li> <li>5. Ujang</li> <li>6. Pangit</li> <li>7. Taalin</li> </ol>



## TERACHI.

The small state of Terachi takes its name from that of a small river which flows from the slopes of Gunong Augsi and enters the Muar river a few miles above Kuala Pilah. The whole state consists of one long stretch of *kampung* and *sawah* on both banks of the Sungai Terachi, backed on either side by jungle-covered hills.

While the early history of the state is obscure, there is no doubt that it was originally opened up by settlers from Ulu Muar, and that in its early days it was not an independent state.

Newbold writes in 1839 that the boundaries of Sungai Ujong with Sri Menanti are "part of Terachi and the Paro steam"<sup>1</sup> and again "the Terachi territory, a portion of which appertained to Sungai Ujong, now claims independence."<sup>2</sup>

In dealing with 'Sri Menanti,' the same writer remarks, "The principal villages are those of Sri Menanti, Pinang Sa-ribu, Pila, Pondok Passir and Terachi; the two latter places now claim their independence. Like Sri Menanti itself, they were formerly subordinate to Johol and have been governed for seven generations past by their own Penghulus. The name of the present Chief of Terachi is Sulong and under him are six tribes. Part of Terachi was formerly subject to Sungai Ujong, but during the late violent commotions and struggles for power, by which the Menangkabowe dynasty has been rooted out, leaving the interior in a state of anarchy and confusion, the minor chiefs seized on the opportunity to assert their independence, and in this unsettled condition things remain up to the present time."<sup>3</sup> According to Newbold, then, in its early days the eastern part of Terachi was subordinate to the Penghulu of Ulu Muar and the western to the ruler of Sungai Ujong; and his account is almost certainly accurate. The "late violent commotions" alluded to refer to the expulsion of Yam Tuan Sati about the year 1830.<sup>4</sup> Throughout the greater part of the 19th century, there were continual quarrels between Sungai Ujong and Ulu Muar and it seems most probable that the Penghulus of Terachi obtained their independence by playing off one against the other, and the state became a buffer state between its two more powerful neighbours. Malay tradition relates

<sup>1</sup> *op. cit.*, Volume II, page 93. 'Sri Menanti' is the name always given by Newbold to the State now called 'Ulu Muar.'

<sup>2</sup> *op. cit.*, Vol. II, page 94.

<sup>3</sup> *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pages 149 and 150.

<sup>4</sup> *Vide* Wilkinson, 'Notes on the Negri Sembilan,' page 25.

how a woman of the tribe of Sri Lëmak Pahang, Nyai Tanjong by name, migrated from near Mëngkarak in Pahang and settled at Kampong Juak near Sri Menanti. She had one son and two daughters, one married to a husband of the Biduanda tribe and one to a Tiga Nenek tribesman. These three families settled in the Terachi valley.

After a time the heads of the three families journeyed to Johore to do obeisance to the Sultan and beg him to appoint a Penghulu. When they arrived at Johore, the Biduanda man was suffering from beriberi (*sakit lumpoh*) and could not leave the boat. In his absence, the Sultan enacted that the Sri Lëmak Pahang tribe should provide the Penghulu and the Tiga Nenek tribesman be appointed *Pëmangku Pënghulu* and *Haluan Sëmbah* with the title of *Mantri Maharaja*. The unfortunate Biduanda, who, as the representative of the aboriginal owners of the soil, had the best right to the office of Penghulu, was appointed a mere *lëmbaga* of the Biduanda tribe with the title of *Raja'di Muda*.

On their return to Terachi, the son of Mantri Maharaja and his Sri Lemak Pahang wife, Ahmat by name, became the first Penghulu. After some time and the influx of other settlers, Mantri Maharaja and Raja'di Muda quarrelled as to which tribe should provide Ahmat's wife, each wishing his own tribe to have the honour. Finally the matter was settled by Ahmat marrying a Biduanda woman from Sungai Ujong and settling with her at Kampong Kundang.

Such is the Malay story, which as usual is full of impossibilities. A settlement of three families, all closely related, would not require a Penghulu to govern them. There is not a jot of evidence that Terachi ever obtained recognition from Johore. Ulu Muar never did so and it is impossible that a state which was subordinate to Ulu Muar should have done so. The story is clearly framed to explain certain facts in the constitution of Terachi. The *Waris Nègëri* of Terachi are not Biduanda as in nearly all the other states, but of the tribe of Sri Lemak Pahang. To explain this we get the story of Raja'di Muda's illness and the trick played on him in his absence by the other two.

Again no member of the Sri Lemak tribe is eligible unless married to a woman of the Kampong Kundang settlement of Biduanda.<sup>1</sup> Kampong Kundang was settled by immigrants from Sungai Ujong, and this qualification required for the office of Penghulu is clearly a relic of Sungai Ujong influence. But the story explains it by a quarrel between Mantri Maharaja and Raja'di Muda regarding the bride of the first Penghulu.

Terachi in fact has no history.

<sup>1</sup> According to the present Penghulu this rule has fallen into abeyance and marriage with any Biduanda woman suffices.

There may still be found Terachi settlements in Ulu Muar and Ulu Muar settlements in Terachi, obeying the orders of their own lembagas. The boundary between the two states is not a natural but a purely artificial one, viz. a small island in the Sungai Terachi, which is itself nowhere more than twelve yards wide. Terachi has always been closely associated with and overshadowed by its more powerful neighbour.

### PĒNGHULU TĒRACHI.

KĒPALA WARIS, SRI AMAR RAJA; KĒPALA WARIS.  
AMAR PĒNGHULU.

There are three divisions of the Sri Lemak Pahang tribe in Terachi. The head of the first is Sri Amar Raja and his *anak buah* claim descent from the first Mantri Maharaja and his Sri Lemak Pahang wife. The head of the second is Amar Penghulu who claims descent from the wife of the first Raja 'di Muda. The head of the third is Raja Sekara whose *anak buah*, unlike those of Sri Amar Raja and Amar Penghulu, are not *waris negĕri* and are ineligible for the office of Penghulu.<sup>1</sup> All the recognized Penghulus up to the present time have been *anak buah* of Sri Amar Raja, but since the middle of the 19th century Amar Penghulu's *pĕrut* has also claimed the right to provide a Penghulu in turn.

Martin Lister wrote in 1888<sup>2</sup>:—"In Terachi in 1887 there were two Penghulus: one of them, and the right one, was recognized by the Raja and by the Dato Johol. The other one had half the state on his side, but he was really wrong though he had a grievance. Originally there were two families in Terachi who ruled. A former Penghulu had renounced the office for his family. He was a very strict Mahomedan and did not consider that such worldly things as office should be entertained in his family. The descendants of this devout Mussulman did not view the matter in the same light."

The rightful Penghulu referred to by Martin Lister was Haji Jaal who still held the office in 1919, and the other claimant was Haji Lahap of the *pĕrut* of Amar Penghulu and supported by him. But the split in Terachi began long before 1887. When Haji Said was Penghulu and he succeeded Sulong, whom Newbold mentions as holding office in 1839,

<sup>1</sup> The present Raja Sekara denies this and claims that Martin Lister was deceived when the Terachi agreement, quoted below, was made. His claims are shadowy and there seems no reason to doubt the fairness of the agreement.

<sup>2</sup> 'Malay Law in Negri Sembilan': *J.R.A.S.* No. XXII, pages 300 and 310.

Haji Bakar was set up by the then Amar Penghulu as a rival claimant. Similarly Musib of Amar Penghulu's *përut* disputed the office with Adil, Haji Said's successor.

In 1887 Martin Lister wrote, "according to the constitution of the state, there are two *képala waris*, Sri Amar Raja and Amar Penghulu. Amar Penghulu has now recognized the folly of supporting Haji Lahap, who is therefore left without support in the state. He is however not without claims and it will be my duty to arrange later that he shall hold some recognized office in the state."

In the same year Martin Lister was able to effect a settlement between the rival parties and the following agreement was made: "I the Penghulu of Terachi together with the *waris* Sri Amar Raja the *waris* Amar Penghulu and the six *lëmbaga*, to wit To' Mantri, To' Raja Muda, To' Raja Sëkara, To' Amar Pahlawan, To' Duka Mantri and To' Raja Senara, make the following agreement to which I have affixed my seal and the rest their signatures.<sup>1</sup> 'From this day forward we agree that the office of Penghulu of Terachi shall be held alternately by the *përut* of Sri Amar Raja and the *përut* of Amar Penghulu, subject to the ancient rule that the new Penghulu must be married to a member of the tribe of which Raja Muda is the head.

Moreover if the Penghulu is of the *përut* of Sri Amar Raja the office of To' Datar must be held by the *përut* of Amar Penghulu, and if the Penghulu is of the *përut* of Amar Penghulu the office of To' Datar must be held by the *përut* of Sri Amar Raja."

To' Datar, or more correctly Andatar, is the title of an office of the Yang di-pertuan, one of the *Orang Anam Astana*. In 1887 the holder, Haji Baki, was living in Mecca, and Martin Lister conferred the title on Haji Sohor, the then Amar Penghulu. The Yang di-pertuan however refused to accept Haji Sohor as an "Orang Anam Astana" and appointed another. From 1887 therefore there have been two Andatar, one an officer of the Yam Tuan and the other a minor chief of Terachi, the present holder Haji Sohor being the first to fill the latter office. In 1919 Haji Sohor was elected Penghulu, it being laid down that the To' Datar automatically succeeds.

The following table gives a list of the Penghulus:—

<sup>1</sup> The agreement (N.S. Sec. 207/88) is not signed by the last three *lëmbaga*. They are of more recent origin than and are subordinate to the first three.

Përut	Padang Lebar	Bëringin Tambah
Holders in chronological order	1. Ahmet 2. Tëngkis 3. To' Pëchat <sup>1</sup> 4. Dota  8. Adil	5. Linsoh 6. Sulong 7. Haji Said  9. Haji Ja'al
Buapa	None	

KĒPALA WARIS

SRI AMAR RAJA

Tribe	SRI LĒMAK PAHANG	
Përut	Padang Lebar	Bëringin Tambah
Holders in chronological order	3. Sain  6. Yahya	1. Pekar 2. Baki  4. Jaal 5. Jaman
Buapa	None	

Intermarriage is forbidden with the other divisions of the tribe in Terachi and also with the *anak buah* of the Sri Lemak Pahang Lëmbaga in Ulu Muar, Bangsa Balang, but is allowed with the *anak buah* of the Muar Chief, Baginda Maharaja.

<sup>1</sup> "The dismissed one." His name is not known.

## KĒPALA WARIS

## AMAR PĒNGHULU

Tribe	SRI LĒMAK PAHANG		
Pĕrut	Kampong Gĕdang	Tanjong Limau	Tanjong Lĕban
Holders in chronological order	1. Dosak 2. Dain 3. Barul  6. Kechik	4. Kulub Aman	5. Haji Sohor
Buapa	None		

Intermarriage is forbidden with the other divisions of the tribe in Terachi and with the *anak buah* of the Sri Lemak Pahang Lembaga in Ulu Muar, Bangsa Balang, but is allowed with the *anak buah* of the Ulu Muar chief, Baginda Maharaja.

## LEMBAGAS.

## I.—BIDUANDA.

Title on Lĕmbaga	RAJA 'DI MUDA		
Pĕrut	Kampong Masjid	Parit	Kampong Kundang
Holders in chronological order	1. Sialam 2. Bayak 3. Undok 4. Ujud  7. Sair	5. Said  8. Ismail	6. Akin
Buapa	Si Amar Mantri		

II.—TIGA NENEK.

Title of Lembaga	MANTRI MAHARAJA		
Përut	Ayer Hitam	Ulu Parit	Kuala Parit
Holders in chronological order	1. Alam 2. Bomi  6. Sialam	3. Topping 4. Haji Mohamad Amin	5. Jatin
Buapa	Sëtia Raja		

This Lembaga *mëmangku pënghulu* is the *haluan sëmbah* of the *pënghulu*. It is not certain if there is a 4th *përut* at Parit Tengah.

III.—SRI LĚMAK PAHANG.

Title of Lembaga	RAJA SĚKARA			
Përut	Padang Lebar	Bëndul	Parit	Kampong Tërbakar
Holders in chronological order	1. Chantek  7. Kudom	2. Timah  4. Haji Salam 5. Apal  8. Ujud	3. Batal	6. Kadir
Buapa	Raja Pahlawan			

The Office is said to have been created by the third Penghulu, To' Pëchat.

## IV.—ANAK ACHEH.

Title of Lëmbaga	AMAR PAHLAWAN		
Përut	Ayer Hitam	Parit Tëngah	Ulu Parit
Holders in chronological order	1. Lukui 4. Ining	2. Lateh 5. Haji Ahmat	3. Kasah
Buapa	Paduka Sinda		

This tribe is of the same descent as the Ulu Muar tribe of Anak Acheh and the two may not intermarry.

## V.—BATU BĒLANG.

Title of Lëmbaga	RAJA SĒNARA	
Përut	Kampong Bukit	Tëbat
Holders in chronological order	3. Rolak	1. Dain 2. Karim 4. Rahim
Buapa	Jikaya	

## VI.—BATU HAMPAR.

Title of Lëmbaga	PADUKA MANTRI
Përut	Mëmpas
Holders in chronological order	1. Gumbang 2. Saing 3. Daud 4. Mohamad Dahan 5. Yunus
Buapa	Panglima Sati



## DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNTS.

After wrestling with the obscure history of the early settlers, it is a relief to turn to descriptive accounts of the land they chose for their habitation.

In 1833, the British Government made a treaty with Johol, defining the boundaries between Malacca and Johol, as follows:—

“ From Bukit Putus in a straight line to Bukit Ulu Batang Malacca, thence in a straight line to Gunung Ledang (Mount Ophir); the land on the right hand being the territory of Malacca and on the left the territory of Johol. As long as the sun and moon exist, this settlement cannot be undone or altered.”

Newbold wrote, in 1839, “ Johol is bounded on the north by Ulu Pahang and part of Rembau; to the south by part of Naning and Muar or Sigamat; to the east by Sigamat and to the west by Sri Menanti and part of Rembau. The boundaries with Malacca are from Bukit Putus to Batang Malacca and from Batang Malacca by Bangkong Chandong to Mount Ophir; with Rembau, Bukit Pabi; with Sri Menanti Bukit Pilah. The population of Johol is estimated at 2080 inhabitants. The principal villages are Nuri, Lending, Inas, Tumang and (?) Benong. . . . Besides the usual rights of revenue, the Penghulu of Johol levies 10 per cent on the produce of the tin mines, together with a tax on the gold of Gemencheh. The trade of Johol consists chiefly of gold-dust, twenty cattles of which are said to be produced annually. Tin about 300 piculs. Fruits, rattans, jaggery and fowls are brought in considerable quantities to Malacca. . . . There are gold mines at Bukit Chimendras, a hill situated in Gemencheh, a territory subject to the Penghulu of Johol. The mines at Rekan are estimated to produce annually about 20 cattles of gold-dust. The Penghulu of Gemencheh first levied a tenth on the produce of these mines, but in consequence of large quantities of gold-dust being secretly carried off before the tenth had been levied, he substituted a sort of poll-tax, amounting to a *mayam* of gold *per annum* from each person working at the mines. The Penghulu of Johol is in the habit of sending five or six buffaloes a year to the mines, receiving for every head of cattle two *tahil* of gold.”

Mr. Gray, a trader, visited Johol on February 4th, 1827, on his return from Pahang, whither he had travelled on foot through Pilah Jempul and Ulu Serting; but his note is very brief.

“ 4th. Left the village of Senaling and crossed Mount Senaling, Mount Inas and Mount Punggok; Mount Senaling

is the greatest and highest mountain from Malacca to Pahang. The road or path is very good from the valley of Punggok up to Johol. From Johol to Gemenchah is one day's journey. Here there is a tin mine.

"5th. Left Johol at half past 5 o'clock and crossed Mount Johol: from the valley to Tampin the path is very good."

The first interesting account of a visit to Johol is that of the Abbe Favre, printed in Logan's "Journal of the Indian Archipelago," in March 1849.

"By about one o'clock we had already crossed Tampin and passed its boundaries with Johol; we continued our journey through the jungle till about three o'clock when we found ourselves in a most pleasant place, though in the thickest part of the forest. The prospect is not very extended, but is however a beautiful one; there is a small valley in which a fine cascade, falling from the next eminence amongst large rocks, offers to the traveller both excellent water to quench his thirst and one of the finest accommodations to bathe. We rested there about half an hour, and then continued our journey until half past four, when we found ourselves in a large valley in which lies the kingdom of Johol.

The whole of the population of that state, which is said to amount to about three thousand souls only, inhabit this valley, which runs nearly in a line from west to east, extending six or seven miles. Several places, where a greater number of houses are found more clustered together, are termed villages. There are five principal villages, viz. Nuri, Lending, Inas, Tumang and Benong. Rice is cultivated throughout the valley, which appears very fit for such cultivation; on both sides are the five villages before named, and few other habitations; the rest of the state is covered with forest and is almost uninhabited.

The village at which we arrived is called Nuri, the ordinary residence of the chief who is termed Penghulu. This dignitary, then absent, was about one mile further celebrating the nuptials of some of the nobility of the place.

After some difficulty, occasioned by the absence of the chief, we were allowed to take our lodging in a common Malay house where we passed the night. The next day we were obliged to remain where we were, because, not yet having seen the chief, we could not be permitted to visit any place. We spent part of the day in making enquiries; and we were informed that the Jakuns living within the limits of the kingdom were not numerous: two or three places only were mentioned as being frequented by a few families of them.

The second day after our arrival, having previously obtained the necessary licence, we went to meet the king at the wedding; but we encountered him on the road about half way as he was returning home. He is a man of about

sixty years of age; his appearance is at first sight prepossessing; he appears respectable, simple and collected in manner. We accompanied him to the palace, which though one of the first buildings in the place, would scarcely be called a house in Europe. In his march he was preceded by a standard similar to that used by Mussulmans and by a great dignitary bearing the royal sword; he was followed by about fifteen men, armed with muskets of several kinds and calibers, and more or less in order—perhaps the greatest part of them would have been put *in remotis* in our European armies.

At the invitation of the sovereign, we entered the yard of the palace, and we were soon after introduced into a large verandah where the court is habitually held. After a few minutes' conversation, the chief gave orders to bring our baggage into his house, and allowed us to visit the localities frequented by the Jakuns; we perceived however that such excursions as well as a long stay in the state would be far from pleasing to him. The Rev. Mr. Borie spent a part of the day in visiting the Jakuns, while I was detained at home by a slight indisposition. This circumstance gave me another opportunity of experiencing the unfortunate custom of that nation, in asking everything which falls under their sight. The king himself ceased his repeated demands only after I had given him some miserable dried fishes and some clothes which he could scarcely use, being made in the European fashion.

During the evening I was witness to one of the most remarkable instances of Malay silliness which can be met with. At seven o'clock, the king, who a great part of the day had smoked opium, left his place, and went to the other extremity of the verandah, where, as I had remarked in the day-time, a cock was tied with a rope. The king then with his royal hand took the martial animal and brought him to a place where he used to keep his court, forming a miserable throne. I was near the place preparing to sleep, when my curiosity was excited by the extraordinary fact which I will now relate. Opium having been prepared, and a pipe, a candle and all the other necessaries to smoke it having been brought in, His Majesty began a bombastic discourse, in which he first endeavoured to show the great benefit that is produced by cock-fighting and the remarkable pleasure enjoyed by witnesses of such combats; after which he remarked that this amusement had much fallen into disuse in his state during the last few years, and this he lamented with sorrow; and finally, opening his mind, he declared that his intention was to restore it in his dominion. This was his purpose in bringing up in his palace and by his own care the handsome cock he had in his hand.

The way of preparing this royal cock, in order to make of him a warrior, was one not a little curious; this was prac-

tised before me in the following manner and accompanied by several superstitions. Having ended his discourse, the king took the head of the cock, passed his beak twice through the flame of the lamp, after which he made the animal walk six or seven steps, which was repeated six or seven times; this preliminary ceremony being ended, he dipped his fingers in the oil of the lamp, and rubbed the cock under the wings and upon the back, and then immediately commenced smoking opium; having inhaled the smoke of the drug in the ordinary manner, he blew it into the beak, the ears and upon every part of the body of the poor animal, which though accustomed to that exercise appeared not to take any peculiar pleasure in it. This being finished, the same ceremony began a second and finally a third time, after which the cock was carried carefully to his ordinary place, and left there to pass the night under the influence of opium. The desire I had to sleep on account of my indisposition made me see with satisfaction the end of this tedious ceremony. We were ten persons in the verandah all lying pell-mell; several were already asleep and I prepared to do the same, when being placed near His Majesty my attention was again excited by a spectacle of a new kind.

A large vase of earth containing lighted charcoal was brought by the great minister of state, and was set before the king. In the centre of the vase, another of the same kind, containing water, was placed, and in the centre of this was a candlestick with a lighted candle. Near this were two other but smaller vases, one filled with flattened grains of rice, having the form of small white flowers, the second containing incense. The king, sitting with his legs crossed, began by delivering some formulary which I did not understand; he then made several salutations towards the lighted candle, took incense and poured it upon the fire, threw some of the flattened pieces of rice into the water, took the candle and, turning the flame towards the ground, made several drops of wax fall into the water, and having moved the candle, as if he would form some written characters with it, he placed it again upon the candlestick. All this ceremony was accompanied with the recitation of long formularies, some being delivered in a high voice, some in a low voice. The king spent about one hour in repeating three times over the whole of this ceremony, and finally he took the candle, and put its lighted end into the water, which ended the ceremony. Then His Majesty began again with smoking opium until he smoked himself asleep. The next day I asked my Malay coolies the meaning of such superstitious practices; they answered, that this is a Malay physic and that the king intended to cure his grandchild who was dangerously sick, a few minutes further in the valley. They added that such remedies are much used by Malays against every kind of sickness. They appeared them-

selves to be convinced that the worst sickness cannot withstand it, if the ceremony is faithfully performed. It appears also that the way of bringing up cocks by smoking opium, is much used by those of the Malays who are fond of cock-fighting.

The inhabitants of Johole appear the most savage Malays I have ever seen ; many of them possess a very bad appearance, and I think the place is not secure for Europeans ; however the people of the place are very timorous, and the slightest circumstance frightens them. Our arrival caused a great agitation in all the country, and a few hours after a report had already spread abroad, that thirty armed Europeans had arrived in order to take the place. The evening of our arrival and the next day all the state was in motion, and several hundred persons came in order to ascertain for themselves the truth of the report."

## TĒROMBA DATOK-DATOK JOHOL.

Ini-lah pĕraturan tĕriti (pĕrsĕtiaan) kata orang tua-tua yang dahulu kala, di-tanah Minangkabau turun-nya ka-Pasir Bĕsar sampai ka-Johol. Ini-lah tĕriti kata orang tua-tua Mula-mula tĕrsĕbut di-dalam tali tias ini di-dalam masa tanah Minangkabau ada ĕmpat orang, mula pĕrtama Sĕri Maharaja Ali, kĕdua Sĕri Maharaja Sĕraja-nya, kĕtiga Sĕri Maharaja Depang, kĕĕmpat Sĕri Maharaja Alam. Maka ini-lah kĕturunan Sĕri Alam lima orang, kata orang tua-tua, di-dalam tanah Minangkabau : mula-mula pĕrtama Anomar nama-nya, kĕdua Tuan Gĕdang nama-nya, kĕtiga Mahudun nama-nya, kĕĕmpat Tuan Kali Kalimun Sĕkandiri nama-nya ; maka ada-lah yang kĕturunan ini di-dalam tanah Minangkabau ĕmpat orang, mula-mula pĕrtama-nya Datok Sĕri Maharaja, kĕdua Datok Mĕrpatĕh, kĕtiga Datok Tĕmĕnggoug, kĕĕmpat Batin Mĕlengkar Alam.

Maka ada-lah Batin Mĕlengkar Alam itu tatkala turun dari Bukit Guntang-Guntang Pĕnjaringan bĕrdua laki istĕri nama-nya Datok Kayan dalam tanah Minangkabau lalu ka-uar-lah Kuala Ayer Itam nama-nya, kĕmudian sampai Kuala Salak lalu bĕrhĕnti ; di-Kuala Salak ada anak laki-laki satu Sĕri Alam nama-nya. Kĕmudian lagi pĕrgi ka-Sĕkudai, anak tinggal di-Kuala Salak ; kĕmudian sampai ka-Sĕkudai lalu bĕrhĕnti di-Sĕkudai, ada anak satu pĕrĕmpuan bĕrgĕlar Bĕndahara Sĕkudai ; kĕmudian lagi pĕrgi ka-Johor, anak tinggal di-Sĕkudai. Kĕmudian sampai ka-Johor lalu bĕrhĕnti ; ada anak ĕmpat orang, mula-mula pĕrtama nama-nya Batin Mĕrbansa, kĕdua Batin Mĕrhalang, kĕtiga Batin Mĕrgalang, kĕĕmpat Batin Porok pĕrgi ka-Jĕlĕbu.

Maka ada-lah Batin Mĕlengkar Alam dĕngan bini Datok Kayan pĕrgi ka-Pasir Bĕsar ; tĕlah sampai ka-Pasir Bĕsar lalu bĕrhĕnti di-Pasir Bĕsar ; ada anak tiga orang, pĕrtama Datok Pĕrdana Mantĕri : ada anak Datok Pĕrdana Mantĕri, Datok Batin Johan Pahlawan Lela Pĕrkasa Sĕtiawan nama-nya pĕrĕmpuan, yang bongsu, yang ka-Johol, kata orang tua-tua, yang mĕnjadi pĕnghulu di-dalam Johol. Tĕlah di-jĕmput-lah Batin Liman Bĕndahara Sĕkudai di-bawa ka-Pasir Bĕsar, kata orang tua-tua ; sa-tĕlah di-hantar-lah ka-mahligai di-dalam Johol tĕtap-lah di-mahligai Johan Pahlawan Lela Pĕrkasa Sĕtiawan, tĕlah tĕtap-lah di-balai panjang Nuri, tĕlah bĕrkĕhendak Bĕndahara Sĕkudai bĕristĕri, kata orang tua-tua. Maka di-suroh-lah Datok Raja Mĕlenggung akan bĕrtanya ka-pada warith biduanda yang turun Pasir Bĕsar, kata orang tua-tua, Ma'raja Inda nama-nya laki-laki, yang kata orang tua-tua ; tĕlah di-jawab olehi Ma'raja Inda, " Boleh-lah bĕrkĕhendak istĕri itu, Sĕtiawan pun hĕndak

bèrsuami.'’ Tèlah di-satukan, kata orang tua-tua, mêngadakan anak tiga orang pèrèmpuan.

Sa-tèlah mati-lah Sètiawan itu di-dalam Johol, tinggal anak tiga orang, kata orang tua-tua. Maka pèngghulu Johol Sètiawan itu di-pangku-lah oleh Bèndahara Sèkudai. Tèlah di-jèmput-lah oleh Ma'raja Inda Datok Batin Liman ka-Johol mèmbahagikan adat dèngan pèsaka, kata orang tua-tua. Tèlah di-tèntukan anak yang tiga orang itu di-namakan Biduanda tiga charak, Ma'raja Inda itu di-namakan warith Biduanda Jantan, Sètiawan itu warith pèrèmpuan yang mènjadi pèngghulu di-dalam Johol, kata orang tua-tua. Tèlah diganti-lah anak saudara di-jadikan Pèngghulu pada masa itu, kata orang tua-tua; yang tètapi di-jadikan masa itu. Tètapi-lah Ma'raja Inda di-jadikan Datok Baginda warith jantan, kata orang tua-tua. Pèsaka masing-masing tèlah di-tètapi-lah. Kèpèchahan Biduanda tiga charak: Jènaung Bochon nama-nya, kata orang tua-tua; tèlah di-tètapi-lah Pawang itu pèsaka-nya nama-nya Kutir. Biduanda tiga charak, kata orang tua-tua. Tèlah di-tètapi-lah Gèmpa itu warith Biduanda, kata orang tua-tua, Ajak nama-nya, kata orang tua-tua. Tètapi-lah pèsaka Mantèri, Bègok nama-nya, kata orang tua-tua, warith Biduanda kata orang tua-tua.

Pèchah Biduanda yang tiga charak: Nènggarang Saleh nama-nya ibu bapa, kata orang tua-tua, kèdua Sa-ibu Garang, Khusa nama-nya, kètiga Paduka Bangsa pèsaka-nya ibu-bapa Maadum nama-nya: bèrnama Biduanda Tiga Charak, kata orang tua-tua. Itu-lah yang bèrnama Biduanda Tiga Charak, yang tiga itu, kata orang tua-tua; kèpèchahan Biduanda yang tiga charak itu, Sa-Rumpun pèsaka, nama-nya Waktu, kata orang tua-tua; Paduka Jalila pèsaka ibu-bapa Juka nama-nya, kata orang tua-tua; Ginda Maulana pèsaka-nya ibu bapa Hasan nama-nya kata orang tua-tua: itu-lah yang bèrnama ibu bapa, yang ènam itu, Biduanda tiga charak, tiada-lah lain yang di-tètapi-lah Biduanda itu, kata orang tua-tua.

Yang bèrnama Lèmbaga itu: Datok Raja Balang ini suku Biduanda nama-nya kata orang tua-tua; suku Si-Mèlenggang Datok Andika pèsaka lèmbaga-nya Bodot nama-nya kata orang tua-tua; suku Mangkar Datok Raja Sènara pèsaka-nya, Telek nama-nya, kata orang tua-tua; dan suku Tiga Batu Datok Baginda Raja pèsaka-nya, Tèbu nama-nya, kata orang tua-tua: itu yang bèrnama Lèmbaga yang èmpat di-dalam Johol, tiang kèrajaan lèmbaga yang èmpat itu, ada-nya.

*Itu-lah k eturunan p esaka di-dalam Johol di-dalam t riti ini,  
ada-nya.*

---

Ini k eturunan b eneh undang warith-warith p er empuan

1. Inchang nama-nya
2. Embong       ,,
3. Charak       ,,
4. S ndut       ,,
5. Kidam        ,,

Ini-lah k eturunan Undang Datok Johol

1. Datok Ramutan  
   Jantan
2. Datok Mantek
3. Datok Bunchit
4. Datok Eta
5. Datok Omar

Ini-lah k eturunan Datok Baginda

1. Datok Baginda Bubur nama-nya
2.   ,,       ,,    Jabar       ,,
3.   ,,       ,,    Dollah     ,,
4.   ,,       ,,    Omar       ,,
5.   ,,       ,,    Che'Mek   ,,
6.   ,,       ,,    Kamat     ,,



PÉRUT GĒMĒNCHEH.



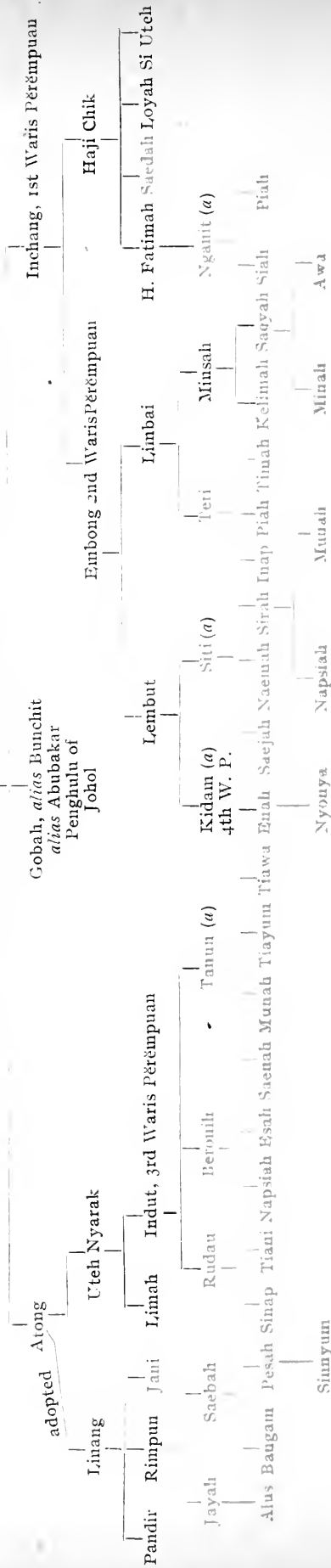
Black ink=dead.

Red ink=alive.

(a) =draws a share of the \$300 payable to Waris.

PÉRUT JOHOL.

Siti Ani, granddaughter of Siti Awan



The descendants of Atong = Përut Baroh.  
 The descendants of Inchang = Përut Bukit

Black ink = dead.  
 Red ink = still alive.  
 (a) = draws a share of the annual \$300 payable to the Waris.

## CUSTOMARY SPEECHES USED IN ULU MUAR.

### *Speech at Weddings.*

Adat berpangkal ka-bumi,  
Adat berpuchok ka-langit.

Adat Përpateh :—  
Chinchang di-bëri pampas,  
Mati di-bëri balas—  
Anak di-panggil makan,  
Anak buah di-sorong balas.

Adat Tëmënggong :—  
Siapa mëmëbunoh, siapa di-bunoh ;  
Siapa bërutang, siapa mëmëbayar ;  
Siapa salah, siapa bërtimbang.

Raja mëmërentahkan 'alam,  
Pënghulu mëmërentahkan luak,  
Tua mëmërentahkan suku,  
Waris mëmërentahkan pësaka,  
Ibu-bapa mëmërentahkan anak buah,  
Tëmpat sëmanda mëmërentahkan orang sëmanda,  
Laki mëmërentahkan bini,  
Emak mëmërentahkan anak.

Kunchi 'alam ka-pada raja,  
Kunchi luak ka-pada pënghulu,  
Kunchi suku ka-pada tua,  
Kunchi waris ka-pada pësaka,  
Kunchi anak buah ka-pada ibu-bapa,  
Kunchi orang sëmanda ka-pada tëmplat sëmanda,  
Kunchi bini ka-pada laki,  
Kunchi anak ka-pada emak.

Këmudian dari-pada itu :—

Di-lengkong kampong nan bërsudut,  
Di-tokok<sup>1</sup> tangga nan bërkatak,  
Di-bëtulkan rasok pëlanchar,  
Di-tahan rasok mëlintang,  
Di-tatang lantai nan sa-bëlah,  
Di-tutup atap nan sa-layar,  
Di-arak kayu panjang ;  
Tërhampar rupa-nya 'kasau,  
Tërsirak<sup>2</sup> tabir layar,

<sup>1</sup> Hammered.

<sup>2</sup> Stretched out.

Tērkuit bunyi pintu,  
Tampak tērdiri tiang tēngah  
Sēmbah ka-pada Dato !

Kēmudian dari-pada itu :—

Sudah tērdinding rupa-nya tabir,  
Sudah tērbēntang langit-langit,  
Sudah tērgantong kain simpai,  
Sudah tērlonggok rupa-nya pinang,  
Sudah bērsusun rupa-nya sireh,  
Sudah bērkachip rupa-nya pinang,  
Sudah puteh rupa-nya kapor,  
Sudah kuning rupa-nya gambir,  
Sudah bērgumpal rupa-nya tēmbakau.  
Sudah bērtimpoh tilam pandak ;  
Sudah tērbēntang tilam panjang,  
Sudah bērator bantal bēsar,  
Sudah bērsusun bantal kēchil,  
Sudah bērgunjong 'gunong bērangkat,'  
Sudah bērsilang gunting-gunting ;<sup>1</sup>  
Sudah mēmanchong rupa-nya pēdang,  
Sudah mēnikam rupa-nya kēris,  
Sudah tērurai rupa-nya tombak,  
Sudah tērkēmbang rupa-nya payong,  
Sudah bērkēchipong tawak-tawak,  
Sudah mēningkah bunyi gēndērang,  
Sudah bērator rupa-nya mēriam,  
Sudah bērsukat ubat bēdil,  
Sudah tērbakar rupa-nya tunam,  
Sudah bērdērun bunyi 'lamat.  
Adat pun bērator,  
Bilang pun tērtēntu.

Sēmbah ka-pada dato !

Mēngaji ka-pada alif !  
Bērbilang ka-pada ēsa !  
Bērchakap ka-pada pangkal !

Sa-hēlai akar yang putus,  
Sa-bingkah tanah tērbalik,  
Sa-batang kayu yang tumbang.  
Hidup pēruntongan,  
Mati bērhukum Allah ;  
Hidup di-kandung adat,  
Mati di-kandung bumi.  
'Alam sudah bēraja,

<sup>1</sup> Triangular envelope-like cloths.

Luak sudah berpênghulu,  
Këempat suku sudah bërlembaga.

Sëmbah ka-pada dato!

Bërsëmanda pula di-dalam 'alam yang tiga,  
Përtama 'alam Maharaja Alif,  
Këdua 'alam 'To Khalifah,  
Këtiga 'alam Maharaja 'diraja.

Sudah pula mëngadakan anak laki-laki—

Sa-hari ada, sa-hari bërnama,  
Sa-hari bërutang ka-pada mak bapa,  
Utang di-atas ënam sharat—  
Përtama kërat pusat,  
Këdua upah bidan,  
Këtiga sunat rasul,  
Këempat tindek daiëng,<sup>1</sup>  
Këlima di-sërahkan mëngaji,  
Këënam nikah:—  
Utang adat dëngan hukum.

Yang këchil sudah bësar,  
Yang bëlayar sudah pulang,  
Yang bingung sudah chërdek,  
Tëraku pula hëndak bërumah-tangga.  
Lalu di-risekkan duai,  
Dëkat rumah dëkat kampong,  
Sa-rantau hilir sa-rantau ulu:  
Risek sudah bërdasus,<sup>2</sup>  
Gamit sudah berkëchapi,  
Orang mëmbëli kërbau dëngan tali-nya,  
Mëngikat kata dëngan tanda,  
Di-bëri chinchin sa-bëntok,  
Chinchin (?) tawai,<sup>3</sup> chinchin tanya.  
Kalau sah sa-kata, mënjadi;  
Tiada sah sa-kata, pulang balek;  
Kalau sah sa-kata, janji pun di-ikat.  
Kalau elah përëmpuan, ganda tauda;  
Kalau elah laki-laki, lunchor tanda.  
Chachat chidëra bërkëmbali,  
Sawan gila luar janji.  
Chachat tidak, gila pun tidak  
Datang mënëpati janji.  
Janji di-buat, di-muliakan;  
Di-dalam janji di-gadohkan;  
Janji sampai di-tëpati.  
Tërgawa<sup>4</sup> mati, bërtanda bërutang,

<sup>1</sup> 'Circumcise.'  
by Van der Toorn.

<sup>2</sup> 'Whispered?': *bërласus* is a variant, confirmed  
<sup>3</sup> 'Essay, try.'

\* ? = *tërkuwong*.

Bukan utang padi nan bĕrsukat,  
 Bukan utang kain nan bĕrhasta,  
 Bukan utang ringgit nan bĕrbilang,  
 Utang adat dĕngan pĕsaka.  
 Adat di-isi orang nikah.

*Customary Speech on the Death of a Wife.*

Yang laki-laki di-sĕrukan tuah,  
 Yang pĕrĕmpuan di-sĕrukan tuah.  
 Untong sudah mĕlambong,  
 Malang sudah mĕnimpa :  
 Kalau ka-laut, pĕchah pĕrahu ;  
 Kalau ka-darat, pĕchah pĕriok.  
 Kalau chichir, hĕndak di-pungut ;  
 Yang hilang hĕndak di-chari.  
 Kalau sireh, pulang ka-gagang ;  
 Kalau pinang, pulang ka-tampok ;  
 Kalau kĕrbau, pulang ka-kandang ;  
 Kalau bĕlut, pulang ka-lumpor ;  
 Manusia pulang ka-suku-waris-nya.  
 Kalau datang, nampak muka,  
 Kalau pĕrgi, nampak bĕlakang.  
 Lĕpas utang di-bayar  
 Tĕrgawa mati, bĕrtanda bĕrutang,  
 Bukan utang padi nan bĕrsukat,  
 Bukan utang kain nan bĕrhasta,  
 Bukan utang ringgit nan bĕrbilang,  
 Utang adat dĕngan pĕsaka,  
 Utang budi dĕngan bahasa.

*Customary Saying on Divorce.*

Hidup bĕrpĕruntongan,  
 Mati bĕrhukum Allah,  
 Kaseh bĕrpĕtĕmuan,  
 Suarang<sup>1</sup> bĕrageh,  
 Chari di-bahagi,  
 Pĕmbawa kĕmbali,  
 Dapatan tinggal.  
 Kata yang habis chĕrai.  
 Yang pĕrgi laki orang ;  
 Yang tinggal bini orang.

*Customary Saying on acquiring Land at Marriage.*

Ada-lah pula tĕrniat di-hati :  
 Kalau kĕchil, hĕndak di-sibar,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Suarang* 'the common property acquired by a man and wife's joint labour.'

<sup>2</sup> 'lengthened, having a piece added.'

Kalau pendek, hendak di-ubong.  
 Kěchil di-běri nama,  
 Běsar di-běri gėlār.  
 Apa-lah di-namakan tēbus-měnēbus? <sup>1</sup>  
 Běrkėbulatan pula atas dua peliak,  
 Lalu-lah lantak di-tukul,  
 Ēmas pula di-tahilkau. <sup>2</sup>

Sěmbah ka-pada Dato!

Ada-lah pula adat—

Tinggal waris mēnongkat,  
 Tinggal tua mēmatal,  
 Tinggal harta bėrtuan tidak mēnjadi, <sup>3</sup>  
 Tiada-lah tukar-ubah-nya.  
 Lėpas salah di-timbang,  
 Lėpas utang di-bayar;  
 Takek kayu ka-pada Batin,  
 Ēla jangka ka-pada waris,  
 Putus tēbus ka-pada Undang. <sup>4</sup>

*Customary Speech at Processions, Henna ceremonies and  
 other festivals at which a Buapa is present.*

Mėngkudu di-atas bukit,  
 Urat-nya tunggang ka-lėmbah.  
 Sahaya mohon ka-pada dato,  
 Ka-pada siapa haluan sěmbah.  
 Ēnau kěchil, panjang pėlėpah;  
 Ta' andoh, tolong andohkan.  
 Sahaya budak mēhaluan sěmbah  
 Kalau ta' tahu, tolong tunjukkan.

Orang mėngaji ka-pada alif,  
 Orang mēmbilang ka-pada ěsa.  
 Ambil wazin dari-pada nabi,  
 Ambil turasan <sup>5</sup> dari-pada nan tua.  
 Sa-hėlai akar, sa-bingkah tanah,  
 Sa-kėrat kayu, sa-batang buloh.  
 Sa-hėlai akar yang putus akan pėngikat,  
 Sa-bingkah tanah tərbalek akan pėmatang,  
 Sa-kėrat kayu akan turusan,  
 Sa-batang buloh akan bėlintang.

Kėmudian dari-pada itu, dato—

Běsi bėrdėnching, gagak putih;

<sup>1</sup> *Tēbus* 'to purchase state land or land belonging to the aborigines.'

<sup>2</sup> Paid out by the tael.

<sup>3</sup> If entailed or hereditary land has an

owner, it cannot be sold.

<sup>4</sup> The territorial chief assesses the price of

virgin jungle.

<sup>5</sup> *Turasan* 'precedents.'

Bangau hitam, puntong bĕrasap.  
Siak bĕrtali ka-Minangkabau,  
Masa ninek Bujang Gadis.

Kĕmudian dari-pada itu, dato—

Pandang ka-ulu nampak gaung guntong;  
Pandang bĕridar ka-darat,  
Nampak mĕranti bĕrsanggit-sanggit dahan;  
Pandang bĕridar ka-baroh,  
Nampak gaung bĕrandaman;  
Pandang bĕridar ka-hilir,  
Nampak pulau bĕrdindingan,  
Kampong nau bĕrsudut,  
Rumah nan bĕrkatak tangga,  
Kok halaman, sa-pĕrmainan;  
Kok pĕrigi, sa-pĕrmandian;  
Ayer-nya jĕrnehi, kampong-nya biru,  
Adat sĕntosa.

Sĕnbah ka-pada dato!

Kĕmudian dari-pada itu pula—

Luak bĕrpĕnghulu,  
'Alam bĕraja,  
Kĕĕmpat suku.

Bĕrapa-kah suku-nya, dato? Ia-itu dua-bĕlas, sa-  
bĕlas bĕrhaluan.<sup>1</sup>

Kĕmudian dari-pada itu, dato,—

Dudok sa-pĕlarasan,<sup>2</sup>  
Pinta-mĕminta sĕraya-mĕnyĕraya;  
Dĕkat rumah, dĕkat kampong.  
Tiba risek yang pĕrdasus,  
Indok dĕngan bapa.

Kĕmudian dari-pada itu—

Urat yang mĕrangkak,  
Kilat yang mĕmanchar,  
Mĕnĕgor mĕnyapa.  
Chinchin sa-bĕntok  
Tanda muafakat;  
Chinchin dua bĕntok  
Tanda bĕrikat

Chinchin sa-bĕntok, 'to, maka tĕrtaroh-lah dua hari  
yang kĕtiga. Kĕmudian dari-pada itu, 'to—

Jauh di-jĕmputkan,  
Dĕkat di-kampongan,

<sup>1</sup> Eleven and one more the spokesman of the tribal chief before the territorial chief. <sup>2</sup> In one hamlet.



Sĕgala tĕmpat sĕmanda,  
 Sĕrta buapa yang bĕradat  
 Oleh orang sĕmanda,  
 Sĕrta dudok sa-pĕreret.  
 Maka di-kĕluarkan  
 Urat yang mĕrangkak,  
 Kilat yang mĕmanchar  
 Ka-pada tĕmpat sĕmanda sĕrta buapa.  
 Pĕrtama sah sa-kata, di-tĕrima,  
 Kata di-kĕmbalikan mĕnĕrima.  
 Kĕdua, ta' sah sa-kata,  
 Barang di-kĕmbalikan, ta' mĕnĕrima.  
 Kalau sah sa-kata di-tĕrima,  
 Janji di-buat di-muliakan;  
 Di-dalam janji di-gaduhkan,  
 Sampai janji, di-tĕpati.

Kĕmudian dari-pada itu, 'to, dudok bĕrkĕbulatan  
 orang sĕmanda dĕngan tĕmpat sĕmanda sĕrta buapa :  
 maka di-suroh mĕnghĕndaki adat—

Yang ta' lapok de hujan,  
 Yang ta' lĕkang de panas.

Oleh orang sa-bĕlah maka di-isi-lah adat

Yang ta' lapok de hujan,  
 Yang ta' lĕkang de panas.

Rĕntangkan tali, sĕrukan tuah oleh buapa timbal  
 balek sĕrta anak-buah-nya sĕrukan untong-nya—

Sa-pĕrtama untong baik,  
 Kĕdua untong jahat.

Kĕmudian dari-pada itu, ada-lah anak buah dato

Kĕchil mĕnyibar,  
 Pendek mĕngulong.

Akan kĕdua-nya singgah ka-pada arak, usong, hinai,  
 andam :—

Rioh di-hilir, di-hilirkan,  
 Rioh di-ulu, di-mudiki,  
 Rioh di-tĕngah, di-himpunkan.

Maka ada-lah bawaan orang sĕmanda sahaya sĕrta  
 anak buah buapa-nya sahaya

Ayer yang sa-tĕgok,  
 Nasi yang sa-suap,  
 Lauk yang sa-binjat,  
 Pinang yang sa-kachip  
 Sireh yang sa-charek,  
 Gambir yang sa-chubit,  
 Tĕmbakau yang sa-urat

Itu-lah bawaan anak buah sërta orang sëmanda  
dëngan sahaya sa-kali.

Sëmbah ka-pada dato!

CUSTOMARY SPEECHES USED AT GUNONG  
PASIR.

*On the presentation of Rice at a Festival.*

Mëngaji dari-pada alif;  
Bërbilang dari-pada ësa,  
Bërkata dari-pada asal,  
Usul-asal jangan di-tinggalkan.

Ia-lah, 'to—

Sa-hëlai akar  
Sa-bingkah tanah,  
Sa-batang kayu  
Sa-hëlai akar yang putus akan përikat,  
Sa-bingkah tanah tërbalek buat përmataug,  
Kayu sa-batang buat turusan.  
Përmatang sudah lurus,  
Tanah sudah datar,  
Tanaman sudah mënjadi,  
Orang sudah nan sëntosa.

Këmudian, 'to, bilangan sa-dikit:—

Si-pasin mudik ka ulu,  
Si-lawah mudik ka-hilir.  
'Alam nan bëraja,  
Luak nan bërpënghulu,  
Suku nan bërlëmbaga  
Anak buah dëngan buapa

Këmudian lagi, 'to,

Adat nan datar, pësaka satu,  
Adat tidak bërtukar,  
Sëtia tidak bërubah,  
Muafakat tidak bëraleh.  
Bukit sama di-daki,  
Lurah sama di-turuni.  
Chichir sama rugi,  
Dapat sama laba.  
Tanah sa-këpal sahaya gunongkan,  
Ayer sa-titek sahaya lautkan.  
Padang sa-përmainan,  
Sa-jamban, sa-përigi.  
Jalan sa-dundun,<sup>1</sup>

Lenggang sa-ayun,  
 Dudok sa-jajar.  
 Kata-kata sahaya  
 Sa-kochong ba' kuch,  
 Sa-bungkus ba' nasi.  
 Tumbuh di-ulu di-mudiki,  
 Tumbuh di-hilir di-hiliri,  
 Tumbuh di-tengah di-himpuni.

Kemudian hari nan sa-hari ini berbulat-lah, 'to, di-atas diri sahaya, waris nan saka nan bersaka, hari nan sa-hari ini: ada-lah sahaya sambilan ka-pada dato

Pinang nan sa-kacrip,  
 Sireh nan sa-charek,  
 Kapor nan sa-palit,  
 Gambir nan sa-chubit,  
 Tembaku nan sa-urat,  
 Ayer nan sa-tégok,  
 Nasi nan sa-képal.

Itu-lah nan sahaya sambilan ka-pada dato. Habis-lah sambah sahaya, dato.

*On inviting a Bridegroom to his Wedding.*

Hidup beruntongan,  
 Mati berhukum Allah:  
 Mati di-kandung bumi,  
 Berupa ada tanah badan;  
 Hidup di-kandung adat,  
 Berupa ada rumput yang menjalar.  
 Untong nan melambong,  
 Malang nan menimpa,  
 Tersemandah sahaya ka-pada anak buah (si-anu);  
 Pétang tiba, pagi di-unjok;  
 Di-béri oleh tempat semanda  
 Kampong nan bersudut,  
 Rumah nan berkatak tangga,  
 Anak buah sa-orang  
 Serta beripar berlantai,  
 Kemudian oleh sahaya di-terima.  
 Bulan tidak di-tentukan,  
 Tahun tidak di-bilangkan  
 Maka mengadakan anak,  
 Pertama laki-laki, kedua perempuan.  
 Untong laki-laki di-serahkan mengaji,  
 Untong anak perempuan menjahit.  
 Untong anak sahaya di-nanti-nantikan,  
 Risek nan berlasus,  
 Gamit uan berkéclapi,  
 Ba' pikat sa-ekor,

Ba' angin sapui.  
 Jauh sudah sahaya jëmputkan,  
 Dëkat sudah sahaya kampongan.

Sapërti ada-lah kata hëndak di-bërikan ka-pada tëmpat sëmanda ia-itu chinchin sa-bëntok tanda muafakat.

Sah sa-kata, kata di-balekkan ;  
 'Ta' sah sa-kata, chinchin di-balekkan.  
 Sah sa-kata ka-pada tëmpat sëmanda,  
 Bër [        ] balek ka-pada orang sëmanda.  
 Ia-itu janji di-ikat ;  
 Dalam janji di-gaduhkan ;  
 Sampai jauji di-tëpati.

Maka sapërti sahaya ini mënëpati janji hari nan sa-hari ini mënjëmput anak buah dato, sébab karna dëngan anak buah si-anu sërta dëngan adat pësaka-nya.

*On going to the House of a Man whose Wife has died.*

Hidup bëruntongan,  
 Mati bër hukum Allah.  
 Mati di-kandung bumi,  
 Hidup di-kandung adat.  
 'Alam nan bër raja,  
 Luak bër pënghulu,  
 Suku bër lëmbaga.  
 Anak buah dëngan buapa  
 Dudok bër suku-suku.  
 Adat tidak mëngambat,  
 Hukum tidak mëngalang,  
 Tërsëmanda sahaya pada anak buah dato.  
 Kalau pëtang tiba, pagi di-unjok,  
 Di-bëri-nya pada orang sëmanda  
 Kampong nan bër sudut,  
 Rumah nan bër katak tangga,  
 Sawah nan bër lopak.  
 Këmudian untong di-sërukan.  
 Kalau nan lama bër anak-pinak,  
 Kalau nan baharu bër ipar lamai.  
 Këmudian untong di-sërukan.  
 Kalau bulan, tidak di-tëntukan,  
 Kalau tahun, tidak di-bilangkan.  
 Ada sa-hari nan dua,  
 Përtama untong jahat,  
 Këdua untong baik,  
 Untong tumbuh sa-hari nan dua ;  
 Jikalau ka-laut, pëchah përahu,  
 Jikalau ka-darat, pëchah përiok.

Maka bër bulat-lah waris laki-laki dan waris bini hari nan sa-hari ini—

Kalau ehichir, hëndak di-pungut ;  
 Kalau hilang, hëndak di-chari ;  
 Kalau tertimbun, hëndak di-këkas ;  
 Kalau pinang, hëndak pulang ka-tampok-nya,  
 Kalau sireh, hëndak pulang ka-gagang-naya,  
 Kalau bëlut, hëndak pulang ka-lumpor-nya,  
 Kalau burung, hëndak pulang ka-sangkar-nya.

Maka bërbulat-lah anak buah dëngan buapa-nya sërta waris pësaka hëndak mënjëmput waris pësaka hari yang sa-hari ini.

ULU MUAR.

Pantuns recited on any occasion when betel is offered.

'To

Tangga sudah sahaya tenggek !  
 Lantai sudah sahaya pijak !  
 Tikar sudah sahaya dudoki !

Batang rumbia bërbelah-bëlah,  
 Yang sa-bëlah di-makan api.  
 Datang sahaya tidak përnah,  
 Datang sahaya bërkehëndak hati.

Këdudok di-atas tikar,  
 Urat-nya sileh-mënyileh.<sup>1</sup>  
 Dudok-lah datok atas tikar :  
 Sahaya hëndak mëmberï sireh.

Këdudok di-atas tikar,  
 Mëmpëlas atas tundis.<sup>2</sup>  
 Dudok-lah 'to atas tikar,  
 Sahaya hëndak mëmbalas mënyireh.<sup>3</sup>

Limau purut jatuh ka-lëmbah,  
 Tiba ka-lëmbah tumbuh duri.  
 Pinang mëngadap, sireh mënyëmbah,  
 Jari sa-puloh mënjunjong duli.

Makan sireh bërpinang tidak,  
 Pinang ada dari Mëlaka.  
 Makan sireh mëngënyang<sup>4</sup> tidak,  
 Sëbab budi dëngan bahasa.

Anak kambing Lindam (?) Dewi ;  
 Makan kulit mëdang bulu.  
 Sireh sahaya sireh putëri ;  
 Yang mana di-ambil dahulu ?

Përgi ka-dusun bërbilang,  
 Mënëbang mëdang bulu.

<sup>1</sup> 'are shed, are changing.'

<sup>3</sup> From *sireh*.

<sup>2</sup> *Kamiri* nut.

<sup>4</sup> *Kënyang* 'sated.'

-Kata hukum, kita bër Allah ;  
 Pinang di-makan dahulu.  
 Tëlok tanjong bërbelah-bëlah ;  
 Sa-bëlah sa-bësar pinggan.  
 Tëljok di-bëri Allah  
 Akan pëncholek kapor jintan.  
 Tëlatok di-bëlah-bëlah  
 Di-bëlah di-atas manggis.  
 Tëljok di-bëri Allah,  
 Buat pëncholek jari manis.  
 Këdudok di-atas tikar,  
 Urat-nya dari Mëlaka.  
 Dudok kita atas tikar,  
 Hëndak mëmbilang adat pësaka.  
 Këdudok di-dalam kualì,  
 Urat-nya sampai Mëlaka.  
 Dudok kita dalam nëgëri,  
 Elok mëmbilang adat pësaka.  
 Pinang sahaya pinang jujutan,  
 Patah tampok akan bërtëlaga.  
 Ilmu sahaya ilmu tuntutan,  
 Awan bërtëpok, gunung bërlaga.  
 Chëndawan sa-bësar payong,  
 Habis sa-bëlah di-makan api.  
 Sapu-lah awan, sapu-lah gunung !  
 Sama mërëndam di-dalam hati.  
 Këdudok di-dalam dulang,  
 Urat bërjalor-jaloran.  
 Dudok kita dudok bërbilang :  
 Adat yang mana kita këluarkan.  
 'Mahat kisak laman Genang,<sup>1</sup>  
 'Mahat rumah Bilal Lata.  
 Makan sireh sa-kapor sa-orang :  
 Itu-lah mula asal kata.  
 Bukan lëbah sa-barang lëbah,  
 Lëbah bërsarang di-buku buloh.  
 Bukan sëmbah sa-barang sëmbah,  
 Sëmbah bërsusun jari sa-puloh.

---

<sup>1</sup> This line may be corrupt.

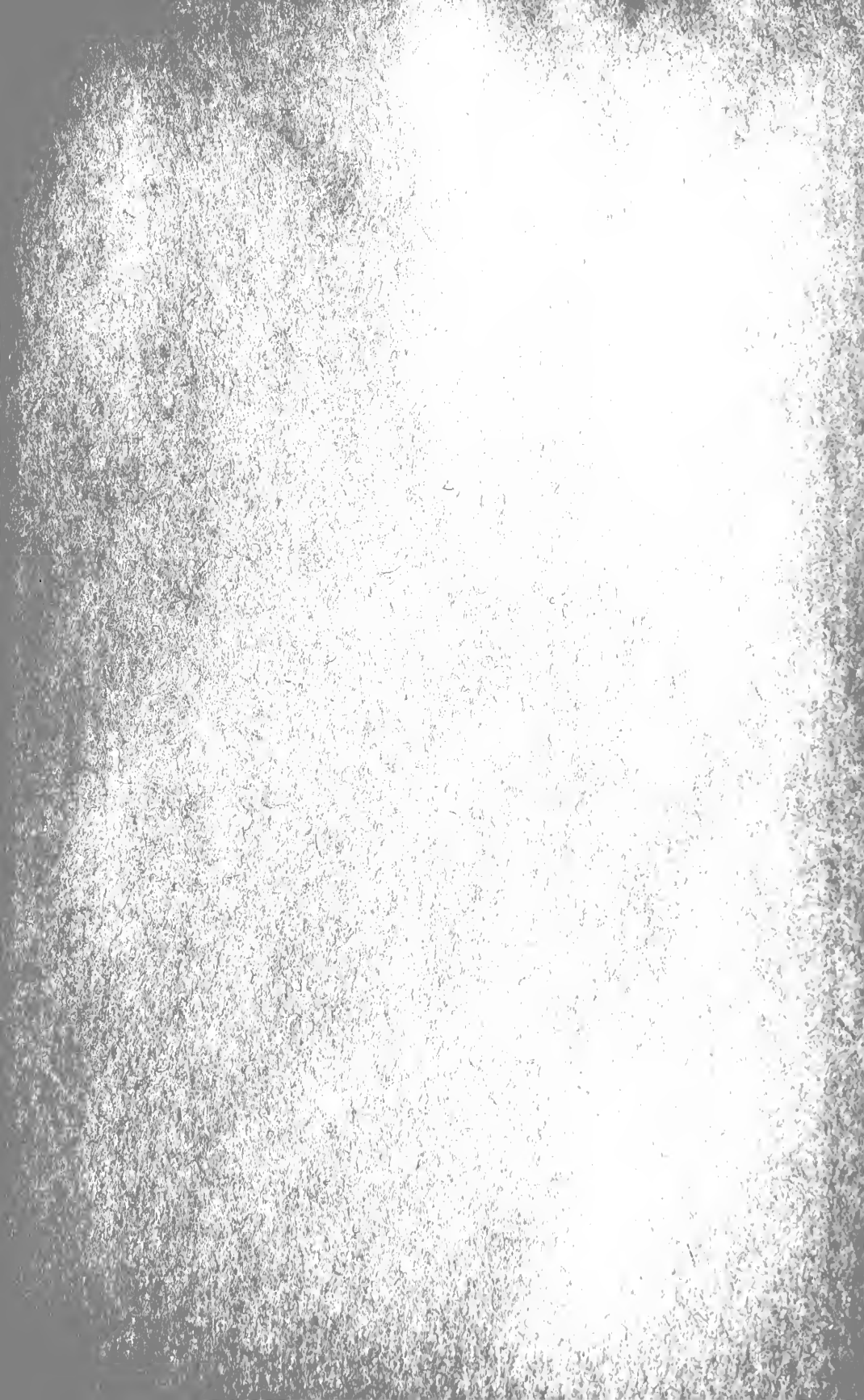












**LIBRARY USE**

RETURN TO DESK FROM WHICH BORROWED

**LOAN DEPT.**

THIS BOOK IS DUE BEFORE CLOSING TIME  
ON LAST DATE STAMPED BELOW

B  
N  
Y  
H  
Y

LIBRARY USE

APR 22 1964

REC'D LD

APR 22 '64 -12M

LD 62A-50m-2,'64  
(E3494s10)9412A

General Library  
University of California  
Berkeley

LD 21-100m-7,'39 (402s)

YD 10518

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY

