

PHONGSAWADAN MUANG ZAIBURI
(THE CHRONICLE OF NEGERI KEDAH)

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Phongsawadan Muang Zaiburi is a short-recorded history of Kedah, found in the Siamese Official Archives (the Sala Luk Khun Version). This indicates that it must have been compiled for the purpose of providing the officials with a quick and accessible reference on Kedah. Its contents (see text below) also suggest that the work is mainly a summary report on Siamese-Kedah relations during the reigns of King Mongkut and Chulalongkorn (1851-1868; 1868-1910). This is clear from the change of style and the stress on certain relevant details which were evidence of their close and intimate relationship during the period stated. Little, however, is known as to who is its compiler or writer. Like any other traditional Southeast Asian state, Siam paid very little attention in general to writers of official documents or records. However the task of identifying the compiler of the *Phongsawadan Muang Zaiburi* is much more difficult than usual because unlike other official records of history, the *Phongsawadan Muang Zaiburi* possesses no "introductory" note or "preamble" which normally precedes an official history. The traditional "preamble" helps us to identify not only the person responsible for the writing, revising, or compiling of a particular piece of work, but also the period of the writing of this or that history as well as upon whose initiatives or command such and such record was compiled, etc. The *Phongsawadan Muang Zaiburi* is published in the Book II (Phak) of the second volume of the now famous history series of *Prachum Phongsawadan*. The Book II contains 8 titles of the historical accounts concerning the history of South Siam. They are, apart from the *Phongsawadan Muang Zaiburi*.

1. On the Appointment of Chao Phraya Nakhon Si Thammarat, Ayudhya Period.
2. On the Appointment of Chao Phraya Nakhon Si Thammarat, Thonburi Period.

3. On the Appointment of Chao Phraya Nakhon Si Thammarat (Phat)
4. On the Appointment of Phra Borirakphubet to the Phraya Nakhon Si Thammarat Position.
5. Phongsawadan Muang Thalang (Phuket).
6. Phongsawadan Muang Terengganu.
7. Phongsawadan Muang Kelantan.

About the *Prachum Phongsawan* itself, this is a collection of historical accounts from both oral and written traditions, starting from ancient histories of the Thai people and folklores/legends of the land which now forms parts of Thailand to the modern history of the Rattanakosin period. It also publishes and collects historical accounts of other states which have bearing or consequence on Thai historical development itself. For example, in the Volume 2 of the *Prachum Phongsawadan*, Book I is devoted to the recording of the History of Mon-Burma (*Phongsawadan Phama-Raman*) and that of Lan Chang (*Phongsawadan Muang Lan Chang [Laos]*), while Book II concentrates on the history of South Siam and the Siamese Malay tributary states. The *Prachum Phongsawadan* does not present or publish its historical contents, both primary and secondary documents, in a chronological order. Rather it tends to stress more the theme of its contents in each Book than to give undue significance to dates. For this reason also, it is not much help to know that the *Phongsawan Muang Zaiburi* was published together with other historical account that could be dated back to the Ayudhyan time.

The *Prachum Phongsawadan* first came into existence in 1908 when Queen Sawang Wattana, Chulalongkorn's second Consort, expressed her wish to the Librarian Committee to do some meaningful merit-making on occasion of the cremation of Prince Danaiworanuj. The Committee, realising the increasing interest of the learned public in the field of history and archeology, and their difficulty in obtaining authentic reference materials on such matters, took this opportunity to recommend the publication of what becomes known as the Volume 1 of the *Prachum Phongsawadan*. The first edition of the *Prachum Phongsawadan* was continually published for the next 30 years namely until 1942. By that time the *Prachum Phongsawadan* had published 73 Books of its series. Of all the many editions that are available presently, the Kurusabha edition is by far the most popular and well-known.

Since the first edition of the Book II must have been published at the latest in the reign of King Wachirawut, it can be logically deduced that the *Phongsawadan Muang Zaiburi* must have been

compiled by the close of Chulalongkorn's reign or during the reign of King Wachirawut himself. The last event recorded by the *Phongsawadan Muang Zaiburi* is the elevation of Chao Phraya Abdul Hamid to the position of the Superintendent Commissioner of Monthon Zaiburi which occurred in 1898. This indicates that it is more likely that the work was done during the last years of King Chulalongkorn. It would be illogical if the *Phongsawadan Muang Zaiburi* was compiled after 1909 and the compiler/writer just ignored the official end of Siamese-Kedah relations in that year. Since, as has been stated above, the *Phongsawadan Muang Zaiburi* seems to be written as a reference for the use of Siamese officials, it stands to reason that it was most likely compiled during the hectic years after 1898 as these were the years when Siam had to deal with the Malay question in a most urgent manner against Great Britain's aggressive approach. Another indication which points to the conclusion that the *Phongsawadan Muang Zaiburi* was a piece of literary work of Great King Chulalongkorn's time, is the fact that it was during his reign that Thai leaders became most conscious of the usefulness of history in their struggle to safeguard and maintain Siam's sovereignty and her power field against the colonial encroachment. It was Chulalongkorn himself who had requested Wan Mat Saman, the Kedah Chief Minister, to provide him with a copy of the *Kedah Annals*, so that His Majesty and Bangkok could be more familiar with Kedah history. From the early part of the *Phongsawadan Muang Zaiburi*, it is clear that the *Kedah Annals* referred to is no other than the *Merong Mahawangsa*. The compiler of the early part of this *Phongsawadan* had definitely made use of the *Merong Mahawangsa* in recounting the early history of the ruling house of Kedah.

As to its compiler, it may be speculated that there was more than one writer/compiler involved. This is because there exists a clear difference in style and contents between the first part which roughly ends with the twentieth ruler, Tengku Dhiauddin (1798-1805), and the rest of the *Phongsawadan*. At one point it looked as though Prince Damrong himself was the compiler of the latter part of the work since he was, as Minister of Interior, in charge of the Kedah affairs. By his inclination and inside knowledge, Damrong appeared the logical candidate. However, the *Phongsawadan Muang Zaiburi* contains inexplicable inaccuracies, such as the report that Tengku Dhiauddin, the then Raja Muda of Kedah and Viceroy of Selangor, died in 1878, and, at Chao Phraya Zaiburi Ahmad Tajuddin II's request, Chulalongkorn appointed Tengku Yakob to succeed him. It is unthinkable that Damrong did not know

that Tengku Dhiauddin, who always projected himself as a leading critic and rival of Sultan Abdul Hamid Halim Shah, lived on until 1902. Since the *Phongsawadan Muang Zaiburt* was obviously compiled with an extensive use of official documents and materials, it can be surmised that the compiler of the latter part of the work, like the compiler of the early part, must have been an official of some standing either in the Royal Scribe Department or in the Ministry of Interior (Mahatthai). Unfortunately, due to lack of evidence, their names remain anonymous.

From the very beginning, the *Phongsawadan Muang Zaiburi*, hereby cited as the *PMZ*, follows closely the royal genealogy of the ancient Kedah rulers recorded in the *Merong Mahawangsa*. (*the MM*). The founder of the Kedah ruling house is recorded as coming from Rum and, after a lengthy interval, returned to the land of his birth, leaving his son to rule the new-founded state in his place. This amply confirms the fact that the *MM* must have been the chief source of the information recorded in the early part of the *PMZ*. There are of course some differences between these two "Histories". But these are more in certain details rather than in the main chronological order of information. The *PMZ* and the *MM* disagree, for example, on the number of the rulers of Kedah from the reign of Phra Ong Maha Wangsa, the founder of the illustrious House of Kedah, to the reign of Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin (I) Halim Shah (Tengku Pangeran). The *PMZ* states clearly that there were all together 21 rulers, including Tengku Pangeran himself. The *MM*, on the other hand, concludes that there were 20 rulers only. (The discrepancy between the number of rulers as narrated in the text of the *MM* and that listed in the *Chantuman II* of the Siti Hawa Saleh edition is explained in the footnote no. 13). The difference is caused by the 17th. ruler of Kedah. The *PMZ* states that after the reign of Sultan Ata'u'Llah Muhammad Shah (the 16th ruler), his brother, Tengku Ahmad Tajuddin Mukarram Shah, succeeded him as the 17th ruler. The *MM*, however, records that the 17th ruler was Sultan Ata'u'Llah son, Tengku Muhammad Jiwa Zainal Adilin Muazzam Shah, who was the 18th ruler in the *PMZ*.

There certainly exists a confusion on the number of Kedah rulers. The *Al-Tarikh Salasilah Negeri Kedah*, written at the royal order of the Regent Tengku Ibrahim in 1926, while in agreement with the *PMZ* that Tengku Muhammad Jiwa did not immediately succeed his father, proposes another list of rulers. According to this list, there were two more rulers before Tengku Muhammad Jiwa ascended the Kedah throne. However, it may be wise for any scholar to be more mindful of historical facts in the *Al-Tarikh*. For

example, it records that the first ruler of Kedah to embrace Islamic faith was the 9th ruler, *Seri Paduka Maharaja Durba Raja*, while both the *MM* and the *PMZ* agree that it was the 7th. ruler, Phra Ong Mahawangsa, who was converted to Islam, taking the new reigning name of Sultan Muzafar Shah. Moreover, the *Al-Tarikh* only begins its list with Sultan Muzafar Shah as the first ruler, ignoring the preceding 8 (or 6) Buddhist rulers of Kedah (Hujungan III). In its determination to present a "respectable" history of Kedah, as well as to confirm the position of Tengku Pangeran, the direct ancestor of the ruling Sultan, the *Al-Tarikh* conveniently dismisses the reign of Sultan Dhiauddin (1798-1805) as a mere interval (Sultan sementara). He was not even accorded a place in the list of royal rulers of Kedah. The *Al-Tarikh* should not therefore be used, without caution, as a reliable source verifying information in the other two "Histories". The confusion inevitably continues.

It is possible that the compiler of the *MM* which ends with the reign of Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin I (Tengku Pangeran), simply misses one of the rulers. After all, the overlooked Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin Mukarram Shah had no direct line after him. It is harder to accept that the *PMZ* had invented him as certain details such as his after-death name, his apparently being childless, suggest that *the writer/compiler of PMZ* had other Malay sources at hand as his reference in compiling this official document. Since the "insertion" of his reign appears to have no negative bearing on the legitimacy of Sultan Muhammad Jiwa, there is no ulterior motive why the compiler would wish to "invent" this Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin Mukarram Shah.

By its individual contents, the *PMZ* and the *MM* appear to compliment each other. On the one hand, the *MM* offers in great detail the legend-cum-history of the ancient period of Kedah. It even claims that the descendants of the Royal House of Kedah were in fact the founders of the royal lines of Perak, Pattani, and Ayudhya. (Siti Hawa, 37-40). After a detailed account of the reign of Sultan Muzafar Shah, the *MM* runs through the subsequent 13 reigns in just half a page. On the other hand, the *PMZ* covers the whole ancient period in just about a page, and devotes the rest of its space to the subsequent history of Kedah up to 1898, with emphasis on the reign of Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin (II) Mukarram Shah onwards. Naturally, more attention is given to Siamese-Kedah relations. For Malay scholars, this should make interesting reading.

THE TEXT OF THE PHONGSAWAN MUANG ZAIBURI (THE CHRONICLE OF NEGERI KEDAH)

It is stated that the Kedah dynasty was founded by Phra Ong Maha Wangsa (i) who came from Rum.**¹. He it was who founded the old state which was named Kedah or Muang Zaiburi. "Kedah" is an Arabic word for a tray of flowers. The site of the old city was called Langkasuka; it was situated to the north of Kuala Muda. Phra Ong Maha Wangsa had a son named Phra Ong Maha Podisat (ii). Phra Ong Maha Podisat was elevated by his father, Phra Ong Maha Wangsa, to the position of ruler in his place. After this, Phra Ong Maha Wangsa returned to Rum. Phra Ong Maha Podisat had four children, three sons and one daughter. Only the name of the third son was recorded, Phra Sri Maha Wangsa.(iii) Phra Sri Maha Wangsa succeeded to the title of the ruler of Kedah². He set up the administrative centre at Serudum to the north of Kuala Muda³. In his turn, Phra Sri Maha Wangsa had a son named Phra Sri Maha Indera Wangsa (iv) who became the ruler of Kedah, residing at Kuala Muda. Phra Sri Maha Indera Wangsa had a son, Phra Ong Maha Yad Dahra (v). Phra Ong Maha Yad Dahra became the ruler of Kedah, residing at Kota Aur, Kuala Muda.⁴ He had a son named Phra Ong Maha Podisat (vi). Phra Ong Maha Podisat became the ruler of Kedah. He also resided at Kota Aur, Kuala Muda, Phra Ong Maha Podisat had a son named Phra Ong Maha Wangsa (vii). All the rulers of Kedah from the first to the sixth were followers of Buddhism. There are no tombs to be found.

The Kedah rulers from the Seventh onwards were Muslims. There are tombs for them which are referred to as *Barahum* (Al-marhum).

The Seventh Ruler, Phra Ong Maha Wangsa, after he became Ruler of Kedah, decided to embrace Islam and changed all customs to those of the Islamic faith. He changed his name to Sultan Muzafar Shah, and resided at the mouth of the River Muda. Sultan Muzafar Shah had three sons: Tengku Muazzam Shah, Tengku Muhammad Shah, and Tengku Sulaiman Shah.

The Eighth Ruler, Tengku Muazzam Shah, became Kedah ruler under the reigning name of Sultan Muazzam Shah. His younger brother, Tengku Muhammad Shah, became the Raja Muda with the jurisdiction over the New Kedah Canal area. Tengku Sulaiman Shah was appointed the *Orang Besar* (Phraya) of Pulau Langkawi, that is the Nangkawi Islands, directly answerable to Kedah⁵. Sultan Muazzam Shah had a son named Tengku Muhammad Shah.

The Ninth Ruler: Tengku Muhammad Shah became ruler of Kedah and assumed the reigning name of Sultan Muhammad Shah.

He resided at the New Kedah Canal area. Sultan Muhammad S. had a son named Tengku Mansur Shah.

The Tenth Ruler: Tengku Mansur Shah became ruler of Kedah⁶. He was called Sultan Mansur Shah, and resided at the New Kedah area. Sultan Mansur Shah had a son, Tengku Mahmud Shah.

The Eleventh Ruler: Tengku Mahmud Shah became ruler of Kedah. He resided at the New Kedah Canal area. Sultan Mahmud Shah had son, Tengku Sulaiman Shah.

The Twelveth Ruler: Tengku Sulaiman Shah became ruler of Kedah. He was called Sultan Sulaiman and resided at Seputih. Sultan Sulaiman Shah had a son named Tengku Raya Udin Muhammad Shah. During the reign of Sultan Sulaiman Shah, Kedah was attacked and occupied by the Aceh army. The Sultan of Aceh took Sultan Sulaiman Shah back with him to Aceh. Tengku Raya Udin Muhammad Shah, however, managed to escape. As for Sultan Sulaiman Shah, His Highness died in Aceh. He was then referred to as *Barahum* Seputih.

The Thirteenth Ruler: Tengku Raya Udin Muhammad Shah became ruler of Kedah with the reigning name of Sultan Raya Udin Muhammad Shah.⁷ He resided at Nahkor. Sultan Raya Udin Muhammad Shah had a son called Tengku Muhyiddin Mansur Shah. After his death, Sultan Raya Udin Muhammad Shah was referred to as *Barahum* Nahkor.

The Fourteenth Ruler: Tengku Muhyiddin Mansur Shah became ruler of Kedah with the reigning name of Sultan Muhyiddin Mansur Shah. He resided at Kampung Nasa in Perlis. Sultan Muhyiddin Mansur Shah had as son named Liyauddin (Dhiauddin) Mukarram Shah.

The Fifteenth Ruler: Tengku Dhiauddin Mukarram Shah became ruler of Kedah and was called Sultan Liya-Uddin Mukarram Shah. He resided at Kota Lama. Sultan Liya-Uddin Mukarram Shah had two sons named Tengku Ata-inla Muhammad Shah and Tengku Ahmad Tajuddin Mukarram Shah. After his death, Sultan Liya-Uddin Mukaram Shah was referred to as *Barahum* Kabahli⁸.

The Sixteenth Ruler: Tengku Ata-inla (Ata'u'Llah) Muhammad Shah became ruler of Kedah. He resided at Pulau Pinang, that is to say the Koh Mark Island. The Sultan had a son named Tengku Muhammad Jiwa. After his death, Sultan Ata-inla Muhammad Shah was referred to by the name of *Barahum* Pulau Pinang.⁹

The Seventeenth Ruler: Tengku Ahmad Tajuddin Mukarram Shah who was the younger brother of Sultan Ata-inla Muhammad Shah, became ruler of Kedah. He was called Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin

Mukarram Shah and resided at Pulau Libong or the Libong Island. It is not known whether he had a son. After his death, Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin Mukarram Shah was referred to by the name of *Barahum* Libong.¹⁰

The Eighteenth Ruler: Tengku Muhammad Jiwa, son of Sultan Ata-inla Muhammad Shah, became ruler of Kedah with the reigning name of Sultan Muhammad Jiwa Khainan-ahdilin Mukarram Shah [1723-1778]. He resided at Kayang in Perlis. Later he moved to Kota Setar. Sultan Muhammad Jiwa Khainan-ahdilan Mukarram Shah had two sons: Tengku Abdullah and Tengku Dhiauddin. After his death, His Highness was referred to by the name of *Barahum* Kayang.¹¹

The Nineteenth Ruler: Tengku Abdullah became ruler of Kedah and was called Sultan Abdullah Mukarram Shah [1778-1798]. He resided at Kota Setar at the mouth of the Kedah River. Tengku Dhiauddin, his younger brother, became the Raja Muda and resided at Perlis. Sultan Abdullah had ten sons. They were: Tengku Yahya (Yahra), Tengku Pangeran, Tengku Bisnu, Tengku Ibrahim (Pahem), Tengku Sulaiman, Tengku Soh, Tengku Daud, Tengku Mom, Tengku Ahmad, and Tengku Yusuf. After his death, Sultan Abdullah Mukarram Shah was referred to by the name of *Barahum* Bukit Pinang.¹²

The Twentieth Ruler: Tengku Dhiauddin Raja Muda became ruler of Kedah under the reigning name of Sultan Dhiauddin Mukarram Shah [1798-1805]. It appeared that he had no son. Sultan Dhiauddin Mukarram Shah was known after his death as *Barahum* Perlis.¹³

The Twenty-First Ruler: Tengku Pangeran, a son of Sultan Abdullah Mukarram (xix), became ruler of Kedah. His reigning name was Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin Halim Shah. [1805-1821; 1842-1845]. His Highness resided at the mouth of the Kedah River. Tengku Ibrahim was appointed Raja Muda, and Tengku Bisnu became the chief of Setul. Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin Halim Shah had three sons: Tengku Abdullah, Tengku Yakob, and Tengku Zainal Rashid who was called Tengku Daie by the Siamese. The Raja Muda fell ill and passed away at Kedah. Phraya Zaiburi, [i.e. the Sultan of Kedah] was promoted by the King to the rank of Chao Phraya Zaiburi.¹⁴

In the Year of the Snake, Panja Saka, J.S. 1195, in the reign of King Nang Klao Chao U Hua [1824-1851],¹⁵ Tengku Mom the younger brother of Chao Phraya Zaiburi, laid a charge (against the latter) to Chao Phraya Nakhon that Chao Phraya Zaiburi had sided with the Burmese. When Chao Phraya Zaiburi had heard of

this, he decided to raise his standard. When the time came for the sending of the *bunga mas dan perak* and the accompanying gifts to Siam, he declined to comply.¹⁶ His Majesty ordered an army composed of men from the southern region under the command of Chao Phraya Nakhon to attack and capture Muang Zaiburi. Chao Phraya Zaiburi was defeated and had to run away (eventually to Melaka). The King appointed Phraya Borirakbhubet, a son of Chao Phraya Nakhon Si Thammarat, Phraya Zaiburi (xxii).

Nai Nud, a royal page and also a son of Chao Phraya Nakhon, was appointed Phra Senanuchit, assistant Governor. A few years after, namely in the Year of the Monkey, Rattha Saka, J.S. 1198, Tengku Den, a son of Tengku Yahya, who was an elder brother of Chao Phraya Zaiburi Pangeran but of a different mother, incited the Kedah Malays to rise against Muang Zaiburi.¹⁷ The King sent the South Region Army into Kedah to assist Phraya Zaiburi against the Tengku Den uprising. Tengku Den lost his life in the ensuing battle. His troops ran away to Melaka. In the Year of the Dog, Samrit Saka, J.S. 1200, Tengku Muhammad Saad, a son of Tengku Daud who was a younger half-brother of Chao Phraya Zaiburi Pangeran, together with Wan Ali incited the Malays of Pulau Langkawi and the Kedah Malays to revolt. They were successful and were able to capture Muang Zaiburi temporarily.¹⁸ Phraya Zaiburi reported the matter to Nakhon who in turn informed Bangkok of the uprising.¹⁹ Chao Phraya Nakhon was ill and could not lead the Siamese army. It was then decided that Phra Wichit-sorakrai should lead the Nakhon and other southern towns troops and march to recapture Zaiburi, and assist Phraya Zaiburi and Phra Senanuchit in their struggle against the rebels. In the Year of the Pig, Ek Saka, J.S. 1201, His majesty the King appointed Chao Phraya Yommarat and Phraya Siphiphath as commanders of the Bangkok Army which was despatched to Songkhla.²⁰ At about this time the news arrived from Zaiburi that Tengku Muhammad Saad and Wan Ali had retreated from Zaiburi. Chao Phraya Yommarat and Phraya Siphiphath broke the journey at Songkhla to gather the latest information on the Zaiburi affairs. Later Chao Phraya Yommarat and Phraya Siphiphath sent some troops to Zaiburi to re-organise that principality. The two commanders agreed that it appeared unlikely that Phraya Zaiburi and Phra Senanuchit who were Thai-born officials would be capable of administering Muang Zaiburi. Zaiburi would always become a target of agitation and subversion conducted by the relatives of Chao Phraya Zaiburi (Pangeran). It was finally decided that Zaiburi be divided into 12 *mukim*. The Kubang Pasu area was given to Tengku Hassan (to

rule as a tributary of Siam). Syed Hussain was appointed the new ruler of Perlis, and Tengku Muhammad Akib became the ruler Setul. Zaiburi together with the (three) new tributaries came under the supervision of Nakhon Si Thammarat. Tengku Anum who commanded the respect and affection of the Malay subjects became the new ruler of (the truncated) Zaiburi.²¹

Chao Phraya Yommarat and Phraya Siphiphat brought back with them Phraya Zaiburi and Phra Senanuchit to Bangkok for an audience with the King. His Majesty graciously appointed Phraya Zaiburi Phraya Borirakphuthon, the Governor of Pung-nga. Phra Senanuchit was appointed the assistant Governor, retaining his rank and honorific name.

When Phra Yotphakdi, Governor of Muang Takuapa passed away, His Majesty graciously promoted Phra Senanuchit to the rank of Phraya Senanuchit, the new governor of Muang Takuapa.

In the Year of the Bull, Tri Saka, J.S. 1203,²² Chao Phraya Zaiburi Pangeran deputised Tengku Daie, his son, and Tengku Muhammad Akib, his nephew, as his representatives carrying his letters admitting wrong-doings, one to Muang Nakhon, and another to Muang Songkhla. In the letters Chao Phraya Zaiburi confessed that he had been guilty [of wrong-doings against Siam] and now begged leave to return to Zaiburi together with his family and relatives to serve His Majesty the King as formerly. Chao Phraya Nakhon and Phraya Songkhla informed Bangkok of the request and forwarded Chao Phraya Zaiburi's letters to the Court. Zaiburi's letters to the Court.

When the request was brought forth to His Majesty, the King commanded that Chao Phraya Nakhon and Phraya Songkhla gave a reply to be delivered by Tengku Daie and Tengku Muhammad Akib to Chao Phraya Zaiburi. The reply should state that Chao Phraya Zaiburi's letters admitting wrong-doings had been forwarded to Bangkok, and after the discussion conducted by the *senabodi*,²³ it was decided that since Chao Phraya Zaiburi had committed wrong-doings against Siam, and though his was now ashamed of his past doings and had sent letters asking for forgiveness, he had not sent a proper delegation consisted of his kinsmen to beg for the royal pardon, it was not therefore proper to bring up the matter to the royal attention of His Majesty the King. After this, Chao Phraya Zaiburi sent an emissary led by Tengku Daie and Tengku (Muhammad) Akib together with 13 other officials, travelling in a steamer from Singapore to Bangkok. The emissary bore the [ex-Sultan's] letter to the King asking for the royal pardon. His Majesty graciously agreed in his despatch back to Chao Phraya Zaiburi to

grant a royal pardon and allow Chao Phraya Zaiburi and his family to return to Zaiburi.

After Chao Phraya Zaiburi and his family had arrived at Zaiburi, His Majesty the King sent a royal instruction sealed with the *Kotchasi* seal to Chao Phraya Zaiburi.²⁴ The instruction contained the royal pardon to Chao Phraya Zaiburi and all his kinsmen, the return of Muang Zaiburi to Chao Phraya Zaiburi, the appointments of Tengku Abdullah to the Raja Mudaship, and of Tengku Daie to the position of Phra Inderawichai. When Phraya Kubang Pasu passed away; Bangkok appointed Tengku Anum who had administered Zaiburi [before the return of Chao Phraya Zaiburi], Phraya Kubang Pasu, and Tengku Muhammad, a son of Phraya Kubang Pasu, Phra Wisetwangsa, assistant to the new governor.²⁵ Two years later, Chao Phraya Zaiburi and the Raja Muda passed away. The Zaiburi ruling family and the State Council referred to Chao Phraya Zaiburi Pangeran after his death by the name *Barahum* Alor Setar.

In the Year of the Dragon, Chah Saka, J.S. 1206, Chao Phraya Nakhon brought Tengku Daie Phra Inderawichai to Bangkok for an audience with the King.²⁶ His Majesty then appointed Phra Inderawichai the new Phraya Zaiburi (xxiv), [1844-1854/5].

His Majesty also bestowed upon Phraya Zaiburi the regalia of insignia and a gold tray, denoting his rank. His Majesty appointed Tengku Said, son of Tengku Yakob, Raja Muda and presented him with the golden insignia²⁷. Tengku Ibrahim, son of Phraya Aphainurat was appointed Phra Inderawichai. He was likewise presented with the proper golden insignia.²⁸ Phraya Zaiburi Daie had four sons: Tengku Ahmad, Tengku Den, Tengku Yakob, and Tengku Yusuf. In the Year of the Rabbit, Sappata Saka, J.S. 1217, in the reign of King Chom Klao Chao U Hua, Phraya Zaiburi Daie passed away.²⁹ His family and the State Council referred to Phraya Zaiburi Daie after his death by the name of *Barahum* Zainal Rashid.

In the reign of King Chom Klao Chao U Hua, J.S. 1217, the Year of the Rabbit, Sappata Saka, Chao Phraya Nakhon brought Tengku Ahmad and Tengku Den to Bangkok to be presented to His Majesty the King. His Majesty graciously appointed Tengku Ahmad Phraya Zaiburi (xxv).³⁰ [1854/5-1879].

His Majesty graciously bestowed (upon Tengku Ahmad) the appropriate regalia of insignia and a gold tray. The King also appointed Tengku Den Phra Kedaisawarin, assistant to Phraya Zaiburi. He was given the gold tray befitting his rank.³¹ In the Year of the Horse, Samrit Saka, Phraya Zaiburi presented Tengku Yakob to the Siamese Court.³² His Majesty the King graciously

bestowed upon Tengku Yakob the title of Phra Cholasinsongkhamchai, assistant to Phraya Zaiburi. He was likewise decorated with the proper golden insignia.

In the Year of the Goat, Ek Saka, Phraya Kubang Pasu passed away.³³ Phraya Zaiburi requested a royal audience at Bangkok. He humbly submitted to His Majesty the King his request for the return of Kubang Pasu to be incorporated into Zaiburi proper as formerly. His Majesty gave consent to the return of Kubang Pasu to Phraya Zaiburi. The weight of the Zaiburi *bunga mas dan perak* was also increased accordingly. Phraya Zaiburi himself always travelled to and presented himself at the Siamese Court in Bangkok, adopting the practice which was common among Thai governors of the *huamuang*. Sometimes he came by a steamer from Singapore, and other times he came through the land route from Zaiburi to Songkhla and caught a steamer there to Bangkok. His Majesty the King granted him the privileges of a Thai nobility who was allowed to present himself at Court whenever Phraya Zaiburi had succeeded in establishing a close and intimate relationship with His Majesty.

In the Year of the Dog, Jattawa Saka, J.S. 1224, His Majesty King Chom Klao Chao U Hua discussed with the *senabodi* about a plan to construct a highway between Muang Songkhla and Muang Zaiburi in order to facilitate commercial activities between the two peoples, and to strengthen the official ties between Siam and Zaiburi.³⁴ The King commanded that requests for some assisting labour from Malay subjects in Zaiburi, Perlis, and Setul be made for this project. It was decided that Phraya Zaiburi be charged with the construction of the road from Zaiburi to the boundary of Muang Songkhla. For the expense incurred by this task, Phraya Zaiburi was granted the birds' nest tax from Muang Setul for a period of three years. This would provide him with a grant of altogether \$15,000. Muang Songkhla would employ the *phrai* labour of the town [to undertake the constructed under its responsibility]. Songkhla was exempted from sending the *suai* to Bangkok for a period of three years, starting with the Year of the Dog, Jattawa Saka. Other Malay tributaries which were under the supervision of Songkhla, were asked to provide labour for the construction of the road from their land to the boundary of Muang Zaiburi. They were also asked to build a bridge joining the two boundaries together so that the common people and traders could easily make use of the new route.

On Saturday of the 5th. waxing moon, the second month in the Year of the Goat, Tri Saka J.S. 1233, in the Fifth reign,

His Majesty the King made a sea journey by the royal steamer, "Bangkok".³⁵ The two warships, "the Siamuprasadam" and "the Phitthayamronnayuth" accompanied the royal steamer. His Majesty the King made a trip to Singapore, Penang, Rangoon, Calcutta, and many other towns in India. On his home-returning voyage, His Majesty visited Pung-nga, Phuket, and sojourned at the mouth of the Kedah River. Phraya Zaiburi invited His Majesty to visit Muang Zaiburi. Together with his family, Phraya Zaiburi entertained the King and his entourage during the one night that His Majesty stayed in Zaiburi. On the following day, His Majesty travelled through the new highway by a horse-carriage, followed by a procession of horse-carts, elephants, and etc. (which were arranged by the Kalahom) from Muang Songkhla, Zaiburi, Perlis, and Setul for the purpose of welcoming and sending-off the royal party. His Majesty also stopped at the royal sala for rest on his way to catch the royal steamer, the "Rising Sun" at Muang Songkhla. Phraya Zaiburi, his mother, and the Kedah family together with the State Council, travelled with the royal party to Songkhla before bidding His Majesty a safe journey home. His Majesty reached Bangkok on Saturday of the 7th waxing moon, the 5th month in the Year of the Dog, which was still Tri Saka.

In the Year of the Dog, Jattawa Saka, J.S. 1234, His Majesty the King commanded that a despatch be sent to Phraya Zaiburi, requiring him to present himself at the Bangkok Court.³⁶ The Zaiburi party on this occasion included Phraya Zaiburi, his mother Wan Maheran, his sister Tengku Poh, Tengku Ismail, and other officials, all together 40 people. The party from Perlis consisted of Syed Nud, a son of Phraya Perlis and a son-in-law of Phraya Zaiburi, Tengku Abdullah, and 45 other officials.

On Friday of the 10th, waxing moon, the 10th month in the Year of the Dog, Jattawa Saka, His Majesty the King granted the royal audience to the Malay dignitaries at the Ammarintharawinitchai Hall. His Majesty graciously conferred the title of Chao Phraya Zaiburi on Phraya Zaiburi, and removed Muang Zaiburi from the jurisdiction of Nakhon, making it [Zaiburi] answerable directly to Bangkok.³⁷

The royal decree announcing the elevation of Chao Phraya Zaiburi stated:

Blessed is the Era of Buddhism which has continued for the past 2414 years. The present time is the Year of the Monkey. At the most auspicious time, His Majesty King Chulalongkorn Bodin-thepaya Maha Mongkut Purusayaratantaratcharawiwong Warutamaphongboriphat Worakhatiyaratchanikrodom Jaturantaborom-mahachakraphatratchasangkat Borom Thammikmaharajathirat

Boromnarthbophit Phra Chulachomklao Chao U Hua opines that Phraya Zaiburi has been well-appreciated for his loyalty and intimacy with King Chom Klao Chao U Hua, His Majesty's royal father. He has regularly presented himself at the Court throughout the reign of King Chom Klao. During the present reign, (for example) when His Majesty King Maha-Chulalongkorn Phra Chulachomklao Chao U Hua visited Muang Penang, Phraya Zaiburi took trouble to arrange for the royal accommodation, and gladly welcomed and took care of His Majesty and his royal party without anything being amiss. The reception was done with great pomp and decorum befitting the great honour of His Majesty. Again when His Majesty the King returned from the tour of Calcutta, and stopped over at Muang Zaiburi, Phraya Zaiburi with complete expression of loyalty, welcomed and entertained His Majesty and the royal party throughout their stay. Moreover, he even accompanied the royal party as far as Muang Songkhla before he bade His Majesty farewell.

Another point to be taken into consideration occurs when His Majesty saw how well Phraya Zaiburi has developed and improved the general condition of the State. There are now more than ever brick-buildings and other commercial establishments which vouch for the prosperity and happiness [of Kedah]. Also it is Phraya Zaiburi who has persuaded and urged other Phraya and state councils of the neighbouring tributaries together with Malay subjects to join effort in constructing the new highway from Muang Zaiburi to the boundary of Muang Songkhla. This has been done with efficiency and without delay. Presently, the road serves as a route for traders and common people who can communicate with one another with much ease. This is one example of Phraya Zaiburi's good service to the Kingdom. Phraya Zaiburi is more loyal and closer to Bangkok than any other rulers of Siamese Malay tributaries. This is also another example of his good service. It is therefore proper that he should be elevated to a higher status of ruler of a major Phrathetsarat of Siam.

Accordingly, His Majesty the King commands that Phraya Zaiburi be elevated to the rank of Chao Phraya with higher insignia befitting his new rank. His Majesty bestows upon him the honorific title of Chao Phraya Ritsongkhrampakdi Sri Sultan Muhammad Ratanaratchamunin Surindrarawiwangsa Phadungtanubamrung Kedah Nakhon Amornratanakhet Phrathetsarat-rajai-sawariya Thibodi Wikromsiha Chao Phraya Zaiburi. He is also given the high insignia of Mahasuraphon, which is a denotation of the great honour shown by Bangkok. His Majesty the King commands that [Zaiburi] be removed from the jurisdiction of Muang Nakhon Si Thammarat and be directly answerable to Bangkok. [Chao Phraya Zaiburi] is empowered with absolute authority over his own people and the State Council. He is empowered to govern all the territories belonging to Muang Zaiburi with fairness and in accordance with the interests of the State. He should avoid what is not beneficial to Zaiburi and should conduct himself in a manner befitting his position. He must maintain good and sincere relationship with Bangkok as has been done during the rule of good *Chao Muang* before him.

It is hereby ordered that all members of the Kedah ruling family and members of the State Council be united in assisting Chao Phraya Zaiburi in the administration of the State for the well-being and prosperity of the Malay subjects and the State of Zaiburi. Let them obey all the commands and instructions [of Chao Phraya Zaiburi] which are fair and just.

May the Universal Power Premier which is the source of all beings protect and assist Chao Phraya Zaiburi, the Zaiburi family, and all the State Councillors in all things, and keep them in safety and prosperity. The date of the royal bestow-

ing of the new rank and honorific title is Friday of the 10th. waning moon, the 10th. month in the Year of the Monkey, Jattawa Saka, which corresponds to the fourth reigning year of His Majesty King Maha Chulalongkorn Phra Chulachomklao Chao U Hua, J.S. 1234, on the 1406th. day of the Present reign.³⁸

This done, His Majesty the King honoured Chao Phraya Zaiburi with the Mahasuraphon insignia. (At the same occasion) His Majesty the King bestowed the royal credentials to Syed Nud, a son of Phraya Perlis, and the honorific title of Phra Surintarawangsa, assistant to the governor of Perlis.³⁹ Wan Maheran and Tengku Poh had an audience with Her Majesty Phra Nang in the inner Palace of Phra Borom Maha Ratchawang. Her Majesty graciously presented Wan Maheran with the gold tray.

On Friday of the 2nd waxing moon, the 11th month in the Year of the Dog, Jattawa Saka, Chao Phraya Zaiburi, Phra Surintarawangsa took leave of Majesty at the Amarintarawinitchai Throne Hall to return to Muang Zaiburi. Wan Maheran and Tengku Poh begged leave of Her Majesty Phra Nang in the inner Palace. His Majesty the King ordered that Phraya Ratchawangsan, who was in charge of the Cham Militia Unit, in his capacity of the royal commissioner, accompanied [the Malays dignatories] on the "Phittayamronnayuth", a Siamese warship, which took Chao Phraya Zaiburi back to Zaiburi. This was a great honour exhibited by the King to Chao Phraya Zaiburi. Phraya Ratchawangsan was also commanded to bear the insignia which His Majesty had graciously bestowed upon Phraya Setul, Phraya Perlis, and Phra Kedaisawarin, to the respective recipients. Phraya Setul and Phraya Perlis were given the Niphaphon insignia as an appreciation for their service to the Kingdom. Phra Kedaisawarin was presented with the Mantanaphon insignia, also as a mark of appreciation for his good service. The "Phittayamronnayuth" left Bangkok on Friday of the 9th waxing moon, the 11th month in the Year of the Monkey, Jattawa Saka.

In the Year of the Dog, Chah Saka, J.S. 1236,⁴⁰ Phra Sunthonraja, an assistant to the Governor of Perlis, reported to Muang Nakhon Si Thammarat which transmitted the matter to Bangkok, that Phraya Perlis passed away of old age on Wednesday of the 3rd waxing moon, the 12th month in the Year of the Dog, Chah Saka. Phra Sunthonraja and the Perlis family together with the State Council had buried Phraya Perlis in accordance with Malay custom. His Majesty the King caused a despatch to be sent to Muang Nakhon Si Thammarat, instructing Nakhon to authorise Phra Sunthonraja, the eldest son of Phraya Perlis, as acting governor administering the State, the Family, and the State Council. Phraya

Perlis had four sons: Phra Sunthonraja, Phra Surintarawangsa, Syed Harun, and Syed Mustapha.

In the Year of the Rat, Attha Saka, there occurred a conflict and struggle within the Perak ruling class.⁴¹ This led to a military intervention by the British authorities. [Eventually] the Malay troops shot dead Mr. Birch, the British Resident. The Malay ruling clique could not however withstand the military power of the British, and had to flee to the jungle for safety. Raja Ismail and (Maharaja) Lela together with their followers hid themselves at a *kampung* on the side of Perak boundary which was very near to the district of Yarom, Raman. The English troops however failed to track them down. His Majesty the King caused a royal decree to be sent to all Siamese Malay *prathetsarat* along the (Perak) border, forbidding all Malay tributary raja to get involved in the Perak affairs. He then appointed Phra Narathirat-phakdi of the Kalahom Department, as commissioner to the Siamese Malay tributaries, whose duty was to observe the situation within the concerned Siamese Malay tributaries. The British authorities at Singapore requested Chao Phraya Zaiburi to help persuading and negotiating with Raja Ismail and his men to surrender to the Governor. Chao Phraya Zaiburi sent some officials to negotiate with Raja Ismail and his followers, who finally agreed to surrender to the British authorities.⁴²

In the Year of the Rat, Attha Saka, J.S.1238, when it was the time that the Malay *prathetsarat* presented the *bunga mas dan perak* and the accompanying gifts, Phra Sunthonraja, the Acting Governor of Perlis, his brothers Syed Harun and Syed Mustapha, came to Nakhon together with the Perlis *bunga mas dan perak* mission, and the insignia of the late Phraya Perlis.⁴³ Phraya Nakhon Si Thammarat sent a despatch to Bangkok to lay the matter before the King. His Majesty opined that Phra Sunthonraja had proved himself efficient in administering Perlis, and should be elevated to a higher rank. Phra Sunthonraja was then graciously promoted to the rank of Phraya Wisetsongkhram-ramwichit Wilitsamara Phraya Perlis. He was presented with a letter of credentials, and the accompanying golden insignia. Syed Harun was appointed Phra Sakda-dulyarit, Assistant to the Governor of Perlis.

As for Setul, Phraya Setul sent a despatch informing the authorities that his eldest son, Phra Paksawasawaranin who was also his assistant, would head the Setul *bunga mas dan perak* mission to Nakhon. Nakhon in turn sent a despatch to Bangkok to inform the Court of the matter. Phraya Setul wrote that he had become old and his sight was failing. It was difficult for him to administer Setul (in his present condition), and begged His Majesty

kindness to appoint Phra Paksawasawaranin as the new ruler of the state. His Majesty the King decided that it was proper to grant Phraya Setul his request since, throughout Phraya Setul's administration of Setul, that state had been well-governed. His Majesty therefore graciously appointed Phra Paksawasawaranin Phraya Aphainurat-chatirajaphakdi Sri Inderawiyayah Phraya Setul. It was then arranged that the insignia of the old Phraya Setul be presented to the new Phraya Setul. The King also elevated the honorific title of the old Phraya Setul. He was bestowed the new title of Phraya Samantaraturinmahintarathirajanuwat Srisakonrathamaha Pathanathikan Phisansunthonjarit Siamphichitphakdi the Superintendent-Governor of Muang Setul. His Majesty the King also presented him with a new set of insignia, consisted of the gold tray and letter of credentials. The new Phraya Setul was ordered to present them to the old Phraya at Muang Setul.

On Sunday of the 13th waxing moon, the 14th month in the Year of the Rat, Attha Saka, J.S. 1238, the Chinese in Muang Phuket staged a riot, killing the people and burning down temples, office-buildings, and homes. They managed to cause a great deal of harvoo and destruction.⁴⁴

Jamuen Samoer-chairat, the Acting Governor of Phuket, sent a despatch to Muang Zaiburi, Perlis, and Setul asking them to send in some troops to assist suppressing the riot in Phuket. Chao Phraya Zaiburi appointed Tengku Ismail, Tengku Musa, Wan Awang, Wan Ayah, and Wan Aman officers leading a regiment of 335 strong, while Wan Muhammad Ajid and Syed Muhammad were appointed officers in charge another regiment of 220 strong. Phra Cholasin-songkhramchai was appointed commander of a regiment of 500 men. All were sent to Phuket.⁴⁵ Phraya Perlis appointed his kinsmen, Syed Hamid and Syed Muhammad to lead a regiment of 400 men. Phraya Setul appointed Tengku Hamid and Tengku Muhammad commanding officers of a regiment of 260 men. These men were quickly sent to Phuket as requested. Chao Phraya Zaiburi himself travelled to Phuket to confer with the Governor of the town on measures to overcome the situation. The contributions of Chao Phraya Zaiburi, Phraya Perlis, Phraya Setul, the officers, and the rank and file (who were involved in the suppression of the Chinese riot) were duly appreciated.

His Majesty the King commanded that a set of awards — a gun, a set of clothes, and a sum of money — be carried by Phra Amornwisaisorade, the commander of the Artillery Unit, and be presented by him in his capacity of the royal representative, to Chao Phraya Zaiburi. The gun came with a case and a set of bullets, and

the sum of money was 50 chang.⁴⁶ Phra Cholasinsongkhramchai was decorated with the Siam White Elephant insignia of the third order, the Niphaphon; Tengku Ismail and Tengku Musa with the Siam Crown insignia of the 5th order, the Wichitraphon, Wan Ayah, Wan Aman, Wan Muhammad Ajid, Syed Muhammad, and Wan Awang all were presented with an Attalat jacket. Phraya Wisetsongkhram was decorated with the Siam White Elephant insignia of the 4th order, the Phusanophon; Syed Hamid, and Syed Muhammad with the 5th order, the Wichitraphon. Phraya Aphainurat Phraya Setul was honoured with the Siam White Elephant insignia of the 4th order, the Phusanophon; Tengku Hamid and Tengku Muhammad received the 5th order, the Wichitraphon. All were accorded proper recognition from the King in accordance with their contributions.

In the Year of the Tiger, Samrit Saka, J.S. 1240⁴⁷, Chao Phraya Zaiburi sent Phra Cholasinsongkhramchai to Bangkok with his letter informing [Bangkok] that on Thursday of the Zulhijjah, A.H. 1293, corresponding to Wednesday of the 13th waxing moon, the 1st month in the Year of the Rat, Attha Saka, the Raja Muda of Zaiburi passed away of an illness.⁴⁸ Chao Phraya Zaiburi begged His Majesty's kindness to appoint Phra Cholasinsongkhramchai the Raja Muda so that he [Phra Cholasin] could serve the State in return for His Majesty's kindness and gracious consideration.

On Monday of the 13th waning moon, the 2nd month in the Year of the Tiger, Samrit Saka, His Majesty graciously conferred the title of Phra Seninarongrit Raja Muda Muang Zaiburi on Phra Cholasin-songkhramchai. The conferment was accompanied by the presentation of the golden insignia.

In the Year of the Rabbit, Ek Saka, J.S. 1241⁴⁹ Chao Phraya Zaiburi sent a despatch reporting that on Friday of the 3rd waxing moon, the 7th month in the Year of Rabbit, Ek Saka, Wan Maheran, Chao Phraya Zaiburi's mother, died of diarrhoeas. His Majesty the King ordered Luang Kocha-Ishak to deliver the *salueng* coins to the amount of five *chang* to Chao Phraya Zaiburi as a royal contribution to the alms-giving at the burials ceremony of Wan Maheran.

In the Year of the Rabbit, Ek Saka, Phra Kedaisawarin, Phra Seninarongrit Raja Muda, Phra Kaset-Zaisatholburin of Zaiburi reported to Bangkok that Chao Phraya Zaiburi, who had been ill for a while, had passed away on Sunday of the 4th waxing moon, the 8th month in the Year of the Rabbit, Ek Saka.

His Majesty the King ordered Phraya Montri-suriyawong, the Governor of Muang Trang, to return to Trang and make an of-

ficial trip to Zaiburi as speedily as possible, so that he could be in a position to forestall any family squabbles in Zaiburi. He was also instructed to try to counsel for a family compromise and to prevent the breaking-up of Chao Phraya Zaiburi's family. His Majesty commanded that Phra Kedaisawarin, Phra Seninarongrit Raja Muda, and Phra Kaset-Zaisatholburin discussed and took counsel of the family members in order to arrive at a solution as to who should succeed Chao Phraya Zaiburi.⁵⁰

Phraya Montri-suriyawong, the royal commissioner, sent in a despatch with Luang Kocha-Ishak. He stated that the condition in Zaiburi was calm and normal. Phraya Setul, Phraya Perlis, Phra Inderawichai, Phra Kedaisawarin, Phra Seninarongrit, Phra Kaset-Zaisatholburin, and Tengku Akib all had agreed and fixed their seal to the decision. Chao Phraya Zaiburi had two grown-up sons, Tengku Zainal Rashid who was 22 years old, and Tengku Hamid who was 16 years old. As an elder brother, Tengku Zainal Rashid should first succeed and serve in the royal service of His Majesty in place of Chao Phraya Zaiburi. Tengku Hamid, who was younger, should serve in a junior position. Phra Kedaisawarin, Phra Seninarongrit Raja Muda begged His Majesty's permission to present Tengku Zainal Rashid and Tengku Hamid to the Court. Phraya Montri-suriyawong, the Commissioner, was of an opinion that it was proper to forward the request to Bangkok.

His Majesty commanded that Phra Amornwisaisoradej who was in command of the Artillery Unit, in his capacity of the Superintendent-Commissioner of the Western seaboard, presented the *salueng* coins to the amount of 10 *chang* to Phra Kedaisawarin, Phra Seninarongrit Raja Muda, and Phra Kaset-Zaisatholburin, as His Majesty's alms-giving contribution at the burials ceremony of Chao Phraya Zaiburi. His Majesty also instructed that Luang Laksana, the Commander of the Cham Militia Unit, went to Zaiburi on the "Murathawasithisawat" to bring back Phra Kedaisawarin, Phra Seninarongrit Raja Muda, Tengku Zainal Rashid, Tengku Hamid, and Wan Ali, a member of the State Council in charge of the Kedah *bunga mas dan perak* mission from Songkhla to Bangkok. Phra Kaset-Zaisatholburin was instructed to stay behind to look after the administration of Zaiburi. The "Murathawasithisawat" brought back Phra Kedaisawarin, Phra Seninarongrit Raja Muda, Tengku Zainal Rashid, Tengku Hamid, Tengku Kassim the full younger brother of Tengku Zainal Rashid, the Zaiburi *bunga mas dan perak* mission to Bangkok on Tuesday of the 10th waxing moon, the 10th month in the Year of the Rabbit, Ek Saka.

On Monday of the 12th. waning moon, the 12th month in the Year of the Rabbit, Ek Saka, which was the day His Majesty paid respect to the statues of the Chakri Kings in the Suthaisawan Hall, His Majesty granted an audience to those recipients of the Chulachomklao order at the Anantasamakom Hall. On this occasion, His Majesty graciously granted an audience to the Zaiburi dignatories, and conferred on them new credentials and honours.

Phra Kedaisawarin was conferred the title of Phraya Yuthakankoson Phaholphayuharak-akkhaworadet Phisetsitthiramban Borihanboromnarth-ratchayothon, the Superintendent Governor of Muang Zaiburi. He was also presented with the gold tray befitting his honour.⁵¹

Phra Seninarongrit Raja Muda was conferred the title of Phraya Suraphonphiphit Sanprasithikitphijan Prichayanyutithamphitak-akkramontri, the Superintendent Governor of Muang Zaiburi. He was presented with the gold tray befitting his honour.⁵²

Tengku Zainal Rashid was appointed Phraya Ritsongkhramramphakdi Sri Sultan Muhammad Ratchamunin Surintarawangsa Phraya Zaiburi (xxvi). He was given the gold tray.⁵³

Tengku Hamid was appointed Phra Seninarongrit Raja Muda and was presented with the golden insignia.⁵⁴

Tengku Kassim was appointed Phra Cholasin-songkhramchai, assistant to the Governor (of Zaiburi). He was given the golden insignia.⁵⁵

On Sunday of the 2nd waxing moon, the 2nd month in the Year of the Rabbit, Ek Saka, the Zaiburi, Perlis, and Setul dignatories took leave of His Majesty the King at the Amarintarawinitchai Hall. His Majesty graciously provided the warship, the "Phitthayamronayuth" to take them back to Muang Zaiburi.

In the Year of the Snake, Tri Saka, J.S. 1243,⁵⁶ Phraya Zaiburi Zainal Rashid [1879-1881] fell ill and died. Phra Seninarongrit (Tengku Hamid) Raja Muda came to Bangkok to present himself to His Majesty. The King was of an opinion that Phra Seninarongrit Raja Muda, who had reached his 19th year of age, and who had been accepted by Chao Phraya Zaiburi's family as his eldest son, should succeed as the ruler of Muang Zaiburi. It was His Majesty's hope that his succession would assure that the name of Chao Phraya Zaiburi's family would long remain in time to come.

On Thursday of the 13th waxing moon, the 4th month in the Year of the Snake, Tri Saka, J.S. 1243, His Majesty the King conducted the affairs of state at the Amarintarawinitchai Hall. It was fully attended by the Royal Family members and the civil and

military dignatories. His Majesty then graciously conferred to Phra Seninarongrit Raja Muda the title of Phraya Ritsongkhram-ramphakdi Sri Sultan Muhammad Ratanaratchamunin Surintarawangsa Phraya Zaiburi (xxvii) [1881-1943].

He was given the gold tray and other insignia befitting his rank. Phraya Zaiburi was entrusted with the administration of the state and the welfare of the Zaiburi family, the State Council, and the people.

As to the position of Superintendents Governor of Zaiburi which had been created early on, it was abolished at His Majesty's royal command. His Majesty the King handed the administration of Zaiburi to Phraya Ritsongkhram-ramphakdi Phraya Zaiburi who alone was empowered with the authority to govern the state.

In the Year of the Rooster, Sappata Saka, J.S. 1247,⁵⁷ Phraya Ritsongkhram-ramphakdi Phraya Zaiburi appointed his younger brother, Tengku Abdul Aziz and another three State Councillors to head the *Zaiburi bunga mas dan perak* mission to Bangkok. He also sent a letter dated Jumaat of Zulhijjah A.H. 1302, correspondent to Friday of the 10th waxing moon, the 10th month in the Year of the Rooster, Sappata Saka. In the letter, Phraya Zaiburi laid the matter to His Majesty. Since there was no one holding the position of Phra Seninarongrit Raja Muda at that time, it had been agreed among the State Council that Tengku Abdul Aziz, the younger brother of Phraya Ritsongkhram-ramphakdi Phraya Zaiburi who had reached a proper age, possessed the intelligence and ability suitable for the position of the Raja Muda. Phraya Ritsongkhram-ramphakdi Phraya Zaiburi humbly requested His Majesty to appoint Tengku Abdul Aziz Phra Seninarongrit Raja Muda of Muang Zaiburi, so that the latter could become an assistant of Phraya Ritsongkhram-ramphakdi Phraya Zaiburi in his endeavours to serve His Majesty [in the administration of Zaiburi]. His Majesty the King consent to appoint Tengku Abdul Aziz Phra Seninarongrit Raja Muda of Zaiburi. His Majesty also conferred on him the appropriate golden insignia.

On 21 August, R.S. 114, Phraya Ritsongkhram-ramphakdi Phraya Zaiburi together with the members of the State Council came to Bangkok to present themselves to the Court.⁵⁸ His Majesty the King considered that Phraya Zaiburi had served His Majesty well in his capacity of the governor of Zaiburi. His good service deserved to be rewarded. His Majesty decided to confer upon him the rank of Chao Phraya.

On 29 August, R.S. 114, His Majesty commanded the gathering of all recipients of the Chulachomklao order and the officials

involved in the arranging of the ceremony of the investiture of rank of *Chao Phraya* and of the royal presentation of the Pathom Chulachomklao insignia to Phraya Zaiburi. The Palace officials in charge arranged the east wing of the Chakri Maha Prasat Hall for the occasion. Within the Hall, the royal throne was set facing the east; the space in front of the main pillars facing the throne was reserved for the Palace Ministry officials; on the left was the place for the Palace police. The space directly facing the royal throne was reserved for the royal members. Further away was the space for all the military and civil officials. On both sides of the throne from the first pillar were rooms reserved for the recipients of the Chulachomklao order and officials of the Murathathon [Protocal and Ceremonies] Ministry. At the back of the throne were the Royal Guards, the Royal Pages, and the Royal musicians. There was a military parade in front of the Chakri Maha Prasat Hall.

At about 17 o'clock, His Majesty the King sat on the Royal Throne, and the royal band signalled the tune while the military orchestra played the Royal Anthem and saluted His Majesty. At the music end, His Royal Highness Prince Damrong-rajapubhab, Minister of Interior, together with the accompanying officials from the Ministry of Palace Affairs, and Phraya Montri-suriyawong who acted as an interpreter ushered in Phraya Ritsongkhram-ramphakdi Phraya Zaiburi. Luang Prasitthi-aksonsat, from the Murathathon Ministry, read out the royal decree. After the announcement, His Majesty graciously presented Phraya Ritsongkhram-ramphakdi with the gold-plated credentials of the *chao phraya* rank, the detailed contents of which would be expounded below. His Majesty also stated that on the occasion of the conferment of the rank of *chao phraya* to Phraya Zaiburi, His Majesty considered it appropriate to make him member of the Chulachomklao order as well. Then His Majesty congratulated Chao Phraya Zaiburi and offered him advices and instructions.

The credentials contained the announcement of Phraya Zaiburi's appointment to the rank of *chao phraya*. It runs as follow:

Blessed is the Buddhist Era which has continued for the past 2438 years, at present, following the lunar calculation and the solar system, it is the 114th year of the Ratanakosin Era. His Majesty King Maha Chulalongkorn etc. Phra Chulachomklao Chao U Hua considers that Phraya Ritsongkhram-ramphakdi Sri Sultan Muhammad Ratanaratchamunin Surintarawangsa Phraya Zaiburi is a person well-known to His Majesty feels only kind sentiments since (he) was of a tender age. This is because Phraya Zaiburi possesses a character, temperament, and intelligence very much resembling to that of Chao Phraya Zaiburi, his father. It is His Majesty's hope that with Phraya Zaiburi's appointment as the Governor of Zaiburi, Phraya Zaiburi will administer the state for the good and happiness

of the people, and for the progress and prosperity of the State, as had been done by Chao Phraya Zaiburi before him.

Since his elevation to rule Zaiburi on behalf of His Majesty the King, 15 years have passed, Phraya Zaiburi has shown his ability to administer the State for the progress and prosperity of Zaiburi as expected.

Furthermore, Phraya Zaiburi has exhibited his loyalty to His Majesty the King always without a blemish. He also comes up to Bangkok regularly to present himself at the Court.

Also when His Majesty made a tour of the Western Seaboard towns which included the royal visit of Muang Zaiburi, Phraya Zaiburi had done his very best to welcome His Majesty to the satisfaction and enjoyment of all the royal party. He had never considered any task too tiresome in showing his hospitality to the Royal Visitor.

All official affairs concerning the internal and external problems of Zaiburi have received Phraya Zaiburi's proper attention. He always tries to solve them with the sense of honesty, justice, and generosity. This endears him to his people and officials. His Majesty the King realising all his virtue, decides that all the good services performed by Phraya Zaiburi earn him an elevation of his honorific rank, so that he may pose as a model to other *prathetsaraj*, and bring happiness and pride to his people throughout Zaiburi.

Thus His Majesty commands with the *surasinghanarth* the elevation of Phraya Ritsongkhram-ramphakdi Sri Sultan Muhammad Ratanaratchamunin Surintarawangsa Phraya Zaiburi to the rank of Chao Phraya, with the higher honorific title of Chao Phraya Ritsongkhram-ramphakdi Sri Sultan Muhammad Ratanaratchamunin Surintarawangsa Phadung Tanubamrung Kedah Nakhon Amonratanakhet Prathetsa-rachaisawariyathibodi Wikromsiha Chao Phraya Zaiburi. He is conferred with the insignia (of the Chakri family), and becomes a first-class extra-ordinary member of the Pathom Chulachomklao order, which is the highest of the Chulachomklao insignia. The Chulachomklao order itself represents the highest honour in the Kingdom of Siam Chao Phraya Zaiburi is empowered with the authority to command and govern his family, the State Council, and all the people and territories of Muang Zaiburi. Let him rule with justice and fairness. Let him avoid all that he should and let him conduct himself properly with decorum, honesty, and loyalty to His Majesty in the similar manner as the previous Chao Phraya Zaiburi.

It is commanded that Zaiburi ruling family, and the State Council be united and sincere in their effort to assist Chao Phraya Zaiburi in administering the State for the well-being and happiness of the Malay subjects, and for the progress of the State.

May the Universal Power Premier which is the source all beings bless and keep Chao Phraya Zaiburi, the ruling family, and the State Council in safety, prosperity, and good fortune.

In R.S. 116⁵⁹, His Majesty the King graciously ordered that Muang Zaiburi, Perlis, and Setul be organised into a *monthon*, with the name Monthon Zaiburi.⁶⁰ His Majesty then appointed Chao Phraya Ritsongkhram-ramphakdi Chao Phraya Zaiburi the Superintendent Commissioner of Monthon Zaiburi. The Decree announcing His Majesty's royal command for the formation of Monthon Zaiburi contains the following:

ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR

Upon the Royal Command of His Majesty the King, it is hereby announced that:

1. It is His Majesty's wish that the three Muang Melayu on the Western Seaboard namely Muang Zaiburi, Perlis, and Setul be re-organised under the same administrative unit, so that the affairs of these states could be more effectively administered for their own progress.

2. It is His Majesty's opinion that Chao Phraya Zaiburi (Abdul Hamid) who has been consistently loyal to His Majesty and Siam, is an administrator of intelligence and ability as shown by his success in administering Muang Zaiburi.

3. His Majesty the King graciously appoints Chao Phraya Zaiburi the Superintendent Commissioner of the three Muang namely Muang Zaiburi, Perlis and Setul.

4. Chao Phraya Zaiburi is endowed with the supervisory power over Muang Perlis and Setul, and the power to rearrange the administration of these Muang in accordance with the Royal Command, so that the affairs of these states can be smoothly administered. The Governors of Muang Perlis and Setul and the State Councils of these two Muang are commanded to render proper obedience to Chao Phraya Zaiburi in the administration of the states.

5. Both the Governors of Perlis and Setul retain all their administrative authority which they have so far been endowed over the officials and people in their respective state. However they must follow the instructions given by Chao Phraya Zaiburi as he is entrusted by His Majesty the King with the supervisory responsibility over them.

6. The responsibility of presenting the *bunga mas dan perak* of Muang Perlis and Setul which has, up to now, been within the administrative jurisdiction of the Superintendent Commissioner of the Western Seaboard Monthon, now falls upon Chao Phraya Zaiburi.

7. All the despatches and other administrative affairs which have been reported or submitted through the Superintendent Commissioner of the Western Seaboard Monthon, are now to be conducted through Chao Phraya Zaiburi. In the case of certain procedures which come under the direct instructions from Bangkok, or which are by tradition submitted directly to Bangkok, they are allowed to continue. Nevertheless, a copy of such reports must be given to Chao Phraya Zaiburi for his information.

All the administrative procedures referred above do not however cover the appeal to His Majesty the King for certain redresses nor the right to present directly to His Majesty whatever matters which are deemed proper for His Royal attention. These are traditional rights accorded equally to officials and common people alike by the Royal bountiness which no man has power to deny.

8. The allowances and grants given to the Governors of Perlis and Setul remain as they presently are. Also the privileges and benefits allowed to other officials such as the members of the State Council, should remain unchanged as long as these officials continue to contribute to the affairs of their state. Concerning the revenue of Muang Perlis and Setul, there must be proper and separate accounts of both revenue and expenditure from these states. They are not to be treated as one account.

9. All the ranks and positions of the Governors and all the State councillors of Perlis and Setul shall remain as they are. For future selection and appointment for any official position vacated, let Chao Phraya Zaiburi discuss each case with the Governor

concerned in selecting a suitable candidate, before sending a despatch to Bangkok requesting that the particular candidate be appointed. Only when His Majesty agrees to the proposal, the candidate will be confirmed in his position and be given the credentials and honorarium as customarily practised. As to the appointment of other junior or low-ranking officials, the Governors of Perlis and Setul should discuss the matter with Chao Phraya Zaiburi. After Chao Phraya Zaiburi expressed his consent, such an appointment could be made.

10. Chao Phraya Zaiburi is required to submit regular reports on the affairs of Muang Perlis and Setul to Bangkok. If Chao Phraya Zaiburi thinks it fit to introduce some administrative changes in Perlis or Setul, he must first submit a request for the Royal permission. This is the set administrative procedure which is in accordance with the custom done in the past.

The announcement is made by the Ministry of Interior on 7 April R.S. 116.

NOTES

**The Roman number in the brackets after the name of each prince denotes the individual ruler's hierarchical position in the long genealogy of the Kedah Ruling House.

¹From the reign of Phra Ong Mahawangsa to the reign of another Phra Ong Mahawangsa (Sultan Muzafar Shah), the *PMZ* follows closely the account recorded in the *MM*. See the *Hikayat Merong Mahawangsa*, edited by Siti Hawa Saleh, Kuala Lumpur, University of Malaya Press, 1970.

²According to the *MM* Phra Sri (Seri) Mahawangsa, the third ruler was the 4th, and not the 3rd, son of Phra Ong Maha Podisat. The *PMZ* makes no mention of the story that the second ruler had another three illustrious sons who became founders of the Ruling Houses of Siam, Pattani, and Perak, besides Phra Sri Mahawangsa, the youngest, who inherited Kedah from him.

³Serokam in the *MM*, p. 41.

⁴Raja Phra Ong Maha Perita Deria or the notorious Raja Bersiung, the *MM*, p. 46, 50.

⁵According to the *MM*, Sultan Muazzam Shah's younger brother was Raja Sulaiman Shah who was appointed ruler of Pulau Langkapuri by his father, Sultan Muzafar Shah. Tengku Muhammad mentioned in the *PMZ* as a brother of Sultan Muazzam was not recorded in the *MM*. See the *MM*, p. 123, 126.

The details or explanations given in the *PMZ* concerning the various reigns from the time of Sultan Muazzam Shah onwards are not matched by the *MM* which runs through merely the reigning names of the subsequent rulers right down to Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin (I) Halim Shah (1805-1821; 1842-1845).

⁶Sultan Muzafar Shah, the *MM*, p. 126.

⁷Sultan Rijalul-din Muhammad Shah who was referred to after his death by the name of "Marhum Naka", the *MM*, p. 127.

⁸The *MM* refers to him as "Marhum Ilir", the *MM*, p. 127.

⁹"Marhum Bukit Pinang", the *MM*, p. 127.

¹⁰As already pointed out in the Introductory Note, the *MM* has no record of the 17th reign of the *PMZ*.

¹¹“Marhum Kayangan”, the *MM*, p. 127.

¹²The *PMZ* gives a considerable detail on the big family of Sultan Abdullah (1778-1798) of 10 sons. The *Al-Tarikh*, on the other hand, reports that the Sultan had three sons and one daughter by a Wan Kamaliah, namely Tengku Pangeran, Tengku Yakob (Embong), Tengku Bisnu, and Tengku Jam-Jam who became the wife of Tengku Long Putih of Siak. *Al-Tarikh*, pp. 128-9.

¹³“Marhum Muda Kayangan”, the *MM*, p. 127. It should be noted also that there is a discrepancy between the text of the *MM* which records the succession of Sultan Dhiauddin immediately after the death of his brother, Sultan Abdullah and the Chantuman II of the text (p. 130) which records the reign of the “second” Sultan Muhammad Jiwa Zainal Abidin Muazzam Shah as the 19th ruler. His reign followed that of Sultan Abdullah and preceded of Dhiauddin. The discrepancy is clearly made by the editor who has mistakenly read the text which narrates,

“Puteranya itu namanya Sultan Abdullah al-mukarram Shah, yaitu marhum muda Bukit Pinang, kemudian dari itu putera Sultan Muhammad Jiwa Zainal Abidin Mu’azzam Shah, juga jadiraja, namanya Sultan Dzia’ul-din Mu’azzam Shah, yaitu marhum muda Kayangan, kemudian putera Sultan Abdullah al-mukarram Sultan jadi raja, namanya Sultan Ahmad Tajul-din Halim Shah yang mulia adanya.” (The *MM*, p. 127).

¹⁴From the time of Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin Halim Shah, it is evident that the writer/compiler of the *PMZ* depends on the wealth of documents in the Royal Archives which were made available to him. The style of the writing also reflects more of the contemporary writing of the Phongsawadan of the later Rattanakosin period. It should perhaps be borne in mind that the *PMZ* is written to emphasize events which are related to Siamese-Kedah relations at the close of the 19th century. Because of this it appears purposely to oversimplify or totally overlook other significance events such as the leasing of Penang and Province Wellesley to the British or Kedah’s role in forcing Perak to submit to Siamese suzerainty. Thus the reign of Sultan Abdullah or that his brother Dhiauddin is only glossed over.

As the *PMZ* begins to come to live with the reign of Ahmad Tajuddin I, the *MM* ends with the mention of this very reign. Since there was no reference to the sufferings that the Sultan had to endure after the 1821 encounter with Siam, it can be safely assumed that the *MM* was completed within the first reigning spell of this renown ruler.

¹⁵This is the first specific date offered in the *PMZ*. The date is recorded in the prevailing Thai calendar. J.S. or Julasakrat 1195 is equivalent to the year A.D. 1833. This date raises some query as to the reliability and accuracy of the *PMZ* as a credible source of the history of Kedah in the 19th century.

It has been established by available primary sources that by 1833 Kedah had long been occupied by Siam, and no longer had autonomy over its own affairs. The date of Siamese attack on Kedah is 1821. To complicate the matter further, the details specified in the *PMZ* on leading events to the Siamese invasion of Kedah correspond with the account in another Thai sources, especially the *Phraratcha Phongsawadan Reign III*, which was written by a great chronicler who had a first-hand experience of that period. Thus the details recorded in the *PMZ* on the reign of Ahmad Tajuddin I are accurately reported while the date of the occurrence of these events is absolutely off the mark.

¹⁶The decision of Ahmad Tajuddin to declare himself free from Siam's suzerainty by stopping the presentation of the *bunga mas dan perak* was confirmed by Captain James Low in his despatch to his superior. CO 273/1. A Retrospect of British Policy in the Straits of Malacca by Major James Low, 14th Regiment Madras, N.I., 26 April 1842.

¹⁷The date is not accurate. The Tengku Den rebellion occurred in 1831-2. See Kobkua Suwannathat-Pian, *Thai-Malay Relations, Traditional Intra-regional Relations from the 17th to the Early 20th Centuries*, Kuala Lumpur, OUP, 1988, chap. 3.

¹⁸J.S. 1200 corresponds to 1838. It was during the Tengku Muhammad Saad uprising that the Malays managed to regain Kedah for a short-period.

¹⁹Phraya Zaiburi here referred was in fact the Siamese official who was appointed to the governorship of Kedah since 1821. He administered Kedah between the years 1821 and 1839. In the *PMZ* he was regarded as the 22nd ruler of Kedah.

²⁰J.S. 1201 corresponds to 1839. See details of the events finally leading to the compromise of 1839 in Kobkua Suwannathat-Plan "The 1839-41 Settlements, A Siamese Compromise", in *JMBRAS* vol. LIX pt. 1, 1986, pp. 33-48.

²¹The account here given of the final settlements of the Kedah problem is summarised in such a manner that the true picture only half emerged. The prime force behind a political settlement, and by implication the abandonment of the military victory, was Rama III (1824-1851), and not the two generals as stated in the *PMZ*. In fact these two generals and other local dignitaries in the south, showed their misgivings towards the King's plan for a political settlement in Kedah. See Kobkua Suwannathat-Pian, *ibid*.

The "final" settlement in 1839 had Kedah divided into three principalities: the truncated Kedah under Tengku Anum, Perlis under Maharaja Lela, and after his death some 6 months later, under Syed Hussain and Setul under Tengku Bisnu, the younger brother of the exiled Sultan.

²²J.S. 1203 corresponds to 1841.

²³The *senabodi* is here used to mean the collective body of senior ministers/officials of the realm, who acted as advisers to the King in all state affairs.

²⁴The *Kotchasi* seal was one of the three principal seals of the Kingdom — the Ratchasi, and the Bua Keo being the other two. The *Kotchasi* seal was normally used in all important decrees issued at the royal command by the Senabodi of Kalahom or the Minister of the South.

²⁵According to the final settlement of 1842 which occurred after the royal pardon to Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin I, Kubang Pasu was carved out the old Kedah and given to Tengku Anum who had to step down as the ruler of Kedah in favour of Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin. Kedah then was returned to the Sultan.

After the death of Tengku Anum which happened in the reign of Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin II Mukarram Shah, the Sultan requested that Kubang Pasu be re-incorporated into Kedah proper. The request was granted by King Mongkut (1851-1868).

The *PMZ* has of course confused the matter by inaccurately recording the formation of Kubang Pasu in the 1839 settlement.

²⁶J.S. 1206 = A.D. 1844/5 Tengku Daie assumed the reigning name of Sultan Zainal Rashid I (1844/5 - 1854/5). The King who confirmed the appointment of the Sultan was King Nang Klao hao U Hua or Rama III.

²⁷Tengku Said was by one account a brother of Tengku Muhammad Saad, the leader of the 1838 uprising. However, the *PMZ* has them as first cousins, Tengku Muhammad Saad being a son of Tengku Daud and Tengku Muhammad Said a son of Tengku Yakob. Both Tengku Daud and Tengku Yakob were brothers of Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin I.

The *Al-Tarikh* has another explanation. It states that Tengku Muhammad Said was a son of Tengku Abdul Rahman and a son-in-law of Sultan Zainal Rashid I. (p. 193).

²⁸From the Siamese titles, it is most likely that Tengku Ibrahim must have been the son of Tengku Bisnu, the first ruler of Setul.

²⁹J.S. 1217 = 1855.

³⁰Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin II Mukarram Shah (1854/55-1879) who was later recorded as being promoted to the highest rank of *chao phraya* by King Chulalongkorn. He is without doubt the greatest ruler of the 19th century Kedah. See Kobkua Suwannathat-Pian, "Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin Mukarram Shah (1854/5-1879)", in *Malaysia in History*, vol. 17, 1989, pp. 69-81.

³¹Tengku Dhiauddin, the famous Viceroy of Selangor.

³²"The Year of the Horse, Samrit Sake" is J.S. 1220 which is, in turn, corresponds to 1858.

³³J.S. 1221 = 1859.

³⁴J.S. 1224 = 1862.

Further information on the construction of the Kedah-Songkhla highway see Kobkua Suwannathat-Pian, "Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin Mukarram Shah (1855-1879)", *op. cit.*, Chao Phraya Thipakorawong, *Phraratcha Phongswadan Reign IV*, Bangkok, Kurusabha, 1978; and the *Al-Tarikh*, *op. cit.*

³⁵J.S. 1233 = 1871.

The "fifth reign" is equivalent to the reign of King Chulalongkorn (1868-1909).

³⁶J.S. 1234 = 1872.

³⁷Roughly, the traditional hierarchy of Siamese nobility went as follow:

Chao Phraya
Phraya
Phra
Luang
Khun

In the reign of King Mongkut, the title of *Somdet Chao Phraya* was introduced to honour the two most senior members of the Bunnag family who had been the main instruments for the election of His Majesty to succeed King Nang Klao. It was only bestowed on three officials of the Crown. The most powerful and best-known was of course Somdet Chao Phraya Borom Maha Suriyawong, the Regent of King Chulalongkorn. It was he also who presented Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin II with his second consort, Wan Jah.

³⁸King Chulalongkorn came to the throne in 1868, at the age of 15 years old. Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin must have made an impression on the young King who conferred the highest title of *chao phraya* to the former four years later.

³⁹Syed Nud was a nick-name of Syed Alwi Jamalullail or Tuan Chik Endut. He was a son of the first Raja of Perlis, Syed Hussain Jamalullail (1841-1873), and Tengku Nor Aishah.

⁴⁰J.S. 1236 = 1874.

⁴¹“The Year of the Rat, Attha Saka” J.S. 1238 = 1876.

⁴²See a discussion on the role played by Chao Phraya Zaiburi Ahmad Tajuddin II in the Perak affairs in Kobkua Suwannathat-Pian, “Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin Mukarram Shah (1859-1879)”, op. cit.

⁴³It was a Siamese custom that all regalia and insignia bestowed upon individual nobility, *chao prathetsarat* included, were required to be returned to Bangkok after the demise of that particular recipient.

⁴⁴This was the riot instigated by Chinese secret societies in Phuket. See *Phongsawadan Muang Phuket*.

⁴⁵The date given here in the PMZ was 1876; the *Al-Tarikh* however says that the event occurred in 1873 (p. 225). According to one primary source, *the Siam Directory* reported the event as occurring in 1876. See R 5. M20/1-4 the *Siam Directory* 1876.

⁴⁶The various denominations of Siamese currency in use at the time were, from the lowest of the lowest to the highest hierarchy, *stang*, *salueng*, (25 *stang*), *baht* (4 *salueng*), *tamlueng* (4 *baht*), and *chang* (20 *tamlueng* or 80 *baht*).

⁴⁷J.S. 1240 = 1878.

⁴⁸This inaccuracy is, as stated in the Introductory Note, most puzzling since it was commonly aware within the Siamese ruling circle that Tengku Dhiauddin, the Raja Muda, was demoted at the request of the Sultan and his own mother, Wan Teh, because he had ignored his brother's (the Sultan) orders and instructions concerning his part in the Selangor civil war. The rift between the two brothers was so serious that even the *Al-Tarikh* records that the Sultan was so angry with Dhiauddin that he appointed Tengku Yakob as Raja Muda replacing the latter. (*Al-Tarikh*, p. 224).

This inaccurate report automatically excludes Prince Damrong as a possible writer/compiler of the latter part of the *PMZ*. As Minister of Interior, Damrong of course was but too familiar with the rivalry and hostility generated from this rift which continued even after the death of Ahmad Tajuddin in 1879, to commit a blunder of this magnitude.

⁴⁹J.S. 1241 = 1879.

⁵⁰A detailed account of the selection of Ahmad Tajuddin II's successor is chronicled in Chulalongkorn's correspondence to Somdet Chao Phraya, and his Kalahom, Chao Phraya Surawong-waiyawat. See Kobkua Suwannathat-Pian, “The Kedah Succession Crisis 1879-1882”, *JMBRAS*, December 1989.

⁵¹This is Tengku Dhiauddin's Siamese title after 1879.

⁵²Tengku Yakob's Siamese title after 1879.

⁵³Sultan Zainal Rashid II (1879-1881).

⁵⁴Tengku Abdul Hamid, later Sultan Abdul Hamid Halim Shah (1882-1943).

⁵⁵Tengku Kassim was the younger full brother of the newly appointed Sultan, and another elder half-brother of Tengku Abdul Hamid.

⁵⁶J.S. 1243 = 1881.

⁵⁷J.S. 1247 = 1885.

⁵⁸R.S. stands for the Rattanakosin Saka (Era). This Siamese calendar was created and introduced as an official calendar by King Chulalongkorn. It started with April 1782, the date the Chakri Dynasty was founded by King Rama I. Thus R.S. 114 corresponds to 1895/6.

⁵⁹R.S. 116 = 1898.

⁶⁰*monthon* — a circle, region.

The administrative re-adjustment of Zaiburi, Perlis, and Setul into a *monthon* was done with the hope to satisfy repeated requests of Kedah for the return of Setul and Perlis. By re-arranging them into a *monthon*, Siam apparently solved the problem of not having to deny Zaiburi of its cherished wish at the same time as maintaining the autonomy of the two small principalities. See Kobkua Suwannathat-Pian, "Kedah-Siamese Correspondence 1890-1898", *JMRAS*, vol. LV pt 2, 1982, pp. 62-86.