



INSTITUTE OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN STUDIES

PERCEPTIONS OF THE *HAJ* **Five Malay Texts**

V. Matheson
and
A.C. Milner

ISEAS Institute of Southeast Asian Studies

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Five Malay Texts

by

**V. Matheson
and
A.C. Milner**

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INTRODUCTION

The significance of the *haj* in Islam, the symbolism of its rituals, the administration of, and statistics relating to the pilgrimage, and finally, its political implications have been given attention by scholars of the Malay world.¹ Much less attention has been given to the Malay personal experience of the *haj*;² in particular, to our knowledge, no analysis has been made of the way in which that experience and the articulation of it may have changed over time. This is surprising. A pilgrimage is, as Victor Turner suggests, "very much more than its theology. It is a field of social relations and cultural contents of the most diverse types ..." ³. The period of the pilgrimage as a time of heightened self-awareness, leads the individual to reflect on his values. Often remote from his own society, travelling in strange lands among alien people, the author of a pilgrimage account may reveal much of his own experience and the nature of his own society.

In this study we examine five Malay accounts of the *haj*.⁴ They are concerned not with Malays who were resident for long periods in Mecca but with pilgrims. Of the five texts, three focus exclusively on the *haj*. The first two, however, *Hikayat Hang Tuah* and *Tuhfat al-Nafis*, are not concerned with the pilgrimage. Their accounts of the *haj* form only a brief section of an intricate and lengthy narrative. In all of the five accounts considered here, we are concerned not merely with the substance of the description of the pilgrimage but also with the way in which the pilgrimage is presented. In the case of the *Hikayat* and the *Tuhfat*, the descriptions of the *haj* are examined in the context of the structure and theme of the whole narrative. It is significant to note how the general preoccupations and concerns of these texts influenced the articulation of the *haj*.

The perceptions of the *haj* vary widely over time: the first text relates to the sixteenth century while the fifth was written in 1979. These perceptions are also embedded in a number of different genres of Malay literature. Thus the *haj* cannot be

viewed as a benchmark against which changing Malay values may be measured. Nevertheless, all of the five texts dealt with in this study throw light on the Malay experience of the *haj*, and it will be argued that when the different accounts are compared -- even taking into consideration the differing literary genres employed -- they provide an indication of the way in which that experience may have changed over time among the Malays.

The pilgrimage to Mecca⁴ (in Arabic *hajj*, in Malay *haj*) is one of the five obligations, or "pillars", of Islam.⁵ It has been described by a modern scholar, von Grunebaum, as "in a sense the culmination of the believer's religious experience".⁶ Whether this description successfully characterizes the Malay accounts of the *haj* will be discussed below. "The culmination of the believer's religious experience" is certainly the way the *haj* is portrayed by one of the best known non-Malay accounts, that of Ibn Battuta,⁷ a North African who wrote in the fourteenth century, at the time when Islam was becoming established in the Malay world. A synopsis of his account provides an introduction to the pilgrimage to Mecca. It also indicates the sort of background with which we came to the Malay writings.

Ibn Battuta left his birthplace, Tangier, in 1324 with the express object of "making the pilgrimage to the Holy House of Mecca and of visiting the tomb of the Prophet at Medina". He "quit all [his] dear ones" and "forsook [his] home as birds forsake their nests"; he travelled alone "swayed by an overmastering impulse ... and a desire long-cherished in my bosom to visit these illustrious sanctuaries".⁸ On the way to Mecca he visited such places as Tunis, Alexandria, Cairo, Jerusalem, and Damascus.

When he reached Mecca, Ibn Battuta's enthusiasm was pronounced: the illustrious *Ka'aba*, the very centre of the earth in Islamic belief, was "like a bride who is displayed upon the bridal-chair of majesty".⁹ After encircling and praying at the *Ka'aba*, Ibn Battuta proceeded with the next stage of the pilgrimage, leaving Mecca to perform the rites at Mina and Arafat. He notes the "contest of ostentation between the Egyptians, Syrians and Iraqis",¹⁰ and then describes the assembly or "standing" on the "wide and ample plain" of Arafat, some nine miles from Mecca.¹¹ This "standing" is the essential element in the *haj*. Ibn Battuta not only describes how the time at Arafat is passed but also lists some of the dignitaries from the Muslim world who were present. After the "standing", Ibn Battuta joined the "rush" of the pilgrims to Muzdalifa: "the multitude thrusts forward in the rush with a single surge at which the earth shakes and the hills tremble".¹²

The last rite before returning to Mecca is performed at Mina. There, Ibn Battuta participated in the stoning of the mound of rocks, the "Pillar" (representing the Devil), and the sacrifice of camels, sheep, and goats.¹³ After his return to Mecca Ibn Battuta describes the ceremonies for the renewing of the Ka'aba's coverings, and remarks on the lavish alms given by the Syrians and Egyptians.¹⁴

These are some of the highpoints of the Tangier pilgrim's description of the *hajj*. His account of the events and procedures is pervaded by a sense of emotional involvement and religious enthusiasm. When he reflects on the meaning of the *hajj*, his emphasis is on the need to give abundant thanks to God for bestowing on man the opportunity to perform the rite. The pilgrim's "merchandise", his worldly profit, he explains, is used to bring him "gain in the world to come", and his "burdens of sin are effaced" by the acceptance of the merit earned by Pilgrimage.¹⁵

Ibn Battuta provides, therefore, a fairly detailed description of the various elements of the *hajj*.¹³ He does not restrict himself to spiritual matters. Places and events encountered on the journey to Arabia are discussed. In Mecca and Medina, he comments on the architecture and landscape, and recounts anecdotes about the local dignitaries and other pilgrims. He describes also such mundane matters as the competition between the Egyptians, Syrians, and Iraqis. Finally, Ibn Battuta reveals what to us is a very human sentiment, his homesickness and pain at leaving behind his "dear ones".

In these ways, Ibn Battuta encompasses the practical and ephemeral as well as the sacred and enduring. Yet, the focus of his account is clearly on the religious rite itself. The spiritual significance of the *hajj* is his prime concern, and his account celebrates the opportunity to efface the "burdens of sin" by the "merit" earned from the pilgrimage.

Ibn Battuta's account, as we have suggested, shaped our own expectations about what would be found in the Malay texts. It is because we approached the Malay writings with Ibn Battuta in mind that we found them so valuable. We shall consider now five Malay accounts of the *hajj*.

HIKAYAT HANG TUAH

The Story of Hang Tuah

The *Hikayat Hang Tuah* (HHT) refers to events in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹⁶ One of the most famous works of Melaka-Johor literature, it is the tale of a Malay's service to his ruler. The Malay, Hang Tuah, is a subject of the Raja, or Sultan, of the Malay kingdom, or *kerajaan*, of fifteenth-century Melaka. Like much other *hikayat* literature, the HHT is an exemplary text as well as a story. It not only demonstrates the importance of Melaka in the Malay world, but also explains some of the relationships and obligations which lie at the heart of the Malay's raja-centred polity, the *kerajaan*.¹⁷ We shall return to the question of the style and purpose of the text. What is immediately apparent to anyone interested in the *haj*, however, is that the part of the text which deals with Hang Tuah's visit to Mecca has little in common with Ibn Battuta's account.

The object of Hang Tuah's journey is not Mecca but "Rum"¹⁸ (a term which Malays apply to the Ottoman empire and its Seljuk predecessor, based in the region of modern Turkey). He is sent there by the Raja of Melaka as the leader of a large diplomatic delegation to the Sultan of Rum.¹⁹ The text describes how Hang Tuah came to perform the *haj*: From his vessel, bound for Rum, Hang Tuah sees a town and is told it is "Jeddah, Mecca's port and the site of the grave of Siti Hawa [Eve]".²⁰ Hang Tuah decides to call in and visit Eve's grave. His fleet of forty vessels drops anchor and the Syahbandar (harbour-master) of Jeddah comes aboard Hang Tuah's ship. The Syahbandar inquires:

"Dari mana perahu ini datang?
Apa pekerjaan tuan-tuan
sekalian datang ini?" Maka
kata Laksamana, "Adapun hamba
datang ini dititahkan oleh
Sultan Melaka mengadap ka
bawah duli Sultan Mardha Syah
Alauddin Rom, tanda muafakat

"Where is this vessel from?
What is your business here?"
The Laksamana [Hang Tuah]
replies: "We were commanded
to come by the Sultan of
Melaka, to present ourselves
before His Highness Sultan
Mardha Syah Alauddin of Rum,

dan berkaseh-kasehan. Syah-
 hadan kemudian daripada itu
 hendak membeli bedil meriam
 yang besar-besar, kerana
 negeri Melaka itu adalah
 kekurangan bedil besar
 sedikit. Bermula sebab pun
 hamba singgah di Judah ini
 kerana hamba hendak naik
 mengunjong kubor Siti Hawa
 mengambil berkat ..."²¹

as a token of good relations
 and enduring friendship
 between the two Sultans.
 Having established that, we
 intend to buy some large
 cannon because Melaka has a
 shortage of heavy arms. We
 are putting in at Jeddah
 because we want to go ashore
 and pay our respects to Eve's
 grave and obtain spiritual
 power there ..."

The Syahbandar invites Hang Tuah ashore to wait upon the
 administrator of the town. The editor of *HHT* is unable to
 determine the unvowelized name of the administrator from the
 Arabic script of the text. The administrator is merely referred
 to as Malek R.s.t.l. After talking to Hang Tuah (who is
 generally referred to in the text by his title "Laksamana") and a
 companion, the Syahbandar persuades them to undertake the *haj*,
 saying:

"Sudah hamba memberitahu
 Malek R.s.t.l. akan anakku
 kedua datang ini. Maka kata
 Malek R.s.t.l. suroh hamba
 bawa anakku kedua naik
 kapadanya, hendak menengar
 khabar Melayu dan Malek
 R.s.t.l. pun dua tiga hari
 lagi hendak berjalan ka
 Mekah. Pada bicara ayahanda,
 baik juga anakku dudok
 singgah di darat sahari dua
 hari dudok di sini. Lagi
 pula, tiadakan anakku menanti
 bulan haji, kerana bulan haji
 pun sudah hampir? Baik juga
 anakku pergi Mekah naik haji,
 kerana sudah anakku sampai
 dekat. Sedang dari jauh lagi
 orang ka mari, ini pula
 sudah dekat." Maka kata
 Laksamana, "Pada bichara
 hamba pun jikalau disampaikan
 Allah Subhanahu wa Ta'-
 ala, demikianlah kehendak
 hamba."²²

"I have informed Malik
 R.s.t.l. of your arrival and
 he has commanded me to bring
 you to him as he wants to
 hear news of the Malays, and
 in the next two or three days
 he is setting out for Mecca.
 I think you, my son, should
 come ashore and stay here for
 a few days. And further, why
 don't you wait for *bulan*
haji, the month of the
 pilgrimage, which is almost
 here. You should go to Mecca
 and perform the pilgrimage as
 you are so close. People
 have been arriving here for
 days past as the month of the
 pilgrimage is near at hand."
 The Laksamana [Hang Tuah]
 responds: "In my opinion if
 it has been brought about by
 Allah may He be praised and
 exalted, then such is my
 desire."

When Hang Tuah meets Malik R.s.t.l., the latter tells him of

his intention to leave for Mecca. Hang Tuah asks that he be allowed to join the Malik's caravan, as he wishes "to see the illustrious Ka^caba and go to Medina to pay respects to the grave of the Prophet".²³

At this point, the text displays a marked change of style. The sense of timelessness and the frequent use of dialogue are interrupted by stating that the year is 886 A.H. (A.D. 1481) and that Mecca and Medina are governed by two sons of Zainal Abidin. But the government of the holy land, it is explained, is under the authority of the Sultan of Rum.²⁴

The narrative then resumes. Hang Tuah prepares for the journey to Mecca, but before setting out he visits Eve's grave. The Malays are amazed to see that the distance between the head and foot stones of the grave is at least two leaps.²⁵ Hang Tuah recites prayers to "all the prophets" and then leaves.

Two days later, in the cool of the evening, the caravan sets out for Mecca. At about midnight, it halts at the foot of a hill, "a pretty spot", to rest.

Maka Laksamana pun pergi pada suatu tempat yang sunyi hendak buang ayer. Maka dilihat oleh Laksamana seorang tua dudok di atas batu putih seperti kapas dibusor. Apabila orang tua itu melihat Laksamana datang hampir dia itu, maka orang tua itu pun segera turun berjalan mendapatkan Laksamana, serta memberi salam akan Laksamana. Maka Laksamana pun menyahut salam orang tua itu "Hai Laksamana, mari apalah pinjam perak rial barang sarial akan hamba, kerana hamba seorang darwish yang amat dha'if sangat kelaparan, hendak membeli roti tiada dapat." Maka fikir Laksamana, "Ini bukan ia darwish rupanya. Pada fikir aku, ia ini nabi-nabi atau wali Allah juga." Maka Laksamana pun mengambil rial dalam bajunya dua tiga rial diberikan orang tua itu. Maka

The Laksamana withdraws to a quiet place to urinate. Then he notices an old man sitting on a white rock, like cotton on a cleaning bow. When he sees Hang Tuah approaching, the old man gets down and walks to greet the Laksamana. The Laksamana returns his greeting. "Laksamana, would you lend me a silver real, just one, because I am a dervish weak with hunger and unable to buy bread." The Laksamana thinks "He does not look like a dervish. I think he is one of the Prophets, or even a Saint of Allah". So the Laksamana draws money from his cloak and gives a couple of reals to the old man. He takes just one of them. Having done so he embraces Laksamana and kisses his head saying, "Laksamana, my son, take this casket. If ever you do not know how to speak a language, take water

diambilnya perak itu sarial juga sahaja oleh orang tua itu. Setelah sudah maka ia pun memelok menchium kepala Laksamana, seraya katanya, "Hai anakku Laksamana, ambillah chembul ini. Apabila engkau tiada tahu berkata-kata dengan bahasa orang itu maka engkau keluarkan ayernya dalam chembul ini, sapukan pada mulutmu dan telinga mu, maka tahulah kamu serba bahasa orang itu. Akulah Nabi Khidir." Maka orang tua itu pun ghaiblah. Maka Laksamana pun terlalu sukacita hatinya, lalu ia pergi ka sungai.²⁶

from this casket and moisten your mouth and ears that you may know all the languages of man. I am the Prophet Khidir." The old man vanishes. The Laksamana is overjoyed. Then he goes to the river.

We shall see that this is not the only occasion in the *Hikayat* that Hang Tuah meets Nabi Khidir.²⁷ The presence of the Saint is an important element in *HHT*'s account of the pilgrimage.

After Hang Tuah rejoins the caravan they continue on to Mecca. There, they fill in the days before the commencement of the rites of the *haj* by visiting the graves of sheikhs, saints, and prophets. In fact, they "do every grave that can be done". At this time, the Egyptian caravan arrives with its sumptuous gifts to the holy city; the text enumerates the gorgeous and exotic fabrics and relates the wonder expressed by the Malays at the wealth and greatness of the Arabs.²⁸

The time of the *haj* arrives, and the text describes Hang Tuah's performance of the rites of the pilgrimage in the following rather perfunctory fashion:

Satelah sudah maka datanglah pada sembilannya haribulan Dzulhijjah. Maka berhimpunlah berjalan sakalian orang Mekah itu pergi dengan Sharif Ahmad itu masing-masing dengan takhta kebesarannya, beberapa ratus tunggul panji-panji daripada sakhlata, beledu dan kimkha berkibaran saperti kota chemara, pergi haji ka Bukit Arafah. Maka Laksamana dan Maharaja Setia pun

The ninth day of the month of Zulhijjah arrives. All the Mecca people²⁹ assemble to go with Sharif Ahmad each with their thrones of honour,³⁰ hundreds of standards and banners of silk, tapestry, velvet, cloth of gold fluttering in the breeze like a floating fort, moving on the pilgrimage to the Hill of Arafah.³¹ The Laksamana and Maharaja Setia

pergilah bersama-sama dengan orang Mekah sakalian itu mengerjakan seperti rukun haji itu. Setelah sudah habislah dikerjakannya, lalu turun ka Mina pula melontar batu yang bernama Jamratul-akabah dan Jamratul-wusta dan Jamratul-ula itu. Setelah sudah, lalu mengorban. Maka Laksamana dan Maharaja Setia pun berchukor. Maka habislah rata seperti syarat perintah haji dan ziarah dan haji umrah semuanya dikerjakannya. Maka Laksamana dan Maharaja Setia pun kembalilah ka Mekah dengan sakalian orang banyak itu lalu ziarah pula pada makam Ibrahim. Maka sampailah pada sepuluh haribulan; tirai ka^Cbatullah pun disalin oranglah. Maka Laksamana pun membelilah tirai itu barang sadapatnya. Setelah keesokan harinya maka Laksamana pun masoklah ke dalam ka^Cbatullah sembahyang lalu menchium batu yang bernama Hajarul-aswad. Setelah sudah lalu keluar bersama-sama dengan orang banyak lalu tawaf pula ia akan tawaf rukun. Telah selesailah habis dikerjakannya maka Laksamana dan Maharaja Setia pun mengambil ayer pada telaga zamzam itu lalu berjalan ka Madinah bersama-sama dengan kafilah yang banyak itu.⁴⁰

In Medina, Hang Tuah receives another favour. After twelve days and nights of travel across the featureless desert,⁴¹ where only earth and sky exist, the Laksamana and Maharaja Setia reach Medina and go to pay their respects to the grave of the Prophet. After visiting the graves of the Prophet's Companions at Baqī^C and Uhud,⁴² they return to the Prophet's mosque, where they are permitted to see the Qur'an compiled by the third caliph,

with the people of Mecca perform the rites of the pilgrimage. Having carried them out they descend to Mina to stone the pillars called Jamrat al-^Cakaba, Jamrat al-wustā, and Jamrat al-^Clā.³² That finished, they sacrifice animals and Laksamana and Maharaja Setia shave their heads.³³ Then it was completely finished according to the stipulations and injunctions of the *haj* and the visits to graves and the lesser *haj*,³⁴ all were fulfilled. The Laksamana and Maharaja Setia return to Mecca with the multitude and pay their respects to Abraham's grave.³⁵ On the 10th day of the month the coverings of the Ka^Caba are replaced and the Laksamana buys as much of the cloth as he can.³⁶ The following day he goes inside the Ka^Caba of Allah,³⁷ performs prayers and kisses the stone named Hajar al-aswad.³⁸ Then he comes out and joins the throng and again performs the circumambulation as prescribed. When this is completed Laksamana and Maharaja Setia take water from the Zamzam well³⁹ then leave for Medina with the many caravans.

Uthman.⁴³ They present themselves to Sheikh Jamaluddin, guardian of the Prophet's grave⁴⁴ and offer him gifts of fragrant eagle-wood, sandalwood, and benzoin.⁴⁵ The Laksamana spends twelve days and nights in the mosque with the sheikh. When he asks leave to go, the sheikh embraces and kisses him saying, "Laksamana, my son, I ask Allah Almighty to preserve you from the dangers of the next world and bring you safely back".⁴⁶ He says prayers for the Laksamana, who prostrates himself at the sheikh's feet. They clasp hands and the Laksamana and his party return to Jeddah, from where they set sail for Rum, tearfully farewelled by the Syahbandar and Malik R.s.t.l.⁴⁷

A number of characteristics of *HHT*'s account deserve attention; some of these will be more easily delineated later when the *Hikayat* can be viewed in the context of other accounts. The feature that is immediately striking about the *HHT*'s account of the *haj*, however, is the casual way in which it is introduced into the narrative. The *Hikayat* could not be more different from Ibn Battuta's work in this regard. The "pilgrim", Hang Tuah, did not set out on this journey with the intention of undertaking the *haj*. The declaration that he intended to stop off in Arabia only to visit Eve's grave in search of spiritual power is made not once, but three times. The pilgrimage, the text tells us, had to be suggested to him by the Syahbandar of Jeddah. The lack of prominence given to the *haj* is emphasized also in the account of the events following Hang Tuah's return to Melaka from the Middle East. On his return, the Melaka ruler, when questioning Hang Tuah about his travels, does not enquire about the pilgrimage. The ruler asks him only about Rum and what happened there.⁴⁸ A final indication of the casual treatment of the *haj* in the *HHT* is the brevity of the account. The section of the text dealing with the pilgrimage is dramatically shorter, for instance, than that concerning Rum (six or seven pages compared with over twenty).⁴⁹

When the *HHT* actually describes the rites of the *haj*, the treatment seems perfunctory. It is not that the rites are incorrectly presented: of the elements comprising the pilgrimage, only the non-obligatory *sa'iy*⁵⁰ (the seven-fold running between Şafā and Marwa) is omitted. In other respects, the *haj* is described as it might be in a pilgrim's guidebook.⁵¹ What makes the *HHT*'s treatment of the *haj* somewhat perfunctory is that the rites are enumerated rather than explained. Unlike Ibn Battuta's account, or those found in more recent Malay writings, the *HHT* offers no discourse on the importance of the *haj* in Islam. Furthermore, when compared with the later Malay writings discussed in this study, it is noticeable that nothing is said in the *HHT* about the significance of the *haj* to Hang Tuah as an individual.

The brevity and the matter-of-fact style, which characterize

the *Hikayat's* account of the *haj*, are exceptional in the *HHT* itself. The description of the *haj* differs markedly from the rest of the rather leisurely paced text which, like many other *hikayats*, often pauses to dwell on the details of courtly ritual. Moreover, the narrative in the *haj* section is largely unadorned by the usual literary conventions and formulae. The passages relating to the pilgrimage have almost a tone of realism and for this reason they have been seen in a recent study as a turning point in the text. According to Shelly Errington,⁵² the part of the text describing the pilgrimage heralds a new Malay consciousness. Much of the *Hikayat* is concerned with the enunciation and explanation of Malay royal culture, but in the passages on Mecca (and Rum) "the world ... has a presence ... an existence outside the Malays and Raja Melaka".⁵³ The pilgrimage shows, according to Errington, that the position of the Raja of Melaka now changes from that which he held earlier in the text. The Raja can no longer be seen as "the encapsulation of Islam on earth. The spiritual world which the *hikayat* now presents is one with several centers".⁵⁴

Errington's observations have important implications for our discussion of the significance of the *haj*. She is suggesting that the *HHT* account announces a recognition of a world which lies beyond, and which contends with, the Malay polity.

In the Malay kingdom, the *kerajaan*, the Raja, or Sultan, was the focus of political and spiritual life. To a modern observer, his functions appear predominantly ceremonial -- but in an important sense, ceremony was the substance of the polity. Malays lived, so they themselves explain,⁵⁵ in a *kerajaan*, and the literal meaning of that word was "the condition of having a raja".⁵⁶ When the Malay world adopted Islam, it did so in the context of this raja-centred polity. The Malay rajas took a leading part in the Islamization process. They would not have seen medieval Islam as a threat but as a source of spiritual and perhaps political strength. Islam would not have appeared to be a doctrine hostile to Malay ideas of political authority because medieval Islam was characterized by a galaxy of kingdoms, stretching from West Asia to India. The rulers of these kingdoms claimed for themselves such lofty epithets as the "shadow of God on earth", and Malays were certainly attracted to the Islamic doctrines of the time which emphasized that in doing one's duty to the Raja one also obeyed God.⁵⁷

In adopting Islam, therefore, the Malay rulers were entering this galaxy of Muslim kingdoms. In later years, Malay sultans were to be accused of perverting the Islamic faith: the Malay insistence on hierarchy in both social and spiritual life was to be portrayed as being especially heretical in a religion of equals.⁵⁸ During the early centuries of Islamization, however,

there was no evidence of a violent contradiction of this type between the *kerajaan* and Islam. The Malay rulers would not have considered themselves to be diluting or manipulating the doctrines of that religion. They would naturally have viewed themselves and their *kerajaan* in the context of the medieval Muslim world.

At what stage did a disjunction develop between Islam and the *kerajaan*? We will see that there were signs of a possible tension during the early centuries of Islamization. The issue is whether these signs are evident through the benefit of hindsight or whether, as Errington suggests, a disjunction is present even in such texts as the *HHT*. We will argue that although the description of the *haj* may have presented difficulties for the author/authors of the *HHT*, Errington has exaggerated the transition in the text which occurs with the *haj* section.⁵⁹

Errington does not acknowledge that, despite the presence of some differences in style, the Mecca episode does possess characteristics encountered throughout the *Hikayat*.

1. It is the ritual aspects of the *haj*, after all, which are emphasized, and a preoccupation with ritual is a feature of the text in general. In the latter part of this study, we will be examining texts which have very different concerns.
2. Another "Malay" feature of the *HHT*'s account of the *haj* is the emphasis on Hang Tuah's search for spiritual power. The importance of Hang Tuah's visit to Eve's grave has been mentioned. Hang Tuah also visited the graves of the sheikhs, saints, and prophets, "doing every grave that could be done", and spent twelve days and nights with the guardian of the Prophet's tomb, who bestowed on Hang Tuah a special blessing.

Hang Tuah's search for spiritual power is a continuing theme in the *Hikayat*: he obtains power also in such places as Bintan (or Riau, south of Singapore and a site of the court of the Melaka Malays in the period after the Portuguese conquest), Majapahit (in Java), and Melaka itself.⁶⁰ In seeking power at such holy sites, Hang Tuah was also following a well-documented Malay tradition. Skeat's *Malay Magic* provides examples of Malay pilgrimages to such sites on the Peninsula during the nineteenth century,⁶¹ and, much earlier, in the inscriptions of the pre-Islamic Malay empire of Srivijaya, there is evidence of a ruler travelling in search of magical power.⁶² The word used in the inscription is *siddhayatra* (magical or spiritual power) and reminds one of the *berkat*

(spiritual power) which Hang Tuah hoped to obtain from Eve's grave. In emphasizing Hang Tuah's visits to the holy sites in Arabia, therefore, the *Hikayat* casts the account of his pilgrimage in a manner which would have been familiar to Malays.

3. Another way in which the *haj* is placed in a traditional Malay perspective is in the presence of the Nabi Khidir motif.

Hang Tuah had met the Prophet earlier in the text at the island of Biram Dewa when on a voyage to India. In this episode too, the Prophet is described as sitting on a white rock, "like cotton on a cleaning bow". At Biram Dewa, Hang Tuah asked Khidir for *berkat* (spiritual power) and received from him a magic gift and a blessing.⁶³ Malays who read or listened to the *HHT* would be aware that Nabi Khidir was a figure of particular significance in Malay court culture. He was not merely a famous Islamic saint from whom Hang Tuah could hope to obtain further spiritual power. He is also depicted in Malay court writings as the protector of Malay Sultans -- he was the companion and adviser of Sultan Iskandar Zulkarnain, Alexander the Great, the supposed progenitor of the line of sultans which ruled Melaka.⁶⁴ The appearance of Nabi Khidir in the Mecca account thus suggests that on his pilgrimage, far away from the Melaka court, Hang Tuah was watched over by the saintly protector of the Malay royal dynasty.⁶⁵

4. A final Malay feature in the *HHT*'s account of the *haj* concerns its juxtaposition with the description of Rum. In several ways, Mecca is seen in the context of Rum. The pilgrimage is made on the way to Rum, and the rulers of Mecca and Medina are described as being under the authority of the Sultan of Rum. In fact, Rum is allowed to overshadow the holy land by the lengthy and detailed description lavished upon Rum's opulence.

The depiction of the grandeur of Rum has, to the Western reader, an almost fairy-tale quality, which contrasts with the starkness of the Mecca descriptions. The account of Rum has lengthy passages detailing the scale, size, colour, and variety encountered in the great city. The effect of the magnificence of Rum is so great that Hang Tuah thinks he is in paradise "as if he had died and was born again".⁶⁶ The ceremonies and audiences of the Rum court, and the departure of the Sultan to the mosque are reminiscent of the

descriptions of Malay court ceremonies, and would remind Malays of their own *kerajaan* system.⁶⁷

In portraying the *haj* in the shadow of the Rum visit, therefore -- just as in the emphasis on ritual, on Hang Tuah's search for spiritual power, and on the involvement of Nabi Khidir -- the account of the *haj* in the *HHT* appears to some extent to be incorporated within Malay culture.⁶⁸ Rather than creating a sharp break in the text, the *haj* appears as a relatively minor incident -- an event which was neither planned nor discussed in the Melaka court after it had occurred. There is, in the *HHT*, no realization of the central importance of the pilgrimage in Islam. Whether the treatment of the *haj* in the *Hikayat* reflects the true role of the pilgrimage in Malay life at that time, or whether the text is suppressing the significance of the rite is difficult to judge.

It is known that at least one Sultan of Melaka declared his opposition to the *haj*. Sultan Mahmud was reported to have announced that the *haj* was unnecessary as "Malacca was to be made into Mecca".⁶⁹ It is also significant that little reference is made to the Mecca pilgrimage in court texts of the Malay world. The *Sejarah Melayu* and the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*, for instance, mention Mecca but not the *haj*.⁷⁰ What appears certain is that the pilgrimage was one element of Islam which would have been difficult to incorporate into the Malay *kerajaan* system enunciated in such court texts. In the *haj* there was no necessity for the ruler to play a central role. The *haj* not only required no royal intercession between the Malay subject and Allah, but was potentially a person's supreme spiritual experience. The actual rites of the *haj*, the circling of the *Ka'aba*, the gathering at Arafah, the sacrifices at Mina, and so forth, were not set in a royal context. It was one matter to see the Malay *kerajaan* as a Muslim polity like other Muslim polities in India and the Middle East, such as Rum itself, but the rites of the *haj* could not be portrayed in terms of Malay royal culture. The *haj* could be best understood within the context of Islam and the one God, and it therefore offered a rival spiritual focus to the raja.

The brevity and the mechanical style of the description of the *haj* in the *HHT*, therefore, may well be an indication that the author(s) were merely unaware of the full implications of the *haj*. (Perhaps the Sultan of Melaka, in proposing that Melaka be "made into Mecca", was equally unaware of Mecca's importance in Islam.) The rites of the *haj* could only be listed, not discussed, because their significance was not fully understood. It was possible to describe the kingdom of Rum in Malay terms using Malay literary conventions. Rum could be seen as a *kerajaan*. The *haj*, however, existed outside the *kerajaan*

world-view. Although its elements could be specified, and although it was even possible to use Nabi Khidir, the quest for spiritual power, and Rum, to give the event a Malay character, the rite itself could not be articulated in Malay terms.

In the next Malay text to be examined, the *Tuhfat al-Nafis*, the *haj* is no longer so clearly subordinated to Malay culture. The *Tuhfat* is more ambivalent in its treatment of the pilgrimage.

TUHFAT AL-NAFIS The Precious Gift

The text of the *Tuhfat al-Nafis*⁷¹ was composed during the 1860s on the island of Penyengat, situated south of Singapore. Penyengat was the seat of the Bugis Yamtuan Mudas who were joint rulers, together with a Malay Sultan, of the Riau-Lingga sultanate, the successor of the Melaka-Johor sultanate. The authors of the *Tuhfat* were of Bugis descent, and the text records the Bugis' entry into the Malay world and their subsequent integration into several Malay polities. The *Tuhfat* does not explicate the *kerajaan* system to the same degree as the *HHT*, but it does emphasize the vital role of the ruler in the correct functioning of the polity.⁷² We know that one of the authors of the *Tuhfat*, Raja Ali, argued that the elaborate customary and ceremonial structure of the *kerajaan* (which, as we have seen, lay at the heart of the Malay polity) must be maintained.⁷³

In the *Tuhfat*'s account of the *haj*, Raja Ahmad, a son of the Bugis hero Raja Haji,⁷⁴ and himself, a respected Riau prince, requests permission from the Sultan of Riau-Lingga to undertake the pilgrimage. In contrast to Hang Tuah's voyage, therefore, the *haj* was the object of Raja Ahmad's journey. The text explains that Raja Ahmad undertook the *haj* for two reasons: to fulfil a vow made during a serious illness, and to comply with the religious obligation of the fifth pillar of Islam.⁷⁵ Raja Ahmad travels first to Java on a trading voyage to raise money for his expenses, and leaves Riau with a total sum of 14,000 dollars. Then, together with twelve other pilgrims, Raja Ahmad leaves for Penang to join a ship sailing for Arabia.⁷⁶

In Penang, the *Tuhfat* relates, Raja Ahmad is hospitably received. The exiled ruler of Kedah is one of those who invites Raja Ahmad to his residence and bestows gifts on the pilgrim.⁷⁷ After a brief stay, Raja Ahmad hires berths on a Turkish vessel and sets sail for Jeddah. The text supplies the name of the captain and describes the accommodation below decks. The Riau group reaches Jeddah on 18 Syaban 1243 (3 March 1828), and Raja

Ahmad is met by all the sheikhs "because they knew he wanted to go on the pilgrimage that year".⁷⁸

Dan adalah yang datang itu yaitu Syekh Ismail dan Syekh Ahmad Mushafi^C dan suruhan Syekh Daud. Maka masing-masing syekh itu hendak membawa Raja Ahmad ke rumahnya. Di dalam hal itu maka Syekh Ahmad Mushafi^C lah Raja Ahmad suka sebab ia jumlah daripada hamba tua yaitu ia peranakan Bugis yang empat puluh juga. Maka naiklah Raja Ahmad itu ke Makkah al-musharrafah dibawa oleh Syekh Ahmad Mushafi^C itu serta memakai kain ihram. Maka apabila sampai ke Makkah al-musharrafah maka tawaf lah dan sa^Cylah. Maka apabila selesai daripada tawaf dan sa^Cy itu tahlillah. Maka duduklah ia di dalam rumah Syekh Ahmad Mushafi^C itu. Maka datanglah segala syekh-syekh Makkah itu berjumpa-jumpa mereka itu. Kemudian pergilah ia ke rumah mufti Shafi^Ci. Kemudian selesai daripada berjumpa-jumpaan itu maka tetaplah ia di dalam Makkah al-musharrafah menantikan hendak pergi ke Madinah al-munawwarah akan ziarah kepada rasul Allah salla Llahu 'alaihi was-sallam, hanyalah menantikan lepas Ramadan sahaja. Maka di dalam hal itu maka negeri Makkah al-musharrafah pun bergaduh yang amat besar pula. Maka yaitu Syarif Yahya raja Makkah al-musharrafah itu membunuh pula satu Syarif daripada kerabatnya juga yaitu Syarif Shambar namanya yang dibunuhnya itu

Among those who came were Sheikh Ismail, Sheikh Ahmad Musyafi, and a messenger from Sheikh Daud. Each sheikh wanted to take Raja Ahmad to his own house, but in the meantime Raja Ahmad had taken a liking to Sheikh Ahmad Musyafi, because the latter had once been a retainer and because he was a locally born Bugis descended from the Forty.⁷⁹ Wearing the pilgrim's garb, Raja Ahmad travelled to Mecca the Exalted, with Sheikh Ahmad Musyafi. When they reached Mecca the Exalted they circumambulated the Ka^Caba and ran seven times between the hillocks Safa and Marwa. This done, Raja Ahmad recited the beginning of the creed. He stayed with Sheikh Ahmad Musyafi and all the Mecca sheikhs came to visit him there. He later went to the home of the Mufti of the Syafi'i. When he had finished meeting everyone, he stayed in Mecca the Exalted waiting to leave for Medina the Illustrious to visit the grave of Allah's Prophet (may Allah bless him and grant him peace). He was only filling in time until the end of Ramadan. Meanwhile, Mecca was in a great turmoil because Sharif Yahya, a prince from Mecca the Exalted, had killed a sharif of his own family, named Sharif Syambar. He was killed in the Mosque al-Haram. His relatives from the same line, together with the representatives of Sultan

di dalam mesjid al-Haram. Maka mendakwalah segala kerabatnya yang sebelah pula bersama-sama dengan wakil Sultan Mahmud Khan yaitu raja Istambul. Adalah namanya basyah itu yaitu Ahmad Basyah anak saudara Muhammad Ali basyah raja di negeri Misir, kerana ia wakil Sultan Mahmud Khan menjagai haramain itu. Di dalam hal itu maka bergaduhlah basyah itu dengan Syarif Yahya seperti sudah hendak berperang besar rupanya.

Mahmud Khan, the King of Istanbul, all held him responsible. The Pasha's name was Ahmad Pasha, a nephew of Muhammad Ali, the prince who was Pasha of Egypt, because as the representative of Sultan Mahmud Khan he guarded the mosque. Consequently, there was dissension between Sharif Yahya and the Pashas, which threatened to erupt into a great war.⁸⁰

The political turmoil caused Raja Ahmad concern because it made the journey to Medina dangerous. But by the "decree of Allah Almighty" he was able to join a caravan (of 2,000 camels) bound for Medina. At Badr,⁸¹ Raja Ahmad was taken to meet Sharif Yahya, who had been told that Raja Ahmad was a prince from Riau and had friends in Mecca. Syarif Yahya gave Raja Ahmad a Bedouin guard and safe conduct to Medina.⁸²

In Medina, Raja Ahmad, like Hang Tuah before him, visited the Prophet's grave, then:

Kemudian ziarah ke Baqī^C kepada segala sahabat. Kemudian ziarah pula ke jabal Uhud kepada kubur mama rasul Allah salla Llahu alaihi was-sallam, yaitu Sayyiduna Hamzah yang syahid pada jabal Uhud itu. Kemudian maka ziarahlah ia kepada segala tempat-tempat yang diziarahkan orang-orang. Setelah selesai maka Raja Ahmad pun membeli satu kebun diwakafkannya kepada anak-cucu Syekh Saman. Syahadan adalah kira-kira sebelas hari di dalam negeri Madinah maka baliklah Raja Ahmad itu ke Makkah al-musharrafah. Maka apabila sampai ke Makkah al-musharrafah maka Raja Ahmad pun membeli pula rumah dua

he went to Baqī^C, to the grave of the Companions. He then travelled to Mount Uhud⁸³ to the grave of the uncle of the Prophet (may Allah bless him and grant him peace) who was called Sayyiduna [our lord] Hamzah and who was martyred on Mount Uhud. Raja Ahmad made pilgrimages to all the places people visit, and when this was done he bought land for a hostel for the descendants of Sheikh Saman. After Raja Ahmad had been in Medina for about eleven days, he returned to Mecca the Exalted, and bought two houses, one of which he gave as a hostel to Sheikh Ismail. Ultimately, this passed to

buah yang sebuah diwakafkannya kepada Syekh Ismail. Kemudian akhir-akhirnya berpindah kepada mufti Shafici, dan yang sebuah diwakilkannya kepada Syekh Muhammad Salih. Kemudian akhir-akhirnya berpindah juga kepada mufti Shāficī akan nazirnya. Setelah itu waktu haj pun sampailah. Maka Raja Ahmad pun hajilah dan 'umrahlah dan wukūflah di cArafah bersama-sama segala haji yang datang daripada sekeliling dunia daripada orang Islam. Dan tawafilah, dan sacylah kemudian daripada melontar jumrat di Mina, maka masuklah ke dalam Makkah dan tahlillah serta memakai serban. Kemudian daripada itu maka Raja Ahmad pun membeli pula satu haush tempat tanah membuat rumah wakaf di Mina. Maka diwakilkannya kepada Syekh Ahmad Mushafic diperbuatnyalah rumah wakaf di situ. Syahadan apabila selesailah daripada pekerjaan itu maka Raja Ahmad pun baliklah turun ke Jawi. Maka mengantarlah segala mashaikh di dalam negeri Makkah itu hingga sampai ke Jiddah. Maka lalulah naik berik Turki nama nakhodanya Sayid Muhammad Ali menyewa pula sebelah kurung juga. Maka lalulah berlayar ke negeri Jawi. Syahadan kata sahib al-hikayat adalah Raja Ahmad inilah mula-mula anak raja Riau dan Lingga yang pergi haj. Tiada seseorang yang dahulu daripadanya, seolah-olah ialah yang mula-mula membuka pintu raja-raja Riau pergi haj adanya.

the Mufti of the Syafi'i, while the other became the responsibility of Sheikh Muhammad Salih. Finally, it too passed to the Mufti of the Syafi'i, who supervised it. After this, it was time to make the pilgrimage, and Raja Ahmad visited the shrines and then joined with the *hajis*, Muslims from all over the world, who had come to halt on the plain of Arafah. He circumambulated the *Kacaba*, and ran seven times between the hillocks Safa and Marwa. After throwing stones at Mina, he entered Mecca and recited the beginning of the creed, wearing a turban. Raja Ahmad afterwards bought a piece of enclosed land at Mina on which he asked Sheikh Ahmad Musyafi to build a hostel. When all this was done, Raja Ahmad began the return trip to the Jawi lands,⁸⁴ escorted by the Mecca elders as far as Jedda. He then boarded a Turkish *berik*⁸⁵ whose captain was Sayid Muhammad Ali. He again rented half the space below decks and they set sail. According to the story, Raja Ahmad was the first prince from Riau and Lingga to make the pilgrimage. No one before him had done so. It could be said that he opened the way for other Riau princes to make the pilgrimage to Mecca the Exalted.⁸⁶

In certain respects, the *Tuhfat*'s account of the *haj* contrasts strongly with that of the *HHT*. There is nothing fortuitous about Raja Ahmad's pilgrimage; it was undertaken out of gratitude to God for his recovery from a serious illness and he had gone to considerable trouble to raise money for his journey. Furthermore, Raja Ahmad's pilgrimage, unlike that of Hang Tuah, is celebrated in his own community and he is venerated as the first of the Riau princes to visit the holy land. Raja Ahmad's son, Raja Ali, who accompanied his father to Mecca, has his status considerably raised after his *haj*. On his return to Riau, Raja Ali is married to the daughter of the Yamtuan Muda and becomes the recognized Riau authority on Islamic spiritual and legal matters. He teaches religion to the Yamtuan Muda and the Riau princes and, as adviser to successive rulers, plays a leading role in matters of state.⁸⁷

We could expect that the *haj* would be a source of interest and prestige in nineteenth century Riau. Important changes had occurred in the Malay lands since the time of Hang Tuah. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, certain areas of the Muslim world were undergoing a process of "purification".⁸⁸ In an attempt to restore the "traditional image of primitive Islam", the religion was to be purged of its accretions.⁸⁹ In the Malay region, as in other parts of the Muslim world, there was an increasing intolerance of some forms of Islamic mysticism, and those -- be they mystics, saints, or monarchs -- who sought to present themselves as intercessors between man and God, were heavily criticized.⁹⁰ By the early nineteenth century, the Malays were not so free to choose selectively from Islam those elements which enhanced the *kerajaan*. The Sultans were faced with the ever-growing influence of the "shariah-minded" Muslims, who emphasized the role of *shari'ca* (Muslim) law as the foundation of the community. In the nineteenth-century climate, therefore, the obligation to make the pilgrimage could be expected to play an increasingly prominent part in Malay Islamic life.

Within the Malay world at this time, Riau quickly gained a reputation for Muslim piety. A Dutch report of the 1850s remarked that the area was noted for its strict adherence to Islam,⁹¹ and the *Tuhfat* itself describes how the Yamtuans enforced such Muslim principles as the veiling of women, and prohibited gambling, cockfighting, and indecent behaviour.⁹² Various branches of Muslim scholarship were studied, *tarikats* were founded, and famous Arab scholars were invited to Riau and paid to instruct the officials there.⁹³

Given the presence in Riau of such a strong Muslim community, it is not surprising that the *Tuhfat* would be more reverential than the *HHT* in its treatment of the *haj*. This is certainly the case. Nevertheless, here again the actual rituals of the

pilgrimage are presented in an extremely compressed fashion. A far larger portion of the text, for instance, is devoted to a description of a visit to Batavia than to the Mecca sojourn.⁹⁴ Furthermore, like the *HHT*, the *Tuhfat* lists rather than describes the component rites of the *haj*.

An equally important similarity between the *Tuhfat* and the *HHT* is that the *haj* is again presented, at least in part, in the context of the *kerajaan*. This is best illustrated by the text's constant reiteration of the honour accorded to Raja Ahmad on his journey. Not only is the Riau prince feted in Penang, but in Arabia "all the sheikhs" come to greet him and others come to his house to meet him. Even the assassin, the prince Sharif Yahya, pays him special attention. Raja Ahmad, it would seem, and not the *haj*, is the focus of the account.

Raja Ahmad's beneficence is also emphasized. In the traditional style of Malay rajas, he is portrayed as giving generously for religious purposes. At Medina and Mina he buys land and houses for the use of pilgrims. Raja Ahmad's presentation of the land, its use and later history are given almost as much prominence as the rites of the *haj* itself.

In focusing on Raja Ahmad, on his prestige and his beneficence, the *Tuhfat*, therefore, presents the *haj* as something in the nature of a Malay royal progress. While Ibn Battuta describes the *haj* and its significance, the *Tuhfat* concentrates on the dignity of the prince undertaking the pilgrimage. The importance of the *haj* is not denied -- it was the object of Raja Ahmad's journey. But, to the modern reader, the brevity of the description of the pilgrimage and the concentration on Raja Ahmad serve to undercut the Mecca pilgrimage as a rite of central importance to Islam. The authors of the *Tuhfat* wrote within a Malay tradition of what today seems a restrained treatment of the *haj*; but because they wrote at a time when Islamic fundamentalism was impinging increasingly on Malay consciousness, their account does not appear dismissive in the manner of the *HHT*. The *haj* is not confidently subsumed beneath the *kerajaan*; rather the relationship between the two institutions is ambivalent.

MUNSHI ABDULLAH'S *PELAYARAN KA-JUDAH*

Journey to Jeddah

Our third text was also written in the nineteenth century, but it is not a product of the court. On the contrary, its author, Munshi Abdullah, spent most of his life in the British-governed Straits Settlements of Melaka and Singapore.⁹⁵ He worked closely with and was influenced by European missionaries and administrators,⁹⁶ and his writing included a critique of the *kerajaan* system. So alienated was Abdullah from that system that he portrayed the Malay rajas as being not only greedy and tyrannical but obsessed with ceremony and with what Abdullah called "stupid and useless" sumptuary laws. The ceremonial structure which was elaborately displayed and endorsed in Malay texts such as the *HHT*, was condemned as worthless by Abdullah.⁹⁷ In addition, he argued -- most likely to the fury of modern Malay nationalists -- that Islam was on a better footing in the British-administered settlements than in the Malay *kerajaan* on the Peninsula.⁹⁸

Abdullah travelled to Mecca in 1854 and died in Jeddah in October of that year, leaving the narrative of his journey incomplete. Compared with the two previous Malay accounts of the *haj* which we have examined, it is crammed with mundane details. Abdullah provides more information on political matters and much more extensive descriptions of the places he visited, as well as the customs he observed. He also discusses the individuals he encountered, many of whom were ordinary people. In short, Abdullah's style is reminiscent of modern journalism.⁹⁹

He describes how he spent his time in Jeddah. On a Friday:

maka sekalian orang laki2
dan perempuan yang di-Judah
itupun pergi-lah ziarah di-
makam Sitti Hawa isteri
Nabi Allah Adam itu. Demi-
kian-lah cadat-nya dalam
tanah cArab itu, pada tiap2

all the men and women who
were in Jeddah went to visit
the grave of Eve, the wife of
Adam, the Prophet of Allah;
it is the custom in the
Arabian lands, that on
Fridays men and women go

hari Jum'at keluar-lah laki2 perempuan pergi ziarah. Maka berjalan-lah sahaya dengan sa-orang sahabat. Maka adal-ah sa-panjang jalan itu bertemu-lah orang berduyun-duyun. Maka kelihatan-lah makam itu. Shahdan, sa-telah sudah ziarah di-makam itu, maka kembali-lah aku sambil melihat-lihat negeri dan kampung2 berkeliling-keliling. Maka ada-lah ku-lihat negeri Judah itu terlalu ramai-nya, oleh sebab itu-lah pangkalan segala kapal2 dan berjenis-jenis orang yang datang daripada sagenap2 negeri. Maka saudagar pun terlalu banyak dan dagang pun tumpah ruah-lah di-situ. Maka orang pun berbagai-bagai bangsa boleh di-lihat di-situ. Maka kedai pun terlalu-lah banyak berjenis-jenis barang oleh sebab datang daripada tiap2 negeri karena negeri itu-lah pangkalan beberapa negeri. Hatta, maka tinggal-lah beberapa hari di-Judah itu oleh sebab menantikan sheikh datang dari Mekah. Maka kemudian datang-lah Haji Adam. Sa-telah sudah bertemu lalu memberi salam, maka dudok-lah ia dua hari di-Judah, lalu menyewa unta serta bermuât barang2. Lalu berjalan-lah naik ka-Mekah dari waktu asar itu; maka samalam-malaman itu berjalan. Maka pada esok-nya pagi2 masok-lah ka-Mekah dari Kubbah Mahmud berjalan dengan Sheikh Haji Adam serta memakai ihram berkain puteh dan berselimut puteh.

visiting holy places. I went walking with a friend and on the road we met crowds of people, straggling along, looking at shrines along the way. After visiting the grave I turned for home, observing the settlements and villages scattered in the area. I saw that Jeddah is very busy. At the pier, ships and all sorts of people arrive from every country. There are many traders and merchandise is piled up everywhere. People of many different races can be seen there. There are many shops with all kinds of goods brought from every country because Jeddah is the port for several countries. The stay at Jeddah was for several days because of the need to wait for the Sheikh to arrive from Mecca. Then Haji Adam came. After meeting and making our greetings, he stayed two days in Jeddah before hiring a camel and loading it with supplies. The departure for Mecca was after the afternoon prayer. We travelled all night and reached Mecca the following day, early in the morning. Accompanied by Sheikh Haji Adam we entered through the Kubbah Mahmud [Mahmud's Arch], wearing the two white sheets of *ihram* and a white covering.¹⁰⁰

The prose narrative ends here, but a *syair*,¹⁰¹ or poem, is added to the text. The mood of the *syair* is quite unlike that of the previous Malay accounts.

Serta masok-kah aku ka-dalam
negeri yang mulia
Maka terlupa-lah aku akan
ni¹mat dan kesukaan dunia
Saperti mendapat shurga dengan
isi-nya sedia
Menguchap-lah aku sa-ribu²
shukor akan Tuhan yang
Mahamulia
Terlupa-lah aku beberapa
kesusahan dan siksa di-jalan
Oleh sebab berahi dan rindu
akan bait Allah beberapa bulan.

I go within the noble city
I am oblivious of the joys
and pleasures of this
world
As if already possessed of
heaven and all it holds
I give thanks a thousand
times to the most noble
God
I am oblivious of the
troubles and torments of
the journey
The months of torments
brought about by the
passion, the longing, for
the house of Allah.¹⁰²

Abdullah's account is frustrating for what it might have contained had he lived to complete it. There is, in particular, no description of the performance of the sacred rites of the *haj*. Despite its brevity, however, Abdullah's account represents a new Malay approach to writing about the *haj*.

Firstly, in Abdullah's *Pelayaran ka-Judah* the *haj* is no longer seen in the context of the *kerajaan*. Indeed, Abdullah's writings generally portray a world outside the restraints of Malay royal culture. In his account, the *haj* is presented as the supreme religious experience for a man on earth. Like Ibn Batutta, he travels not as the subject of a raja but as a Muslim engaged in that supreme act.

Secondly, the personal nature of Abdullah's pilgrimage is evident not only from his references to a "passion and longing for the house of Allah" but is also emphasized by the style in which the account is written. We have noted that Abdullah's concern with eye-catching detail and with the unusual in custom and place has much in common with modern journalism. It is a concern which contrasts strongly with the more inward-looking *HHT* and, to a lesser extent, the *Tuhfat*. Traditional Malay texts when dealing with the outside (non-Malay) world usually emphasize the familiar and the similar; Abdullah, on the other hand, influenced by his European associates, revelled in describing what was new to him.¹⁰³ Abdullah's modernity is equally apparent in his writing style, in particular his use of the authorial "I".

As is well known, traditional Malay court literature does not make use of the first person. Even the names of the authors of texts are usually not given. When compared to such works as the *HHT*, the *Tuhfat* (which was actually written after Abdullah's death) in some respects appears relatively accessible -- more modern -- to the Western reader. It differs from the *HHT* in its lack of repetition and formulaic conventions, in its use of realistic detail and precise dates, and in its explicit reference to source materials.¹⁰⁴ Nevertheless, the *Tuhfat*, like the *HHT*, is not written in the first person. Neither text conveys a sense of the author sharing with the reader his personal experience, nor can we find in these texts any serious attention to characterization. A.H. Johns, in reference to the *Malay Annals*, has commented "there is neither concern for the personality of the individual nor for the realities of his life."¹⁰⁵

Seen in the context of traditional literature, therefore, Abdullah's writing is radical not only in its condemnation of the *kerajaan* system. The influence and example of the Europeans with whom he came into contact in the Straits Settlements stimulated his interest in the individual and in the experience of the individual.¹⁰⁶ It also introduced him to new literary idioms. Experimentation is a hallmark of Abdullah's work.¹⁰⁷ The poem at the end of his account, for instance -- the poem which speaks of his longing for the house of Allah -- does not conform to the conventions of the Malay *syair*.¹⁰⁸ He experimented in order to convey his feelings. In using the first person, he also reaches out to a new form, and in doing so he gives attention, in his account of the *haj*, to the personal experience of the pilgrim.

The *HHT* and the *Tuhfat* certainly dealt with the pilgrimages of two individuals, but the two accounts do not explore the personal perceptions of the experience. They portray no highlights, tensions, or climaxes; the *haj* is presented as a mechanical ritual, an outward form, rather than as a personal endeavour and achievement. Abdullah's account, by contrast, is not uttered in the general, impersonal, and authoritative voice of the earlier writings. It is not written within the *kerajaan* tradition. His mode is in many respects opposed to the conventions of court literature, just as the opinions he expressed condemned the Malay rulers and their pretensions. For Abdullah, the *haj* can in no way be subsumed under the rubric of the *kerajaan*. With his pilgrimage narrative, we find something new in Malay *haj* literature. Abdullah's account of the *haj* -- albeit an incomplete one -- emphasizes the personal, individual, experience of the pilgrim.

The next *haj* account to be considered represents a different type of modernity.

HARUN AMINURRASHID'S *CHATETAN KA-TANAH SUCHI*

Diary of a Journey to the Holy Land

A distinct theme running through much of Abdullah's writing is his concern with the Malays as a group. Far more often than earlier Malay writers, he refers, not to individual states -- to Kelantan, to Johor or to Pahang, for instance -- but to the "Malay race".¹⁰⁹ The account of his journey to Arabia is an exception. It is markedly lacking in references to matters Malay.

No lack of concern with Malayness is to be found in our fourth account -- Harun Aminurrashid's book entitled *Chatetan ka-Tanah Suchi*. In this narrative, written after Malaya achieved independence (in 1957), the Malay race and the Malay nation (*Tanah Melayu*) play a role reminiscent of that of the *kerajaan* in the *HHT* and the *Tuhfat*.

A good deal is known about Harun Aminurrashid, pen-name of Harun Muhammad Amin. Before World War II, he was one of the most influential teachers of the Sultan Idris College, the teacher training institute set up by the British. At that time, the college was renowned as a seed-bed of Malay nationalism, and Harun was prominent among those who encouraged the new spirit.¹¹⁰

Harun's writings include books about Malay history and legend, school textbooks and travel books about his journeys to such places as Indonesia, Syria, and Europe.¹¹¹

Harun travelled to Mecca in 1960 and the publishers of his book, *Chatetan*, made the rather unjust claim that it was the first such account in Malay.¹¹² In the introduction, Harun expresses the hope that the diary of his *haj* will be of use to other Malay pilgrims.¹¹³

Harun writes about the voyage to Jeddah in a manner not encountered in the texts examined above. He describes and comments on his fellow passengers, outlining their status and background and occasionally remarks on the sacrifices they have made to undertake the *haj*; in fact, he is very conscious that

behind each pilgrim lies a fascinating story.¹¹⁴ He supplies many details about shipboard life: bouts of sea-sickness, deck-games played, and the titles of films shown at night. He recounts with sadness the death of a passenger and her burial at sea. Once in the holy land, Harun comments on the Algerian struggle for liberation, and discusses the condition of Turkestan and the Muslims in the Philippines.¹¹⁵ He is especially diligent in recording details which will be of interest to the Malays. The Red Sea, Harun explains, is known to the Malays in their fairy-tales where it is described as being extremely deep. On visiting the grave of Hamzah, he comments that it has been familiar to him since his childhood from the Malay *Hikayat Amir Hamzah*.¹¹⁶

These notes and impressions, more than Abdullah's writing, can be categorized as falling within the genre of modern travel accounts. But they are written with a specific audience in mind, the Malays. Harun tries to convey information and observations which will be of interest to them. At times, he adopts the tone of a schoolmaster -- a tone which, given his training, is to be expected. When visiting certain holy spots, for example, he describes them in historical terms. At the Great Mosque in Mecca and at graves near Medina, where Hang Tuah, for instance, would seek spiritual power and other pilgrims might describe the religious importance of these sites, Harun's apparently more secular interest is that of the antiquarian history teacher.¹¹⁷

Even in the account of the rites at Arafa, the tone of the travel-writer /teacher is evident.

Bukit Jabal-Rahmat itu ia-lah bukit batu besi dan batu pejal, saya mula menaiki bukit itu mengikut tangga yang telah di-buat, pada mula-nya saya berjumpa dengan tempat Nabi Muhammad s.a.w. wukuf dan pernah di-tempat itu Rasulullah berpidato di-situ. Di-sini saya lihat ramai orang sedang sembahyang. Saya naik lagi berjumpa tempat yang di-katakan Nabi Ibrahim wukuf, di-sini juga ramai orang sedang sembahyang. Kemudian saya naik lagi ka-kemunchak-nya dan kata Haji Abdul Rahim di-kemunchak ini-lah di-katakan tempat Nabi Adam di-turunkan dari Shurga dan berjumpa

The hill Jabal Rahmat is of ironstone and granite, I began to climb the steps made on it, for the first time I was coming to the site where the Prophet Muhammad had halted [on Arafa], and the very place where the Prophet of God once gave a sermon. Here I saw crowds of people performing the prayer. I climbed further to the place where it is said, the Prophet Abraham stood before God, here too crowds of people were praying. Then I climbed to the top and Haji Abdul Rahim explained that it is said, that it was onto this summit that the Prophet Adam was lowered from heaven and

dengan Siti Hawa. Di-sini ada satu tiang batu tanda kemunchak Jabal-Rahmat, dari sa-kitar padang Arfah itu boleh kelihatan tiang batu itu. Banyak orang sembahyang di-kemunchak bukit itu. Sungguh indah pemandangan di-sakeliling Arfah yang rata di-penuhi oleh khemah dan lampu2. Lama saya duduk di-kemunchak bukit itu dan suara manusia tidak putus2 menguchapkan *Labbaik Allahumma labbaik...* Setelah saya berdo'a kepada Allah dan bershukor, kerana telah memberi daya saya dapat sampai ka-tempat yang terkenal di-sisi seluruh umat Islam itu, lalu saya turun menuju ka-masjid kecil yang duduk-nya di-kaki bukit itu bernama Masjid Jabal-Rahmat atau Masjidil-Sahar, di-sini-lah di-katakan Nabi Muhammad s.a.w. pernah wukuf dan sembahyang sa-lama beliau di-padang 'Arfah pada Haji Wada'. Saya lihat dalam masjid itu penuh sesak dengan manusia sedang sembahyang. "Arfah" mengikut pengertian-nya ia-lah berjumpa. Kalau kita balek kepada cerita Nabi Adam dengan Siti Hawa berjumpa di-pada Arfah itu, boleh jadi nama padang itu mengambil sempena dari perjumpaan *bapa* and *ibu* sakalian manusia itu, tetapi walau macham mana pun memang padang 'Arfah itu tempat seluruh umat Islam berjumpa tiap2 tahun. Dalam perjalanan balek ka-khemah saya lihat ada juga orang2 Arab menjual buah2an seperti limau, pisang dan *apple*. Banyak juga warong2 sementara menjual

met Eve. Here there was a stone pillar marking the summit of Jabal Rahmat, it could be seen from all around on the plain of Arafah. Many people were praying on the summit. Indeed, it was a beautiful view over the plain of Arafah, which was completely covered by tents and lamps. I sat for a long time on the top of the hill and the voices of men unceasingly chanted "labbaik Allahumma labbaik"¹¹⁸ Later I prayed to Allah and gave thanks because I had been given the means to reach the most famous place in the whole of the Muslim world, then I climbed down to the little mosque which sits at the foot of the mountain, called the Mosque of Jabal Rahmat, or the Mosque of Sahar. Here it is said the Prophet Muhammad once stopped and prayed while he was on the plain of Arafah on Haji Wada... "Arafah" according to its meaning is "to meet". If we go back to the story of the Prophet Adam and Eve meeting on the plain of Arafah, then the name of that plain may be taken perfectly from the meeting of the father and mother of all mankind,¹⁹ although the plain of Arafah is also indeed the place where all the Muslim world meets every year. While walking back to my tent I saw there were also Arabs selling fruit, such as lemons, bananas, and apples. There were many little make-shift stands selling drinks like ice, lemon, and coffee and tea. I also saw there was a large stone building which had been

minum2an seperti ayer batu, ayer limau, ayer kopi dan teh. Saya lihat juga ada sebuah bangunan besar yang dibuat daripada batu menjadi rumah sakit, lengkap dengan *doctor* dan penolong2-nya lelaki perempuan. Orang sakit telah penuh dalam bangunan itu dan ada juga orang yang telah mati yang akan di-tanam di-'Arfah itu.

converted into a hospital complete with a doctor and his male and female staff. The building had already been filled by the sick and by those who had died and would be buried on Arafa.¹²⁰

This account of Arafa is quite different from the style used in the texts examined above. It is a highly detailed eye-witness record of the actual scene. More than the earlier Malay accounts, it moves freely from the mundane and the particular to the sacred and momentous, from the meeting of Adam and Eve to the cold-drink stalls.

The assembly at Arafa, Harun observes, is a vital element in the *haj*. He explains its importance in the most straightforward terms:

Dalam menunaikan fardhu Haji, wukuf di-'Arfah ini-lah menjadi rukun yang utama dan sa-habis penting sekali ...

In the fulfilling of the obligation of the *haj*, the halting at Arafa is the highest obligation and of the utmost importance ...¹²¹

If a person does not assemble on the plain, "within the specified time ... the *haj* is invalid".¹²²

As Harun left Arafa he met a friend from Singapore, Syed Omar Alsagoff. The Syed is but one of the many friends and acquaintances from Malaya whom Harun mentions. His description of their meeting is revealing as regards his perspective on the *haj*.

Semenjak beliau tiba di-Jeddah belum pernah saya berjumpa dengan-nya. Kami sangat gembira di-padang 'Arfah itu, ia mencheritakan bagaimana ia memoleh Sheikh Shukor Abdul Shukor Surabaya ia-itu Sheikh yang menjaga saya di-Mekah ... Seperti biasa bila kami berjumpa selalu suka ber-gurau2, ia

Since he had arrived in Jeddah I had not met with him [Syed Omar]. We were very happy on the plain of Arafa and he told me how he chose Sheikh Shukor Abdul Shukor Surabaya, that is, the sheikh who looked after me in Mecca... As usual when we met there was much joking and laughing. He asked me, "Do

bertanya saya, "Che'gu hendak pakai gelaran Haji atau Al-haj?" Tetapi elok-lah sekarang saya memanggil Che'gu ia-lah Che'gu Harun Al-haj. Sudah bertambah satu pangkat lagi di-nama Che'gu sekarang. Dengan chepat saya menjawab: Awak elok pula sekarang saya panggil Habib Haji Syed Omar! Kami berdua tertawa ...

you wish to use the title of Haji or Al-haj?" How wonderful it is now to be called Che'gu Harun Al-haj. Another title has been added to the name Che'gu [meaning "teacher"]. Quick as a flash I responded, "How wonderful now that I can say Habib Haji Syed Omar!" We both laughed.¹²³

This episode is, in one respect, typical of Harun's entire narrative. In revealing his concern for the status gained within Malay society by undertaking the *haj*, he places the pilgrimage within a Malayan context.

Throughout the text, the author is preoccupied with the Malays and Malayan matters. We have noted the way Harun directed his account to a Malayan audience, explaining matters to them and making reference to Malay literature and legend in order to do so. His book also contains numerous photographs of his fellow pilgrims from Malaya, and considerable space is devoted to describing them, as we have seen. He writes also of a Malay hospital¹²⁴ and a Malay association in Mecca,¹²⁵ and often makes mention of the different Malayan government officials engaged in the organization of the *haj*.¹²⁶ He gives a lengthy account of an address by Dato' Dr Abdul Jalil Hasan to a meeting of Malay *hajis* and Malay students. The Dato relates the Islamic religion to the social problems of modern Malaya. He "exhorts [the *hajis*] to take on the task of translating religious teachings from Arabic into Malay while they are studying so that Islamic knowledge can be disseminated among the people of Malaya".¹²⁷ He considers that Islam should be spread not only among the Malays, but among all races, particularly the ordinary people. If everyone in Malaya became a Muslim, he argues, there would be peace and harmony in Malaya.¹²⁸

These are but a few examples of the attention Harun gives to the Malays and to Mecca. He does not merely record their activities; he often expresses pride in his people. He asserts that Malays are popular with other peoples¹²⁹ and takes pleasure in listing the former's qualities. Moreover, his homesickness for Malaya and his family is often mentioned.¹³⁰ He regrets that little news of Malaya reaches Mecca¹³¹ and his frequent references to international time changes are a further indication of his preoccupation with "home".

Harun, therefore, writes as a Malay and a Malayan, and his account is explicitly pitched to a Malayan audience. The importance of the *haj* is not denied: at the end of his book, he describes the pilgrimage as "a very important period in my life because I was able to fulfil the obligation of the *haj* ... which is enjoined on every person who embraces the faith of Islam".¹³² But Harun, unlike Abdullah, does not dwell on his own experience of the *haj*, and only fleetingly reflects on the significance of the rite within Islam. There is, in particular, no statement in Harun's text which equals the spiritual intensity of Abdullah's *syair*. It is not that Harun's style is less modern than that of Abdullah. Harun, too, writes in the first person and the influence of English grammar is, in fact, more evident in his work than in the writing of his predecessor. Harun's sentences, for instance, are long, he makes frequent use of subclauses and employs a wide vocabulary. Traditional Malay literary formulae are not found in his writing and there is an absence also of that balance by juxtaposition which is characteristic of traditional Malay literature. Harun is very much a modern writer, therefore, but his concerns are not with personal spiritual experience.

What characterizes Harun's account is its concern with the Malays and Malaya. When he does reflect on the significance of Islam -- as when he relates the Dato's speech to the Malay students and the *hajis*, or his own conversation with Syed Omar -- it is to see its importance in Malayan terms. Islam, it is suggested, may be a way of solving Malaya's political problems; the *haj* is certainly a way of acquiring titles and thus enhancing a Malay's status within his own society.¹³³ Just as the *Tuhfat* presents the *haj* as a royal progress focusing on Raja Ahmad, so Harun presents the *haj* in the idiom of Malay nationalism. He writes his book, not as a Malay court author would have done, that is, to honour a monarch, but rather to educate his own people. Like Abdullah, he holds no brief for the *kerajaan*, but we look in vain in his book for the spiritual climax expressed in Abdullah's *syair*. It is tempting to compare Harun with Malay nationalism in general: the primary object of his loyalty is not the international community of Islam, but the Malay Muslim community. The *haj*, like other aspects of (nationalist Malay) spiritual life, is set in the context of Malay nationalism.¹³⁴

The last Malay text to be discussed, written in 1979, stands in marked contrast to that of Harun. It is not concerned with Malay nationalism: more than the four earlier texts, even that of Abdullah, it focuses on the author's personal experience of the *haj*.

H.M. JAJULI'S *SATU PERJALANAN PENDEK YANG MENGESANKAN*

A Brief and Memorable Journey

Jajuli,¹³⁵ the author of *Satu Perjalanan Pendek yang Mengesankan*, begins his account by describing the chanting of his fellow pilgrims in a bus travelling from Jeddah to Mecca. Jajuli does not join them, but gazes out of the bus window, letting the continuous noise pass over him. "My thoughts", he writes, "were empty." As the bus draws closer to Mecca, the words of the chant change, and Jajuli's attention is caught by the phrase: "I come to You from a far country bringing many sins and unclean deeds".¹³⁶ He begins to recall his own past.

Aku teringatkan dosa-dosa yang telah aku lakukan selama ini... Aku teringatkan perangaiku yang tidak pernah menyesal atas dosa yang kulakukan. Berani buat berani tanggung. Aku masih muda. Baki umurku masih panjang lagi. Banyak perkara di dunia ini yang masih belum dirasakan dan dialami. Tidak perlu terburu-buru menyesal, bertaubat dan minta ampun. Itulah kata hatiku dulu. Sekarang, tiba-tiba aku merasa gerun. Aku kecut apabila wajah-wajah orang yang bersangkutan tiba-tiba muncul dalam khayalanku... Aku menyesal kerana tidak meminta maaf, ampun dan bertaubat awal-awal lagi, sebelum aku berpisah dan meninggalkan mereka.¹³⁷

Sins I have committed in the past spring to my mind. I am aware that I never repented the sins I committed. I dare to do them, I dare to bear them. I am still young. I still have a long time to live. There is still much in the world to experience and to enjoy. There is no need to be in a hurry, to regret, to repent and to ask forgiveness. That is what I used to say in my heart. Now I suddenly feel panic-stricken. I shrink when the faces of people I had wronged appear suddenly in my imagination... I regret that I didn't ask their forgiveness, pardon and absolution earlier, before parting and leaving them.

As the buildings of Mecca become visible in the distance, Jajuli begins to reflect on the words of al-Ghazali,¹³⁸ that "people who are unclean, are forbidden to enter the city of Mecca". Jajuli is filled with despair, he becomes pale and breaks into perspiration. He pictures the wrath of Allah and fears that Allah will not allow him into the sacred city of Mecca. Suddenly, he begs for forgiveness: "Ya Allah! I repent! Forgive me, O Allah! God forgive me! God forgive me! God forgive me!"¹³⁹

In Mecca, Jajuli goes straight to the Great Mosque. He is dumbfounded to see the *Ka'aba*: "this really is the house of God", he declares.

Tubuhku gementar, hatiku berdebar-debar. Lemah untuk melangkah. Aku sandarkan badan ke tiang itu dan menghulurkan tangan ke atas, tinggi ke atas, meminta ampun... meminta kekuatan. Selepas berdoa aku seolah-olah mendapat kekuatan baru untuk mara ke samping Ka'abah.¹⁴⁰

My body shakes, my heart pounds. Too weak to walk. I rest my body against a pillar and raise my arms upwards, high up, asking forgiveness, asking God not to judge my wickedness, asking for strength... After praying, it is as if I am given new strength to approach the *Ka'aba*.

After circling the *Ka'aba*, Jajuli presses his body to the building, clinging to it and feeling the cool of the stone. He carries out the *sa'y* and returns to the Mosque to sit and reflect on its tranquillity -- a tranquillity that exists despite the presence of thousands of pilgrims.¹⁴¹ He feels very close to Allah, and feels increasingly happy.

On the eight day of Zulhijjah, Jajuli leaves for Arafah (where he falls very ill). After the assembly, he travels to Mina where he is invited to a Malay dinner at the Pilgrimage Savings Corporation Building.¹⁴² The invitation is not unexpected to the reader of Harun's narrative. The Malays who went to Mecca often gathered together there for social events. But Jajuli's account of this Malay dinner party is not reminiscent of Harun.

Aku begitu rindukan masakan Melayu. Ada tiga puluh orang lebih yang sama-sama makan malam itu. Kebanyakannya kakitangan Tabung Haji. Aku makan sehidang dengan Datuk Muhsin, Mufti Wilayah. Tidak banyak nasi yang dapat kutelan. Mulutku masih pahit. Orang lain terus

I was so longing for Malay food. There were more than 30 people gathered for the dinner. The majority of them were employees of the Pilgrimage Savings Corporation. I ate with Datuk Muhsin, the Mufti of the Federal Territory of Malaya). I could not swallow much rice.

makan. Tiada seorang pun yang bercerita atau sekurang-kurang menegur sapa tentang diriku, tentang kesihatanku. Aku jemu di situ dan minta diri pulang ke khemah.¹⁴³

My mouth was still sour. Other people continued to eat. Not one person made conversation or at the very least greeted me or enquired about my health. I was bored there and excused myself to return to my tent.

Jajuli makes no other specific references to the Malay pilgrims in Mecca and it is clear they were of little significance in his experience of the *haj*.

After returning to Mecca, Jajuli goes to the Great Mosque, to be alone. He is oblivious to everything but the present moment. He:

duduk di sebelah bangunan bilal sembahyang di sebelah timur, waktu pagi di situ tidak panas. Berjam-jam aku melihat Baitullah. Aku lupa, lupa segala-galanya, rumah, kampung halaman, anak, saudara mara, kawan-kawan sepejabat dan lain-lain. Setiap kali aku berdoa, aku rasa benar-benar mengadap Allah. Aku rukuk dan sujud terus kepadanya. Aku tahu Allah tidak di situ, tetapi aku yakin Dia melihatku ... Dapatkah aku kekal dengan kebahagiaan ini selamanya?¹⁴⁵

sits at the eastern side of the building where the *bilal*¹⁴⁴ calls the community to prayer. At this time of day it is not hot there. For hours I look at the house of God. I forget, forget everything, home, neighbours, children, relatives, colleagues and so on. Every time I pray I feel that I am really in the presence of God. I bow and prostrate myself towards Him. I know Allah is not there, but I am convinced that He can see me ... Can I maintain this state of ecstasy for ever more?

There are some similarities between Jajuli's account and that of the other Malay writers. Like Abdullah, Jajuli mentions mundane details -- he states that he ate tinned pineapple and French bread at Mina after his illness.¹⁴⁶ Like Harun, he misses his children in Malaya,¹⁴⁷ and he does record his attendance at the Malay Pilgrimage Savings Corporation dinner.

It is not, however, the similarities but the differences between Jajuli and the other authors which are most striking. Neither *kerajaan* nor Malay nationalism form a background to the events which he recounts. In writing of the holy land he does not rely on Malay parallels or contrasts, nor is there any indication that he sees the *haj* in terms of the status to be achieved at home by becoming a *haji*.¹⁴⁸

What Jajuli's account reminds us of is the final section of Abdullah's. The focus of these two accounts is on Mecca and Islam: the performance of the *haj* is indeed to them, to use again Grunebaum's expression, "the culmination of the believer's religious experience". Jajuli, however, differs from Abdullah in his treatment of personal experience and in the extent to which he expresses religious fervour. With Abdullah and Harun we noted the emergence of a new style of writing in the first person -- Jajuli's account develops this much further. From the very beginning, in the bus travelling to Mecca, he explores and analyses the meaning of the *haj* for himself. He presents us with a "stream of consciousness" familiar to modern readers, which allows us to experience his inner conflict and tension. It is Jajuli's spiritual crisis, his concern with his burden of sin, and the resolution of that crisis which gives unity to the account. The *syair* at the end of Abdullah's narrative provides a hint of a similar exploration of interiority, but it is only a hint.

Only one type of earlier Malay writing reminds one of Jajuli as regards spiritual fervour, and that is the work of the mystics, the Sufis. The sixteenth-century Sumatran writer, Hamzah Fansuri,¹⁴⁹ for instance, expresses religious enthusiasm as profoundly as does Jajuli. Hamzah's style, however, is didactic. He does not share his own experience with the reader. He does not write in the first person. Hamzah's aim is rather to mediate between the Arabic texts and the Malay Muslim, and he teaches his readers or listeners, explaining to them the doctrines of the religion.¹⁵⁰ Hamzah's language is also often technical -- in particular many of the Arabic words would not have been understood by the uninitiated.¹⁵¹ Jajuli's language, in contrast, is straight forward. Moreover, unlike that of Harun, it seems to be modern without being thoroughly Western.¹⁵² Although Jajuli's exploration of interiority is consistent with some of the most advanced twentieth century writing the language he uses is not laden with English loan-words and his use of parataxis, of balance by juxtaposition, is often reminiscent of traditional Malay literature.¹⁵³

To compare Jajuli's account with those of Harun and the Malay court is instructive. The *kerajaan* or the Malay nationalist context is not the background schema. Jajuli's pilgrimage is neither that of a royal subject nor that of a Malay nationalist. Neither the Raja nor the modern Malay state is interposed in any way between Jajuli and his God. What shines through Jajuli's account is the direct relationship between the individual and Allah. Just as Jajuli's account of the *haj* is articulated around the pilgrim's own experience, so, Jajuli seems to suggest, should spiritual life be grounded in the individual's personal relationship with God.

The reader may note that Jajuli's account, written in very recent times, is indicative of religious and political trends in Malaysia today. The strengthening of Fundamentalist Islam, which argues for the implementation in Malay life of Islamic rather than traditional *kerajaan* or Western principles, and demands that men identify themselves as belonging above all to the international Islamic community rather than the state, has been much discussed. The tension between Fundamentalism and Malay nationalism is especially evident,¹⁵⁴ and Harun Aminurrashid's account of the *haj* suggests why this should be. For Harun, as we have seen, Islam tends to be understood in the context of nationalism; the Fundamentalist, however, could permit no such primacy to secular principles.

CONCLUSION

The five Malay texts which have been discussed provide pictures of the *haj* "from the inside". They contribute, of course, to our knowledge of the administration, the ritual, and the political implications of the *haj*, but above all they permit insights into the way Malays themselves perceived, and perceive, the pilgrimage. Moreover, our accounts not only represent a range of spiritual responses to the rite but at the same time provide an opportunity to explore Malay cultural and social values.

As Victor Turner would have predicted, the five Malay texts reflect the social values of their age. In comparing the *HHT* and the *Tuhfat* we have noted the way Islam ceases to be subsumed beneath the *kerajaan* system. In Abdullah we see an incipient Jajuli. Living outside the Malay polities and under the protection of the British, Abdullah participated in a burgeoning Muslim community which felt no sympathy with the pretensions of the *kerajaan*. He also lived in a time when there was no Malay nationalism to compete with Islam, and his response to Mecca is thus relatively unfettered by political considerations. It is with Jajuli, however, that the experience of the *haj* is expressed with most intensity. Whether or not the *haj* played a more significant part in Jajuli's life than it did in the lives of Harun, Abdullah, or Raja Ahmad, cannot be determined with certainty. It is true that the rites of the *haj* remain constant in all the Malay accounts in which they are described, but the Malay response to the pilgrimage must be examined through the prism of literary genre. Not only may Malay religious and social values change but developments in literary style also permit the expression of emotions or beliefs formerly hidden from the historian.

Conclusions must be offered with unusual hesitation. The absence of any political context in Jajuli's account of the *haj*, for instance, does seem significant. And it deserves to be noted that he utilized a particular literary style -- a style which was available to, but not adopted by Harun -- in order to convey a spiritual intensity of great magnitude. The full-blown

investigation of the self common in modern literature is employed by Jajuli to write an account which makes the other accounts of the *haj* examined in this study -- excepting perhaps that of Abdullah -- seem almost two-dimensional.

As a result, the modern Malay Fundamentalist might find an appealing dialectic in this study. There remain in Malay society, of course, people who continue to view the rajas as "Shadows of Allah on Earth" and as the heads of Islam in their states. Other Malays continue almost to subsume Islam beneath the doctrines of Malay nationalism. But the Fundamentalist would conclude that history is on his side. To him these five accounts of the *haj* would demonstrate that Islam had to be liberated, first from the *kerajaan*, and secondly, from nationalism. The Fundamentalist might well consider that Jajuli's account encapsulates the culmination of the Malay experience, not only of the *haj* but also of Islam.

The historian and literary specialist who are outsiders to Malay culture are attracted to these accounts for different reasons. The *haj* presents us with a focus for examining socio-cultural change and tension. Do not other institutions in Malay life deserve to be investigated in this way? Is it possible for instance, to examine Malay attitudes to marriage, to death, to prayer, to property, and to leadership by means of a comparison of Malay texts? Historians, ethnographers, and legal specialists have quarried Malay writings in search of data on such matters but it might be more fruitful to examine the way in which these institutions are presented. The style of presentation demands to be analysed as well as the data. In doing so, historians will gradually be able to establish new and more meaningful perspectives upon which to build Malay social history.

NOTES

- 1 See, for example, J. Vredembregt, "The Haddj. Some of its Features and Functions in Indonesia", *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (BKI)* 118, no.1 (1962): 91-139; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mecca in the Latter Part of the 19th Century* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, and London: Luzac & Co, 1931), and idem, "De Hadji-politiek der Indische regeering 1909", *Verspreide Geschriften* 4, no. 2, (Bonn and Leipzig: K. Schroeder, 1923), Awang Had Salleh, "Modern Concept of Hajj Management: The Experience of Malaysia", in *Hajj Studies*, edited by Ziauddin Sardar and M.A. Zaki Badawi (London: Croom Helm, 1979), Vol. I, pp. 73-86; Abdul Kadir Haji Din, "Economic Implications of Moslem Pilgrimage from Malaysia", *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 4, no. 1 (June 1982): 58-75, Narifumi Maeda, "The After Effects of Hajj and Kaan Buat", *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 6, no. 2 (September 1975): 178-89, and W.R. Roff, "The Conduct of the Haj from Malaya, and the First Malay Pilgrimage Officer", in *Sari Terbitan Tak Berkala* (Institut Bahasa Kesusasteraan dan Kebudayaan Melayu: Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1975), pp. 81-112. Exact statistics for the number of Malay pilgrims undertaking the *haj* are difficult to obtain as figures were recorded only from the end of the nineteenth century and then only in areas under British jurisdiction. Writing of that period, R.J. Wilkinson states, "the Malays can at least claim that they send more pilgrims to Mecca (in proportion to their numbers) than are sent by Indians, Persians, Moors or Turks", in "Malay Customs and Beliefs", *Journal of the Malayan Branch Royal Asiatic Society JMBRAS*, 30, no. 4 (1957): 6. Figures available for the first decade of this century range from an annual total of 2,278 Malay pilgrims (from British areas) in 1902-3, to an estimated 30,000 in 1911-12; see also Roff, "The Conduct," p. 85, note 17. For discussion of the increase in the number of Malay and Indonesian *hajis* during the nineteenth and early twentieth century, see W.R. Roff, "South-east Asian Islam in the Nineteenth Century", in *The Cambridge History of Islam*, P.M. Holt et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), Vol. 2A, p. 172, and Vredembregt, "The Haddj", pp. 92-94.

- 2 Although other scholars, like Roff, have recognized the need for such studies, Roff writes: "little has been said about the spiritual experience afforded to the individual Malay pilgrim [peasant or prince], or to the collective, by the *haj*..." and "...the hardest task remains - to come closer to understanding what for the pilgrim and the community of pilgrims was the meaning and effect of the journey" (*The Conduct*, pp. 109 and 111).

- 3 V. Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture. Anthropological Perspectives* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), p. 106. In an earlier work, V. Turner, *Dramas Fields and Metaphors. Symbolic Action in Human Society* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1974), p. 184, he called for "studies with an emphasis on personal documents which give the viewpoint of the actors, or on their own explanations and interpretations of the phenomena", although his own interest was anthropological rather than historical.

- 4 They are: Kassim Ahmad, ed., *Hikayat Hang Tuah* (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1964); Virginia Matheson and Barbara Watson Andaya, trans., *The Precious Gift* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1982), with the Malay text forthcoming from the same publisher; Kassim Ahmad, ed., "Pelayaran ka-Judah", in *Kisah Pelayaran Abdullah* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1962); Harun Aminurrashid, *Chatetan ka-Tanah Suchi* (Singapore: Pustaka Melayu, 1961); and H.M. Jajuli, "Satu Perjalanan Pendek yang Mengesankan", *Dewan Masyarakat*, Jilid XVII, Bilangan 10 (15 October 1979), pp. 6-11. We have not used the text of Abdul Majid's account of his pilgrimage undertaken in the early 1920s, although Roff ("The Conduct", p.101) has referred to it as the "best descriptive pre-World War II account" of the *haj*. Abdul Majid used English to record his experiences while our other accounts are in Malay. Although these English accounts have not been included in our five chosen texts, we have referred to Abdul Majid's material throughout our study. The references are: Haji Abdul Majid, "A Malay's Pilgrimage to Mecca", *JMBRAS* 4, no. 2 (October 1926): 269-87; and William Roff, *The Wandering Thoughts of a Dying Man. The Life and Times of Haji Abdul Majid bin Zainuddin* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 148-58. A list of some further Malay and Indonesian writings on the *haj* is provided in the Appendix.

- 5 For descriptions of the significance of the pilgrimage in Islam, see H.A.R. Gibb and J.H. Kramers, eds., *The Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam (SEI)* (under "*hadjdj*") (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1953); C. Snouck Hurgronje, "Het Mekkaansche Feest", in *Verspreide Geschriften* (Bonn and Leipzig: K. Schroeder, 1923), Vol. I, pp. 1-124; Gustave E. von Grunebaum, *Muhammadan Festivals* (London: Curzon, 1958); and Ziauddin Sardar and M.A. Zaki Badawi, eds., *Hajj Studies* (London: Croom Helm, 1979), Vol. I. There are a number of English accounts by non-Muslims, the best known being Richard F. Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to al-Madinah and Meccah* (London: Tylston and Edwards, 1893), 2 vols. For an account by an English Muslim who performed the *haj* in the

- 1930s, see Owen Rutter, *Triumphant Pilgrimage* (London: Harrap, 1937).
- 6 Von Grunebaum, *Festivals*, p. 15.
 - 7 H.A.R. Gibb, trans. and rev., *The Travels of Ibn Battūta A.D. 1325-1354* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for the Hakluyt Society, 1958), Vol. I.
 - 8 Ibid., p. 8.
 - 9 Ibid., p. 188. The *Kacaba* stands almost exactly in the middle of the Great Mosque of Mecca, the Masjid al-Harām. It is built of local granite and is about 50 feet high, 35 feet long and 40 feet wide. The *Kacaba* forms the beginning and end of the pilgrimage rites. The *kibla*, or direction of prayer for all Muslims, is the area of the *Kacaba* between a water spout and the western corner. It is considered especially meritorious to perform the *ṣalāt* prayer inside the *Kacaba*, which is only opened ten or so times a year. The interior is furnished only with gold and silver lamps, though the inner walls are inscribed. For further details, see von Grunebaum, *Festivals*, pp. 22-23 and *SEI*, under *Kacba*.
 - 10 See notes 14 and 28.
 - 11 The "standing" or *wukūf* on the plain of Arafā is considered the most essential part of the *hajj*. It is regarded as a symbol of standing before God and occurs from the afternoon of the ninth day of Zulhijjah until sunset of that day. (see *SEI*, under "*wukūf*"). Von Grunebaum writes, "he who misses it [the *wukuf*] has missed the *hajj*" (see *Festivals*, p. 32). According to an English Muslim who performed the *hajj* in the 1930s, there is an occurrence which is believed to happen every year at Arafā, during the *wukuf*, which is not mentioned in any of our sources. Allah is supposed to send a whirlwind every year to Arafā which sweeps away the pilgrims' sins. The English pilgrim said he experienced it when he was at Arafā (Rutter, *Triumphant Pilgrimage*, pp. 231-32).
 - 12 Gibb, *Travels*, p. 245. See also von Grunebaum's description in *Festivals*, p. 32. Burton also writes: "Then I saw the scene which has given to this part of the ceremonies the name of

Al-Dafa'a min Arafat -- the 'Hurry from Arafat'. Every man urged his beast with might and main: it was sunset, the plain bristled with tent-pegs, litters were crushed, pedestrians were trampled, camels were overthrown: single combats with sticks and other weapons took place; here a woman, there a child, and there an animal were lost; briefly, it was a chaotic confusion." (Burton, *Narrative*, Vol. II, p. 199.)

- 13 Gibb, *Travels*, p. 246. The tenth day of Zulhijjah and the day after the *wuḳūf* at Arafat are devoted to ceremonies which, in von Grunebaum's words, "restore the *muhrim* [person in a state of *iḥrām*, or consecration] to the world of the profane" (von Grunebaum, *Festivals*, p. 33). Only the stoning of the three pillars is properly part of the *hajj* rites (for a good description, see Burton, *Narrative*, Vol. 2, pp. 203-6), but most pilgrims participate in the sacrifice of animals near Mina, and have their heads shaved and nails trimmed before discarding their white pilgrim's garments and returning to Mecca (*SEI*, p. 122; and von Grunebaum, *Festivals*, p. 35).

- 14 Gibb, *Travels*, p. 247. The Syrian gift-bearing caravan to Mecca ended after World War I but the Egyptian gifts continue to be sent. The cost of the Egyptian expedition (*mahmal*) sent at the beginning of this century was estimated at US\$250,000 (see von Grunebaum, *Festivals*, pp. 38-39 and also note 28).

- 15 Gibb, *Travels*, p. 190.

- 16 See note 4 for bibliographical details of the text referred to in this study. An English summary of *HHT* is given in R.O. Winstedt, *A History of Classical Malay Literature* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. 62-69. The text of *Hikayat Hang Tuah* used in this study is based on a manuscript copied in the nineteenth century. The *Hikayat* was, however, written before that. The earliest European reference to the *HHT* is 1736, while the oldest extant manuscript is dated 1758. As the last dateable event in the *Hikayat* occurred in 1641, we may presume that it was written in the latter half of the seventeenth century, though versions of part, or all of it, may have existed in the previous century. In 1979, Professor Sulastin Sutrisno, of Universitas Gajah Mada, Jogjakarta, prepared a thesis entitled "Hang Tuah: Analisis Struktur dan Fungsi", but we have been

unable to locate a copy of her work. For further information on manuscripts and translations of the *HHT*, see *Perceptions of the Past in Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Heinemann Educational Books for the Asian Studies Association of Australia, 1979), edited by Anthony Reid and David Marr, p.408. A considerable body of critical literature exists on the *HHT*. Among recent writings are Shelly Errington, "A Study of Genre: Meaning and Form in the Malay *Hikayat Hang Tuah*" (Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1975); Kassim bin Ahmad, *Characterization in Hikayat Hang Tuah* (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1966); P.E. de Josselin de Jong, "The Rise and Decline of a National Hero", *JMBRAS* 38, no. 2, pp.140-55; and B.B. Parnickel, "An Epic Hero and an 'Epic Traitor' in the *Hikayat Hang Tuah*", *BKI* 132, no. 4 (1976): 403-17.

- 17 For descriptions and analyses of the Malay polity, see J.M. Gullick, *Indigenous Political Systems of Western Malaysia* (University of London: The Athlone Press, 1965); A.C. Milner, *Kerajaan* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1982); and articles by Leonard Andaya, Barbara Watson Andaya, Dianne Lewis and Virginia Matheson in Anthony Reid and Lance Castles, eds., *Pre-Colonial State Systems in Southeast Asia*, Monographs of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, no. 6 (Kuala Lumpur, 1975).

- 18 Marsden defined Rum in the early nineteenth century as "Constantinople, the Turkish empire, the empire of the Seljuks of Iconium; Asia Minor, Anatolia", in William Marsden, *A Dictionary of the Malayan Language* (London: William Marsden, 1812). For a brief discussion of Seljuk Rum and the Ottoman empire, see P.M. Holt, *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent 1516-1922* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966), pp. 23-25. According to Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1970), pp. 244-45, Mecca was regarded by Malay-Indonesian pilgrims as the spiritual centre of the world, but Constantinople remained the material centre, and was still regarded with awe.

- 19 The Sultan of Rum is mentioned in Malay texts as one of the greatest rulers, together with the ruler of China; see, for instance, J.H. Moor, *Notices of the Indian Archipelago* (London: Frank Cass, 1968, originally published, 1837), p.262, and William Marsden, *The History of Sumatra* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1966, originally published 1811), p. 338. T. Iskandar has suggested that the *HHT* borrowed the motif of the mission to Rum from Acehnese sources, because it

does not appear in any other Malay literary work; see T. Iskandar "Some Historical Sources used by the author of *Hikayat Hang Tuah*", *JMBRAS* 43, no. 1 (1970): 35-47, especially p. 44.

- 20 *HHT*, p. 440. See note 25 for Richard Burton's description of Eve's grave. Burton also notes that the Wahhabis did not approve of the reverence given to Eve's tomb and therefore destroyed the tomb (*Narrative*, Vol. 2, p. 274). Writing in 1926, Haji Abdul Majid, in "Pilgrimage", p. 271, remarks that before leaving Jeddah, the pilgrim "must be shown the Tomb of Eve, which lies just outside the town, to the north-east".
- 21 *HHT*, p. 441.
- 22 *Ibid.*, p. 442-43.
- 23 *Ibid.*, pp. 443-44. Burton notes that the importance of the Prophet's tomb was debated in Islam in the nineteenth century. The "orthodox school of Al-Malik holds Al-Madinah, on account of the sanctity of, and the religious benefits to be derived from, Mohammad's tomb, more honourable than Meccah". The "Wahhabis", on the other hand, "rejecting the Intercession of the Apostle on the Day of Judgement, considering the grave of a mere mortal unworthy of notice, and highly disgusted by the idolatrous respect paid to it by certain foolish Moslems, plundered the sacred building with sacrilegious violence, and forbade visitors from distant countries to enter Al-Madinah" (*Narrative*, Vol. I, p. 306). Writing of the period 1258-1503 in Islam, Hodgson notes the way the Prophet's tomb at Medina had become "almost as important as the *hajj* pilgrimage to Mecca itself, and was commonly combined with it"; see Marshall G.S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), Vol. 2, p. 452. He discusses the destruction of the tomb by the Wahhabis in Vol. 3, p. 161.
- 24 In 1481, Mecca was, in fact, still under the Mamlūk sultans of Egypt. The Sharifs (rulers) of Mecca were vassals of the Egyptian sultan and only came under Ottoman control after Sultan Selim's conquest of Egypt in 1517 (see *SEI* under "Mecca"). We have not been able to identify the two sons of Zainal Abidin.

- 25 "Dua kali orang melompat", *HHT*, p. 444. It is interesting that Burton quotes an earlier European traveller, Rook, who confirms the length of the grave as given in the *HHT*. Burton himself also comments on the grave's size, although the structure he examined was "clearly modern", the earlier grave having been destroyed by the Wahhabis. Burton comments: "if our first parent measured a hundred and twenty paces from head to waist, and eighty from waist to heel, she must have presented much the appearance of a duck" (Burton, *Narrative*, Vol. 2, p. 274). Writing in 1888, Doughty gives the length as "almost half a furlong", in Charles M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta* (New York: Dover Publications, 1979), p. 574. Writing in the 1920s, Haji Abdul Majid says the length is sixty yards (Abdul Majid, "Pilgrimage", p. 271). A Malay would have found the length of the grave worthy of note for it is a Malay superstition that markers on the graves of saints "miraculously increase their relative distance during the lapse of years". See W.W. Skeat, *Malay Magic* (New York: Dover Publications, 1967), p. 66.
- 26 *HHT*, p. 444-45.
- 27 Nabi Khidir (the prophet Khidir, from al-Khidr, meaning "the green"), is associated with the Qur'anic story in Sura 18:60-82. This describes a journey of Musa (Moses) during which he meets a servant of God. Qur'anic commentators have identified this servant of God as al-Khidr, the patron saint of travellers. He is associated with a rock (on which he is described as sitting in the *HHT*) and with the spring of life, or the water of immortality, which he himself drank. In the Alexander romance (including its Malay version *Hikayat Iskandar Zulkarnain*) al-Khidr was Alexander's confidant, companion and adviser. Various traditions ascribe characteristics to him which are all relevant to his depiction in the *HHT*. He lives on an island (see *HHT*, p. 342.), is commonly the patron of seafaring people, can make himself invisible at will (*HHT*, p. 445), annually makes the pilgrimage to Mecca with Elijah, and speaks the language of all men (*HHT*, p. 445) see *SEI*, p. 233 ff. Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), pp. 102, 105-6, and 204, notes that mystics regarded Khidir as their guide. Sometimes, they would meet him on their journeys, as Hang Tuah did, and he would answer their questions and rescue them from danger. A recent article by Siti Chamamah Soeratno, "Khidir est proche, Dieu est loin", *Archipel* 15 (1978): 85-94, outlines Khidir's role in myths and popular ceremonies throughout the Muslim world. We thank Professor A.H. Johns for providing us with references

to Khidir. Professor Johns also points out that Sura 18 of the Qur'an, which tells of Moses and Khidir, is the earliest Sura we know of to be translated into Malay.

- 28 The Egyptian caravan (*mahmal*) is described in the early nineteenth century by E.W. Lane, *The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (London: J.M. Dent, New York: E.P. Dutton, n.d., first published 1836), pp. 489-491. Von Grunebaum mentions that people held the *mahmal* in such reverence that they would try to touch it "in order to partake of its virtue, *baraka*" (*Festivals*, p. 38).
- 29 Joseph Pitts, writing in 1680, found the inhabitants of Mecca to be "a poor sort of people, very thin, lean, and swarthy" (Burton, *Narrative*, Vol. 2, p. 365).
- 30 "Thrones of honour" probably refers to lavishly decorated litters, which wealthy or noble pilgrims would use for their journey to Arafa. Although Burton does not comment on their appearance, he mentions litters at Arafa in his *Narrative*, Vol. 2, pp. 178, 186, and 199.
- 31 Arafa is a plain fifteen miles northwest of Mecca (see Rutter, *Triumphant Pilgrimage*, p. 227). The hill of Arafa is the Jabal al-Rahmat (or Jami al-Sakhrayh), and according to Burton some "wilder" Arabs insist that the *wukūf* ("the standing") should take place on this hill rather than on the plain (*Narrative*, Vol. 2, p. 193). It is possible, therefore, that Hang Tuah did perform the *wukūf* on the hill rather than the plain.
- 32 According to the *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* (p. 122) only the Jamrat al-ʿAḳaba is stoned on the tenth day of Zulhijjah, while the stoning of the other piles of rock is usually performed on following days, and Burton's account supports this. He describes the Jamrat al-ʿAḳaba (popularly called "Shaytan al-Kabir" - the Great Devil) as "a dwarf buttress of rude masonry, about eight feet by two and a half broad" (Burton, *Narrative*, Vol. 2, pp. 203-4). There may have been a time, however, when all three pillars were stoned on the tenth day of Zulhijjah as implied in the description in the *HHT*, because Burckhardt and Keane also expressly state that the three pillars were stoned on that day (*SEI*, p. 122).

- 33 See von Grunebaum, *Festivals*, pp. 33-40. Shaving the head is part of the "desacralizing" rites, as mentioned in note 13.
- 34 The *haji umrah* can be performed at any time of the year by Muslims visiting Mecca, and is not restricted to the pilgrimage month of Zulhijjah. The *haj umrah* consists of rites in Mecca only, and so does not include the *wuḳūf* at Arafā, the stoning of the pillars or the sacrifice at Mina. The rites of the "lesser haj" are seven circumambulations of the *Kaʿaba* and the sevenfold running between Ṣafā and Marwa.
- 35 *The Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* explains that the *maqām Ibrahim* is a small pagoda-like building with a dome, near the *Kaʿaba* in the Great Mosque of Mecca. "In it is kept a stone, on which Ibrahim [Abraham] is said to have stood at the building of the *Kaʿaba*. ... According to Oriental travellers and historians, it is a soft stone on which the footprints of Ibrahim can still be seen." (*SEI*, p. 192.)
- 36 The covering of the *Kaʿaba*, the *kiswa*, is prepared every year in Egypt and brought to Mecca by the *maḥmal*. In preparation for the hanging of the new covering, the old is removed on 25 Zul-kaʿda and the *Kaʿaba* covered with temporary white hangings, when it is said the *Kaʿaba* is wearing *iḥrām*. At the end of the *haj*, the new *kiswa* from Egypt is installed (*SEI*, p. 191). A full description of the re-covering and the beauty of the *kiswa* is given in Lane, *The Manners*, pp. 486-89. "Every inch of the garment [*kiswa*] is of course regarded as a relic and small pieces are sold by the Banu Shaiba, the gate-keepers of the *Kaʿaba*, as amulets" (*SEI*, p. 191). It is still the custom for the Malay pilgrims to buy portions of the *Kaʿaba* covering to take home as gifts (see Rutter, *Triumphant Pilgrimage*, p.248).
- 37 See note 11.
- 38 According to the *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* (p. 192) the Black Stone is set in the eastern corner of the *Kaʿaba* wall, about five feet above the ground. It now consists of three large pieces and several small fragments of lava-like dark stone, stuck together and surrounded by a ring of stone and then one of silver, about twelve inches in diameter. Pilgrims who can get close enough kiss it as they circumambulate the *kaʿaba* (von Grunebaum, *Festivals*, p. 23). Richard Burton

quotes Burkhardt's description (Burton, *Narrative*, Vol. 2, pp. 300-2). Pilgrims believe that when the Black Stone is kissed it absorbs sin, and can be a source of inspiration (see Rutter, *Triumphant Pilgrimage*, p. 221).

39 This is the sacred well of Mecca, situated within the Great Mosque, opposite the corner of the *Ka'aba* where the Black Stone is inserted. The well is 140 feet deep and covered by a dome. Its origin is ascribed to the Angel Gabriel, who made the water flow for Ismail and Hagar when they were thirsting in the desert. Pilgrims purchase containers of Zamzam water to take away as gifts, as it is believed to be miraculous (see Burton, *Narrative*, Vol. 2, pp. 163-64; and *SEI*, p. 657).

40 *HHT*, pp. 445-46.

41 Haji Abdul Majid noted that when he performed the pilgrimage in the 1920s, it took "twelve nights to reach Medina [from Mecca], stopping at eleven different places" ("*Pilgrimage*", p. 278).

42 Joseph Pitts, writing in 1680, observed that "Muslims who live to the southward of Mecca, at the East Indies, and there away, are not bound to make a visit to Medina, but to Mecca only, because it would be so much out of their way" (quoted in Burton, *Narrative*, Vol. 2, p.386). Baqī^c is the site of the first Muslim cemetery in Medina, where the Prophet's daughters, his son Ibrahim, his wives and all his descendants (except al Husain) are buried. Pilgrims consider it an act of piety to visit Baqī^c. Uhud was the site of the second great battle in Islam. The Muslims were defeated by the Meccan Quraysh, and Muhammad, injured by a stone, was taken to a cave at the top of Mount Uhud. Muhammad's uncle, Hamzah, was killed in the battle by an Ethiopian soldier, and was buried where he fell.

43 Burton quotes Burckhardt's opinion that the Qur'an of Uthman, which used to mark the place of the Prophet's head at his grave in the mosque at Medina, had perished when the mosque was destroyed by fire (Burton, *Narrative*, Vol. 1, p. 322, n. 1). Uthman's Qur'an had then been replaced by another. "Uthman's Qur'an" is so named because it was compiled on the orders of the third caliph, Uthman (644-55). The third caliph had authorized a new Qur'an to be based on the earlier version which had been made by the Prophet's secretary, Zaid

bin Thābit. Copies were made of Uthman's Qur'an, one of which was kept at Medina, and another three were sent to other centres. That text became accepted as the standard version of the Qur'an (*SEI*, under "al-Kur'ān").

- 44 See note 23. Burton lists the descriptions of travellers who saw the Prophet's tomb, in *Narrative*, Vol. I, pp. 323 ff. Hodgson notes a medieval belief that the Prophet was regarded as being present at his tomb, and had even offered his hand from the grave for one of the saints to kiss (*The Venture*, Vol. 2, pp. 451-52).
- 45 Charles M. Doughty's nineteenth-century account, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 1, p.137, mentions that sweet-smelling incense, the delight of the Arabs, mainly came "in the pilgrimage from the Malay Islands to Mecca; and from thence is dispersed throughout the Arabian Peninsula, almost to every household".
- 46 *HHT*, p. 446. This blessing has significance later in the text when Hang Tuah is buried in the ground in order to satisfy the Sultan's curiosity about the world beyond the grave. Hang Tuah, perhaps because of the blessing of the Medina sheikh, survives the experience (see *HHT*, pp. 480-82).
- 47 *Ibid.*, p. 447.
- 48 *Ibid.*, p. 447.
- 49 The pilgrimage is described from p. 440 to p. 447, and the sojourn in Rum from p. 453 to p. 477.
- 50 Although usually performed as part of the *haj*, the *sa'y* is not an obligatory part of the pilgrim's rites (see von Grunebaum, *Festivals*, p. 31).
- 51 This comparison was suggested by Professor A.H. Johns. In recent times, there has been an abundance of guidebooks for the pilgrim. These guidebooks, or handbooks, set out the correct procedure for every stage of the pilgrimage. Of great practical value, the guidebooks also help to ensure that the *haj*, performed strictly according to the stipulations of the

Qur'an, will be *mabrūr* (acceptable to Allah) and therefore will earn the fullest merit and benefit for the pilgrim. Examples of modern guides are *Petundjuk bagi Djemahh Haji Indonesia* (Djakarta: Direktorat Djenderal Urusan Hadji, 1970), and *Rissalah Hajji* (Jakarta: Media Da'wah, 1978).

- 52 Shelly Errington, "A Study of Genre".
- 53 Ibid., p. 159.
- 54 Ibid., p. 161.
- 55 See Milner, *Kerajaan*, p. 2.
- 56 Gullick, *Political Systems*, p. 44; and Milner, *Kerajaan*, p. 9.
- 57 The role of the Malay raja in the Islamization process is discussed in A.C. Milner, "Islam and Malay Kingship", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, no. 1 (1981): 46-70.
- 58 Milner, "Islam", pp. 58-61.
- 59 Errington ("A Study of Genre", p. 164) argues that Hang Tuah and his Malay entourage were like tourists with no special relationship to their newly discovered world. We suggest that through the use of elements such as Nabi Khidir and Sheikh Jamaluddin (at the Prophet's mosque in Medina), the *HHT* demonstrates that Hang Tuah did have a special relationship with this non-Malay world.
- 60 *HHT*, p. 28, 140 ff, 307-8.
- 61 See Skeat, *Malay Magic*, pp. 65-71.
- 62 See J.G. de Casparis, *Prasasti Indonesia* (Bandung: Jawatan Purbakala Republik Indonesia, 1956), Vol. 2, p. 1 and 2; and G. Coedés "Les Inscriptions Malaises de Crivijaya", *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient* 30 (1930): 34 and 79.

63 *HHT*, pp.342-43.

64 See Sir Richard Winstedt ed., "The Malay Annals or Sejarah Melayu", *JMBRAS* 16, no. 3 (1938), p. 88; and W.G. Shellabear, ed., *Sejarah Melayu* (Singapore: Malaya Publishing House Ltd, 1961), pp. 5-7; and Khalid Hussain, ed., *Hikayat Iskandar Zulkarnain* (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1967), pp. xx, 53.

65 Errington comments on the fact that the ultimate source of Muslim beneficence, which the Malays go to considerable trouble to obtain, lies outside the Malay world ("A Study of Genre", p. 164). While it is true that Rum is a long way from Melaka, and the journey there is difficult, Hang Tuah did not exert himself in the search for spiritual power although the opportunities were presented to him. Perhaps the point is that when Hang Tuah is far from Melaka, he is not protected by the *daulat* of his sultan (and *daulat* does seem to be limited to a sultan's particular territory; see Virginia Matheson, "Concepts of Malay Ethos in Indigenous Malay Writings", *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 10, no. 2 [1979]: 361), so that when overseas he needs extra power and support. For further discussion of Nabi Khidir, see note 27.

66 *HHT*, p. 468.

67 For example, *HHT*, p. 469 ff. T. Iskandar claims that the description of the palace of the Sultan of Rum in the *HHT* is based on a passage from the *Bustanu's-Salatin*. See "Some Historical Sources used by the author of *Hikayat Hang Tuah*", in *JMBRAS* 43, no. 1 (1970): 44.

68 Teeuw has noted the way the journey to Rum linked Islam with the Malay world. The *HHT*, he observes, contains no accounts of Islamization initiated by foreigners, such as are found in *Sejarah Melayu* and *Hikayat Raja Raja Pasai*. Teeuw writes that in contrast to the Islamization accounts of the latter two works, it is not the Malays who are Islamized in the *HHT*, but Islam which is Malayized. Islam "dimasukkan ke dalam, disesuaikan dengan, diasimilasi kepada kepribadian Malayu" (p. 352); see A. Teeuw, "Tentang penghargaan dan pentafsiran Hikayat Hang Tuah", *Dewan Bahasa* 8, no. 8, (August 1964): 339-54.

- 69 For Portuguese references to the statement, see Milner, "Islam", p. 56.
- 70 It should be noted also that according to one Islamic tradition, attributed to al-Hallaj (died 922) and articulated fully by Ibn al-Arabi (died 1240), God was everywhere, and the true *Ka'aba* "was but our own being" (von Grunebaum, *Festivals*, p. 48). For examples of anti-*haj* sentiments in Javanese and Sumatran writings, see Vredembregt, *Haddj*, p. 107, and L.F. Brakel, "Hamzah Pansuri", *JMBRAS* 52, no. 1 (1979): 81.
- 71 We are using the English translation of Virginia Matheson and Barbara Watson Andaya, *The Precious Gift (Tuhfat al-Nafis)* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1982). The translation is based on a new critical edition of the Malay text of the *Tuhfat al-Nafis* which is in preparation. The Malay quotations in our study are from the new critical edition. For further details on the authorship and genesis of the text see Virginia Matheson, "Tuhfat al-Nafis: Structure and Sources", *BKI* 127 (1971): 375-92.
- 72 The *Tuhfat* emphasizes the ruler's importance a) by describing a ruler who did *not* perform his role satisfactorily see Andaya and Matheson, *Precious Gift*, pp. 277 and 278) and b) by means of a description of an exemplary ruler (*ibid.*, p. 282 f.). For a discussion of the ruler's duty to his community, as conceived by Raja Ali Haji, see Barbara Andaya and Virginia Matheson, "Islamic Thought and Malay Tradition: The Workings of Raja Ali Haji of Riau" (c. 1809-70), in *Perceptions of the Past in Southeast Asia*, edited by Anthony Reid and David Marr (Singapore: Heinemann Educational Books for the Asian Studies Association of Australia, 1979), pp. 123, 116 and 127.
- 73 Raja Ali was concerned that the restraints on society, in the form of religious law and Malay tradition, should not be loosened, as he predicted that this would lead to the disintegration of religion, *kerajaan*, and law and order: "maka sekaliannya tiada harus dibebaskan karena membinasakan ugama dan dunia kerajaan dan membatalkan segala hukuman dan undang-undang adanya". See Raja Ali Haji, *Kitab Pengetahuan Bahasa, Loghat Melayu Johor Pahang Riau Lingga* (Singapore: al-Ahmadiyah Press, 1927), p. 221.

- 74 Raja Haji died a martyr's death. He was killed by the Dutch in 1784, thus ending a nine-month siege of Malacca which he had organized. He was regarded by many of his Malay and Bugis contemporaries as a living saint, and some of the sanctity clung to his descendants. See Matheson and Andaya, *Precious Gift*, pp. 172-76 and p. 367, folio 237, note 1.
- 75 Ibid., p. 245.
- 76 Ibid., pp. 246-48.
- 77 Ibid., p. 249.
- 78 Ibid., p. 249.
- 79 The five Bugis brothers, who left Sulawesi to seek their fortunes in the lands to the west, were accompanied by 40 men of noble Bugis descent. They all won their fortunes, in Selangor, west Kalimantan, and Riau. The Bugis brothers who stayed in Riau accepted the office of Yamtuan Muda and were direct ancestors of Raja Ahmad and Raja Ali. The descendants of the 40 Bugis who accompanied the brothers were well regarded in Riau (see for example, Matheson and Andaya, *Precious Gift*, pp. 40 and 123).
- 80 Ibid., pp. 249-50. Sharif Yahya had been Sharif of Mecca until the governor of Egypt, on behalf of his Turkish masters, installed a new Sharif, Syambar. Yahya stabbed Syambar in the Great Mosque of Mecca, then fled north and joined the Harb Bedouins, whom he was trying to unite against the Turks (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, Vol. 1, p. 157).
- 81 A rocky pass about 20 leagues south of Mecca and the site of the first great battle of Islam in AD 623 when 1,000 Meccans were defeated by 313 Muslims.
- 82 Matheson and Andaya, *Precious Gift*, p. 251.
- 83 For a note on the graves at *Baqīʿ* and Mount Uhud, see note 42.

- 84 The term "Jawi" or "Jawah" includes "all people of Malay race, in the fullest meaning of the term; the geographical boundary is perhaps from Siam and Malacca to New Guinea", see Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, p. 215.
- 85 From the English word "brig" -- a two-masted square-rigged vessel.
- 86 Matheson and Andaya, *Precious Gift*, p. 251.
- 87 Ibid., p. 256; see pp. 268, 270, and 271 for missions he undertook; pp. 274, 279, and 283 for his religious teaching; and pp. 299-304 for his participation in matters of state.
- 88 See A.C. Milner, "Islam", pp. 58-60.
- 89 As described in Holt, *Egypt*, p. 15.
- 90 See E. Rehatsek, "History of the Wahhabys in Arabia and in India", *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 14 (1880): 275-76. There is also a brief discussion in Milner, "Islam", pp. 58-61. The *Tuhfat al-Nafis* records that in the early nineteenth century, a *Lebai* from Minangkabau was put to death on Lingga, by the reigning Yamtuan Muda because the *Lebai's* mystical teachings were regarded as heretical (see Matheson and Andaya, *Precious Gift*, pp. 216-17).
- 91 G.F. de Bruijn Kops, "Schets van den Riouw-Lingga Archipel", *Naturkundig Tijd van Nederlandsch Indie* IV, New Series I (1885): 342.
- 92 See Matheson and Andaya, *Precious Gift*, pp. 283-84; and idem, *Islamic Thought*, p. 123.
- 93 Matheson and Andaya, *Precious Gift*, pp. 283, and 285.
- 94 The stay in Batavia was for three months and is described in pp. 232-38, while the sojourn in the holy land was for about the same period, but is described in only a couple of pages (pp. 249-51).

- 95 Abdullah himself gives details of his family history and background in his autobiography, p. 11, translated by A.H. Hill, "The Hikayat Abdullah, An Annotated Translation", *JMBRAS* 28, no. 3 (1955). In his most recent contribution to details of Abdullah's life, Traill has found that in his revised version of *Hikayat Abdullah* (1849), Abdullah changed his original text, to make it unambiguously clear that although his father was of Indian descent, he considered himself a Malay. See H.F.O.B. Traill, "The 'lost' Manuscript of Hikayat Abdullah Munshi", *JMBRAS* 55, no.2 (1982): 130.
- 96 See further, H.F.O.B. Traill, "Aspects of Abdullah Munshi", *JMBRAS* 54, no. 3 (1981): 35-56. Abdullah did not only mix with Europeans. He was also in constant contact with Arab sheikhs from the Yemen; see A.H. Johns, "From Caricature and Vignette to Ambivalence and Angst", in *Self and Biography Essays on the Individual and Society in Asia*, edited by Wang Gungwu (University of Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1975), p. 40.
- 97 See Milner, *Kerajaan*, p. 115.
- 98 See Kassim Ahmad, ed., *Kisah Pelayaran Abdullah* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 125.
- 99 It was, in fact, the missionary Alfred North who suggested to Abdullah that he compose "a memoir of himself" and outlined for him topics which would be of benefit to both Malays and Europeans. It would seem that North also stressed to Abdullah that the "manners and customs" of people were worthy of being described, and that Abdullah followed this advice in his *Pelayaran ka-Kelantan*, which describes his journey up the east coast to Kelantan. North considered that Abdullah's language in *Hikayat Abdullah* was "beautiful Malay" and noted that Abdullah had "taken particular pains to introduce many of the every day phrases or idioms of the people". See C. Skinner, "Transitional Malay Literature: Part I, Ahmad Rijaluddin and Munshi Abdullah", *BKI* 134, no. 4, (1978): 480-81.
- 100 Abdullah's *Pelayaran ka-Judah*, edited by Kassim Ahmad (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 3rd ed. 1964), pp. 155-56. The *iḥrām* has to be worn by all pilgrims who perform the *haj* proper. It indicates a state of purity and humility, and consists of two pieces of unseamed white cloth, one

reaching from navel to knee, the other covering the back, chest and left shoulder and knotted on the right-hand side.

- 101 The *syair* is the most common written Malay verse form. It consists of four-line stanzas, with an aaaa rhyme scheme, and can be used for almost any topic. Most *syairs* run for hundreds of stanzas and it is obvious that Abdullah's *syair*, consisting of only one and a half stanzas, is incomplete. Completed poems by Abdullah include *Syair Kampung Gelam Terbakar*, edited by C. Skinner, *JMBRAS* 45, no. 2 (1972/3): 21-56. For general comments on the *syair* form see Virginia Matheson, "Questions Arising from a Nineteenth Century Riau Syair", *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* 17 (1983): 1-61.
- 102 Kassim Ahmad, ed., *Kesah Pelayaran Abdullah*, p. 156.
- 103 Although occasionally, he compares the unfamiliar with a Malay example, as when he writes that the Bedouin are like the Jakun in Malaya (Kassim Ahmad, ed., *Kesah Pelayaran Abdullah*, p. 142).
- 104 For details of the use of sources in *Tuhfat al-Nafis* see Virginia Matheson, "The *Tuhfat al-Nafis*: Structure and Sources", *BKI* 127, no. 3 (1971): 375-92, and for a note on the historiography of the text; see Virginia Matheson, ed., *Tuhfat al-Nafis* (Kuala Lumpur: Fajar Bakti, 1982).
- 105 A.H. Johns, *Caricature*, p. 35.
- 106 For examples of this, see A.C. Milner, "A Missionary Source for a Biography of Munshi Abdullah", *JMBRAS* 53, no. 1 (1980).
- 107 Abdullah feels able to depart from conventional literary formulae. He is able to describe a battle between Bedouins and Turks without one of the stock phrases for battles which are repeatedly employed in the *Tuhfat al-Nafis*. Compare Abdullah's battle description in Kassim Ahmad, *Kesah Pelayaran Abdullah*, p. 146, with Raja Ali Haji's accounts, in Matheson and Andaya, *Precious Gift*, pp. 56, 149-50, 168, and 170.

- 108 Phillip Thomas analysed hundreds of *syair* lines and decided that "most lines consist of four positions" (see P.L. Thomas, "*Syair and Pantun Prosody*", *Indonesia* 27 [1979]: p. 58). By using four positions per line, the average number of syllables is twelve in traditional *syair*. This restricts the amount of information which can be conveyed in one *syair* line, and most *syairs* only offer one segment of information per line. Abdullah departs from the four-position, 12-syllable line, and in his concluding *syair* composed at Mecca, he writes long lines ranging from 16 to 23 syllables. This enables him to convey more information per line than the traditional *syair*. It is possible that Abdullah was deliberately experimenting with a more flexible verse form.
- 109 See A.H. Hill, trans., "*Hikayat Abdullah*", pp. 29, 51, and 58; Kassim Ahmad, *Kisah Pelayaran Abdullah*, pp. 124-25, and Virginia Matheson, "*Concepts of Malay Ethos*", pp. 363, and 367.
- 110 W.R. Roff, *The Origins of Malay Nationalism* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1967), pp. 155-56; and Khoo Kay Kim, "The Beginnings of Political Extremism in Malaya 1915-1935" dissertation, University of Malaya (Ph.D., 1972), p. 123. In 1938, Harun's stirring speeches on the glory of the Malays in former times so aroused the students of Sultan Idris College that Harun was considered dangerous by the authorities of the Education Department. As a result, he was sent to Brunei as Superintendent of Malay Education there, see Li Chuan Siu, *A Bird's-eye View of the Development of Modern Malay Literature, 1921-1941* (Kuala Lumpur: Pustaka Antara, 1970), p. 28.
- 111 For recent information on Harun, see *Dewan Masyarakat*, 15 August 1980, pp. 29-30; and Baharuddin Zainal et al., ed., *Wajah* (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1981), pp. 183-85.
- 112 Harun, *Chatetan*, "Kata Penerbit".
- 113 Ibid., "Pendahuluan".
- 114 Ibid., p. 44.
- 115 Ibid., pp. 101, 102, and 108.

116 Ibid., pp. 50, and 155.

117 Ibid., pp. 67, and 162.

118 "At Your Service, O Allah, at Your Service". The *Labbaika* formula is proclaimed by the pilgrims loudly throughout their *haj* rites, until the time of the stoning of the pillars at Mina.

119 After being separated and driven from Paradise, Adam repented of his actions, and the Angel Gabriel brought him to Arafah where he was re-united with Eve.

120 Harun, *Chatetan*, pp. 113-14.

121 Ibid., p. 117.

122 Ibid.

123 Ibid., p. 118.

124 Ibid., p. 83.

125 Ibid., p. 60.

126 Ibid., p. 52.

127 Ibid., p. 96.

128 Ibid., p. 97.

129 Ibid., pp. 46-47.

130 Ibid., pp. 80-81, 91, and 145.

131 Ibid., p. 81.

132 Ibid., p. 179.

133 Referring to the situation in the late nineteenth century, C. Snouck Hurgronje noted: "Various causes have brought it about that in that Archipelago [Indonesia-Malaysia] the Hajji-title has a more sonorous ring than is perhaps the case in any other part of the world". He also considers that the *hajis* are "a class distinguished from the rest of the population" (*Mekka*, pp. 242, 243). A Malay scholar has just published a paper which shows that until as recently as the 1960s, "for both the Indonesian and Malaysian cases the honorific *hajji* does offer better marital prospects, and prior to the 1960s the social position of *hajis* entitled them to receive annual dues of tithe from the community together with some degree of respect and reverence" (Abdul Kadir Haji Din, "Economic Implications of Moslem Pilgrimage from Malaysia", *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 4, no. 1 [June 1982]: 64 and 67). Narifumi Maeda examined the social position of Malays after their pilgrimage and found an "intensification of the deference position". He writes that in the formal sphere, the title of *haji* is always emphasized, and neglecting it becomes even an insult. Such is the appreciation of religious devotion, that Maeda says: "a good Malay is better than a good Malaysian, and a good Muslim is more deferred to than a good Malay". See Narifumi Maeda, "The After effects of Hajj and Kaan Buat", *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 6, no. 2 (September 1975): 182 and 188.

134 See also Safie bin Ibrahim, *The Islamic Party of Malaysia. Its Formative Stages and Ideology* (Kelantan: Nuawi bin Ismail, 1981).

135 Jajuli works for the journal *Dewan Masyarakat*. We have been unable to locate any of his other works. This account appeared in *Dewan Masyarakat*, 5 October 1979, pp. 6-11.

136 Jajuli, "Satu Perjalanan", p. 6.

137 Ibid., pp. 6-7.

138 Abu-Hamid Muhammad Ghazali (1058-1111), Muslim teacher and theologian, who fundamentally revised the foundations of Islamic thinking. His masterpiece is the *Ihya' ulum al-din* [The Revival of the Religious Sciences], written for those who wished to lead a devout life. "Every shar'ij rule is interpreted ethically and given a devotional dimension such that it can become the starting point for inner purification" (Hodgson, *The Venture*, pp. 189-90). See also W.M. Watt, *The Faith and Practice of al-Ghazali* (London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1963).

139 Jajuli, "Satu Perjalanan", p. 7, "Ya Allah! Aku bertaubat! Ampunkanlah aku ya Allah! Astaghfirullah! Astaghfirullah! Astaghfirullah!"

140 Ibid., p. 7.

141 This sense of tranquillity experienced amidst the turmoil of the pilgrimage rites is also expressed by A. Wahab Ali in his poems, "Azan Subuh di Kaabah" and "Setelah tawaf selamat tinggal" (see *Dewan Sastera*, 15 December 1979, p. 31).

142 The concept of the *Tabang Hajji* (Hajj Fund) was developed by Professor Ungku Abdul Aziz and was put into operation in the early 1960s. In 1969 its name was changed to the Muslim Pilgrimage Control and Savings Corporation. The prime objective of the Corporation is to enable Muslims to save for the *hajj*, or for other purposes, and it also offers "management, protection and assistance to the members performing the Hajj" -- presumably Jajuli was a member of the Corporation. Further information about the Corporation is given by Awang Had Saleh, "Modern Concept of Hajj Management. The Experience of Malaysia" in *Hajj Studies*, Ziauddin Sardar and M.A. Zaki Badawi, (London: Croom Helm, 1979), p. 76 ff; and Abdul Kadir Haji Din, "Economic Implications", p. 69 ff.

143 Jajuli, "Satu Perjalanan", pp. 10-11.

144 The muezzin, whose call from the minaret of the mosque summons Muslims to pray.

145 Ibid., "Satu Perjalanan", p. 11.

146 Ibid., p. 8.

147 Ibid.

148 It is also of interest that Jajuli does not mention visiting Eve's grave in Jeddah, or the Prophet's grave at Medina. As mentioned in notes 20 and 23, in the early nineteenth century Wahhabis did not approve of pilgrims paying reverence to the graves of Eve and the Prophet. Harun deplores the damage perpetrated by the Wahhabis at such "historic sites" ("tempat bersejarah ini") (*Chatetan*, p. 165), but Jajuli, like the Wahhabis, focuses on Mecca and is concerned only with the central issues of the *haj*.

149 Although we have texts of poems and three prose works composed by Hamzah Fansuri, the details of his life are sketchy. The major published source on Hamzah is Syed Muhammad Naguib al-Attas, *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1970). Al-Attas argues that Hamzah's main works were composed between 1588 and before 1607, the probable time of his death (al-Attas, *Mysticism*, p. 12).

150 For example, see passages from Hamzah's *Asnāru'l-ʿArifīn*, in al-Attas, *Mysticism*, pp. 233, and 242.

151 As in al-Attas, *Mysticism*, pp. 235-37 and footnote on p. 183.

152 The syntax of much of Harun's writing seems directly influenced by English word order, and he begins his sentences as we would in English. For example

"Dalam perjalanan balek ka-khemah saya lihat ..."
[On the way back to my tent I saw ...] (*Chatetan*, p. 114)

"Sa-belah lepas makan saya dibawa ..."
[After finishing eating, I was brought ...] (p. 112)

"Akhirnya motor-car yang saya tumpang itu ..."
[Finally, the motor-car in which I was travelling ...]
(p. 112)

The last example also demonstrates Harun's fondness for the relative clause, a common English construction, but not a feature of Malay (see also "bas yang saya tumpang itu", p.119;

"kapal terbang yang ditumpangi", p. 118). Harun is also perhaps influenced by English syntax in his use of long sentences composed of subclauses (for example, p. 113).

153 Not all traditional Malay language is in "*hikayat*" style -- a style which sometimes seems to labour under traditional clichés, set formulae, and punctuation. The writing of Hamzah Fansuri is balanced through juxtaposition of short phrases, and with marked attention to detail; see, for example, al-Attas, *Mysticism*, pp. 241-42. Professor al-Attas, in fact, sees Hamzah's use of language as close to modern Malay (al-Attas, p. 183). Professor Edwin Thumboo's analysis of Shahnun Ahmad's prose reveals some features which are also evident in Jajuli's writing. Thumboo tells of "a calculated style" (p. 92), the use of repetition "to establish a set of constants" (p. 89) and "bare" prose which is "aggressive in its repetitive insistence" p. 96, See E. Thumboo, "Shahnun Ahmad's *No Harvest but a Thorn*", *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 10, no. 1 (March 1979).

154 See also J. Funston, *Malay Politics in Malaysia. A Study of UMNO and PAS* (Kuala Lumpur: Heinemann, 1980), pp. 145, 146, and *passim*; and Milner, "Islam", pp. 59-61.

APPENDIX

Some Malay and Indonesian Writings on the Pilgrimage

Manuscripts

"Syair rukun haj", listed in M.C. Ricklefs and P. Voorhoeve, *Indonesian Manuscripts in Great Britain. A Catalogue of Manuscripts in Indonesian Languages in British Public Collections* (London: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 146.

"Hikayat Makah Madinah", in Acehnese verse (*sanja'*), and dated 1713; see Ricklefs and Voorhoeve, *Indonesian Manuscripts*, p. 159.

Published accounts

Hamba Labbaik (Jakarta: Jajasan PHI Pusat, 1971), a collection of moralizings on the virtues of the pilgrimage.

Haji Ismail bin Haji Ishak, *Ke Mekah, ikut Darat* (Kuala Lumpur: C.K. Kok, 1975).

A. Hasjmy, *Surat-Surat dari Tanah Suci* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1979).

Professor D. Fuad Hassan, *Pengalaman Seorang Haji (Perlawatan ke Haramain)* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1975).

Abdullah Hussain, "Takut Kehilangan Haji Mabur", *Dewan Masyarakat* 15 February, 1982, pp. 36-38.

Yusuf A. Puar, *Memantapkan Pembinaan Urusan Haji Indonesia* (Kuala Lumpur: Pustaka Antara, 1975).

Sajuti Thalib, *Perjalanan Haji (th 1396H/1975M)* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1976).

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